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Exposé of 1960 jail-house death nets Broun prize

Washington—Mike Masterson of the Arkansas Democrat has won TNG's 1984 Heywood Broun Award for an investigation and series of stories that "established beyond a doubt" that the death 25 years ago of a young black man in an Arkansas county jail was the result of a brutal beating, not an accident as it was then ruled.

Masterson's investigation of the 1960 case showed that 21-year-old Marvin Williams "had been beaten to death, probably after his arrest on what appeared to have been a trumped-up charge of public drunkenness," the judges said.

The \$1,000 award was presented to Masterson at a luncheon at the National Press Club on Jan. 22, the second day of the winter meeting of TNG's Int'l Executive Board.

The Heywood Broun Award has been made annually for 44 years for outstanding individual journalistic achievement in the spirit of Broun's own work in the '20s and '30s. That spirit was distinguished by an abiding concern for the underdog and the underprivileged. Broun, a columnist, was TNG's founding president.

Acting on a tip early last year from a white prison inmate who had been held in the Faulkner County jail on the night of Williams' arrest in 1960, Masterson launched an investigation that led him to a previously unreported autopsy report which showed that

Williams died from a blow to the head that severely fractured his skull. The report also showed that there was no alcohol in his blood.

A coroner's jury impaneled within hours after Williams' body was found in a jail cell had ruled his death an accident. The all-white panel issued its ruling after hearing testimony of two white police officers that Williams sustained a head injury from a fall on the courthouse steps following his arrest. The autopsy report was not presented to the jury.

"Masterson's persistent, dogged, low-key reporting re-opened the case," the judges pointed out, "despite resistance from those involved at the time of Williams' death and those responsible today for bringing the matter to ultimate justice." The case was treated "almost cavalierly" by local au-

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BILL BURKE/Washington-Baltimore Guild

BROUN-AWARD WINNER MIKE MASTERSON, LEFT, RECEIVES \$1,000 PRIZE

Making the presentation is Lyle Denniston, one of the judges; observing is Masterson's daughter, Anna, 7, who did a lot of that during the award-presentation luncheon (See Page 4).

IEB raps Reagan's electronic 'news wire'

Washington—TNG's Int'l Executive Board added its voice to others in the news industry who have expressed concern over the establishment of an electronic White House news service to distribute White House statements, presidential speeches and news releases and announcements.

The material reportedly is being distributed via the ITT Dialcom

News Service at hourly rates ranging from \$27.50 to \$35, depending on the time of day the data is transmitted.

The White House's Office of Media Relations said the material being distributed is the same that it has been mailing to papers across the country for years.

Noting that a White House official described the service as pro-

viding information "unfiltered" by independent news organizations, the IEB charged that "Soviet readers have had that kind of access for years," adding: "we are late catching up."

A president whose "avowed aim is to privatize . . . government functions has now chosen to enter an area in which the government clearly has no business," the board

declared. It called on Reagan to terminate the news service, recognizing that "a government-controlled news service is alien to . . . American tradition."

"The United States does not need an incipient Tass," the board said.

Earlier, Jack Landau, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, said establishment of a "partisan government news service" would be "very, very dangerous."

The president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Richard Smyser of the Oak Ridger in Tennessee, meanwhile, said he welcomed any prospect of broader distribution of official texts, but cautioned that the establishment of a White House news network should prompt "concern on the part of the public as well as the press."

(Continued on Page 6)

VDT layout worth 5% more, arbiter holds

Washington—The "substantial alteration" in the nature of copy desk work which accompanies introduction of an electronic composition system is worth an extra 5 percent in the wages of copy editors and slot persons, an arbitrator has ruled in a case brought by the Washington-Baltimore Guild at the Washington Post.

Under the system, introduced at the Post in September of 1980, copy desk employees working at VDTs are responsible not only for editing copy and writing headlines but also for laying out stories on pages, a formatting responsibility called "area composition."

The extra 5 percent is in addition to the contractually provided 5-percent differential for copy editors over the reporter top minimum before the system's introduction.

Arbitrator James V. Altieri, however, limited the Post's obligation under the ruling he issued

Dec. 19 to the 22-month period between the composition system's introduction and July 9, 1982, the expiration date of the Guild-Post contract in effect when the system was installed.

Even so, Altieri's back-pay award produces \$5,000 or more for several desk employees, a Guild representative estimated.

It was Altieri's second ruling in the case. Late in 1983 he held that the addition of formatting responsibilities to the desk employees' jobs had altered them substantially and ordered the Post and Guild to seek to bargain the proper rate of pay under a contract provision calling for them to do so whenever a job is substantially changed.

Failing to reach agreement with the Post on the proper rate of pay for the jobs as they now exist, the Guild asked Altieri to address the question as he had said he would if no agreement was forthcoming within 60 days of the first award.

He had urged the Guild and the company to resolve their differences through bargaining, however, warning that if it was remanded to him he might "impose . . . a result" each party is "likely to be unhappy with."

Altieri dismissed Guild arguments that any additional pay

awarded should be maintained under the agreement currently in effect, noting that a new contract reached shortly before his first award issued included no greater position differentials for copy editors and slot persons than had been in earlier agreements.

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Kadis named to new education post

Washington — Phillip M. Kadis, president of the Washington-Baltimore Guild in the late 1970s and co-ordinator of TNG's Mellett Project in the mid-1960s, has been named to fill the newly established position of TNG education director.

TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., announced his appointment Jan. 21 after the Int'l Executive Board at the opening session of its winter meeting adopted a Perlik proposal to establish a department of education and authorized Perlik to name its director.

Kadis, 49, who more recently was special assistant to the chair-

person of the National Endowment for the Arts, will begin working in the new TNG staff position on Feb. 11.

TNG's membership and leadership education programs were under the direction of Ellis T. Baker for more than three decades until his retirement the first of the year [TNG's "professor" retires after 35 years' Guild Reporter, Jan. 11].

Perlik said that the position of director of administrative operations, which he created in 1969 to take advantage of Baker's particular skills and circumstances, will not be filled.

In the new education position,

Kadis will report directly to Perlik on a day-to-day basis, as do other staff members with responsibilities for portions of TNG's headquarters operations.

In informing the IEB of his appointment of Kadis, Perlik said he is "excited about the potential he brings" to the new position.

Kadis was a member of the Cleveland and Wire Service Guilds while working as a reporter for the Cleveland Press and United Press Int'l in Cleveland before joining TNG's headquarters staff for the first time in 1964 as Mellett co-ordinator.

In that position he set up the (Continued on Page 6)

Brookshire wins service award . . . 3

TNG, 6 others seek to set up a Writers Watch

Washington TNG is participating with six other groups in an effort to form a joint organization that would more adequately represent the economic, First Amendment and other interests of writers in the nation's legislative halls.

Called "Writers Watch," the particulars of its proposed structure and scope of activity are being developed by an organizing board composed of representatives of each of the seven groups.

The board, which met at TNG headquarters Jan. 18, is aiming to submit its recommendations to each of the six groups by June.

Other organizations involved in the undertaking are the National Writers Union, PEN, the American Society of Journalists and Authors, the Society of Professional Journalists SDJ, the American Writers Congress and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

The groups came together for the undertaking out of the shared concern that currently writers' interests are underrepresented in legislative and administrative decisions that affect them and that while publishers are well represented, their interests often are at odds with those of writers.

"Minimally," said David J. Eisen, TNG director of research and information, the union's representative on the organizing board, Writers Watch would "monitor legislation affecting members of its affiliated organizations."

Beyond that it could serve to assure that through joint action the voices of the affiliated organizations will be heard on matters of common concern to their memberships.

Subscription rate for GR increased

Washington—It will cost non-members \$20 a year and \$1 for a single copy for the Guild Reporter beginning Feb. 1.

The new rates, up from \$15 a year and 75 cents for a single copy, were approved by TNG's Int'l Executive Board during its winter meeting. The old rates had been in effect since the spring of 1981.

The board cited increased costs of production and distribution in enacting the increases.

Guild members receive the Guild Reporter without charge.

The U.S. price elevator

The table below records the ascent of the Consumer Price Index in the United States over a 24-month period following a 0.3-point increase in the index in December to 312.2, up 10.7 points from December 1983, and 20.2 points from December 1982. The first column lists the index for each of the last 12 months, the second the percentage increase over the same months of the preceding year and the third, the percentage increase over December 1982. The Urban Wage-Earners' and Clerical Workers' Index (CPI-W) is the source.

