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page 5



PHOTOS BY S. DRUDING

Vaguely reminiscent of the '60s

Waving free-speech signs and chanting protests, KPFA fans stream down Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue in one of several recent demon-

strations. At right, demonstrators storm the barricades by scaling ladders into the locked studios.

California dreamin'?

For Bay area media workers, this has been one tumultuous summer

By Ed Epstein
Northern California Guild

With a merger of San Francisco's two daily newspapers all but certain, Guild leaders here are turning their attention to assuring that their 1,131 members' jobs are protected.

It wasn't much of a surprise on Aug. 6 when top executives of the Hearst Corp. and Chronicle Publishing Co. announced that the morning Chronicle had been sold to Hearst, publisher of the afternoon Examiner. And it wasn't much of a surprise when Hearst Chairman Frank A. Bennack Jr. announced that the Examiner was being put on the market and would be closed if a buyer weren't found in six weeks to two months.

After all, everyone had known for months that the Chronicle was on the market and that Hearst was by far the most likely buyer, if only because it was the Chronicle's partner in a joint operating agreement.

But employees and leaders of the Guild local, the Northern California Media Workers Guild/Typographical Union, were heartened nonetheless to hear Bennack say in both newsrooms that Hearst will honor the contract with the Guild and 11 other unions comprising the Conference of Newspaper Unions.

"There will be no involuntary layoffs," Bennack promised—an assurance that now has Guild officials in negotiations to nail down the specifics.

The Guild and its companion unions have a contract running through 2005 that bans involuntary layoffs at both newspapers and at the San Francisco Newspaper Agency, the production, advertising and circulation arm of the joint operating agreement under which the two papers had operated since 1965.

The contract provides that the no-layoff clause can be canceled in 2001, providing talks reopen on

Continued on page 3

The saga of San Francisco Bay radio station KPFA, months in the making, finally boiled over in mid-July when its broadcasters were pulled off the air, armed guards stationed at the door and the airwaves filled with "archived programs"—re-runs, as it were. The result has been a series of escalating demonstrations, sit-ins and public hearings that unmistakably recall the heady 'Sixties, but with this important difference: the adversaries ostensibly are on the same side of the ideological fence.

On one side is the Pacifica National Board, which oversees the overall affairs of the radio group's five stations nationwide, including KPFA in Los Angeles, WBAI in New York, WPFW in Washington and KPFT in Houston. Chairing the board is Mary Frances Berry, who as chairwoman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has no lack of liberal credentials.

On the other side, however, is a scruffy but eloquent band of 'Sixties radicals, community

activists and libertarian entrepreneurs who have rallied local politicians and various cultural icons of the left to their cause—not to mention thousands of protesters. Michael Moore, of "Roger and Me" fame, wrote a blistering letter to Berry demanding that none of his KPFA interviews be rebroadcast. A full-page ad in The New York Times, demanding Berry's resignation, bore dozens of signatures—including those of Joan Baez, Helen Caldicott, Angela Davis, David Dellinger, Daniel Ellsberg and Noam Chomsky—comprising a veritable who's who of protest politics.

Pinned between these forces are 20 members of CWA Local 9415, who work at the station and have come down squarely on the side of the anti-Berry forces. At the CWA convention, for example, local President Kathy Kinchius called on delegates to support the free speech made possible through stations like KPFA and to support CWA members and KPFA supporters in their fight.

Also trapped in the crossfire is



the truth of what's really going on. For once all the inflammatory rhetoric is stripped away, what's left is the central question facing all media properties these days: who controls, to what purpose, and with what restraints?

Although KPFA was founded 50 years ago as a listener-supported outlet for leftist intellectuals, even that doctrine has a pedigree hasn't immunized it from the market forces that have spawned today's global media empires. Indeed, those forces are pushing with increasing pressure on all media. On Aug. 24, for example, the Newspaper Association of America filed an emergency petition with the Federal Communications Commission seeking an immediate end to the rule that bars newspaper owners from buying radio or television stations in their markets.

In such a superheated atmosphere, the Pacifica network makes an increasingly attractive target. Its five stations reach 22% of the American population but have

Continued on page 4

Inside this issue



Justice delayed—justice denied Page 2

Wisdom learned from a fire hydrant Page 6

Barr Awards winners announced Page 8

Monkey business

Braving temperatures that fell just short of triple digits, members of the Hazleton Newspaper Guild turn out for a day-long picnic at a local park. The June 27 event included plenty of children, food and music—and a polo shirt emblazoned with the Guild logo and local number for everyone who attended. Sporting their new togs are (standing, l to r) Ron Kollar, Babe Conroy, Ellen O'Connell, Paul Krupski, Ed Socha, Kelly Monitz, Mike Jesky, Frank Andruscavage, Secretary Tracie Craig and Treasurer Carol Harry. On the monkey bars are Vice President Mildred Rubinate, Mark Katchur, Delores Rohlfing, President Shawn Kelly, Kent Jackson and Dave Falcheck.



How do you spell 'justice'? S-l-o-w-l-y

Critics of federal enforcement of labor laws frequently cite the debilitating delays encountered by those seeking protection from abusive or exploitative employers. Two recent TNG-CWA cases illustrate the point.

In Massillon, Ohio, an arbitrator determined July 6 that The Independent had violated its collective bargaining agreement with the Guild by failing to rehire an employee it had laid off—almost six years earlier. But apparently that hasn't been long enough, because instead of complying with the arbitrator's decision The Independent has filed a complaint in U.S. District Court seeking to have it vacated. And, just for good measure, management wants the Guild ordered to pay The Independent's legal fees.

In Knoxville, meanwhile, the NLRB's Office of Appeals took a comparatively swift year-and-a-half to sustain an appeal on behalf of an employee who was fired after

the Guild questioned her employment status. Although the employee, Geneva Allen, worked full-time regular hours exclusively at the Knoxville News-Sentinel, using company equipment and supplies free of charge, the newspaper classified her as an independent contractor.

In both cases, anti-union animus appears to have been the driving force behind the firings. Allen was discharged just one day after she submitted a Guild membership card and dues check-off authorization form, and four days after the company had warned the union it did not want "to let the Guild organize correspondents." The Office of Appeals, however, agreed with the Guild that "by any measure Geneva was a statutory employee," not a correspondent, and has remanded the case to the NLRB's regional director for further action.

The more protracted Massillon case began after Linda Heather, an advertising

artist, refused to sign an anti-union petition and testified against her employer in hearings on a slew of unfair labor practice charges. After she was discharged in a targeted lay-off in September, 1993—Heather was the only advertising artist on staff—she was supposed to go on a rehire list for one year and notified of any job openings. Instead, a part-time clerk slot was filled two months later and a district manager was hired in December, even though Heather was qualified for both positions.

Arbitrator Hyman Cohen concluded that The Independent discriminated against Heather "because of her membership or activities in the Union" by failing to recall her for either job opening. But while there's no doubt Heather is qualified to be a clerk—a job she had prior to becoming an artist—Cohen used language not in the contract to describe her suitability as a district manager. And that, in turn, has fueled The Indepen-

dent's court challenge and its claims that it didn't violate its contract with the Guild.

Despite the Guild wins, there is no assurance that either case will be resolved speedily. Court cases can drag on even longer than NLRB proceedings, and the appeals process can chew up still more time. And in Knoxville, the NLRB regional director who must now determine the merits of the unfair labor charge over Allen's firing is the same administrator who initially refused to issue a complaint against the News-Sentinel because, in his view, she was merely a "stringer."

