

THE Guild Reporter

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, CIO

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Arbitrator Upsets Guild Contract In Circulation Edict

Washington, D. C.—In an award which was promptly met by a Guild motion for reconsideration, Arbitrator James Healy has held that the Post & Times Herald had the right to disregard the Guild's contract when it shifted its circulation operations from an employee to an independent-contractor system.

Healy's award listed three principal findings as influencing his decision. He had considered, he said, the interests of management in operating its business as it saw fit, the interests of the Guild in preserving its own security, and the individual interests of the employees, involved in freedom of choice. He held as a matter of fact that management had signed individual contracts at the employees' individual request, and had acted in good faith in doing so.

The arbitrator found that the first and third of these interests dictated a decision favoring the management side of the controversy, and consequently held that the interests of the Guild were literally secondary.

In a telegram sent by Guild Counsel Seymour J. Spelman to Healy, the Guild asked reconsideration, together with a ten-day interval in which to submit a brief. The Guild deems that the award contains "palpable errors" of fact and law on its face.

The award, Guild counsel

pointed out, erred in according full weight to the "individual interests" of the employees, since such interests are also embodied in the Guild's contract, and are compatible with that agreement.

Legal error, Spelman finds, rests in the fact that the award disregards Supreme Court rulings that collective contracts outweigh individual bargaining. While the Guild obviously exists to serve individuals, its collective voice is legally more authoritative than the voice of an individual member or group of members, says the Guild counsel. This fact the Healy award ignores.

The case arose a full year ago, with the negotiation by management, without consultation with the Guild, recognized bargaining agent, of individual contracts with a large group of circulators then under Guild contract. When the Guild protested, Post management resorted to a long series of delaying tactics, resisting direct attempts at negotiating the differences, and taking into the courts the issue of whether the matter was arbitrable.

Times Have Changed, Says 1939 ANG Critic

Joseph F. Dinneen, Boston Globe reporter who in 1939 wrote a Saturday Evening Post article entitled "Goodbye, Boys, I'm Through," explanatory of his then recent resignation from Guild membership, doesn't like reference to his 1939 piece by present-day publishers who oppose Guild organization among their employees.

He says so, forthrightly, in a letter addressed to the editor of the Guild Reporter.

The text of the letter:

"January 5, 1955. "Distressed publishers throughout the country are using an article that I wrote for the Saturday Evening Post 15 years ago with an entirely different end in mind, as propaganda to defeat the Guild in its negotiations to raise wages and improve working conditions here and there.

"I think I should remind both you and the publishers that circumstances have changed considerably in the newspaper business since I wrote that piece. The character of the Guild has changed as has the character of the newspaper business.

"Many of the objections to the Guild that I raised then have long since been dissipated.

"Will you please put me on the line as approving labor unions with or without affiliation; and will you please make it clear to your members that I resent and take exception to using my thoughts and opinions of the Guild 15 years ago as being my thoughts and opinions of the Guild as of today.

"Sincerely,

"Joseph F. Dinneen."

Deadline February 1

Broun Award Entries Come From Nation-wide Sources

With the February 1 entry deadline less than three weeks away, ANG headquarters office is beginning to receive bulky parcels from widely scattered points across country, from participants in the 14th annual Heywood Broun Award competition.

Among the early entries was one from Asheville, N. C., on the proposed abolition of an Indian reservation in the Great Smokies; another from the CIO News on its coverage of the Pegler-Reynolds libel suit; a series on race track gambling from the Christian Science Monitor; an "inside story" from Harrisburg on a cover-up in a murder case, and a race-integration story from San Francisco.

Entries in recent competitions have totaled from 35 to 50, each



EDWARD J. DONOHOE
Broun Award Chairman

year. The judges, Bruce Catton, historian; Edmund A. Lahey, Washington newsman, and John W. Vandercook, radio commentator, will meet early next month to scan the entries and determine which is best.

1954 Broun Award

DEADLINE for entries: February 1, 1955.

SEND entries to the Broun Award Committee, American Newspaper Guild, 99 University place, New York 3, N. Y.

PRIZE is \$500 in cash and a Guild citation, to be awarded for the outstanding journalistic work "in the spirit of Heywood Broun," done or completed between January 1, 1954 and December 31, 1954.

ELIGIBLE are all newspapermen and women in Guild jurisdiction in the United States and Canada, whether they are Guild members or not.

ENTRIES should be submitted in scrapbook form with an accompanying letter telling the circumstances under which the work was done.

JUDGES are Bruce Catton, Pulitzer prize-winning historian; Edwin A. Lahey, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, and John W. Vandercook, radio news commentator.

EDWARD J. DONOHOE,
Broun Award Chairman

Their yard-stick will be adherence to the "spirit of Heywood Broun," by which is meant advocacy of the under-dog, the righting of wrong, or the advancement of social justice, through the medium of newspapers or other communication media within the membership jurisdiction of the American Newspaper Guild.

Broun was founder and, until his death in 1939, president of the Guild. The organization established the award in 1941, and it has since become one of the most coveted honors in the newspaper field.

This year the International Executive Board chose Edward J. Donohoe, of Scranton, as chairman of the Broun Award committee.

Bulletin board announcements of the conditions for entry have

been sent by Donohoe to Guild locals and to newspaper plants generally. Entries are not confined to those who are Guild members, and some past awards have gone to those who were ineligible for Guild membership by reason of labor law limitations. Some of the winners have been from large metropolitan dailies, but success has also crowned the efforts of newsmen in remote places and more limited fields.

Donohoe said that the judges will meet just prior to the next session of the International Executive Board, and that an informal luncheon will be arranged for the judges and board members.

In addition to the cash award of \$500, the winner receives an inscribed plaque emblematic of the honor.

LA Newsmen Seek Jobs, But Study Finance Tangle

Los Angeles, Calif.—As 300 stunned Guildsmen sought other means of employment after losing their jobs through the sale and extinction of the Los Angeles Daily News a week before Christmas, these developments marked the efforts of the Los Angeles Guild members and other creditors to bring order out of the chaotic financial status of the erstwhile publisher, Clinton McKinnon:

- The Guild local placed its full defense fund, some \$4,000, at the disposal of the News welfare fund, to ease the plight of severe hardship cases among its members.

- Guild locals across the country responded with nearly \$1,800 in immediate gifts for the same purpose.

- The Stockholders Publishing Company, which owned the Daily News and in turn was wholly owned by McKinnon, was moved into involuntary bankruptcy by petition of three Guild member-creditors.

- An employee committee scoured the country for financial backing of a long-range project for reestablishing a liberal daily in Los Angeles, now served solely by a "one-party press."

- State authorities began the process of determining distribution of escrow funds deposited by McKinnon to meet, in

part, current wage claims against the firm.

- Organized labor, through CIO and AFL bodies, rallied to support the Guild and mechanical craft unions in efforts to relieve distress and collect claims.

Immediate relief continued to be a pressing problem for many Guildsmen, and only a baker's dozen succeeded in finding immediate employment in the area of their homes. Worst hurt were those of long employment and advanced age, in jobs which had called for specialization in the techniques of the news industry. Although they had substantial equity built up in the form of severance pay, there was no indication of when or in what amounts such earned severance would be forthcoming.