	Index*	Percentage over	
		Same month prior year	December 1982†
January, 1984	302.7	3.6	3.7
February	303.3	3.8	3.9
March	303.3	3.5	3.9
April	304.1	3.1	4.1
May	305.4	3.1	4.6
June	306.2	3.0	4.9
July	307.5	3.1	5.3
August	310.3	3.6	6.3
September	312.1	3.8	6.9
October	312.2	3.6	6.9
November	311.9	3.5	6.8
December	312.2	3.5	6.9
*1967 = 100		†Index = 292.0	

*1967 = 100

†Index = 292.0



WRITERS WATCH ORGANIZING BOARD MEETS JAN. 18 IN HEYWOOD BROWN ROOM AT TNG HEADQUARTERS

Clockwise from foreground left: Elaine English of the Reporters Committee; Ron Goldfarb and David Austern, attorneys; John Dinges and Connie Paige of the Writers Union; TNG's David J. Eisen; Tony Mauro of the SPJ; Sidney Sulkin of PEN.

ITU to vote on GCIU merger March 27

Colorado Springs—The Int'l Typographical Union has set for March 27 a union-wide vote on a proposal to merge the ITU and the Graphic Communications Int'l Union. The ITU's Executive Council scheduled the membership referendum after voting its approval of the proposed merger agreement Jan. 18, the ITU Review reported.

The agreement also is subject to the approval of the GCIU's General Board and a subsequent membership referendum. The GCIU board is scheduled to meet during the week of Feb. 4.

The merged international union would retain the name of the GCIU and operate from its Washington headquarters building. Local union mergers, while "encouraged," would be optional, the ITU Review reported in a special issue describing the merger agreement and carrying its text.

If the proposed merger is approved, the ITU will join in a "transition period," set to run into 1992, that was put in place in 1983 when the Graphic Arts Int'l Union merged with the Int'l Printing & Graphic Communications Union to form the GCIU. The GCIU was the product of mergers of the old Photoengravers', Lithographers' and Bookbinders' unions, while the IP&GCU was the result of merger of the old Pressmen's and

Stereotypers' unions.

During the ITU-GCIU transition period the number of full-time officers would be reduced from a total of 23, following merger with the ITU, to 12. The number of working members serving on the international's general board would be reduced from 31, to 15.

Initially, the ITU's president would become the executive vice president of the GCIU, and the ITU's secretary-treasurer would hold the office of GCIU financial secretary. The three ITU vice presidents who hold the remaining seats on the ITU's five-member executive council would become vice presidents of the GCIU. Throughout the transition period a vice presidency would be reserved for an ITU Mailer.

Following approval of the merger agreement, ITU members would elect seven working members from their ranks on a regional basis to serve on the GCIU General Board. That board, on which the

GCIU full-time officers also serve, meets at least once in each four-month period.

Per capita to the GCIU on behalf of former ITU members would be \$7.90 a month. Currently ITU members pay the international dues based on 1.5 percent of monthly pay, plus \$2.

A \$500 mortuary benefit would be maintained for ITU members following merger. The benefits would be paid from a GCIU death benefit fund to which the ITU would pay \$1.5 million from its strike fund. A monthly payment of \$1 from each former ITU retiree also would go to the death benefit fund.

Retirees would have the right to vote on international issues "affecting their economic welfare," but they could not vote for international officers. Retiree voting on local issues would be at local option.

Strike benefits for former ITU

members would be \$100 a week, with \$70 of the weekly benefit coming from a GCIU strike fund to which the ITU would transfer \$1.6 million from its own strike fund. The remaining \$30 would come from supplemental ITU strike funds. The benefit for former ITU members could be increased through a per-capita adjustment.

The GCIU's strike fund is replenished to a \$6 million ceiling by membership assessments when its assets fall below \$3 million.

The ITU's negotiated industry-wide pension plan would remain intact following merger. The agreement also calls on the merged union to seek to establish portability between the ITU plan and multiemployer plans established by the other unions which merged to form the GCIU.

Canadian offices of the GCIU and the ITU would be combined following merger and, as currently, one GCIU vice presidency would be reserved for a Canadian.

Conventions would be held every four years, with the international paying a portion of delegates' expenses. Both situations prevail under the existing GCIU structure. During the transition period Typographical Union delegates would have voting strength equal to that of all other delegates on issues peculiar to the former ITU members.

The Union Printers Home in Colorado Springs would be maintained as a separate entity. The ITU's headquarters building would be deeded to the home, thereby providing it with additional revenues from the rental or sale of that property. The ITU headquarters building stands on property owned by the home.

Former ITU members would oversee operations of the home, serving on the board of Trustees. The new, merged union would assume none of the home's assets or liabilities.

Massillon top raised to \$406

Massillon, Ohio—The top minimum for reporters covered by the Cleveland Guild's contract with the Ingersoll chain's Massillon Independent is raised by \$46.87 a week, to \$406.59, under a new three-year agreement.

Retroactive to last March 1, the agreement initially raises the key editorial top minimum by \$14.39, to \$374.11 a week, and then by \$15.90 a week, to \$390.01, on this March 1, and by \$16.58, to

\$406.59, on March 1, next year.

Outside advertising sales employees are guaranteed salary and commission totalling an amount at least equal to the reporter minimum.

The top minimum for circulation district managers is raised by \$46.86, to \$349.66 a week, in increments of \$14.39, \$15.90 and \$16.57, while the top minimum for clerks is raised by \$32.30, to \$380.19 a week.

Chicago-Rockford merger

Washington—Merger of the Guild locals in Chicago and Rockford, Ill., was approved by TNG's Int'l Executive Board during its winter meeting.

The board authorized the merger on the recommendation of its Constitution Committee. Earlier, members of both the Chicago and Rockford Guilds approved the

merger in separate secret-ballot referendums.

Together the two locals have about 620 members—560 in Chicago and 60 in Rockford.

The Chicago Guild, located some 90 miles southeast of Rockford, has two administrative employees on its staff.

Lillian White, Toledo ex-officer, 57

Toledo—Lillian G. White, a former secretary and current member of the executive board of the Toledo Guild, died Dec. 24. She was 57 years old.

She also was a delegate from the Toledo Guild to three annual

TNG policy-making conventions.

She was employed as a computer operator at the Toledo Blade, where she had worked a total of 22 years.

Survivors include her spouse, Harold, two daughters and a son.

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Five 'stringers' ruled employees by arbiter

Lansing, Mich.—Five so-called stringers and correspondents for Gannett's Lansing State Journal in fact are part-time employees of the paper, an arbitrator has ruled, ordering the company to cover them by the provisions of the Guild's contract with the daily.

The five—two who cover sports and three who cover local governmental bodies—meet the contract's definition of a part-time employee, arbitrator Alan Walt held in a Jan. 7 ruling.

That definition, as it has existed since 1979, provides that a part-time employee is one who works a "regularly assigned schedule" of up to 32 hours weekly under "direct supervision."

At the same time, Walt held that two other persons who frequently provide the paper with music and theater reviews and other material are not covered by the contract, implying, however, that their status might be different were it not for the contract's narrow definition of a part-time employee.

The company's use of stringers and correspondents has increased to the point where many are now part-time employees, the Guild told Walt. The company contended that it had not altered its practice of utilizing stringers and correspondents. It noted, however, that technological changes had resulted in it making VDTs available to them both in the plant and in their homes.

One of the "stringers" held to be a part-time employee testified that in addition to covering sporting events he worked in the paper's sports department "writing up scores," taking phone calls and editing copy submitted by other stringers. The grievant said that during the "peak" sports season—between September and May—he worked from 6 or 7 p.m. until midnight on Mondays, Tuesdays, most Wednesdays and Thursdays and "a little later" on Fridays, plus Saturday evening and "a couple of hours" on Sunday.

In addition, for more than a

year, he had been preparing the work schedule for all "stringers" in the paper's sports department.

During the peak season, the two sports correspondents said that their earnings from the paper had ranged from \$220 to \$330 a week.

The three correspondents who cover local governmental activities, including meetings of city councils and school boards, testified that they were paid flat rates ranging from \$200 to \$400 a month for 10 to 20 hours of work, plus a \$20-to-\$35 piece-rate for stories.