Still, there is room for cautious optimism in Knoxville. "My legal opinion is that we've got the company dead in the water on the merits of the unfair labor practice charge," says TNG-CWA attorney Barbara Camens. "It looks like significant back-pay liability for the company."

Such a liability grows with each passing week, of course. Too bad some publishers seem to view it as a cost of doing business.

In brief

Four win Beirne scholarships

Four sons and daughters of Guild members have been awarded second-year scholarships of \$3,000 each from the Joseph Anthony Beirne Memorial Foundation. Recipients and their local affiliations include Michael Cincotti, Brockton; Brady Dewar, Northern California; Molly Shields, Pittsburgh; and Tara Wilstein, Wire Service Guild.

Times sends Globe spinning

Five years after buying the Boston Globe, The New York Times ended 126 years of operational control by the Taylor family, by giving publisher Benjamin Taylor the heave-ho. Brought in to run the operation is a Times senior vice president, Richard Gilman, who nevertheless promised to maintain the Globe's editorial independence while seeking to reverse a circulation decline.

Scranton Guild president resigns

David Slade, president of the Scranton Guild, has resigned his job at The Scranton Times "for greener pastures" at The Morning Call, in nearby Allentown. No word yet on who will assume his Guild duties.

Union-Trib still union busting

A year after The San Diego Union-Tribune narrowly won a TNG-CWA decertification vote, the Copley-owned newspaper continues to wage war against its employees by seeking to exterminate any lingering remains of organized labor. The Teamsters, who represent about 50 drivers, have worked without a contract since 1993; the 120 GCIU-represented pressmen have gone without a contract since 1992 and more recently have had impasse declared. But all the hostilities may backfire, says former Guild president Craig Rose, as a tougher stance by the GCIU—including rallies, leafletting and a volley of NLRB charges—has reawakened union interests throughout the newspaper.

Newsprint prices heading down?

Locals heading into contract negotiations might want to take note of the latest forecast for newsprint prices, traditionally a newspaper company's second highest expense, after labor costs. Prudential Securities analysts are predicting newsprint prices will drop at least 10% in the second half of this year, from previous estimates of \$575 a ton to as little as

\$450. Combined with across-the-board increases in ad revenues, that signals net profits will be up.

KR blames losses on Red Wings

Knight Ridder's strong second-quarter earnings got no help from Detroit, where circulation is down almost a third as a result of the four-year strike-lock-out—but the company's report made no mention of either unions or strikes in its detailed analysis of the results. Instead, it blamed the Red Wings, who lost in the second round of the NHL playoffs and therefore didn't spend as much on promotion as it did in 1998. Puck that.

Newsday workers get 4-year pact

The editorial bargaining unit at Newsday, represented not by the Guild but by the Graphics Communications International Union, has ratified a four-year contract that includes a 2.5% increase in each of the first two years, 3.5% in the third year and 3% in the fourth year. The base pay in the top minimum pay classification—including reporters, assistant editors, artists and photographers—will reach \$1,405 a week over term.

Pink slips flying in New Brunswick

The faltering economy of Canada's maritime provinces is claiming more TNG-Canada victims, this time at the two Irving-family owned daily newspapers in St. John, New Brunswick.

More than a quarter of the employees at the New Brunswick Telegraph-Journal and the Saint John Times Globe—including 13 Guild members in a wide variety of job classifications—are being laid-off through the end of November. "Union or non-union, these people are all my friends," says local president Jimmy Cole, who has worked at the papers for 30 years. "It's devastating up here."

The 47 pink-slipped employees, including managers, are being dismissed as part of a continuing consolidation of the four Irving papers. Last year, for example, the closing of the St. John pressroom resulted in approximately a score of pressmen and mailers losing their jobs; both papers now are printed in Moncton, about 90 miles away, where the Irvings own the Times & Transcript.

Cole says the company also attributes the lay-offs to "redundancies" and installation of new, more automated equipment. It is, however, adhering strictly to its contract with the Guild, "so there's

not much we can do about it."

Meanwhile, seven more employees have been quietly discharged at the fourth Irving paper, The Daily Gleaner in Fredericton. The lay-offs, which were not announced to other Gleaner employees, were of mailers who had been paid \$7 an hour with benefits; they have been replaced, according to local president Tim Martell, with casual laborers at minimum wage and no benefits.

The non-unionized mailers were among those targeted by a TNG membership organizing drive in early 1998 that failed after publisher Brian Butters was terminated. The Guild has maintained that the organizing drive also prompted management to dismiss Martell last September, resulting in the filing of an unfair labor practice charge against the company. After months of delays, an additional five days of hearings on the charge have been scheduled for November.

"It's cut and cut, and product be damned," Martell says of the on-going lay-offs. More lay-offs are rumored for Fredericton, he says, as well as at Moncton, which thus far has escaped much of the carnage. "I guess the long and the short of it is we don't know where it will all end," he says.

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Out and organizing

Linda Chavez-Thompson, executive vice president of the AFL-CIO, swears in the first officers of the Baltimore-Washington chapter of Pride At Work (l to r): co-Vice President Henry Moses III, of HERE Local 25; Treasurer Larry Smoot, OPEIU Local 2 (and TNG-CWA employee); Secretary Krista Strothmann, HERE Local 27; co-President Pearl Smith, TNG-CWA Local 35; co-Vice President Susan Landers, AFSCME International; and co-President T Santora, CWA

International. Pride At Work, representing the interests of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender trade unionists, is affiliated as the AFL-CIO's newest constituency group. Working under the motto "Out and Organizing," its goals include full equality for its members in their workplaces and unions, passage of the Employee Non-Discrimination Act and domestic partnership benefits. For more information, contact Smoot at uniondog2@prodigy.net or write to Santora at 501 Third Street, NW, Washington D.C. 20001.

Guild's focus is saving jobs

Continued from page 1

a new contract at that time.

Still, Guild leaders have been meeting with Hearst executives to drive home the point. "Our focus is on protecting jobs and our contracts," explained Guild local president Carl T. Hall, a Chronicle science reporter.

Or as summarized by Examiner reporter and unit chair Eric Brazil, as quoted in his newspaper the day after the sale was announced, "I hope that Mr. Bennack can be trusted when he says that no jobs will be lost, because the Guild will certainly resist any involuntary losses of jobs to loyal employees."

Currently, however, the staffs of both papers are enduring a period of uncertainty. Hearst has said that if a buyer for the Examiner steps forward, that purchaser could hire any of the Examiner's 217 editorial employees it wants. Those not offered jobs would automatically get jobs with Hearst in San Francisco, the New York-

based media giant said in announcing the Chronicle purchase.

That has left the Examiner staff on edge, as it waits to see if a buyer surfaces, although such a development is considered unlikely for several reasons. First, Hearst contends that with its purchase of The Chronicle, the joint operating agreement—under which the two publishing families jointly owned all presses, trucks, buildings and newsracks—is ended. All it's offering for sale, Hearst has said, is the Examiner's name, its subscription list and goodwill. Any buyer would have to find printing presses elsewhere.

Furthermore, there is little market for an afternoon paper, as publishers across the country have known for many years. In fact, the Examiner is one of the last of the big-city PM dailies.