At a meeting of creditors late last month—the Guild represented a major portion of the

claimed amount—a company balance sheet showed a deficit as of December 27 of more than \$2.5 million in the estimated financial standing. This deficit was accounted for largely by \$2,334,000 in notes payable.

The Guild had retained Robert Shutan, a bankruptcy lawyer, who counseled the immediate filing of a petition by the requisite three individual claimants, rather than individual, time-consuming efforts to collect. The petitioners were all former editorial staffers: Sara Boynoff, claiming \$4,231.50; Carol Phinney, claiming \$3,125; and Gilmer G. Brush claiming \$5,851.50. The amounts were typical of Guild claims, constituting two weeks' pay, accrued vacation credits and severance pay. It was estimated that all Guild claims would total \$800,000.

On hearing the petition, Federal Referee David B. Head

(Continued on Page 2)

The President's Corner— Suggests Tougher Tactics To Enroll Guild Free Riders

By JOSEPH F. COLLIS
ANG President

THIS COLUMN is going to start an argument. That's why it's being written.

The Guild has had lots of discussion for several years about the thousands of free riders. They're the people who are collecting benefits won by the Guild but not paying the dues. These holdouts have been pictured as rugged individuals.

I'm not sure these free riders — they're eating and drinking every day on Guild-won increases — really are rugged individuals. I think it's time we found out the truth. Hard tests will provide the answer. My suggestion: Let the free riders stand on their own feet, and let's find out if they really are rugged individuals.

HERE ARE A COUPLE OF IDEAS:

For years the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen never had any kind of a union shop. Most of the new employees joined the brotherhood. But some didn't. And the non-brotherhood workers eventually in the performance of their duties found themselves in trouble. When the non-member went to the brotherhood members — their fellow-workers — for evidence to help reply to the boss's charges, the brotherhood member had a ready answer, "Don't know anything about your problem."

But every brotherhood member, if he got into trouble, always had someone to present his views. When the chips are down, union dues are cheap insurance.

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS used the same persuasive principle in another form. This type of persuasion was known as the button strike.

Each month when the union member paid his dues he got a button. Come the third or fourth day of the month, and the members with the buttons, as they stood on the elevator which dropped them into the mine levels, would count buttons. If one miner didn't have a button, the rest of the employees walked off the job and went home for the day.

Next day, if the holdout still was holding out, the idleness or refusal to work with the chieftest was repeated.

After three or four days, the foreman usually came to the holdout and said: "I have to get some coal out this week; perhaps today you had better go home."

And that's how the Mine Workers picked up members.

This story was told to the Hearst management negotiating team at the time of the Herald-Express strike in Los Angeles. At the next session, a few hours later, the check-off was granted by management, and it has since been granted on other Hearst papers.

EVEN THE PROFESSIONAL UNIONS—like the Kentucky Bar Association—have trouble with free riders.

Down in Kentucky, 115 lawyers are in trouble with their union because they failed to pay their Kentucky Bar Association dues. The State Court of Appeals at Frankfort has ordered the 115 attorneys to show cause why they should not be suspended from practicing law in Kentucky until the dues are paid. Under Kentucky law, if attorneys fail to pay the Bar Association dues—their union dues—they lose their right to work.

If this kind of rule is okay for lawyers, it certainly should be okay for other unions.

And what's good enough for the Bar Association should also be good enough for the Newspaper Guild.

I'M NOT CONVINCED these holdouts are the rugged individuals they pretend to be. Let's spend 1955 finding out by wearing them down. There's no law says you have to be pleasant to the guy who has been riding on your back for the last several years.

Reach \$100 Wage Minimum At Charlotte, N. C., News

Charlotte, N. C. — Minimum increases of \$2.50 to \$5, improved job security and grievance procedure and a third week of vacation were among the gains achieved by the Charlotte Guild in its renewal contract with the Charlotte News.

As a result of the increases, minimums for reporters and copy readers now range from \$51.50 to start to \$100 after five years. They were \$48.50 to \$95.

The contract adds a prohibition for "capricious or insubstantial reasons" and a preferential rehiring list for employees dismissed for economy.

Although the grievance procedure still exempts dismissals from arbitration, the machinery for settling disputes was made more workable. In place of the

old joint standing committee with a chairman chosen from a list furnished by the State Labor Commissioner, the contract now provides for one-man arbitration in accordance with rules of the American Arbitration Association.

Third week of vacation is added after 25 years of service. The contract also increased the mileage rate for city driving from 9 to 10 cents and eliminated the two day convention leaves at a time.

The IEB Contracts Committee withheld approval, in spite of the improvements, because of the failure to increase the 8-week ceiling on severance pay and continued exclusion of dismissals from arbitration.

L. D. T. (Bud) Cox, Jr., was chief negotiator.

Volunteer Free-Rider Campaign Begins To Show Speedy Results

The first two locals to undertake intensive organizing efforts in response to Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak's call to locals to start an all-out drive on free riders have reported substantial membership gains in the first few weeks of their campaigns.

The Indianapolis Guild, sparked by a personal visit by Novak, has added 35 to its active rolls, including reinstatement of six old-timers.

The new organizing drive also picked up momentum from the addition of a full Guild committee with a full-time paid secretary and is planning a steward's institute in February.

"The results to date are heartening," Novak commented, "I realize that December was probably the worst time of the year to start an organizing drive. But the results at Indianapolis and Cincinnati show what can be done, holidays or no, when the local people are willing to get down to work."

"The results confirm my belief that the real solution to the free rider problem is to inspire our own people to get out and ask the non-members to join."

"These membership gains mean more money right away for both the locals and the ANG because every new member starts right in paying full dues."

Novak has written to the president and treasurer of each local with a substantial proportion of free-riders, asking their cooperation in the organizing drive.

The drive in Indianapolis, developed by Treasurer Frank Grims, has been conducted through the regular stewards' organization.

No special techniques have been used on the non-members. But the stewards were given a thorough briefing, which included a list by Novak.

"It's just amazing," said Secretary Evelyn Ulrich. "I wouldn't really believe it myself if I just heard about it, but I have the cards here to prove it. If we can do this during the holiday season, we can do it any time."

The Chicago Guild committee has adapted the organizing program that was drafted for use in the New York wire services by Ray Pitt, assistant wire services.

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His widow and two daughters survive.

Russ Newland
San Francisco, Calif. — Russ Newland, 54, veteran AP staffer and long-time SFONG member, died Jan. 6 at St. Francis Hospital here following a heart attack.

He had been ill for some time as the result of an injury suffered 37 years ago during World War I.

Newland joined AP in 1923 in Spokane and came to San Francisco in 1924. He had covered sports on the West Coast since then, and was one of the promoters of the East-West Shrine football game in 1925.

One of his last acts before he became ill was making a pay raise contribution to the Guild. He told fellow AP staffers, "I want to give that to the Guild—it's done a lot for newspaper people."