The Guild contract provides minimums ranging from \$259.52 a week (\$6.49 an hour) for reporters with no experience to \$519.04 a week (\$12.98 an hour) for those with five years' experience. It also provides that part-time employees be paid on an hourly basis "equivalent to the weekly minimum salary provided for their classification and experience" and that they advance on the minimums "according to the length of employment . . . not according to actual hours worked."

Implementation of the award will raise the monthly salary of one former correspondent by as much as \$700, "conservatively," a local representative estimated.

Noting that the Guild's contract with the paper permits exemption for correspondents, reviewers and critics who perform "occasional or temporary services," Walt pointed out that "when those services cease to be occasional or temporary and are rendered under a regularly assigned schedule of hours subject to direct supervision" the individual is no longer exempt and becomes a part-time employee.

The two critics, who write music and theater reviews "with frequency," are nonetheless exempt from contract coverage, Walt said, since "neither is subject to a regularly assigned schedule . . . nor under direct supervision."

While factors such as use of company identification and inclusion in company directories "are matters usually considered in de-

'No story is worth your life'

That is the advice that tops a long list in a safety-guide for correspondents working in Latin America just issued by the Inter American Press Assn.

Designed to fit in the pockets of reporters and photographers, the four-panel guide contains dozens of suggestions from those with experience in "covering dangerous assignments and getting back to write the story," as it puts it on its cover (reproduced here).

The guide is being issued in two forms: one on heavy paper that fits inside the second, which is a plastic-covered wallet also designed to be a slip-on cover for reporters' long, narrow notebooks.

Printing was provided by the Rex Rand Fund of the World Press Freedom Committee. TNG President Charles A. Perlik, Jr., a member of the committee, distributed samples to TNG's Int'l Executive Board and said he will take others to the next meeting of the Int'l Federation of Journalists bureau, as well.

The guide also lists in English and Spanish "key words and phrases" for use "in a moment of high danger" when they "may ease tensions, even save your life." It suggests they be practiced "until they are part of your reflex vocabulary."

termining employment status, they are not controlling here," Walt held, "in view of the express" provisions of the contract.

Walt limited his ruling to the employment status of the seven persons who testified about their working arrangements.

In talks following the award the Guild and company agreed that a fourth correspondent would be made a part-time employee, as would the replacement for one of the grievants.

Surviving Dangerous Assignments

A Guide from the
Inter American Press Association



Thirteen journalists died on assignment in Latin America in the first six months of 1984. In 1983, a year when 21 journalists died on the job in the region, eight Peruvian reporters and photographers perished in a single brutal massacre. Between 1979 and early 1984, 11 foreign journalists were killed covering events in El Salvador. Journalism can be a dangerous business.

Safety for journalists in danger zones has become a priority of the Inter American Press Association. It has assembled dozens of suggestions from seasoned correspondents for covering dangerous assignments and getting back to write the story. Mindful of the old adage that forewarned is forearmed, we pass on these useful tips to our colleagues.

Multiemployer plans found better funded

Washington—A U.S. Labor Dept. study of pension plans established through collective bargaining shows that multiemployer plans—like TNG's Int'l Pension Plan—are better funded than those bargained plans to which a single

employer makes payments.

Multiemployer plans on average had assets adequate to fund 90 percent of vested benefits, the study of 2,600 of the plans showed; the assets of the single-employer plans would fund an average of 84 percent of vested benefits.

Employees represented by 94 unions are covered by multiemployer pension plans, the report said, noting that 10 unions each covering 250,000 or more participants make up two-thirds of those covered by multiemployers plans.

Any funding problems experienced by the bargained multiemployer plans "are more likely attributable" to such factors as poor industry financial performance than to the structure of multiemployer plans, the study said.

Assets of collectively bargained multiemployer pension plans increased at an average annual rate of 16 percent between 1975 and 1979, bringing their total to \$40.8 billion, from \$22.7 billion.

Thirty-five percent of the plans had assets that equalled or exceeded their benefit obligations, while 24 percent had funds that would meet 75 to 99 percent of their obligations.

Copies of the study "The Funding of Multiemployer Pension Plans and Implications for Collective Bargaining," are available from the National Technical Information Service, 5258 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, Va. 22161 (No. PB8-5-12005-3).

Brookshire wins 1985 Guild Service Award

Washington—Kay Brookshire, president of the Cincinnati Guild, has been named the winner of this year's TNG award for local Guild service.

In naming Brookshire the winner of the 1985 Guild Service Award, the judging panel cited her achievements in a broad range of local activities reflecting a "sterling quality" of leadership and the "prospect of enhancement the award is intended to foster."

The award, made annually for outstanding service to the Guild at the local level, carries a scholarship of up to \$1,500 for a union education course.

Judging this year's competition were TNG Vice Presidents Peter E. McLaughlin of New York and Marie Shellock of Youngstown, along with David J. Eisen, TNG's director of research and information.

Citing her "foresight, tireless dedication and ability to handle the toughest situation with a mixture of good sense, humor and determination," other members of the local's executive committee credited Brookshire with "laying the groundwork" that recently brought

editorial department employees of Gannett's Cincinnati Enquirer into the Guild.

More than two years ago Brookshire initiated discussions with leaders of the unaffiliated Enquirer Editorial Employees Professional Assn. about common bargaining issues in preparation for Guild talks with the jointly published Scripps-Howard Cincinnati Post, the executive committee's nomination pointed out.

She attended EEEPA executive committee and membership meetings and "established herself as a ready source of information," increasing the awareness of EEEPA's leaders "of the commonality of purpose" shared with the Guild.

When the Cincinnati Enquirer provoked a crisis for EEEPA by filing a unit clarification petition with the National Labor Relations Board, EEEPA opened talks with the Guild, the executive committee noted.

Those discussions led to a vote by EEEPA-represented employees in December of 1983 to affiliate with the Guild, a vote reaffirmed a year later, in a Dec. 13-14 elec-

tion supervised by the NLRB. [Guild Reporter, Jan. 11.]

Noting that she currently is the Post unit's chief spokesperson in contract negotiations, the executive committee cited her role in the prior round of bargaining in which a long-needed dental plan was added, along with transfer options for pregnant employees and maternity leave was reinstated.

"Human rights are high on our list" and Brookshire "has been an eloquent spokesperson for these issues," the executive committee said, crediting her as one of the architects of proposals for increased opportunities for women and minorities and additional protections for workers with irrelevant handicaps.

Brookshire is a member of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council executive committee and the Guild's representative on the Council of Newspaper Unions.

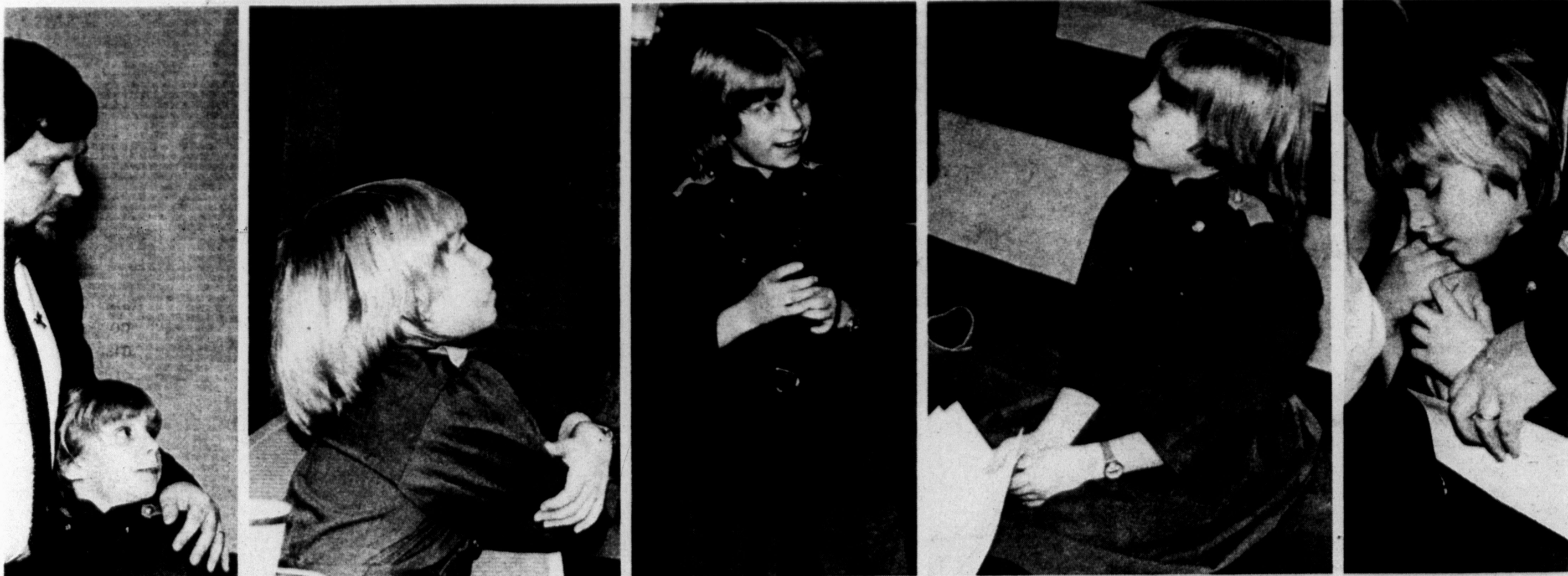
She was recently elected president of the Cincinnati Coalition of Labor Union Women and chairs a CLUW committee examining hazards associated with work at video display terminals in both organized and unorganized work-