Still, the Guild has been talking with the U.S. Department of Justice in an effort to have it enforce provisions of the Newspaper Preservation Act that require Hearst to make a good faith effort to seek a buyer for the Examiner. Final permission for the Hearst-Chronicle merger isn't expected out of Washington for a few more months.

The heirs of Chronicle founder M.H. De Young announced months ago that they were putting their entire empire—which dates back to The Chronicle's founding, in April 1865—on the block. They got a reported \$660 million for their flagship paper from Hearst, which under the JOA had a right of first refusal, meaning it could top any other offers that might have been made.

The Chronicle board is still trying to sell other assets, including another Guild newspaper, the Worcester Telegram & Gazette in Massachusetts. Guild sources there say three bidders have emerged: William Dean Singleton's MediaNews Group, The New York Times Co. and Community Newspaper Holdings.

Talk is that MediaNews has the inside track, with the bidding topping \$250 million. The Guild represents 160 employees at the paper, all on the news side.

Other assets for sale include the Chronicle's newspaper in Illinois, the non-Guild Bloomington Pantagraph.

Correction & clarification

A story about the CWA Convention contained incorrect information about elections for district vice presidents. John Thompson was elected to his first term as District 7 vice president following retirement of incumbent Sue Pisha.

The story also gave a false impression about a controversy surrounding District 1 Vice President Larry Mancino's race. Mancino's opponent had been on paid disability leave for 18 months prior to and including the convention. She has since returned to an active work schedule.

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Labor round-up

CWA wins big at US Airways . . .

It took a couple of false starts, but US Airways passenger service agents finally got their say about union representation—and endorsed the CWA by a healthy margin. Of 7,806 employees eligible to vote in an election in which non-voters were counted as “nos,” 5,254 voted “yes.” The 67% positive turnout capped a two-year battle in which the airline temporarily succeeded in setting aside the results of an earlier election. Bargaining on a first contract, suspended after agreement on about 90% of the issues had been reached, was expected to resume shortly.

. . . continues pushing at American . . .

Despite an August 11 decision by the National Mediation Board not to grant 15,000 passenger service agents at American Airlines a fall rerun election, activists said they will continue their struggle—and, indeed, may gather organizing strength from the rejection. The board was responding to a CWA complaint that the airline had interfered with the agents' earlier election, held last December; the CWA has now filed a fresh motion to allow the agents to file for a new election this December instead of having to wait until next August.

. . . and settles in New Jersey

Coming off a strike threat to get an offer they could accept, but CWA-represented state workers in New Jersey have overwhelmingly ratified a new contract that provides a 15.3% compounded wage increase over four years.

More ergonomics foot-dragging

Corporate lobbyists carried the day in Congress, winning a narrow 217-209 vote to ban OSHA from issuing ergonomic rules until yet another scientific study on the nation's most prevalent workplace injuries is completed—about two years hence. A similar Senate bill is to be voted on this fall. If there was a silver lining to this cloud, it was in the pithy observation by Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.) that the only repetitive motion injury likely to be suffered by members of Congress will be “knee injuries from continuous genuflecting to Big Business special interests who want us to put their profit margin ahead of worker health.”

U.S. gets an ‘F’ on labor report card

The Brussels-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has surveyed the American record on workers' rights—and it doesn't like what it sees. In a report prepared for submission to the World Trade Organization, its central conclusion is that despite theoretical provisions of U.S. law, “the right to join trade unions and participate in collective bargaining is, in practice, denied to large segments of the American work force in both the public and private sectors.” Among the problems it cites are ineffective penalties for employers who break the law, extensive legal protection for employers who interfere in organizing campaigns and widespread harassment and intimidation against union supporters.

In the belly of the beast: an SEC union?

The Securities and Exchange Commission is the federal agency charged with policing the country's stock and bond markets, and just about the last place you might expect to see organized labor raise its flag. But a growing workload and a tighter budget have pushed the employees of even this capitalist bastion—predominantly lawyers, but also accountants and other white-collar professionals—to mount an organizing drive. Although the SEC initially said it wouldn't object to an election, it has since reconsidered and a vote now isn't expected before late this year.

CWA boosts ‘Journalist to Journalist’

The Newspaper Guild's innovative “Journalist to Journalist” program, designed to promote the development of professional journalism in the Balkans, got a strong boost from its parent union at the CWA's annual convention. The resolution approved by convention delegates urges all CWA locals to support the project, to raise additional support for it in their communities and to use the project to foster long-term relationships with media unions in the region.

If you're pro-union, you must be crazy

You think it's nuts to be a union organizer in the Deep South? Apparently the Aiken, South Carolina sheriff's office thinks so: it grabbed Gary McClain, who was organizing a Tenneco Packaging plant on behalf of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and slapped him into a mental institution for two weeks against his will. After a private psychiatrist retained by McClain's family gave him a clean bill of health, the IUOE filed unfair labor practice charges with the NLRB.

Nothing pacific in KPFA brawl

Continued from page 1

only an estimated million listeners; KPFA's signal blankets northern California but it, too, claims an audience of no more than 200,000. Looking at those numbers and assessing the station's market value—reported as being on the order of \$70 million—Berry and the rest of the Pacifica board apparently were trying to determine if it made economic sense to sell the station and buy a smaller broadcast property. Unfortunately, those deliberations weren't communicated to KPFA's staff or to its listeners.

Further fanning tensions was a heavy-handed effort by Pacifica to assert more control over KPFA's operations, starting with a decision in late February to remove local advisory board members from the national governance board. Such

members are supposed to provide community input, but critics complained they were chosen by station staffers. Then, in late March, Pacifica dismissed KPFA's popular general manager, Nicole Sawaya, triggering a staff mutiny that led to firings, resignations and heightened tensions.

In short, the body legally responsible for KPFA—the Pacifica National Board—tried to exert control over those who feel socially and ideologically responsible for KPFA: its programmers and a sizeable chunk of its listeners. The resulting explosion, couched in terms of the trampling of free speech, was inevitable.

And although KPFA went back on the air Aug. 5 with local programming, the stand-off continues—often with unintentioned irony.

A hearing before the state's Joint Legislative Audit Committee, held in the Oakland state building Aug. 20, received more than four hours of testimony from a broad spectrum of witnesses—but not Berry or Pacifica executive director Lynn Chadwick, who declined to appear because of a belief that Pacifica was founded on the principle of being “free from unnecessary intrusion by governmental and political bodies.” KPFA supporters, on the

NO MORE PACIFICA HIPPO-CRITES



FREE KPFA

other hand—also no slouches at citing the station's founding principles—are pressing the committee to subpoena Pacifica's records and audit its “misuse of donor money.”

A civil rights complaint has been filed against Pacifica and Berry—chairwoman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Even that journalistic bastion of leftist thought, *The Nation* magazine, has been swept into the maelstrom, its editorial blaming both sides for escalating the conflict drawing a tidal wave of protesting reader mail. Still, a second editorial, in the August 23/30 issue, may summarize the situation best:

“The conglomeratization of commercial radio continues to squeeze the marketplace of ideas. Commercial radio is increasingly treated by its owners as a money machine. Even National Public Radio—along with PBS television—is bending toward corporate sponsors. Pacifica is the last bastion of the precept, enshrined in the FCC Act, that the public airways are a public trust. All parties must now work to preserve it.”



Retro poster art has flourished in the wake of the KPFA debacle, such as this evocative reminder of Cold War graphics.