Newland is survived by his wife, Helen; a son, Grant; a daughter, Mrs. David Oille; a brother, Ray Newland, Tacoma; and a granddaughter, Kristine Oille.

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GR PRESENTS AFL PENSION PLAN STUDY

Most comprehensive treatment of the subject of employee pensions which has come to the Guild's attention is a booklet published by the American Federation of Labor through its Social Insurance Activities Division.

Permission to reproduce the text has been granted the Guild Reporter by AFL officials, and succeeding issues will carry chapters on such subjects as cost factors, financing, administering, benefit provisions, relating benefits and cost, factors in negotiating pensions and private pension plans and social security.

Guild officers in particular are urged to give close study to the material, as a reference guide in determining local policy as to pensions.—Ed.

Preface

One of the most conspicuous developments in recent collective bargaining history has been the rapid spread of negotiated retirement plans. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study shows that, as of mid-1950, about 5,000,000 organized workers were covered by contractual pension plans—a threefold increase since 1948. The number has continued to grow since those figures were compiled.

On the surface, this seems to represent a very substantial amount of progress toward overcoming the economic hardships of old age. Unfortunately, the figures are misleading. The restrictions and limitations of most of these plans are such that, out of the more than 5,000,000 workers described as being "covered," very few have any real assurance of ever actually receiving a pension.

The figures are, nevertheless, an indication of the manner in which unions are trying to meet the very real and human problems faced by their older members. Few union men can see their fellow workers tossed out of the shop on their Social Security—with poverty and dependence awaiting them as the end reward of a long, productive and dues-paying work life—without feeling that something should be done about it.

The Federal Social Security system, even after recent improvements, still remains pitifully inadequate. A private pension plan will therefore seem to many to provide a sound and logical solution to the financial problems of the aged. Older members will naturally favor the idea.



GUILD FATHER, GUILD SON—Eugene A. Rutland, Sr., tri-State editor of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, proudly signs up Gene Jr., as a member of the Memphis Guild local.

Younger members who can see far enough ahead to consider the time when they will be in the same boat will also be inclined to approve.

At first glance, then, almost any kind of a paid retirement plan may look like a substantial improvement. Unfortunately, the issue is not that simple.

In its net effect upon a group of workers, an ill-considered or poorly designed retirement plan is not necessarily better than none at all. Such a plan may impair other vital trade union aims and functions, while offering relatively little in return.

Whether or not a pension plan is actually a good idea, and the type of plan that ought to be set up, are questions with no single answer that would apply to all groups alike. The right answers can be found only after studying the issue in relation to other economic objectives; in relation to the existing level of wage rates and working conditions; in relation to the effect upon mobility and job tenure of the members of the particular group concerned.

The experiences of another union does not necessarily offer a sound guide. A plan that has worked well for one union may give much difficulty and few benefits if transplanted to a different situation and a different set of circumstances.

A retirement plan should be designed to conform to the needs, characteristics, and resources of the particular group of workers which it is to cover. Its structure, its cost, and its value to the members will depend upon factors which vary

Part I

Nature and Purpose of Pension Plans

The subject of pension plans is not a simple one. If a careful and thorough job is to be done, the task of planning and operating a retirement program will require a lot of technical work on the details of cost and financing. Here the union official must rely to a large extent upon the "experts" who do that sort of work for a living. Up to a point, he will have to take their findings at face value.

While he should make sure that the persons who do this work are reliable, the union official should not waste his valuable time getting involved in a lot of purely technical questions. Preliminary estimates of cost can be finally verified only through experience under the plan in actual operation. Like-

wise, the best way to get to know all of the finer points involved in the administration of a pension plan is through actual experience in administering the plan.

The union negotiator should, however, know something about the general principles behind the figures relating to costs and methods of financing if he is to do an effective job at the bargaining table. Some of these principles are discussed in the following chapters.

But first of all, he should have a clear idea of the fundamental nature of a pension plan—what it can and cannot do, and how it fits in with all the other interests and aims of the union. He should know what the primary objectives of the plan ought to be, how those objectives rank in the order of priority, and how they can best be carried out. He should know what provisions are needed in order to provide the greatest possible degree of protection to the rights of the membership as a whole. This he cannot leave to the outside "expert."

Pensions Are Earned, Not Given

The paternalistic type of employer usually regards a pension as a gift or gratuity granted as an act of benevolence, or moral duty, to his "old and faithful" employees—in other words, as a bone for Old Dog Tray. This is a view which labor cannot accept, for it runs directly counter to the basic principles of the trade union movement.

Unions do not bargain for gifts or gratuities; they bargain for wages and conditions of employment. The negotiation of the labor contract is a transaction between equal parties in which equal values are exchanged—not a petition to a benefactor for charity towards a group of old retainers.

When a pension plan is brought within the scope of the agreement, both parties should acknowledge that it is in fact a part of the hire which the workers are to receive in exchange for their labor. It is not "free" and they do not get "something for nothing" as an act of grace on the part of the employer. They earn it and pay the employer for it by doing the work which constitutes a part of the contract.

A pension plan is not, therefore, a conditional or discretionary gift by the employer, but a deferred wage earned by current labor services, and required by the terms of the contract.

To many, the fact that a retirement plan is a form of compensation may seem too obvious to require further argument. Nevertheless, it is a point which ought to be kept clearly in mind. It has a very important bearing upon many questions which are bound to arise with regard to the form of the plan, the manner in which it is to be administered,

and the rights of the members under the plan.

It means, first, that the workers' interest in the pension fund is not established solely by reason of advanced age and "long and faithful" service with an employer. That interest is established by reason of the work performed by all the members during the term of the contract.

The performance of that work is all the employer has a right to expect in return for his contributions to the pension fund. The amounts contributed by the employer to the fund, to finance the pension credits accumulated by the group during the term of their contract, should therefore be an irrevocable payment which the employer cannot withhold or recapture wage payments.

The workers' interest in the negotiated plan is equally strong regardless of whether the fund is set up formally on a so-called "contributory" or a "non-contributory" basis. In sense that the contributions paid in by the employer have been covered by the workers, they actually pay the full amount of the cost in either case.

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... On Pensions NLRB Reverses Trial Examiner In Utica Payroll Data Findings

(Continued from Page 4)

office or deferment of some other alternative objective to which the union could have devoted its collective bargaining energies. In its simplest terms, this presents the union with the question of a choice between current wages and deferred wages—of whether or not it would be wiser to take the cash and let the pension credits go.

Faced with the choice, one union may properly decide that a pension plan would be a desirable immediate objective. Another may feel that its members cannot at present afford to divert any part of their potential wage gains into a pension fund.

Pension Funds Limited in Use

In considering this issue, certain facts should be borne in mind. Pension funds are designed to serve that single major purpose: to help meet the need for an assured income after a person's working life is over. Depending upon the person's present age, that particular contingency may be relatively remote as compared with other more pressing ones.

In contrast, a wage increase can be used for any number of purposes. It may be added to savings or used to provide an immediate higher standard of living. As liquid savings it will be available for other urgent needs as well as that of the education of one's children, medical expenses, living expenses during unemployment, payments on a house, or anything else that chance or choice might require.