Kay Brookshire

Wins '85 Guild Service Award places in Cincinnati.

While citing Brookshire's "outstanding qualities," the judges said that her selection from among nine candidates nominated for the award "was not an easy decision." All of the candidates "have given unselfishly of their time and energy" and "merit commendation," the judges said.



For Anna Masterson, 7, TNG's 1984 Broun Award luncheon was an opportunity for a lot of watching and listening—until exhaustion hit.

Masterson of Arkansas Democrat wins Broun

(Continued from Page 1)

thorities and the FBI at the time, the judges noted.

As a result of Masterson's reporting, a special prosecutor has been named and a grand jury investigation into Williams' death is scheduled to begin in February.

One of the arresting officers moved on to a 20-year career as a sergeant with the state police, while the prosecutor who conducted the hurried inquest into Williams' death is now a circuit judge.

Williams' family has filed a \$4 million civil rights lawsuit in federal court charging county officials with responsibility for his death and alleging that they conspired to cover up the circumstances.

Masterson's work was one of a dozen "first-rate contenders" among the 139 entries in this year's competition, the judges said, noting that "Masterson stood out for his exceptional enterprise, diligence and balance."

His entry "exemplified the spirit of Heywood Broun's own reporting of injustices done to ordinary people who were as defenseless as Marvin Williams was in a small-town jail in 1960," they said.

The judges also commended the publisher and editors of the Arkansas Democrat "for their willingness to commit their resources and support" Masterson through the five-month investigation.

Judges of this year's Broun Award competition were: Peter Braestrup, editor of the Wilson Quarterly; Lyle Denniston, Supreme Court reporter for the Baltimore Sun; and Katherine Winton

Evans, editor of the Washington Journalism Review.

The judges also recommended that if the contest remains open in future years to radio and television entries a separate category be established for them to "make it possible to judge such entries with the particular qualities of the broadcast media in mind."

Broadcast and print reporting are by their nature "so different," Denniston told participants in the award luncheon, that this year's judges felt they should not be judged by the same criteria.

Speaking for the judges, Denniston also said that while they were delighted to have had the opportunity to spend a day "rummaging around in some superior journalism" while judging the contest entries, the judges also were struck by the large amount of substandard writing and editing that flawed the final product of what otherwise was superior reporting.

The judges also were disturbed, he said, by evidence of "fad" and "band-wagon" journalism among many of the entries; stories that had "already been done by everybody else."

In contrast, he said, the judges were struck by the perception evident in Masterson's winning work.

It would have been "easy in these days of the social safety net to forget what life was like in 1960 in many places," but Masterson did not and therefore he did not discard the tip that had led to his winning investigation and stories, Denniston said.

He also praised the "honesty about the work" in Masterson's

entry, explaining that when some points in early stories "seemed to have become undone" by later developments and revelations, Masterson reported it and did so with objectivity.

The judges, Denniston said, were "interested in doing what we could to revive the spirit of Heywood Broun," which they saw as uncovering and assisting ordinary people who are "hurt because the system has failed and hurt them."

Masterson's entry did so, said Denniston, who also praised the Broun Award competition as "a fine tribute to this organization's traditions."

Awards 'means more than any'

Washington—Winning TNG's 1984 Heywood Broun Award "means more to me than any recognition I've ever gotten in 16 years in the business and more than any I'll ever get again," Mike Masterson told participants in the award luncheon.

The Broun Award is important, Masterson said, "because it encourages us to try to make things better in the future than they have been in the past for the people who come behind us—people like my daughter." His daughter, Anna, 7, accompanied him to Washington to receive the award.

Masterson's 16 years in the business were spent first as an editor of small Arkansas dailies, then as a reporter for the Los Angeles Times and Chicago Sun-Times, where he was a member of the Chicago Guild, before returning to his home state and the Arkansas Democrat in Little Rock in 1982.

Portland pact to take top to \$559

Portland, Me. —The key top minimum under the Portland Guild's contract with Guy Gannett's Portland Press, Herald, Express & Telegram is raised by \$70, to \$559 a week, under the terms of a new three-year agreement.

The \$70 increase for reporters, photographers, outside advertising salespersons and circulation district managers comes in three increments. The first, \$20, taking the top minimum to \$509 a week, is retroactive to Dec. 4, 1983. It's followed by an increase of \$22 a week, to \$531, from Dec. 2, 1984. A \$28 increase, taking the key top minimum to \$559, is effective Dec. 1, 1985.

Employee contributions to the pension plan are eliminated under the new contract, while the benefit

formula is maintained. Employee contributions in 1984 were to be refunded. The life insurance benefit is raised by \$5,000, to \$11,000 beginning this year.

Provision for ophthalmological examinations is added for employees who regularly work on video display terminals, with the company to pay for the cost of any special glasses required for working at a terminal.

The top minimum for telephone advertising salespersons is raised by \$46.88, to \$374.50 a week, in increments of \$13.40, \$14.73 and \$18.75, while that for newsroom messengers is raised by \$32.74, to \$261.55 a week, in increments of \$9.36, \$10.29 and \$13.09.

Other increases and resulting

new top and flat minimums include:

Computer programmers—Up by \$62.29 over the term, to \$489.57 a week.

Copy editors—Up by \$70, to \$565.29 a week.

Janitors, building utility persons—Up by \$39.11, to \$312.35 a week.

Flat for librarian—Up by \$53.54, to \$427.72 a week.

Top for mailroom benchworkers—Up by \$54.13, to \$432.48 a week.

Flat for mailroom supervisors—Up by \$54.24, to \$513.23 a week.

Pattison filling position in L.A.

Los Angeles—G. Richard Pattison, TNG international representative, is serving as acting administrative officer of the Los Angeles Guild following termination of an experimental servicing arrangement between the Los Angeles and San Diego Guilds.

In that position he will again bargain renewal of the local's contract with the Los Angeles Racing Form.

The inter-local servicing arrangement ended when Michelle Davis, San Diego president, resigned as the Los Angeles Guild's acting administrative officer. She was filling the post and also assisting in her local's administration while on leave from her job at the San Diego Union and Tribune.



JUDGES OF 1984 HEYWOOD BROUN AWARD EXAMINE CONTEST ENTRIES IN BROUN ROOM AT TNG HEADQUARTERS

They are, from left: Katherine Winton Evans, editor of the Washington Journalism Review; Lyle Denniston, Supreme Court reporter for the Baltimore Sun; and Peter Braestrup, editor of the Wilson Quarterly.

RAYMOND CROWELL/Washington-Baltimore Guild

Canada's Kent Commission revisited

By Tom Kent

IT IS FOUR years since the Ottawa and the Winnipeg Tribune were killed and, in response, the Royal Commission on Newspapers set up. It is just more than three years since the commission reported.

Between lay ten months of intense and dedicated work by that superb newspaperman, the late Borden Spears; by the commission counsel, Don Affleck; by Tim Creery, Peter Desbarats, Dick MacDonald, and other members of the small team that was quickly but, I think, effectively assembled.