Lane Kirkland dead at 77

Lane Kirkland, the controversial AFL-CIO leader who was forced to step down in 1995 after 16 years as president, died August 14 at the age of 77.

Although characterized by current AFL-CIO President John Sweeney as “one of the master builders of the modern American labor movement,” it was Sweeney—then president of service employees—who was in the forefront of the small group of union leaders pushing for Kirkland's retirement. And despite his numerous accomplishments—most notably his support for the Solidarity trade union in Poland and other overseas trade unions, and his success in bringing the auto workers, miners, longshoremen and teamsters back into the AFL-CIO fold—Kirkland also presided over the steady erosion of union representation in the United

States, from 24% of all workers when he took office to 15.5% when he resigned. Today, the figure is 13.9% but apparently stabilizing.

A strong supporter of American involvement in the Vietnam War, Kirkland was instrumental in the federation's refusal to support George McGovern's 1972 bid for the presidency, and in 1976 was a founder of the Committee on the Present Danger, which lobbied for ever larger military budgets. But Kirkland was unable to parlay his conservative credentials on foreign policy into sufficient strength domestically to prevail in the 1981 battle with Ronald Reagan over the air-traffic controllers' strike. And his fierce opposition to NAFTA was likewise insufficient to derail that legislation.

It would be a mistake, however, to portray Kirkland in overly simplistic terms. He was responsi-

ble, for example, for placing the first woman on the federation's executive council and for increasing union participation by blacks and Hispanics. Earlier, as the AFL-CIO's secretary-treasurer, his opposition to Nixon's policies earned him a spot on the president's “enemies list.” Even earlier in his career, as President George Meany's executive assistant, he mounted a strong push to include a fair employment practices provision in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

A complex and intensely private man, Kirkland kept a relatively low profile after his retirement, living in his Washington, D.C. home and teaching at the Meany Center.

He is survived by his second wife, Irena, a German concentration camp survivor, and by five children from his first marriage. Kirkland's death was attributed to lung cancer.

Labor Day marks war of attrition

By Andy Zipser
Editor, The Guild Reporter

"Long ago we stated the reason for labor organizations. We said that union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on an equality with their employer."—U.S. Supreme Court

Labor Day, like Veterans Day, is one of those peculiar institutions that has meaning in direct proportion to one's age. It grows on you, or perhaps you grow into it.

For the young, it doesn't mean much more than an end to summer vacation. But even for most working people it remains only a vaguely comprehended three-day weekend, their understanding of its significance defined by perfunctory, empty editorials in the local newspaper. It isn't until you encounter the elderly—those with direct memories of FDR, bread lines and the National Industrial Recovery Act—that the day's true implications begin to sink in.

It would be surprising were it otherwise. There is, first, the global idiosyncrasy of the day itself: whereas the rest of the industrialized world celebrates labor's struggles on May Day, the U.S. designates the first Monday in September for such an observance. (Canada is the only other country to do so.)

Then there's the unhappy consequence of such timing, which in addition to separating North American workers from the rest of the world also separates them from the classroom. Martin Luther King Day, Thanksgiving, Columbus Day—all serve as springboards for school discussions about significant elements of American history. Labor Day, alas, falls into an educational abyss made even deeper by the lack of any other discussion of organized labor and how it shaped this country. Teachers may assign essays the first week of school on "How I Spent My Summer Vacation," but it would be surprising indeed to see one assigned on "How My Family Observed Labor Day" or "What Labor Day Means to Me."

So we have a nation ignorant, by and large, of its labor history. We have this holi-

day, called Labor Day, to assure us that labor is not forgotten. And we have reality.

That reality, as repeated time and again during the AFL-CIO's "7 Days in June" campaign, is one in which employers have grown increasingly ruthless in their efforts to quash organized labor, albeit always under the banner of increased profitability for shareholders. When faced with organizing campaigns, 80% of them force employees to attend mandatory, closed-door meetings in which they attack unions and threaten dire consequences if the vote succeeds. A similar percentage hire outside consultants to run their anti-union campaigns—even as they refer to unions as "third parties" that get in the way of meaningful employer-employee relationships.

And nearly a third of them fire employees who become active in such campaigns.

That management will wage war on unions shouldn't come as a surprise, of course. But what is unnerving is the extent to which management wages that war using blatantly illegal tactics, thanks to its success in winning the broader political fight.

Starting with the 1947 passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, which severely undercut the law that authorized the National Labor Relations Board, corporate interests have progressively eroded the rules of battle to their advantage. Not that Taft-Hartley wasn't damaging enough:

- It allowed states to ban union security clauses, resulting in 21 so-called "right-to-work" states in which unions must represent all workers in their unit, including those who won't pay dues;
- It added restrictions on how bargaining units are to be defined, revoking the right of workers and unions to decide for themselves how they will be represented;
- It denied supervisors the right to organize, placing them at risk of being fired for showing union sympathies;
- It placed multiple restrictions on picketing.

Over the past half-century, however, the playing field has tilted against labor even more. That imbalance was doubly underscored—by its findings, and by public

WHAT IF: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WERE RUN LIKE UNION ORGANIZING ELECTIONS?

NO. 2
IN A SERIES

THE BOSSES' PARTY COULD DECIDE THE SHAPE OF THE POLITICAL BOUNDARIES AND WHO COULD VOTE IN THE ELECTION.

...HE OR SHE COULD BE KICKED OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

THE BOSSES CANDIDATE COULD CAMPAIGN ANYWHERE HE WANTED...

...WHILE THE OPPOSITION WOULD HAVE TO LEAFLET 12 MILES OFF THE COAST OF ALASKA.

response to those findings—in 1994 by the Dunlop Commission, which had been chartered by the White House to review the effectiveness of the National Labor Relations Act. Twenty months and hundreds of witnesses later, the commission reported "substantive evidence that current labor law is not achieving its stated intent of encouraging collective bargaining and protecting workers' rights to choose whether or not to be represented at their workplace."

Public and legislative reaction to this pronouncement, however, was a big yawn. Although the commission proposed a series of reforms that most union leaders criticized as being inadequate, even that weak prescription was ignored. Among the neglected recommendations were requirements for union elections to be held within two weeks of filing, mediation for first contracts and prompt use of injunctions to remedy illegal actions against employees during organizing campaigns.

As labor law has weakened, so has the government's ability to enforce it. The NLRB, chief referee of labor-management relations, has become a revolving door of short-termers. In 1981, for example, the board's three most senior members had a

combined 55 years of board experience; by last last year, when the board had one vacancy, the other members' combined experience was six years. The board's budget, meanwhile, not only has failed to keep pace with inflation but has been cut repeatedly, as in 1995, 1997 and 1998. And staff levels have declined precipitously, from a 1979 peak of 2,951 to 1,879 last year.

All that hewing and hacking hasn't done much for NLRB efficiency. The backlog in May of approximately 700 cases was "well above what we consider reasonable," board member Sarah Fox has said; 150 of the backlogged cases involved unfair labor practice cases that had been pending more than three years or representation cases pending more than two.

So it goes, with a fresh battle—like the recent House vote to delay ergonomics rules for two years—almost every month. Like Veterans Day, Labor Day commemorates past battles that brought us a world most people take for granted. Unlike Veterans Day, however, Labor Day marks a struggle that has never ended.