These are economic problems which most workers must face long before they reach old age. A pension fund in which their equity is frozen until retirement will not help to meet them. Only cash wages can do that.

This being the case, the priority which a union will assign to a pension plan in its negotiations may depend upon the extent of its present old age problem, in relation to the extent to which its members are presently able to meet other pressing economic needs.

In extreme cases, the answer should be fairly obvious. Where the wage scale of a particular group of workers is at or near the bare subsistence level—or too low to provide decent food, clothing, housing or medical care—wage increases should be the first order of business.

Pensions a Sound Objective for Many Groups

Even though the problems of the aging in such a group are very serious, to sacrifice a possible wage increase in order to set up an expensive private pension plan would leave that group "insurance poor." This is one of the many reasons why private retirement plans can never meet the broad national problem of old age insecurity.

The Federal Social Security system is the only practical means of solving that larger problem.

While limited to one main function, a well-constructed pension plan performs a particular function very well. There are many groups, therefore, that may derive substantial advantages from the negotiation of a sound retirement plan.

This might be true, for example, in the case of a union whose members enjoy a scale of wages high enough to provide a margin of economic safety after immediate needs

have been met. For such a group, social security alone—plus what they may have been able to set aside individually—may mean too sharp a drop in their accustomed standard of living after retirement. They may well decide that the negotiation of a pension plan should take precedence over other considerations.

While a good pension plan is certainly not one of the cheaper things in life, the benefits which the individual member stands to get out of a group plan are much higher than he could possibly provide for himself if he were to set aside his pro-rated share of the cost of the plan in the form of individual savings. Of course, in return for this chance of higher benefits, he runs the chance of never getting anything back out of the fund at all.

Like a lottery or a baseball pool, some of the participants must lose out, if others are to get more out of it than they put in. A member pays for the insurance that if he does live until retirement, and meets any other qualifications that might be written into the plan, he will receive a guaranteed income for the rest of his life.

The relatively high benefits, in relation to the per capita cost, of a pension plan are made possible through tax savings and interest earnings on the funds held in reserve, and through the operation of the law of averages which will apply where the plan covers a substantial number of members. These aspects of the pension issue are discussed in greater detail in Part III.

By negotiating these plans through collective bargaining, workers can pool their respective risks and resources so as to take advantage of the law of averages and the economies of group participation, to provide those who qualify under the plan with a higher retirement income, at a lower cost, than they could otherwise obtain. They can spread this cost in a systematic and relatively convenient way over the span of their working and earning lives. In short, they can obtain benefits as a group which would be beyond their reach as individuals.

While the older men who are near retirement will get the most direct benefit from a pension plan, there are certain definite advantages for the younger workers also. In addition to having the promise of a future pension their present job security may be enhanced.

As the older men retire, new job opportunities are opened up. In slack times, the retirement of older workers may save the jobs of younger men who would otherwise be laid off. The retirement problem is therefore related to the broader problem of keeping involuntary unemployment at a minimum.

Rabbi Brands "Work" Codes in 17 States

The so-called "right-to-work" laws of 17 states were branded as immoral, undemocratic and fraudulent under Jewish law, by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Congregation Eshel Abraham, New York, as quoted in the Machinist (AFL).

34 FEP Cities in U. S.

Hantramack, Mich. — Detroit suburb last month became the nation's 34th city to adopt a fair employment practices ordinance.

Washington, D. C. — Disagreeing so extensively with the findings of a trial examiner that it made its own conclusions, the National Labor Relations Board unanimously has found the Utica Observer-Dispatch, Inc., guilty of two unfair labor practices in the tactics it followed after the Utica Newspaper Guild sought complete payroll information in August, 1953.

The trial examiner, Loren Laughlin, had recommended dismissal of one complaint by the Guild after the hearing on Feb. 10, 1954 and the other in his intermediate report, May 25, 1954.

Meanwhile, the publishing company promptly furnished the Utica Guild with all data it requested in connection with bargaining on a renewal of the contract last summer.

The Guild had charged the company, which is affiliated with the Frank Gannett group, with unfair labor practices in refusing to furnish detailed individual employee wage information as requested and in asking each employee in the bargaining unit whether the company should furnish the information requested.

In deciding the company's refusal to furnish wage information for some four months after the Guild had requested it was an unfair labor practice, the Board cited its "well-settled" rule "that an employer, upon appropriate request, must supply a union with relevant wage or other proper information from the Employer's records as an incident to its duty to bargain."

The Board broadened its previous rule in one respect by adding:



A Little Lesson In Linguistics

MILWAUKEE, WIS. Editor: Brother Doran, who complains about a book review (GR, Dec. 10) should have reached for a Langenscheidt instead of a Webster. The word *lumpen* (*lumpenproletariat*) which he wasn't able to find in the English lexicon, is in the German. Roughly, *lumpenproletariat* is rag, tag and bobtail fellows.

The term would not baffle a Marxist. Karl himself used it a lot, and in fact defines it in the form, *lumpenproletariat* is "The Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850," he writes that the membership of the Mobile Guard, as recruited by the Provisional Government of France in the wake of the popular uprising of 1848, consisted largely of such "They form," he wrote, "a mass strictly differentiated from the industrial proletariat... thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people with no definite trade, vagabonds, gens sans feu et sans aveu, with differences according to the degree of civilization of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lumpen* character."

In the event that Laroussie is as inaccessible as Langenscheidt among your readers, I will add that the French phrase quoted above means "people without fire or faith."

"Lazaroni" are bums, Neapolitan style.

Yours for an informed newspaper profession.

FRANK RAHILL, Milwaukee Guild.

Comments "Inside Story" On Right-To-Work Lobby

Editor: Your December 24 story on how to buy a right-to-work law was stuff worth knowing.

I showed it to neighbors, pals and everybody I could nail for a few minutes. They were glad

Freeze Circulation Jobs At San Antonio

San Antonio, Tex.—The recently organized truck drivers' unit at the San Antonio Light has gained contractual assurance that the paper's management will not extend an existing independent contract delivery system at the expense of the Guild.

This limitation on management's right to contract out its work is the principal improvement over the Teamsters' union contract, under which the 17 drivers formerly worked.

The new contract supplements the agreement already covering editorial and business office departments, and provides a \$3.55 raise and a flat minimum of \$65 weekly. The 5-day, 40-hour week is provided for all but city drivers, who work 40 hours in 6 days. The contract also provides a differential of 12% cents an hour for all work between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.

Specific limitation of delivery sub-contracting resulted from proposal by management that its right to contract out work would be unimpaired. After the

to see it. You never know, it could happen in Illinois, was the comment.

Many wanted copies to show their pals. I wished I had some to give.

Hope GR prints some more inside stuff. Makes folks alert to monkeybiz.

JOE G. VELNA, Lerner Unit, Chicago Guild.

Canadian Reader Says It's Just "The Times"

TORONTO, ONT. Editor: Please let the readers have accuracy from the people who represent the various crafts in the newspaper field.

Your Washington Roundup column dated December 24 refers to the "London Times," which you ought to know is published under the title "The Times," and should be referred to as such, of London.