Very little has come of it all. I still believe that, when it appointed the commission, the Trudeau government had no intention of confusing or burying the problem. With the Thomson-Southam activities of 1980, and against the background of the Davey Committee of the Senate, the government fully recognized that the rules of the game for the newspaper business needed reform.

It also knew, of course, that reform would be difficult. Newspaper companies are better placed than any other businesses to oppose change by representing their private interests as the public interest. They also enjoy a unique power to make life unpleasant for politicians.

But in 1980 the government was freshly elected and very pleased with itself. It was disposed to attempt some reform of the newspaper business and it therefore wanted a royal commission that, unlike most, would report quickly. That was why I accepted the task. I would not have done so if I had had a crystal ball!

WE REPORTED on time, but not as quickly as the political circumstances changed. By 1981 the Trudeau government was in disarray, confused by the economic problems with which it could not cope and by its ineptness in federal-provincial relations. With its popularity slumping, it was much less inclined to take on the newspaper publishers on an issue that offered little, if any, electoral benefit.

There was, I think, a particular rock that broke the government's will to do much about the commission's recommendations. That was the fiasco of the budget in November, 1981, soon after our report was published (August, 1981). The government was terribly bloodied on its proposed changes in tax rules, from most of which Finance Minister Allan MacEachen made a humiliating withdrawal.

After that, ministers were in no mood to adopt any other tax change. And a tax change was central to the commission's recommendations. Ours was a direct, carrot-and-stick measure. It would have reduced the net cost to a company of spending more on the content of its newspaper, putting more of its revenue into resources for the newshole.

Reports and comment on the commission rarely made this proposal as prominent as it was important. Perhaps that was partly because taxation is, to many journalists, a dull subject. But chiefly, I think, it was because the commentators knew that they would be on weak ground in attacking the proposal. The self-interest of the proprietors would be evident, and they could not fall back on legalistic arguments; the tax measure was indisputably in federal jurisdiction. So more was made of issues on which it might not

This article is reprinted, with permission, from the September/October issue of Content magazine, the Canadian journalism review.

Tom Kent, chair of the Royal Commission on Newspapers until its dissolution early in 1982, has been dean of administrative studies at Dalhousie University in Halifax, N.S., as well as working in journalism, business and government. He now is editor of Policy Options, published by the Institute for Research on Public Policy.

be so difficult to represent the industry's self-interest as the public interest.

THE TAX PROPOSAL is crucial because the newspaper problem is rooted in the business economics of the industry. A daily nowadays gets about 80 per cent of its revenue from advertising and particularly from a few kinds of advertising—grocery and department stores, employment, real estate, used automobiles, and other classified—for which daily print still is the preferred medium.

Those advertisers can get the coverage they are seeking most efficiently if the community has only one paper for people to see. This is the inescapable economics that has made us, for the most part, one-newspaper communities. Very large cities, in which there can be substantial segmentation of the markets at which advertisers aim, still provide some exceptions. But they are few, and segmentation does not produce the old, head-to-head style of newspaper competition.

Yet, if we have to accept the inevitability of a large degree of monopoly, the public is entitled to probe its consequences. That is what the royal commission inquiry was about.

Even many journalists seemed until recently to go on accepting the idea, generated in times of transition from competition to monopoly, when some newspapers were, indeed losing money and closing, that the newspaper business is poor and struggling.

THE TRUTH of newspaper economics is that competition kills; but once competition has been eliminated or segmented, once you have a one-newspaper town or close to that in a large city, the newspaper business is profitable to an extent beyond the dreams of most industries.

It is highly profitable because the monopoly newspaper can get a great deal of certain kinds of advertising and its content otherwise—what it puts in the newshole space around the ads—does not have to cost much.

The critical moment in the commission's inquiry came early in the public hearing, when a Thomson publisher calmly characterized his editorial department as "non-revenue." That is to say, spending more on the editorial content of the paper has little reflection in increased revenue for the company. Filling the newshole is simply a cost, and all good businessmen know what to do with costs: minimize them.

If a newspaper is run according to such business logic, it is among the most attractive investments for the builders of corporate empires. They can milk from it a very large cash flow, in relation to the capital they have to employ, for further investments in other industries.

Given that fact, and the failure of government to do anything about it, we are as yet luckier than we deserve to be. Many of our newspapers are still run by people whose ambition for cash flow is qualified by a measure of journalistic conscience or pride. Editorial expense is not cut to the bone, but the game is clearly one

that in the end nice guys do not win. A newspaper on the market is worth a lot more to someone who will cut the costs and exploit the cash flow than it is to people who care about doing a good newspaper job.

WE EXPERIENCED a massive increase in conglomerate, business-driven ownership of Canadian newspapers in 1980. The royal commission inquiry perhaps put a temporary brake on the trend, but in the absence of government action, it will inevitably revive and continue until virtually all newspapers are owned by people who are interested in them not as newspapers but as sources of cash for other businesses.

The consequences of such ownership are clear. Too much of too many newsholes is filled too cheaply. In essence, most papers employ too few journalists. They do not pay them enough. They do not give them enough time to know their topics and dig into stories. They do not provide their journalists with adequate reference resources. They give far too little opportunity for career development, for advanced training, for broadening experience elsewhere in Canada and abroad.

In short, the ultimate effect of monopoly on the structure of the newspaper industry is that journalism is downgraded from the increasingly skilled, responsible occupation that, in an information society, is required to serve the public interest.

If we had been blessed with more foresight, we would have long ago had legislation to prohibit the ownership of newspapers (and other general-interest media) by people and companies with substantial interests in other businesses. That would not have created perfection, but it would have helped considerably. Now, unfortunately, it

is too late to incur the disruption of rolling back all the conglomerate ownership that exists.

A lot still could be done, however. The process of conglomeration could be stopped from going further. A few very worst cases of concentration could be corrected. A simple tax measure could offset much of the constriction of editorial expenditures arising from monopoly. As a further force in that direction, conglomerates could be required to handle their newspapers more as if they were separate businesses—identifying the editorial responsibility, publishing an annual report, and by its discussion strengthening the hands of journalists and enhancing public influence.

THOSE WERE the essentials of the royal commission's recommendations. The quality of the response from the industry could hardly have done more to underline the need for the recommendations. Rarely can there have been so much fury and emotion and bombast with so little substance, so much invective and misrepresentation as a pathetic cover for lack of an arguable case.

Of course, if I were doing it again with the benefit of hindsight and second thought, there are ways in which I would make some improvements in the details of the recommendations. But the essentials would not change, except for an addition. I would insist that the commission take a little more time in order to do what was, strictly, the government's job: that is, on the points on which there could be genuine doubt about the relevance of federal or provincial jurisdiction, work out ways in which their co-operation could be secured.

This time, however, it was not to be. Despite Jim Fleming's brave efforts, the Trudeau government lacked interest or courage and I can see no expectation that, in this respect, a new government will be better.

Nevertheless, the recommendations stand. Sooner or later some government, I think, will be driven to adopt something like them. The longer the delay, the worse it will be for the industry.



In memoriam: Protest marches like this one, with members of Canadian Guild and Typographical Union locals bearing mock coffins labelled with the names of the dailies closed by the Thomson and Southam chains, were typical of the expressions of outrage that led to the Canadian government's naming the Kent Commission to examine corporate concentration in the nation's newspaper industry in 1980.

JUST
POPPED
UP TO
SAY—
LOOK FOR
THE UNION
LABEL!



Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO

IEB raps Reagan's 'news wire'

(Continued from Page 1)

If the White House has established an electronic distribution system because of concern that the president is misrepresented in news reports, a better way to alleviate those concerns would be to make Reagan "more accessible to the press and the public," Smyser said.

Walter Mears, AP's executive editor, said he sees no threat to independent news operations, noting the White House's longtime mail distribution of the material.

"Basically, they give the hand-out," Mears told Editor & Publisher. "What about the story and the analysis?"

Lou Adler, president of the Radio-Television News Directors Assn., speculated that any effort to "get a better press" by circumventing the White House press corps would fail. "The caliber of news directors is high," across the nation, he said. The White House will get as much of a critical eye from the stations as from the White

House press corps, Adler told Broadcasting magazine.

Broadcasting also reported that the news service is similar to one that has been operated by the Dept. of Agriculture for several years.

Jack Weber, deputy director of the White House Office of Media Relations, which deals with the press located outside of Washington, said the electronic service gets materials to newspapers and broadcast stations that want it faster than the mailed service, which also is continuing.