Unions must be force for social justice

I speak to you as the child of a union family. My father, all my uncles and most of my neighbors when I was growing up were Steelworkers. I grew up in years when the Steelworkers union was completely transforming the life of my family, opening up possibilities for me and my sister that my mother and father had never dreamt of. Unions were strong then.

Now they are weak and, as a result, the lives of most working people in our society are getting worse, not better. Old injustices and indignities have returned, and are returning, in ways I never could have imagined as a young person growing up under the protection of a labor union. Child labor and sweatshops, not only in El Salvador, Guatemala or Indonesia, but within a few miles of where we are this morning. People working 40 hours a week and not receiving return enough to provide the basic means of life.

I speak to you today about our responsibility as Christians to oppose injustice. God instructed the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel, "If you do not speak out to dissuade the wicked man from his way, he shall die for his guilt. But I will hold you responsible for his death." In instructing Ezekiel, God did not require us to speak out against the

Although the influence of organized religion on the American labor movement has deep roots, that influence has been overshadowed for much of this century by its upstart, Marxist counterpart. More recently, however, the AFL-CIO has sought to rebuild its ties to local congregations and four years ago, together with the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice, initiated a project it calls *Labor in the Pulpits*. The joint effort encourages union members to speak at worship services as people of faith who also are concerned about working people; this year's program will occur Sept. 3-6, over the Labor Day weekend.

The remarks excerpted here were delivered in 1997 at the First Congregational Church in Evanston, Illinois by Jack Metzgar, a member of the American Association of University Professors and of CWA Local 189.

wicked man or to oppose him. God requires us to speak to the wicked, to point out his unjust acts and to dissuade him "from his way." The person who is unjust is in the process of losing his or her soul. Our responsibility is to save the unjust from the moral and spiritual consequences of their own acts.

Labor unions are practical instruments for opposing injustice in the workplace and in our society as a whole. If unjust employers cannot be dissuaded, unions use force—peaceful, nonviolent, economic and political action, but force nonetheless. As citizens, we should support labor unions and other insti-

tutions that fight for social justice. But as Christians, we must speak to the unjust and dissuade them from their ways.

Many employers today do not recognize their own injustices. Others do recognize that what they are doing to their workers is unfair, but they think they must do so because their competition is doing it. Few employers are evil. Only a few are unjust simply out of greed or vanity. Most of them are open to our dissuasion. Therefore, our voices as Christians can be powerful in speaking to the unjust. This is our special mission as Christians.

Labor unions have weakened themselves over the past 20 years or so by narrowing their focus. Their ardor for opposing injustice had cooled. They looked out for their members' interests, but they were no longer a force for social justice in our society as a whole. Sometimes they were themselves unjust.

But that is changing now. Labor unions now realize that unless they are part of a broad and inclusive movement for social justice for all working people, they no longer can survive. If they exclude blacks and immigrants, if they treat or allow employers to treat women as second-class citizens, if they allow any worker anywhere in the world to be treated as a thing rather than a full human being, they cannot survive. Unions are, therefore, reaching out to churches, calling us to increase our commitment to dissuading the unjust from their ways. And they are themselves pledging to be a practical force for social justice again.

Let us begin a simple alliance around a fundamental principle of social justice in a modern society: that no one who contributes 40 hours of their labor a week, no one who helps create and maintain our world, should be without the means of life.

Of Oz, Duke—and fire plugs in a storm

By Thomas R. Hiltz

Administrative Officer, Boston Guild

Oz, they say, never gave the Tin Man anything he didn't already have. I've always been inclined to agree—until recently, when I got a service award. Not only did it feel good, but I found a dose of credibility hidden in it. I may have had something to say before the award, but nobody wanted to listen. The award changed that.

I started my service as a union officer by missing a meeting. I found out the next morning that I had been elected unit treasurer. In those days, a unit treasurer hand-collected dues and issued little orange stamps that were pasted onto the membership card. Even then there must have been a better way, but some traditions die hard in the Guild and the foldout membership cards with the places for stamps were around until a few years ago.

Despite those horrible little stamps, and the fact that my union brothers and sisters ducked out of sight when they saw me on payday, I stuck it out and have never regretted a minute of it. I found that there are many parallels between union service and public service. It can be a noble calling or an opportunity for personal gain. Ideally, it should be both.

I learned a lesson when I was a kid that



Tom Hiltz displays his 30-year service award, presented at the CWA convention in Miami, as CWA President Morty Bahr and CWA Secretary-Treasurer Barbara Easterling look on.

served me well throughout my years of union service. A large and very stern German shepherd named Duke lived next door to me. He enjoyed an unfettered and un-neutered life and had what today would be called an attitude. We all stayed clear when Duke was on the move, but we had our laughs behind his

back at the neighborhood traffic light. Duke would walk up to the curb, sit down and begin a series of commanding barks. Eventually, the light would change, traffic would stop and Duke continued on his way, believing he ruled all those cars and trucks. We enjoyed one on old Duke and we, of course, would never be that stupid.

Duke left our neighborhood during a terrible thunderstorm, but I never forgot his lesson. I tried never to make the same mistake Duke made but found it was a lot harder than I thought. Duke's folly is just another way to illustrate how important it is for us to see things as they really are and not as we wish them to be. Nowhere have I been better served by this principle than in my 37 years as a Guild officer.

When I first learned I had been elected unit treasurer I concluded that no one else had wanted the job. Later, I recognized that aside from being considered a sucker, I had received a vote of confidence from my fellow Guild members that I could and would live up to my responsibilities. If I hadn't thought that out, I expect I would have quit my new office and been bitter toward unions for the rest of my life. Gee, thanks Duke.

Knowing the real cause and effect is vital in all union activities, but nowhere is it more important than at the negotiating table. Every hour spent brainstorming the motives of the other side is worthwhile. Every piece of history or inside information may reveal why management is coming after a particular part of your contract. Sure, your gut told you first off it was pure greed, but believe me, it's worth the effort to know for sure.

Accept it: your barking at the table will never stop traffic or management. Stylish suits, a nice tan and assertiveness training might help at a cocktail lounge but will never get the upgrades your members want. If you bark long enough, of course, something else may cause the change you are seeking, but trust me on this, it won't be your barking.

Continued on page 7

Coverage 'incredible,' but for wrong reasons

By Stephen Schwartz

As the chief opponent of the unanimously rejected IFJ anti-NATO resolution (i.e. in defense of Serbian "media") at the recent sector conference in Ottawa, I am alarmed at the Guild Reporter's coverage of the controversy.

I find it incredible that certain Guild members believe they know more about these issues than those like myself who have reported directly on the Yugoslav wars. I find it even more incredible—and offensive—that such Guild members would suggest that those of us who consider Milosevic a fascist and his media illegitimate do so because our strings are being pulled by the Clinton administration or NATO. In my case, it is clearly the other way around: I first wrote on the probability that the Serbs would massacre the

Albanians in Kosovo in the San Francisco Chronicle in 1987—yes, 12 years ago—indicating, if anything, that I am pulling the strings of Clinton and NATO.

I know these things because I speak Serbian and Albanian and have been to the Balkans eight times. I have watched Radio-Television Serbia for hundreds of hours. When I say Milosevic is a fascist monster and his media are fascist mercenaries I am reporting, not offering an opinion.

I find it especially incredible and offensive that so many Guild activists who prattle and fantasize about working-class solidarity cannot recognize the revival of virulent fascism in Serbia and the need to fight it. The suggestion in a July GR commentary that Heywood Broun, who loathed fascism, would not have also loathed Milosevic, is really despicable.