You see, I am only classified as a porter, so I expect the highly-rated columnist to know as much as my humble self.

JOHN KENNEDY, Star Realty Unit, Toronto Guild.

The Guild Reporter recognizes no "lumpen" business. Washington writers and building partners for the Toronto Star. A salute to Guildman Kennedy for his standards of accuracy and thanks for the correction. — Ed.

Says Shorter Work-Week Problems Need Planning

PORTLAND, ORE. Editor: Within a very few years, particularly as atomic power is developed, the hourly work-week in the newspaper industry as in others must be shortened, according to economists who seem to know what they are talking about.

How should it be shortened? Should each day be shortened? Or should a shift be made gradually to a four-and-one-half-day week and eventually to a four-day week of work? Or should the vacation period be extended to a month, each year, with the

drivers voted to strike to combat this obvious effort to whittle away Guild jurisdiction, management acceded to a clause that in effect freezes the delivery staff at 17 for the duration of the contract.

After agreement was reached, management negotiators attempted to renege, by citing advice from counsel that such a clause was unnecessary in view of the recognition clause. The Guild, although agreeing with this view, insisted on retaining the specific language to avoid any future differences.

As a supplement to the main contract, the agreement also extends coverage of the entire Hearst National Memorandum to the drivers. That includes severance pay up to 56 weeks, alternate benefits which permit collection of severance pay on resignation after 25 years' service, grievance procedure, military leave and other features.

International Representative John Carmichael, who handled the organization of the drivers, was chief negotiator.

W. J. DECKER, Peoples World unit.

Letters shall be limited to 300 words and shall avoid libel and subscription. Subscribers to the Guild Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply. Letters of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue.

During elections or referendum letters on the question to appear in the edition immediately preceding the distribution of ballots shall be continued to readers of material appearing in the preceding edition.

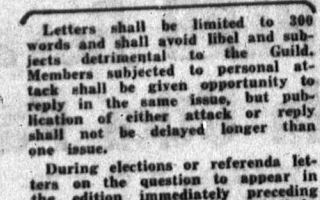
present five-day week to remain in effect? Or should there be an extra two days off in each month and the present five-day week to remain in effect?

My simplification is overdue here for the sake of space, but I believe my question is clear. Shouldn't we start thinking about this problem in advance, and prepare for future negotiations according to pre-arranged plans?

Or are we going to continue asking for the \$150 weekly pay on the basis of the present work week? Is that economically feasible for all papers, or just some? And the same question applies to the shorter work year, too, of course.

The December 20 issue of The New Leader has an interesting article dealing with this general subject in conjunction with the over-all economic problems our nation must face as national productivity rises.

GEORGE B. HOLCOMB, Portland Guild.



Among Ourselves

Kenneth B. Crouse, one-time IEB member and former president of the Twin Cities Local, enters the ranks of publishers, with the purchase of the Rouse's Point, N. Y., North Countryman. He left his St. Paul Dispatch job to become public relations consultant to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson.

San Zagoria, ex-president of the Washington Guild local, has left his studies at Harvard, as a Nieman Fellow, to become administrative assistant to U. S. Senator Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey. He's a native of Somerset, N. J., and a graduate of Rutgers University.

Pre-Christmas arrival at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Byrd, a son, Stanley Leon. Dad is a district manager for the Toledo Blade.

It was a boy, Anthony Craig, at the Indianapolis home of International Representative Ray Massey.

Daniel T. Smyth, executive secretary for the past year of the Chicago Newspaper Guild, has joined the campaign forces of Mayor Martin H. Kennelly, who seeks renomination next

month against two others in the city's Democratic mayoralty primaries.

Beland H. Honderich, first president of the Toronto Newspaper Guild, promoted out of Guild jurisdiction when he became editor-in-chief at the Toronto Star. Had been financial editor for six years, joining the Star in 1943 after starting newspaper work on the Kitchener Record.

Dick Gorrell, Richmond News Leader reporter, moves to the AP bureau at Charlotte, N. C. New fathers' group at Richmond includes Robert McNeil and Larry Gould; newest benefit is Bill Bie.

The Louis F. Stones (he's assistant to the editor at the Philadelphia Daily News) have announced arrival of a daughter, their third child. He was one-time managing editor at the York Gazette & Daily, later did desk duty at the Akron Beacon Journal.

Ed Marchinski, IEB vice president at large, has an article, "Are We Condemning Union Tyranny?" in the January 10 issue of the New Republic. It's a reply to an editorial in the Baltimore Sun.

And the fact that J-School enrolments began to climb again last Fall isn't quite as rosy as

sees Communist San As Posing Many Problems

San Francisco, Calif. Editor: The 1955 ANG convention is to consider a so-called "Communist ban."

It is a proposal to do away with the "Haywood Brown" clause of the ANG Constitution which protects right of membership to all, regardless of race, color, creed or political persuasion.

Let's look at this proposal, supposedly intended to purge only "reds."

The wording of the 1954 convention declaration of policy would rule ineligible for membership "any proven or admitted" communist or "any person who consistently adheres to the policies or actions of the Communist Party or any similar subversive organization."

First: What is "any similar subversive organization?" Is it one so ordained by McCarthy? By a Hearst top executive? It's a problem, now that the Democratic Party en masse is accused of treason.

Second: Who is going to dig out these "subversives?" Will members donate gratis a few hours a week to checking on the worker at the next desk?

Third: Since formal charges and trial are implied, shall the Guild set up a whole new legal department to process cases? There are great possibilities of embarrassment here. The Guild has defended Theodore Polubbaum from dismissal by United Press because he refused to answer questions of a House with-hunting committee. The Guild argued powerfully about a newspaperman's right to think. But what about a Guild member who won't talk to the Guild's own witch-hunters?

Fourth: There's nothing employers like better than to see unions split over the red issue. Intra-union squabbling of this sort dissipates strength at the bargaining table.

This matter is vital enough to stir debate in all Guild publications. So far there has been ominous silence. Let's get the issue out into the open. If we do, I think we will instruct delegates to the 1955 convention to vote against it.

W. J. DECKER, Peoples World unit.

With the withdrawal of San Francisco, Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak asked locals to act on the original proposals plus health and hospital insurance, pensions and vacations. The hospital and pension plans had been dropped from the original proposals at the specific request of SFONG.

All locals have agreed to Novak's recommendations that the hospital plan be made part of the national bargaining and that vacations be left for local negotiation.



More Hearst Locals Endorse ANG Memorandum Proposal

With a referendum today deciding the position of the Seattle-Tacoma Guild, locals having contracts with Hearst papers have almost completed the endorsement that units previously had given to proposals for a new Hearst National Memorandum.

Approval has been given by Boston, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, San Antonio and Los Angeles. Albany has not yet acted.

The referendum in the Seattle Post Intelligencer unit was brought about by a petition after a sparsely attended unit meeting had voted to withdraw from memorandum negotiations. The local executive board has indicated it will endorse the unit's referendum, which is expected to be in favor of continued participation in national negotiations.