Subscribers to the Dialcom system who choose to receive the material will pay for the time it takes to receive it just as they do for other material received on the system from other sources, he said.

The White House already uses the Dialcom system to distribute messages and data to other government offices and agencies, Weber said, and the news service will cost

it only the fee for the added transmission time, which he estimated at \$10 a day at the most.

The White House also is considering making the material available over other privately held electronic transmission systems.

Meanwhile, he said, it also is experimenting with setting up its own facilities for making the president and other administration officials available for television interviews via satellite with stations across the country.

It has heretofore been doing so through the studios and transmission facilities of the networks' Washington bureaus, Weber said. Questions are phoned in to the person being interviewed.

The new system would utilize a room in the Executive Office Building, next door to the White House, saving those being interviewed from having to travel to the commercial TV studios.

Extra pay ordered for desk task

(Continued from Page 1)

Altieri explained that he had been asked to determine the proper salary for the jobs in light of the fact that he had found that the nature of the jobs had changed during the term of the previous contract.

He also pointed out, however, that his ruling "is a legislative function that does not deprive the parties of their right, when the time arrives for negotiating a new agreement, to bargain for the best terms their economic strength makes possible."

The Guild has asked the Post to implement the additional 5-percent

differential awarded by Altieri through September of 1983, however, pointing out that the terms and conditions of the contract in effect when the jobs were changed were continued for 14 months beyond its July 9, 1982, expiration date under the terms of an "ever-green" clause. The Post maintained that that agreement was ultimately terminated in September 1983 when it declared negotiations for a new agreement to be at an "impasse."

Agreement was reached on the current Guild-Post contract in November of 1983. It expires on July 9 of 1986.

Kadis named to new education post

(Continued from Page 1)

Mellett Fund for a Free and Responsible Press under a bequest to TNG from a former Scripps-Howard editor and columnist [Penn State new home of the Mellett Award, Guild Reporter, Jan. 11]. He also was instrumental in the fund's establishment of a series of pilot community press councils in its first days.

After returning to UPI in its Washington bureau in early 1967, where he worked on the national desk and as a radio editor, Kadis took a reporting job with the Washington Star in August of 1970, working successively on the paper's business, economics and arts beats during the next 7½ years.

Early in 1981 he went to the National Endowment for the Arts, where he worked first as director for policy development and then as special assistant to the chairperson. In the latter post, he developed the endowment's five-year plan for presentation to Congress and was generally responsible for keeping the legislators informed of the endowment's policies.

Since the advent of the first Reagan administration and its appointees to the endowment, Kadis has been doing "some consulting, lectures, free-lance writing, seminars," as he put it.



Phillip M. Kadis
New education director

While working at UPI's Washington bureau, he served a term as the Wire Service Guild's Washington branch chairperson. After going to the Star, he served three terms as chair of the Washington-Baltimore Guild's unit there before being elected to two terms as the local's president, in 1977 and 1978.

He also was three times a Washington-Baltimore Guild delegate to TNG's annual conventions and in 1975 ran unsuccessfully for

TNG Int'l Chairperson, against then-incumbent Barney Peterson of San Francisco-Oakland. The year before he had been named his local's "Guildsman of the Year."

In the summer of 1973, under the auspices of the Int'l Federation of Journalists, he helped with a seminar on the Ivory Coast for French-speaking African journalists, conducting sessions on the philosophy and history of union involvement in advancing the cause of freedom of the press.

IT SEEMS

TO US



Following the article's instruction, you would come up with "escvx thmbz." Etaoin shrdlu is the configuration of the letters on the vertical two rows of keys on the left side of a linotype keyboard.

Every cub reporter is taught to research the facts. For such a faux pas to appear in the Guild Reporter is indeed humorous!

RUSSELL E. AKE
Secretary
Ravenna-Kent Typographical Union, ITU Local 925

Snafu on etaoin shrdlu is caught by a printer

KENT, OHIO

Editor:

It seems to us that the 29-year-old Guild member referred to in the Dec. 14 issue of the Guild Reporter [What (who?, when?) is a 'shrdlu?'] was not the only one ignorant of the origin of "etaoin shrdlu!"

Editor's note: It is indeed. That's one of the dangers inherent in the elimination of Typographical Union proof-readers when converting from hot- to cold-type. The writer has known for 32 years where etaoin shrdlu is found. There was, however, a glitch somewhere between his fingers, eyes and "data bank" and "horizontal" ended up in the sentence instead of "vertical." Ake works in a print shop which still works only in hot type.

Montreal leader wants to keep annual meetings

MONTREAL, QUE.

Editor:

When I first heard of the suggestion to hold conventions bi-annually rather than annually, I thought it was a good idea.

Our administrative officer, Fred Dunham, began to give me cause to think about it more when he said the suggestion was not new, that it had not received convention approval before, and wouldn't now.

After receiving my vice-president's report on the October financial meeting, and after reading Roger Stonebank's December 14 letter, I believe we should retain annual conventions and examine means of making them less costly to TNG.

Since TNG is in the business of dealing with unions in the communication business, it can communicate from the Washington suburbs as effectively as from downtown.

I agree with Roger Stonebanks, except we should review the deci-

sions of the leadership annually and then set policy.

LARRY McINNIS
President
Montreal Guild

Victoria president calls editor's note impertinent

VICTORIA, B.C.

Editor:

Your reply to Roger Stonebanks, Western Canadian V.P., in the December 14, 1984, issue of the Guild Reporter included a final divergent statement which was not only unrelated to Brother Stonebanks' comments, but could also be interpreted as being impertinent and out of order. The decision as to whether the Victoria local sends delegates to any meeting or convention is made by the general membership of the local according to democratic TNG principles and should not be the subject of implied criticism by the editor of the Guild Reporter.

Roger Stonebanks is the Western Canadian V.P. of TNG and not an officer of the local, so I question what our participation in the 'finance forum' has to do with Brother Stonebanks' comments. If the editor finds it necessary to imply criticism of Brother Stonebanks, I suggest that the editor stick to pertinent and relevant criticism.

JOE RAVICK
President
Victoria Guild

By TNG convention action, letters shall be limited to 200 words and shall avoid libel and subjects detrimental to the Guild. Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply in the same issue, but publication of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue. Deadline: Friday before publication.

Post-Dispatch top hits \$686 under extension

St. Louis—The top minimum for reporters, photographers, senior programmers and outside advertising sales staff will be raised by \$26.39, to \$686.25 a week, on March 1 under a one-year extension of the St. Louis Guild's contract with the Post-Dispatch.

Extension of the contract, which was to expire Feb. 28, was bargained jointly by the 11 unions representing the paper's employees and the Pulitzer management.

Guild minimums are raised by 4 percent, with employees paid a salary higher than the minimum for their jobs guaranteed an increase equal to that at the top minimum.

The agreement also calls for the implementation of a new dental plan funded by company payments of up to \$22 a month.

Scales under extension of the other unions' agreements also will be raised on the basis of a 4 percent formula. The addition of a dental plan also was included in all but the Pressmen's, Paperhandlers' and Teamsters' contracts, where dental plans already exist.

Other increases and resulting new top and flat minimums under the Guild's agreement include:

Circulation district representatives, statisticians, auditor—Up by \$19.72, to \$512.68 a week.

Computer operators, classified telephone sales representatives—Up by \$18.34, to \$476.76 a week.