It is also incredible that anyone would cast

doubt on the racism of Milosevic toward Albanians. Father Sava, the Serbian Orthodox deputy abbot of the Decani monastery in Kosovo, in the July 18, 1999 issue of NIN (Weekly Illustrated News), published in Belgrade, described the Serb policy toward Albanians as one of "systematic deportation of the Albanian population, extermination of their identity, and destruction of cultural heritage."

Mensur Camo, a coworker of Azra Alimajstorovic's, whose picture appeared in the June GR, wrote this about the bombing of Radio-Television Serbia, in the May 2, 1999 issue of the Sarajevo newsmagazine Svijet: "It is not true that the people at RTS were journalists and media professionals; the people from RTS long, long ago lost any right to call themselves that. [NATO] was doing something that in my view it was absolutely obliged to do."

The argument that bombing Milosevic's media means "we have to contemplate the potentially tragic consequences of targeting the media worldwide" is years late. As also noted by Camo, the killing of journalists "just because they are journalists" began in the region in 1991 with the assassination of Slovene and Croatian journalists by Serb terrorists, and continued through the decade with the deliberate murder of numerous Bosnian and Kosovar Albanian reporters and editors by Milosevic's gangsters.

It is in great part out of disgust with the attitudes of American "activists" on these issues that I recently retired from the San Francisco Chronicle and moved to the Balkans, where I am now assisting Bosnian media unionists. I hope to go to Kosovo with the same aim soon. This, to me, is real solidarity—not trying to turn Milosevic's miserable cohort into our fellow-workers.

LETTERS

Editor:

As the Guild's chief negotiator, I am displeased with the coverage of the Baltimore Sun settlement. "Airing Sun's dirty laundry averts strike," The Guild Reporter, July 23, set the wrong tone, used inappropriate rhetoric and was wrong on the facts. Talking to negotiators might have avoided these.

Some factual errors: The Sun did not pay any incoming reporters the starting minimum salary of \$370 a week. There was no strike deadline; indeed, no strike authorization vote was taken. The Sun did not seek to lay-off employees.

The GR's shrill tone was what our members directed us against in our bargaining bulletins and speech. The GR needs to dispassionately describe the settlement and should avoid the negative tone conveyed by using clichés such as "slave wages" and "dirty laundry."

Rhetoric that Sun negotiators "threw in the towel" and "capitulated" inflames and does not inform. Instead, the Sun wisely and rightly put together a package that satisfactorily addressed the

major concerns of Guild members as expressed by Guild negotiators and in bulletins and the Guild's radio and print advertising. Our bargaining relationship with the Sun is harmed by such exaggerated bombast.

How did the GR conclude that the Sun was "embarrassed?" Clairvoyance?

—Dick Ramsey,
Administrative Officer,
Washington-Baltimore Guild

[The article should have stated that the starting scale for Sun reporters was \$370 a week. The article incorrectly referred to a strike deadline instead of the contract's expiration; historically, the unit has refused to work without a contract. The reference to lay-offs should have stated that the Sun sought to eliminate the work of 34 employees through outsourcing.]

Editor:

I was disturbed by a front-page article in the July 23 Guild Reporter regarding the new contract negotiated at The Baltimore Sun.

What troubled me were the paragraphs talking about alleged disparities in pay between white males and women and minorities.

The article stated that 94 percent of the new hires paid less than \$300 a week were minorities, and 94 percent of those paid at the starting minimum were also minorities or women. It went on to say that white males were hired either above scale or in the fifth year of their scale.

What the article didn't mention was whether the women and minorities had the same amount of experience as the white males. But since the pay scale the TNG-CWA negotiated is based on experience, clearly, the paper is hiring women and minorities with less experience than white males.

Are you going to write the flip side of this situation? Why isn't the paper hiring less experienced white males?

Perhaps the paper is making a good-faith effort to hire minorities and women by hiring people with little experience. If that's the case, shouldn't it be lauded? And these are people who can move up

through the pay scale, thanks to the contract negotiated by TNG-CWA. Is it the union's contention that entry-level minorities and women shouldn't be hired?

I'm not some apologist for management: I'm a Guild reporter at the Denver Rocky Mountain News. But I don't like sloppy journalism.

—John Rebchook,
Denver Guild

[As the article also mentioned, although perhaps not prominently enough, starting wages at the Sun—meaning the first four steps of five-step scales—had been frozen the past 10 years; meanwhile, the fifth step went up each year. The result was a steadily widening gap between high-end and low-end employees, with the latter consisting almost entirely of women and minorities. And it didn't matter how high the upper end of the scale was set, because with starting wages so low, most employees couldn't keep working long enough to benefit: circulation sales, for example, had a 64% turnover rate over three years.]



LOOKING AHEAD

Democracy. It's not for everybody

By Bernie Lunzer, Secretary-Treasurer

We often hear about the importance of democracy—how it's a birth right, that it makes our culture work, that open societies are stronger than closed ones. Some of us believe in democracy so much we even believe it belongs in the workplace, and for all the same reasons. We're unionists. We know that a union is democracy in the workplace, and while there are some unions where that's not the case—just as some “democratic” governments fail the test—there aren't many.

But many of those who expound on the importance of democracy in society will not raise a finger to support it in the workplace. In fact, many of these folks have worked to make sure labor law stays weak.

Many of the media companies we work for fight hard for democratic freedoms, especially when it comes to free speech—so much so that you'll hear politicians rant and rave about the press and how it leans to the left. But those of us who live inside of these corporations know the awful truth. When it comes to their own workers, these corporations fight unions as hard as they can and do whatever they can to squelch democracy in the workplace.

Few businesses fight organizing drives harder than the news and information industry. In a recent organizing drive at the Chicago Sun Times, all the stops were pulled out to fight a campaign that would have brought commercial-side workers into The Newspaper Guild-CWA. Moreover, the Sun Times used the big lie spouted by every other union-busting company in America: we don't need a third party. We can work directly with our employees. Such statements ignore and pervert the truth—that the Sun-Times' employees were organizing their own democratic structure within the workplace—but the last thing our employers want is empowered workers who actually function as citizens in their own workplace.

How tragic this is. Those of us who have committed ourselves to our publications, and to unionism, know that our union actually strengthens the companies at which we work. The workers in our units can and do develop healthy relationships with their employers, and with each other. And yes, they organize to make sure they get a fair shake, and a fair amount of the profits.

But management in America has made up its mind that workplaces should be dictatorships, where the only true right a worker has is to be fired, or to quit, at will. Sure, many of our workplaces are benevolent dictatorships where management is “generally” fair. But not when it doesn't want to be. Look at a company like IBM, which recently unilaterally announced that it was restructuring and weakening the pension benefits of its employees. While a union could not have guaranteed the outcome for the workers, it would have forced IBM to talk and negotiate with its own employees before changing such benefits.

Unions need to redefine their purpose and make clear to all workers in America what they are—and what they are not. We need to clarify that all we can guarantee is democracy in the workplace. As is true in our larger society, that democracy sometimes will work better and sometimes worse, but in either case American workers deserve that chance. The principles of democracy must extend into the workplace.