The proposals which were approved by all units except one were resubmitted to the locals after the International Executive Board ruled that units could not commit the locals to a national bargaining program without approval by the local governing bodies.

Under this ruling, San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild withdrew from national negotiations. The Hearst memorandum had been extended by city-wide contract to cover the Scripps-Howard News and Independent Chronicle as well as Bulletin.

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All locals have agreed to Novak's recommendations that the hospital plan be made part of the national bargaining and that vacations be left for local negotiation.

On the pension issue, the vote was divided, with Boston and Los Angeles favoring inclusion in the national proposal. All others were opposed.

ANG has notified Hearst general management of its desire to negotiate a renewal of the Memorandum. Harvey J. Kelly, general counsel on labor for the Hearst papers, has agreed to the Guild's request to delay the start of talks until the proposals have been formally approved.

The Hearst National Memorandum covers such subjects as Guild shop, dues checkoff, job security, severance pay, alternate benefits, military leave, leave of absence and grievance procedure. It is incorporated into local contracts of all participating locals.

CIO On Costa Rica A telegram, in connection with fighting in Costa Rica, was sent this week to Secretary of State Dulles by O. A. Knight, chairman of the CIO Latin American Affairs Committee.

"Reports of the attack on Costa Rica are a matter of the democratic government of deep concern to the members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

"We in the CIO have been concerned for many months about the threat of an aggressive attack launched against Costa Rica. Such an attack now appears to be in progress with clear evidence pointing to its having been launched outside Costa Rica."

Byrd declined to discuss what the holiday pay was forthcoming. He took the grievance to management because it undercut the holiday clause Guild members had worked so hard to achieve. And management agreed to add the missing holiday pay to the man's next paycheck.

Informed by Byrd that the holiday pay was forthcoming, the former managing editor became highly indignant. He said he didn't want it.

Byrd gave him the only possible reply.

The local president told him he didn't care whether he wanted it or not, he was going to get it.

In the event that he still didn't want the holiday pay after he got it, Byrd suggested an appropriate place of deposit.

Job Prospects Are Deemed Fairly Bright During 1955

The class of 1955 can look forward to bright employment prospects and higher starting salaries on graduation day, according to a survey by the placement department of Northwestern University.

But journalism grads probably won't fare as well as their classmates, says Dwight Bentele, education editor of Editor & Publisher.

In the Northwestern survey, 152 large and medium-sized companies reported they will hire 19% more engineers and 2% more non-technical graduates than last year.

The average starting salary in all fields, the survey predicts, will be \$341 a month, or \$6 higher than last year. Engineers will be offered starting salaries averaging \$361 a month and graduating accountants, \$322 a month.

"Journalism graduates," commented Bentele, "probably average \$100 a month less starting salary than the overall average reported by Northwestern. This is not made up in the next five years. The Northwestern survey showed that the graduate hired five years ago at \$255 a month now is earning \$308, if he made normal progress."

In recent years, the newspaper industry's failure, to meet the salary competition for college graduates has shown up in declining enrolments in journalism schools.

And the fact that J-School enrolments began to climb again last Fall isn't quite as rosy as

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Holiday Pay?—Just Forget It

Grievance Case History No. 23

The Guild contract is designed for the protection of the employees. Most often it protects them from the injustices of the publisher, but sometimes it must protect them from themselves, or from each other.

Take, for example, the case of the part-time copy reader on the San Antonio Light who didn't want any holiday pay.

He began working for the Light after being fired—without notice—as a managing editor of an opposition, non-Guild, daily.

During the last Labor Day week, he worked four days—as did most of the other employees on the paper. But unlike the other employees, he received only four days' pay.

When San Antonio Guild President Ken Byrd asked him if he had received his holiday pay, his 17 years as a managing editor blossomed forth. He said he didn't think he deserved five days' pay because he had only worked four.

Byrd declined to discuss what the holiday pay was forthcoming. He took the grievance to management because it undercut the holiday clause Guild members had worked so hard to achieve. And management agreed to add the missing holiday pay to the man's next paycheck.

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Enkies Due Feb. 1 For Hillman Awards

Deadline for the annual Sid Hillman journalism awards is February 1.

The awards, given in memory of the late president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-CIO, are presented for work dealing with such themes as civil liberties, race and labor relations, social welfare and international understanding.

F. M. FLYNN, president and general manager, New York Daily News—"The coming year looks good to me—possibly not that we may see an upturn from the tight going of the past few years."

PALMER ROY, editor and publisher, Denver Post—"The year 1954 has gone on the record as the second best business year in the nation's history, and it was a peacetime

Local Copy

News Industry To Have Good Year . . . If The Forecasters Are Right

What's the outlook for the newspaper business as 1955 gets under way?

Economic forecasters, columnists and publishers all seem to be making happy noises about the prospects for the coming year.

Business wise, this year will be considerably better than 1954, they say. And 1954 wasn't so bad at all, for newspapers.

Here are some of the predictions concerning business in general and newspapers in particular.

• Total spending in the U.S. will rise to more than \$73 billion dollars, an increase of 16 billion dollars over 1954, says U.S. News & World Report. The figure for 1954 was \$67.3 billion and for the 1953—the record year—it was \$64.9 billion.

• Some of this increased spending will rub off onto newspapers. Says Editor & Publisher: "Alert manufacturers and merchandisers will go after this increased consumer purchasing power through advertising media. The newspaper, the Number One advertising medium, will benefit."

• Total advertising expenditures in the U.S. will again set a new record, says the Printers' Ink annual forecast. "It should pass the \$8,500,000,000 level and may reach \$8,750,000,000," says the magazine. (Printers' Ink also estimated that 1954's total volume will be about \$8,250,000,000, or some \$500,000,000 over 1953.)

If the Printers' Ink forecast turns out to be anywhere near the final figure—and it's usually on the conservative side—1955 could be a very good year, indeed, so long as newspapers continue to share of the advertising dollar. And some forecasters predict that newspapers will get an even bigger slice than they have in the past. More and more advertisers, they say will turn—or return—to newspapers as their costly television contracts run out.

As for 1954, Media Records lineage measurements in 52 cities shows total lineage for the first 11 months of 1954 was 1.4% of the total population.

One publisher, for example, told Guild negotiators that his lineage was down 3.5% for the first 10 months of 1954. He admitted, however, that revenues were 1.5% higher in the same period.

Here's how some of the nation's publishers view 1955, as reported by Editor & Publisher:

F. M. FLYNN, president and general manager, New York Daily News—"The coming year looks good to me—possibly not that we may see an upturn from the tight going of the past few years."

PALMER ROY, editor and publisher, Denver Post—"The year 1954 has gone on the record as the second best business year in the nation's history, and it was a peacetime

year at that. . . . There are no reasons for us to believe that 1955 need be any less productive, or less prosperous, than 1954. And there is every indication that the competitive spirit between and among businesses and industries will become keener. Of all the media, old and new, newspapers remain unchanged as the basic, mainstay of the public.

The individual newspaper that does its best to fulfill that responsibility, and which aggressively sells the public on its ability to fulfill it, can look to 1955 as an opportunity."