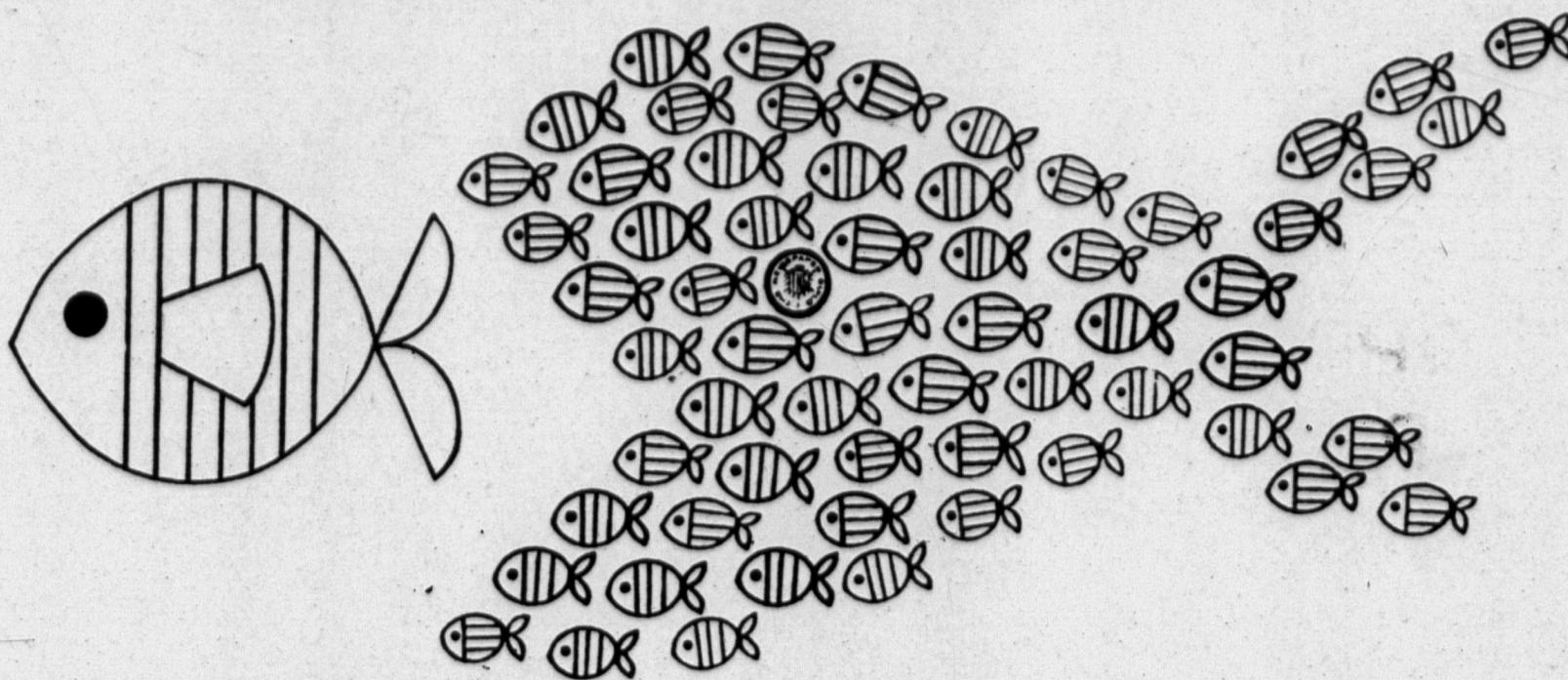
Reference department librarians, circulation utility persons, advertising rate clerks—Up by \$15.28, to \$397.16 a week.

Advertising makeup clerks, classified adjusters, industrial nurse, telephone collection clerks, secretaries—Up by \$13.93, to \$362.14 a week.

Counter clerks, keypunch operators, stenographers, telephone operators—Up by \$12.48, to \$324.53 a week.

Guards, cleaners, file room, stock and mail clerks—up by \$11.69, to \$303.96.

ORGANIZE!



Small fry are no longer small when they begin to organize. They take on purpose and power.

Heywood Broun

Message from New England

This illustration and quotation were featured in Organizing Program to the 1984 Guild Convention. Broun was the Guild's founding president.

LOCAL ELECTIONS

Canadian Wire Service

Paul Kidd, president (Kidd, 391; Morris Brown, 255); **Brian Koshul**, CBC vice president (Koshul, 297; Lee Clifford, 285); **David Gersovitz**, CP vice president; **Joe Lukach**, Reuters vice president; **Glenn Flanagan**, UP-Canada vice president; **Judy Creighton**, secretary (Creighton, 454; Keeble McFarlane, 198); **David Mauchan**, treasurer (Mauchan, 361; Bruce Wark, 291).

Cleveland

Mary Englert, president; **Joe Frolik**, 1st vice president; **W. C. Miller**, 2nd vice president; **Janet Kolodzy**, 3rd vice president; **John F. Hagan**, 4th vice president; **John Nussbaum**, treasurer.

Kingston

Pat Courtney, president; **Kent Allen**, vice

president; **Kathy Diamond**, recording secretary; **Carol Garofolo**, corresponding secretary; **Tom Wakeman**, treasurer.

Los Angeles

George Laine, president; **Bobbie Jenkins**, vice president; **Julie Rees**, secretary; **LeRoy Montoya**, treasurer; **Don Chorpennig**, sergeant-at-arms; **Buck Lanier**, Long Beach vice president (Lanier 78; John Zappe 62); **Pat Alesi**, Racing Form vice president.

Philadelphia

Rick Tulskey, president (Tulskey, 388; Carol McGarvey, 277; Beth Gillen, 252); **Eugene B. Jones**, **Mary Walton**, **Kitty Capparella**, **Gar Joseph**, **Tom McKinney**, vice presidents (Jones, 653; Walton, 585; Capparella, 527; Joseph, 429; McKinney, 367; Gene Koch, 347; Sid Rose, 281); **Earl Patrick**, secretary; **Esther Thoroughgood**, treasurer.

Deferred raises due at Globe

St. Louis—Minimums and salaries of Guild-covered employees at the St. Louis Globe-Democrat are to be raised by amounts ranging from \$16.03 to \$54.49 a week Feb. 1 under terms of an agreement between the St. Louis Guild and Gluck Media, Inc., the paper's owner for the past year.

The \$54.49 increase is in the top minimum for key editorial and outside advertising sales personnel. It will take the weekly minimum for reporters and display salespersons to \$623.54 and that for outside classified salespersons to \$591.29.

The raises represent the total of increases that were to have taken effect in March and September of 1984 under the local's contract with the paper's old Newhouse management.

Newhouse sold the daily to Gluck early in 1984 after the U.S. Justice Dept.'s antitrust division said that Newhouse should seek a buyer before it could close the Globe-Democrat, then published under a joint operating agreement with Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch.

As part of the Gluck purchase arrangement, St. Louis Guild members at the Globe-Democrat agreed to defer the March and September increases and to take a 6 percent temporary wage cut. The wage cut, a maximum of \$36.32 a week, is to be restored in three installments beginning in September of this year.

In addition to the deferral of increases, the agreement with Gluck also provided that the Guild would

represent the advertising, circulation, business office, printing and production employees necessary to publish the paper separately from the Post-Dispatch.

Other increases and resulting new top minimums to take effect Feb. 1 include:

Classified telephone representatives—Up by \$37.85, to \$413.89 a week.

Pasteup, camera and stuffing machine personnel—Up by \$47.75, to \$538.79 a week.

Circulation country dealer advisers—Up by \$40.71, to \$453.25 a week.

Miscellaneous office help, janitors and janitresses—Up by \$24.13, to \$276.13 a week.

Gompers' legacy is 'solidarity,' research shows

By **Stuart B. Kaufman**

N.Y. State Labor History Assn.

FOR THE LAST decade a group of historians has been working at the University of Maryland to reconstruct the career of Samuel Gompers (1850-1924), the cigar maker who became the first president of the American Federation of Labor. The million pages of documents they have collected—letters, speeches, and other material—testify to their enormous and complex job.

Much has already been said and written about U.S. labor's founding father, who put his mark indelibly on the nation's modern labor movement. Yet as the Maryland scholars prepare to issue the first of 12 volumes of Gompers' papers later this year ("The Making of a Union Leader, 1850-1886," University of Illinois Press), a more intimate portrait of the man already is beginning to emerge from their work.

To understand the cigar shops in which Gompers worked is to understand what made Gompers the kind of labor leader he became.

The son of Dutch immigrants to England, Gompers spent his first 13 years in the poor Spitalfields section of East London. His entire formal education consisted of four years at London's Jews Free School before the needs of

his family sent him to work as an apprentice cigar maker at the age of ten. Three years later, in 1863, he and his family settled in New York City's Lower East Side. There his "finishing school" became the workplace.

Gompers felt a special affinity with his trade and was proud of his skill. "I loved the touch of the soft velvety tobacco and gloried in the deft sureness with which I could make cigars grow in my fingers," he later related. He also valued the "mind-freedom" that his skill earned him, allowing him to concentrate on the ever-present discussion, reading or singing that filled the shop. Shopmates in one predominantly German shop introduced him to a new world of ideas that shaped his thinking about unions. They encouraged him to master German by reading only in that language for months so that he could read from Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ferdinand Lasalle, and other leading socialist thinkers of the day.