As a last thought, I throw out a challenge to Guild employers. When our contracts come up for renewal, every unit should demand that the First Amendment is written into the contract and enforced in the workplace. We know how strongly these media companies say they believe in the First Amendment—now they can show us. Free speech, freedom of association, the right to petition for redress of grievances—important values that we all believe in. Right?

Barking won't do it

Continued from page 6

One of the most valuable gifts the CWA brought to the Guild after the marriage was its emphasis on mobilizing. The idea of involving the entire membership in achieving its goals is so basic that I have to wonder how we lost sight of it. A mobilized membership can turn the lights on and off at the bargaining table at will. Sure, there are exceptions, but they are rare and usually something else is driving management.

So, the real challenge is in mobilizing your members—and guess what? Barking at them won't do a bit of good, either. This is undoubtedly one of the most daunting things for union officers to accomplish. First, they must publicly admit they can't get a good contract with little orange stamps or by barking. Then, they must ask the membership to get involved. We all know how anxious membership is to do that.

The answer is unique to each collective bargaining unit. The challenge is to move the members themselves to find the answer—and when they do, not to do anything to screw it up. Respectfully educate them and empower them. Small groups and one-on-one meetings seem to work best for

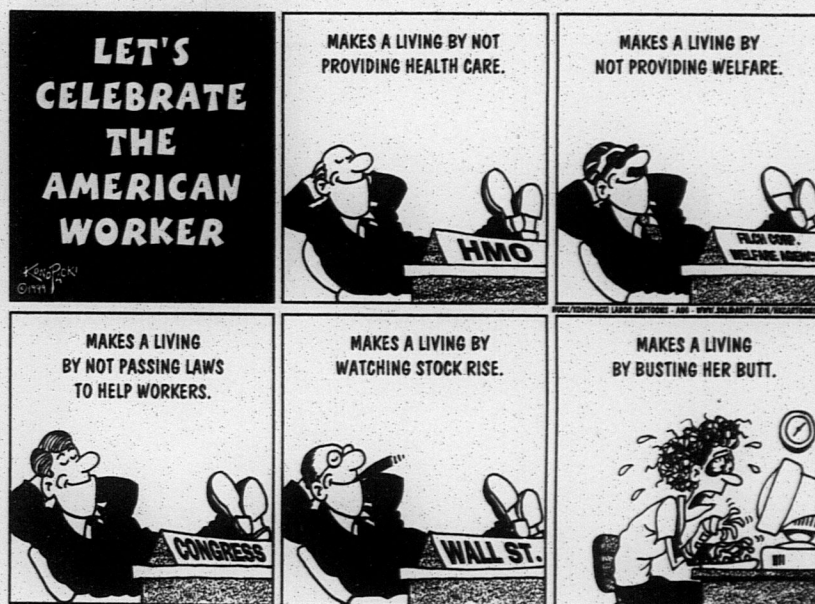
me. The most important thing is to never stop listening to their needs and wants and trying to help them achieve their goals.

Remember that the aspects of the union we deal with most often are secondary: officers, staff, conventions, contracts and grievance meetings all happened after a group of workers joined together to improve their lot in the workplace. Think of their courage, dedication and level of participation at that point in their union's history. Be reminded that a collective bargaining unit's existence is proof that it was once mobilized.

You can do it! Be relentless. Seek and accept help. Be brutally honest. And stay away from fire hydrants during thunderstorms.

By TNG Convention action, letters to the editor 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. (Next deadline: Sept. 10.)



Nolan case reveals an ethical quagmire

By Luther Jackson
Executive Officer, San Jose Guild

By now you know that the Mercury News, citing conflict of interest concerns, has suspended business columnist Chris Nolan, cut her pay and moved her to the Redwood City bureau.

The discipline concerned Chris' involvement in an internet stock initial public offering.

You may not know that the San Jose Newspaper Guild has filed a grievance in this case and has asked for an impartial arbitrator to settle the dispute if the union and management are unable to reach agreement. We took this action because:

1. Chris sought and received permission from her immediate supervisor to participate in the Autoweb.com IPO.
2. Chris has an outstanding record as a Mercury News business columnist.
3. Chris has a long history of checking in with her editors whenever confronted with situations in which there was even a possible hint of a conflict of interest.

This case has brought the issue of journalism ethics to the fore. But before I delve too far into the subject, I need to come clean with a personal ethics confession.

When I was a business reporter at the Detroit Free Press, I covered a speech by the chief executive of a major public company in which I had a financial interest. Not only was I a shareholder in this company, but I had bought my stock at a discounted price not available to the general public. I had bought the stock without paying a brokerage fee. To make matters worse, I did not disclose these facts to any of my editors.

At the very least, my actions back in Detroit gave the appearance of a conflict of interest—so should I have been fired?

Should I have been suspended and banished from the business news department?

Would your answer change if you knew that the chief executive was Alvah Chapman, Jr. and the company was Knight Ridder?

Given the fact that many Free Press reporters and editors bought Knight Ridder stock through the employees' stock purchase plan, the paper would have been hard-pressed to report on Mr. Chapman's speech if it had followed strict ethical guidelines.

My anecdote shows that ethical questions are often murky, at best. That's why I and so many union members appreciate having a Guild contract to help us address alleged violations of ethical policies and principles.

In Chris Nolan's case, the contract states that the Mercury News must have “good and sufficient” cause before the paper can sustain discipline against a Guild member. So rather than dealing in absolutes, the contract allows the Mercury News and Guild to explore the subtleties and nuances of an issue when addressing the consequences of an alleged policy violation.

Thankfully, if any disciplinary action were taken pursuant to the current ethics policy, the Mercury News would have to establish “good and sufficient” cause under the contract for such discipline.

Chris' case raises questions regarding the current policy.

• Did any Mercury News supervisors with responsibility for the business section—the business editors and their superiors at the paper—own stock in local companies as of the date Chris was suspended? The ethics policy, which applies to “all editorial department employees and others who are involved in news coverage or editorial policy,” says that “business department staffers and others who frequently make business news decisions should not be investors in local businesses.”

• Did any of these Mercury News supervisors buy their local stock at prices not available to the general public? I ask this question knowing that Knight Ridder is now a local company.

These are crucial questions because Mercury News supervisors have more power to get a story into the paper than does Chris Nolan. But what if we discovered that there are supervisors who own Knight Ridder stock, in violation of the ethics policy? Would I call for them to be disciplined like Chris?

No.

Would I want them to have to immediately sell their stock?

Absolutely not.

As in Chris' case, I think that reason and compassion should guide all of our actions. But I will say this: a policy that holds Guild members to one standard and their supervisors to a lower standard is not ethical.

Statistically speaking, JOAs work

Their papers survive longer, lose fewer readers overall

As the Guild continues pressing the Justice Dept. to enforce the Newspaper Preservation Act, a joint TNG-CWA research project has determined that the act accomplishes its main objectives: It enhances the survival rate of two-newspaper markets, and it stimulates demand for newspapers.

Analyzing newspaper circulation rates over the period 1988 through mid 1999, CWA researcher Debbie Goldman and TNG research associate Debbie Thomas found that the survival rate for two newspapers in JOA markets was 65%, versus the 50% survival rate in two-newspaper markets without JOAs.

Of 36 markets with two major newspapers in 1988, 20 had JOAs. By 1999, 13 of the 20 JOAs had survived, but only eight of the 16 non-JOA markets still had two newspapers.