EDWARD H. BUTLER, editor and publisher, Buffalo Evening News—"1955 should be a good year; perhaps slightly better than 1954. Locally, Buffalo business seems to be on the upturn which I think is a good sign. This enables one to be a little more measured in the outlook for 1955."

ROBERT C. BASSETT, publisher, Milwaukee Sentinel—"Although 1955 presents a continuing necessity for avoiding further production cost increases, I am very optimistic that we will experience advertising and circulation revenue increases, for the proportionate number of newspapers."

When publishers, like Bassett, warn against "production cost increases" they usually mean wage increases. And while the forecasts are unanimous in their prediction of greater productivity and higher newspaper revenues, it is doubtful that publishers will be any more willing to share them with their employees than they have been in the past.

For example, Clarence B. Hanson Jr., publisher of the Birmingham News (not a Guild paper) says: "We believe that the outlook for newspapers—as for most other businesses—in 1955 is excellent. Naturally, this estimate is qualified by the statement that the outlook for gross volume being good, outlook for satisfactory net is contingent on no undue increases in labor and other costs."

And Editor & Publisher itself said:

"In all the forecasts, however, are words of caution to the complacent. The year ahead will see a further rise in costs and competition particularly in the newspaper business. The rising spiral of wages has not terminated—after so many years of it, an annual wage increase seems to

be anticipated and expected. The competition for the advertiser's dollar will be stiffer than ever among all media.

"There is little doubt that the year ahead will see a high level of business activity, but it will be a year of challenge for management and sales executives."

But "twas ever thus. The publisher who is rich enough to buy a yacht at the Boat Show in January suddenly becomes poverty stricken when he sits down at the bargaining table in March.

THE FIRST DUTY

"The first duty of a newspaper is to stay alive. And the most important single fact about any newspaper is that it differs from the next newspaper and is owned by a different man, or group of men. This fact (the fact of difference) transcends a newspaper's greatness, a newspaper's honesty, a newspaper's liveliness, or any other quality. The health of the country is at stake every time a newspaper dies of strangulation or is wiped out in a mercy killing. The solemn fact . . . is not that we lose a conservative paper, or an ancient paper, or an honest paper, or a funny paper, but that we lose a paper—one voice in the choir."

E. H. White in THE SECOND TREE FROM THE CORNER, Harper & Brothers (New York), page 163.

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LABOR BOARD PROCEEDINGS NLRB Decision and Order, requiring full payroll data to be furnished by employers. (See page 10.)

HEARING ORDERED BY NLRB on representation of the Chicago Newspaper Guild. (See page 10.)

CONTRACTS CONTINUED Daily Press and Times Herald, contract renewal approved. Daily Press and Times Herald, contract renewal approved. Daily Press and Times Herald, contract renewal approved.

Los Angeles Herald & Express, contract renewal approved. Los Angeles Herald & Express, contract renewal approved. Los Angeles Herald & Express, contract renewal approved.

NY Herald Tribune, contract renewal approved. NY Herald Tribune, contract renewal approved. NY Herald Tribune, contract renewal approved.

THE GUILD REPORTER

CHARLES E. CRISSEY, Editor
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ANG INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS
PRESIDENT: EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT: SECRETARY-TREASURER:
Joseph F. Collins Ralph B. Navak William J. Farson
International Headquarters, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS: 1—John H. Thompson, 42 Winsor Road, No. Quincy, Mass. 2—Philip Price, 12 W. Curtis Ave., Alexandria, Va. 3—Adolph J. Rahm, 1386 Midland Drive, University City 14, Mo. 4—Al Dipman, 416 Milton Ave., San Bruno, Calif. 5—Victor Leo, 3004 Clarendon Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 6—C. Joseph Beaulere, 150 Indian Road Crescent, Toronto, Canada.
AT-LARGE VICE PRESIDENTS: Roberta Bailey, 130 Drexel Road, Ardmore, Pa. Edward Easton, Jr., 2 East 12th St., New York, N. Y. Paul A. Freye, 2863 Cresta Way, Sacramento 21, Calif. Ed Marcinia, 21 West Superior, Chicago 10, Ill. Robert C. Stafford, Box 636, West Richfield, Ohio. Felix B. Wold, 465 East Cambourne, Ferndale 20, Mich.
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION: J. William Blatz.
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January 14, 1955

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LETTERS of thanks, handwritten in German script and embarrassingly profuse in their expressions of gratitude, have been arriving at ANG headquarters this week from recipients of CARE packages, a couple of hundred of which were shipped to West Germany after the IEB appropriated funds for that purpose in November.

Presumably Guild locals who participated in the shipments at the invitation of ANG Secretary-Treasurer William J. Farson are receiving similar acknowledgments.

Under the plan, fifty cents paid for sending some 14 lbs. of food, contributed to CARE out of government surplus stocks. With a deadline of December 1, the packages arrived in West Germany in time for Christmas, the recipients note.

When it is remembered that the food packages consist of staples that every American family takes for granted, there is sharp poignancy in having them described, in more than one of the letters, as providing a "Christmas feast" for a family accustomed, to quote one writer, "to a low pension and high prices."

Well after the announced deadline, Farson received from the Kenosha, Wis., Guild local a contribution of \$10. The gift has been forwarded in the hope that its original intent can still be fulfilled.

Gifts from other Guild locals were acknowledged in previous issues of the Guild Reporter.

SEASONAL bounty was the keynote for Guildsmen employed by the Joliet Herald-News. A cash bonus of \$25 went to each employee, along with a boxed chicken dinner, on the Thursday before Christmas.

The publisher, John F. Lux, writes a daily column, a home-spun-style product called "I See By The Papers." Recently he had selections from the column reprinted in book form, embellished with a collection of old-time Joliet cartoons, and a complimentary copy went to each employee at Christmas.

This wasn't all. Next Tuesday the Joliet Country Club will be the scene of the annual dinner dance of Herald-News employees, with the publisher picking up the tab.

All this — and a Guild-Shop contract!

FRIENDS of Kenneth Clark, the "Mr. Guild" of Kansas City, whose death is chronicled elsewhere in this issue, remember a

story about him which typified both his professional standards and his dogged insistence in furthering Guild business.

When in August, 1935, the government was foreclosing mortgages on Missouri farms, angry farmers made trouble at the foreclosure sales, at Plattsburg. Clark was assigned to the story.

When he arrived, enraged homesteaders had already smashed some news cameras and bashed noses of other news men on the scene. When Clark identified himself and his errand he too was surrounded by a menacing mob. He was given a choice of leaving immediately, or run the risk of being tarred and feathered. When he refused to leave, he was roughed up, but stood his ground and got his story.

Asked later why he hadn't scrambled to safety, Clark seemed surprised at the question. Said he, "I was right; Why should I back down?"

It was that attitude that Clark exemplified in early Guild days, too. His unexpected streak of stubbornness — he was tall, gaunt and stoop-shouldered — saved the Kansas City Guild from extinction in those years when management opposition and internal defections both threatened the life of the young local.