Like many of his colleagues, Gompers came to believe that strong unions established on a bedrock of high dues and sound benefits, pursuing high wages, shorter working hours and better working conditions, would play a key role in emancipating the working class.

These were ideas he first tried out in helping to strengthen the Cigar Mak-



ers' Intl. Union in the 1870s. They became the hallmark of his leadership of the AFL from the 1880s on.

A central experience of cigar shop life for Gompers was the spirit of solidarity, or what he and his shopmates called "manliness," an habitual posture they struck in the face of the employer. An employer who arbitrarily moved a shop "oldtimer" to a back bench soon found himself without any workers.

The message was the same after Gompers became the president of the AFL in 1886: "The American Federa-

tion of Labor proposes that every working man shall do his thinking for himself and not go down on his knees to any man, no matter who he is or what position he holds."

THE LESSONS in simple shop solidarity that Gompers brought with him into the labor movement translated into a general belief that the worker had the right and power to control his work life, that his job was his "equity" even though the workplace was owned by someone else.

For all the years he was president of the AFL (1886-1924 with the exception of one year), this was Gompers' central belief. He recognized that the American dream of the worker rising to economic independence individually was a dead letter for most workers of his day. As he put it, most workers would have to recognize that they were "permanently members of the working class."

Gompers also believed, however, that a union designed to reinforce shop floor solidarity could achieve another kind of independence for them, a basic dignity and control of their work lives that came from the understanding that, "the working man can compel the most arrogant employer to come to terms."



A HIGHER STANDARD: FAIRNESS

The ethics of personal objectivity

By Bert Lindler
Great Falls Guild

SPRING WAS just arriving in the Blue Ridge Mountains as two college classmates and I completed a three-day backpacking trip along the Appalachian Trail. We hiked into a small town where we would be picked up by the mother of one of my friends. We were at peace, mentally refreshed by physical labor and calmed by shirt-sleeve warmth that encouraged flowers to blossom and warblers to sing.

However, when the mother arrived she told us that America's cities were in flames. The day before, Martin Luther King, Jr., had been assassinated.

I'M SOMEONE who prefers the reality of the Blue Ridge to that of the nation's cities or its political system. Had it not been for the shocks of the 1960s, I might have spent all my time worrying about the natural order instead of becoming involved with the social and political order.

But the turmoil of social unrest forced me to become politically aware. I couldn't become an activist. Fear of disobeying the law kept me in the cheering section instead of on the streets. But as I

This is reprinted, with permission of the publication and the author, from the Autumn 1984 issue of Nieman Reports, quarterly publication of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University.

Lindler, a reporter for the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune and a former president of the Great Falls Guild, was a 1983-84 Nieman Fellow.

watched mass movements unfold, I gained hope that people could work together to achieve high goals. I also developed an intense skepticism of everything the government said and did.

Hope for collective action. Skepticism of government. These somewhat contradictory attitudes remain with me even after the upheaval of the Sixties has been replaced by the stasis of the Eighties. Somehow I think I'm a lot better off for having hope in collective action as well as the skepticism of government that pervades our lives today.

A journalist's work, after all, is based on hope. The written word does nothing, can do nothing. People do it all. To write is to express hope that wrong exposed will not survive public indignation. To write is to express hope that right highlighted will thrive amid public support.

There's nothing neutral about hope. To hope is to have favorites. It's considered bad form for journalists to have favorites, yet I wonder if journalists would work as hard as they do without them.

Certainly I have my own favorites. I'm for a clean environment, preservation of wild lands and affirmative action to help oppressed peoples. I picked my favorites in the Sixties and I've stuck with them.

WOULD I BE a better journalist without favorites? I think not. It's as hard for me to imagine a journalist without favorites as it is to imagine a sports reporter who doesn't care which teams win. Why would such a person care to learn the details of a contest or bother to report them?

Everyone has a list of favorites, even journalists who profess objectivity. The fundamental values of democracy are on the list of nearly all Western journalists. So is capitalism. Some journalists have a longer list of favorites than others, but every journalist has favorites.

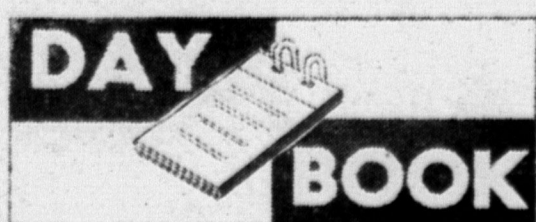
I feel it is important for journalists to be honest about their list of favorites. Yet the purveyors of journalistic ethics portray personal objectivity as the standard to which journalists should strive. To me this means little more than, "Hide your list."

The ethics of personal objectivity lead to a proliferation of rules requiring journalists to accept nothing from anyone, do nothing for anyone and be part of nothing. Hooray for "objective" journalists. They stand for nothing.

I feel journalists can be held to a higher standard, a standard based on their work, not on their list. The standard is fair, accurate and complete reporting. I may be for a clean environment. I may join with others in projects to clean up the environment. But whether I am reporting on a project that dirties the environment or one that cleans it, my reporting must be fair, accurate and complete.

LIKE OTHER establishment journalists, I hide my list. I don't contribute to the organization's I support the most. I participate in only the most innocuous of projects. How sad. There are many more like me, journalists who forego nearly all civic opportunities in order to hide their lists.

As a child of the Sixties, I am left with the hope that people can work together to achieve high goals. I don't see why journalists shouldn't be able to help in ways that might expose their list of favorites, so long as their reporting is fair, accurate and complete.



Great Lakes District Council, winter meeting, Feb. 2-3, Youngstown.
TNG residential seminar for new local officers, Feb. 15-18, George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Silver Spring, Md. (suburban Washington).
Middle-Atlantic District Council, winter meeting, Feb. 23-24, Philadelphia.
New England District Council, winter meeting, Feb. 23-24, Providence (tentative).
Southern District Council, winter meeting, March 1-3, Hampton Roads, Va.
Int'l Executive Board, spring meeting, April 22-26, TNG headquarters, Washington.
Great Lakes, Midwest and Southern District Councils, joint spring meeting, (tentative) May 4-5, Toledo.
52nd Annual Convention, June 24-28, William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh.
53rd Annual Convention, Buffalo, 1986.
54th Annual Convention, San Diego, 1987.

As they put it

What does labor want?

We ask no more of any president than that he faithfully execute the laws of the United States, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and administer the nation's laws fairly and impartially.

For four years, many laws have been enforced selectively, to say the least. Those guaranteeing the right of workers to join and form unions, those that require employers to provide safe and healthy working conditions and those designed to protect ordinary people from the power of concentrated wealth have become nearly meaningless.

Tax burdens have been shifted strongly from wealthy individuals and corporations to wage and salary earners. Public education, public health and public facilities have been drastically underfunded.

What we would most like to see in Mr. Reagan's second administration is an effort to breathe life into the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag so that this country shall become, in truth, "one nation . . . with liberty and justice for all"—including working people, including the young, the old, the sick and the disadvantaged, and not exclusively those who hold the greatest economic and political power.

—AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland in the Jan. 18 issue of *Scholastic Update* magazine, which asked ten prominent individuals what they expect of President Reagan in his second term.

Fairness and the deficit

Members of the new Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, have been quoted as expressing dismay at the hard choices they face in an effort to bring the budget deficit down to a digestible size.

The dismay is understandable.

The budget that President Reagan will send to Congress this month almost certainly will include program cutbacks that are politically and socially unacceptable, while still short of deficit reduction goals.

The key to dealing with the deficit must be fairness, an element that has been lacking in the administration's previous budget proposals. It should apply with at least equal emphasis to the inevitable task of raising additional revenue. There is no way, short of abdicating essential government functions, that spending cuts alone can turn the deficit around.

The Treasury Dept., unwittingly perhaps, took what could be an important step to a solution when it proposed recently a tax simplification package. There are elements that labor opposes, principally the taxation of job-related fringe benefits, but it also calls for significant loophole-closings in the corporate sector.

The tax proposals were designed to be revenue-neutral, neither increasing nor decreasing the total tax burden. If revenue must be raised, however, and there appears no realistic alternative, the tax reform elements of the Treasury proposal point in the right direction.

—Excerpted from an editorial in the *AFL-CIO News*.

The Guild Reporter



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