Of greater significance, however, is the finding that two-newspaper markets had a significantly smaller drop in circulation penetration (defined as the ratio of circulation to the number of households in the market). Such penetration declined, on average, by 30.4% in markets that lost one of their two newspapers over the study period, compared with a 17.8% decline in markets that retained both papers.

In short, newspapers claim an overall greater market share when they're duking it out with each other—and JOAs enhance such competitiveness.

Notable examples include Pittsburgh, where the Press ceased publication July 28, 1992—and the surviving Post-Gazette now claims 23.8% of its market, down from a combined 37% in 1988. After the Houston Post ceased publishing April 18, 1997, the

Houston Chronicle reported 1999 penetration of 19.3%—down from a combined 29.2% in 1988. And less than a year after the Miami News went out of business, the Miami Herald had only 17.9% of its market, down from 29.2% in 1988.

By way of contrast, the two newspapers in Wilkes-Barre, PA have a combined market penetration of 75%, down just a hair from the 76% rate of 1988; while the two Salt Lake City dailies, sharing a much more modest 22.4% penetration rate, are likewise virtually unchanged from a 1988 rate of 23%.

Such statistics are notable because of a recent upswing in attempts to circumvent or terminate JOAs, to which the Justice Department has turned a blind eye. Carved out by the Newspaper Preservation Act as an exception to antitrust laws, the JOAs were

designed to allow competing newspapers to share costs and revenues in exchange for preserving editorial diversity. But the Faustian bargain has been unraveling, as one partner in such arrangements has been allowed to absorb the other, without challenge.

Early this year, the Chattanooga Free Press acquired the Chattanooga Times even though their JOA wasn't due to expire

until 2016. Without the JOA, the two newspapers would have had to demonstrate not only that one was failing, but that a good faith and diligent search had been made for a less anticompetitive alternative. No such search was evident, and the newspapers ignored a requirement that three years' notice be given before the JOA was ended, but the Justice Dept. rebuffed a TNG-CWA petition for its intervention.

Barr Awards winners named

The winners of the first David S. Barr Awards are Andrew G. Salituri, a senior at Casa Roble High School in Orangevale, CA; and Oscar Johnson, of Evergreen State College in Olympia, WA. Salituri was awarded \$500, Johnson \$1,500.

Authorized by the 1997 TNG-CWA convention, the awards program is named after the Guild's general counsel from 1971 until his sudden death two years ago. It also is intended to inspire a younger generation of journalists by rewarding work that "promotes the qualities of justice and fairness," embodied by Barr, who was nicknamed "Mr. Justice" by his law school classmates.

Entries in the competition's first year were submitted from all parts of the country and included one entry by a 14-year-old at Denver West High School. But Salituri, 18, drew the judges' nod in the high school division for "drawing on personal experiences as a high school athlete" to buttress his editorial condemning the special treatment given to most athletes. "Impressive thinking and persuasive writing—an excellent

piece of journalism," the judges wrote.

At the other end of the age spectrum, Johnson, 35, knocked down the college division honors for his five-part series on the Indian tribes of western Oregon. His "detailed accounting of ancient Indian tribal cultures and struggles was not only informative but shined a spotlight on a brand of social injustice that few people are aware of," observed judge Frank Quine, director of development at the University of Maryland College of Journalism.

Other judges included Barr family member Michael Barr; journalist Gary Cohn; and TNG-CWA general counsel Barbara Camens.

The deadline for next year's David S. Barr Awards will be in May, 2000 for work published or broadcast between September 1, 1999 and April 30, 2000. The competition is open to all high school students, including those enrolled in vocational, technical or special education programs; and to all part-time or full-time college students, including those in community colleges and in graduate programs.

Newspage fills the Web void

Newsmait, the somewhat controversial Web page that gave newspaper employees a place to vent, is dead—long live Newspage!

Created by a self-professed "Newsmait junkie," Newspage is maintained by an anonymous journalist who says he has more than a decade in the business "at a number of papers and chains." The site includes bulletin boards for posting assessments of employers; a salary survey; and, a surprisingly wide-ranging selection of links to numerous Web sites, including on-line reference sources, specialized news sites and job postings.

As with Newsmait, all postings also are anonymous, presumably as a means of prompting candor. And so the candor—laced with an occasional shot of bile—flows:

"Turnover, turnover, turnover.

Maybe it's the micromanaging publisher, the whiny editor, or the horrible pay and lack of decent benefits, but you'll be hard-pressed to find many veterans here," begins one critique of The (NY) Leader-Herald by a former employee—who nevertheless gives his past employer an overall grade of 'C'. To which someone bestowing Leader-Herald management with an 'A' has replied, ominously: "People like that are the reason this paper lacked any consistency, [sic] and people like him are the reason it was full of mistakes. Because we've taken steps to eliminate people like him—and will eliminate any present employees that hold his attitude—this place is a better place to work."

The list of job banks is a mixed bag, including several chains—

Gannett, Knight Ridder, Donrey, McClatchy—some associations, the Editor & Publisher listings and the National Diversity Job Bank, which requires users to provide their own resumes before letting them in.

But because the site is still relatively new, the salary survey is more spotty, with 11 states completely unrepresented and many with so few listings it's hard to determine whether they're representative. Arizona, for example, shows only one entry, with a reporter at the Mesa Tribune with 11 to 15 years' experience getting \$595 a week. Just a few hundred miles northwest, however, a reporter with similar experience at the Las Vegas Review Journal gets \$800 a week—and a copy editor, same experience, \$1,077.

Newspage can be accessed at newspage.virtualave.net.

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Aug. 30-Sept. 5, Chicago

CWA Equity Conference,
POSTPONED to 2000

AFL-CIO Biennial Convention,
Oct. 11-13, Los Angeles

TNG-CWA Executive Council,
Oct. 21-23, Baltimore

Western District Council,
Oct. 30-31, Los Angeles

TNG-Canada Representative
Council, Nov. 6-7, city TBA

Great Lakes District Council,
Nov. 5-7, Buffalo, N.Y.

Midwest District Council,
Nov. 12-14, Chicago

Working Women Conference
2000, March 11-12, Chicago

CWA Annual Convention,
Aug. 28-29, Anaheim

FROM THE MORGUE

Fifty years ago this month:

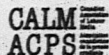
In the "be careful what you wish for" department: Guy Gannett Publishing lifts its no-smoking rule for women. . . . Campaigning for the Guild's executive board heats up, as the challengers run a full-page ad in the Guild Reporter showing 20 tombstones—one for each local that went out of existence in the previous six years. . . . Sam Eubanks, the Guild's executive vice president, files a \$150,000 libel suit against members of the New York local executive board for alleging he had colluded with management at the New York Post Home to frustrate collective bargaining. . . .

Twenty-five years ago this month:

A federal judge grants a TNG request for an order preventing newspapers from entering JOAs without prior approval by the Attorney General. . . . Vowing to move the union off a "16-year membership plateau," the annual convention approves special assessments to finance a two-year organizing campaign. . . . The Guild sweeps to victory in a representation election among editorial employees at the Detroit News, 150 yes to 90 no. . . .

Ten years ago this month:

Congress is urged to repeal or make major changes in the Newspaper Preservation Act, but publishers with JOAs argue the act is working well and benefits the public. . . . J. William Blatz, who explained bargaining as a process of "give and take: They give; we take," retires after more than 40 years as a TNG staffer. . . . Guild members at the Washington Post ratify a new, five-year contract—three years after the previous one had expired.



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