"In those days," says one who was there, "Kenny WAS the Guild." Clark worked, argued, preached and converted, unaffected by disappointments, undeterred by difficulties.

And he lived to see his faith rewarded, when six years ago the Guild won nation-wide recognition and contract status with the Associated Press.

\$100 Sick-Leave Pay Is Tax Deductible

Certain payments for sick leave are not taxable under the Internal Revenue Code, and may be deducted from gross income in computing federal income taxes, the Guild has been informed by Sidney S. Shulman, of the ANG's auditing firm.

Provided that employers maintain necessary records of payment, up to \$100 weekly of such amounts is deductible from gross income totals, and withholding is not required.

The Code as finally adopted, Shulman says, contains Section 105(D), Wage Continuation Plans, which spells out the rules for such deductions.

Washington ROUNDUP

By ALBERT J. ZACK
Washington Guild

THERE ARE PROBABLY no statistics to support the claim that Washington contains more crystal balls, and professional gazers-into-same, than any other city in America, including Texas. But the perennial spate of "I-Predict" stories, carrying a Washington dateline, which crowd the nation's press each January, lends some credence to that belief.

Nearly every Capitol Hill "observer" (a broad term covering at least every other D. C. resident) has his own idea of what Congress will do during the coming term. Those minus ideas have "educated guesses." There's hardly a man around the Press Club bar who can recall hearing an "observer" admit he just doesn't know what's going to happen. Such an admission is tantamount to resignation from the league.

In such exalted company, this guest columnist (a term meaning a Guildsman who couldn't think up a quick excuse for refusal) feels like the new Sultan meeting his harem: He knows what's expected of him, but not how well equipped he is for the task.

This feeling is complicated by the man's observation that the column should just summarize what the 84th has in mind for labor. Remembering a one-time city editor's growling advice to "ask someone," this reporter hastily interviewed two experts on labor legislation.

One was an optimist; the other a pessimist, and the confusion was compounded. A thorough perusal of the generalizations assembled on the Augusta golf course, in those precious moments stolen from the important business of breaking 90, gave but few clues.

A nose count of the 84th was of little help, for party labels sometimes bear small print deploring party platforms. Anyway, labels have a way of coming unstuck in Washington's summer heat, when the Congress does most of its deciding.

One sage suggested a measurement of the legislative idea against the composition of the committees in each House where the idea would normally be sent. "If it's a liberal idea," he cautioned as we scribbled, "and the committee is dominated by conservatives, it won't pass—usually."

(Note to editor: You might want to pass this on to your readers. It didn't help me any because the committees weren't all constituted by your deadline.)

ARMED THUS with little expertise and only conflicting advisories (as the bureaucrats put it), this guest columnist is prepared to pontificate.

The outlook for labor legislation in the 84th Congress is: Uncertain.

It is far easier to appreciate the need for measures bearing labor's stamp of approval than it is to forecast their eventual destination. Some will undoubtedly be bottled up in committee; some will create tough partisan battles apparent even in a week when all politicians love their brothers-in-office. Some will become law, probably considerably weakened since the Administration clearly believes it hurts the dog less if you clip his tail an inch at a time.

Only one clear signpost can be seen from this observer's centerfield bleacher seat: The handout state, for millionaires and General Motors only, has shut up shop, for the time being anyway. Fort Knox, the putting concession on the White House lawn, TVA, the Carrier Forrestal and the Pentagon will not be leased to the next-to-highest-bidder-with-a-pull, at least not this year.

That, son, is a prediction.

OTHERWISE, in this crystal ball can be seen only big clouds.

The Democrats won their razor-thin congressional control by victory in areas where unemployment was high and the Administration's planned optimism had proven no substitute for cash on the grocery counter. Yet, the President gleefully hailed 1954 as "one of the most prosperous," despite 3.5 million jobless, uncounted millions on short-pay rations, and an estimated slump of over \$20 billion in the gross national product.

Logically, that means the Democrats will fight for needed backstops to economy: improved and

Eleanor Coakley, who for several months has written the Guild Reporter's Washington Roundup column, has become administrative assistant to the new Toledo Congressman, Rep. T. L. Ashley, and has asked to be relieved of her GR assignment. Al Zack, invited to guest-conduct for this issue, is on the staff of the CIO editor and publicity director, Henry C. Fleisher, and is an assistant editor of the CIO News.—Ed.

mandatory unemployment compensation standards; tax cuts for the little guy whose consumer spending exactly equals his take-home pay; public works to put the jobless back to work and alleviate the hospital-school-road-home shortage, about which even 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue has now heard.

Just as logically, that would mean a fight for a realistic boost in the minimum wage floor; badly needed pay raises for federal workers; repeal of Taft-Hartley to spur union organization and strengthen collective bargaining leading to higher wage scales; reexamination of the farm price support program to protect farm families from skidding incomes and consumers from soaring prices.

But there are some maverick Democrats, who seem most at home when they are closeted with the what's-good-for-GM-is-good-for-the-nation set. The Democratic leadership can't count on their votes.

THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS that the Eisenhower moderate-progressive slogan means he wants to be a New-Deal-Fair Deal President on alternate Tuesdays. For example, he's for a higher minimum wage, but not till next year and then only a 15-cent, cost-of-living boost. Can't let those workers get ahead of their 1949 standard, ya' know.

Taxes should stay put, he says, since the big boys were fixed up last year. We need to act to meet the "unprecedented" classroom shortage, Ike continues, but how and when is another ghost writer's task. He wants another 35,000 public housing units a year for the next two, the nation's No. 1 golfer said, and he hasn't changed his mind about altering Taft-Hartley — he'd still make it worse.

In brief, the General was for the general welfare — but only a wee bit. To many, his State-of-the-Union message (in the Chamber of Commerce it's known as the State-of-the-Nation message) sounded like an advertising man's prescription: Take a few slogans, add a touch of generalities, and shake well. The dose, repeated frequently, may stave off defeat in 1956.

The Republicans, more often than not the President's loyal opposition, applauded mightily as he talked. In quick press statements (carefully prepared in advance) they hailed his generalities and treated with almost universal silence his few, halting moves toward progressive legislation.

THAT COULD MEAN stalemate for all the social welfare proposals; the meaningful cries pushed by liberals or the nearly empty parcels, attractively packaged by the President's devoted Madison Avenue friends.

The hard-core Republicans, who tolerate Ike because his name brought them their first victory in two decades, will oppose both. The liberal Democrats won't be willing to buy social welfare in title only, and will fight for something better.

What would Ike do if the liberals should succeed in making, say, his minimum wage bill read \$1, instead of 90 cents, and effective in 90 days, instead of one year?

For that answer, gentle reader, we refer you to your hometown newspaper on the day such a bill reaches his desk (if ever).

For ourselves, we are content to write our congressman regularly, give a buck to PAC, register and wait for the next time we get a chance to pick the nation's No. 1 tenant.

What will the 84th Congress do to legislation labor is backing? Well, if you haven't guessed: We don't know. By nature, we're neither pessimistic nor optimistic — just hopeful.

And by a sheer coincidence, we've run out of space — and words — at precisely the same moment.