

Shutdown Is Over In New York

New York City—New York's marathon newspaper strike ended last week, and Mayor Robert F. Wagner promptly announced he would propose a plan to avert future shutdowns.

The 114-day strike and lockout came to a close when the Photoengravers, last of the striking unions, voted to accept a contract embodying wage and fringe increases totalling \$12.63—the pattern previously accepted by the ITU and other unions.

Approximately 5,400 Guild members were among 19,000 employees who returned to work at the Times, Herald Tribune, News, Mirror, World-Telegram & Sun, Journal-American and Long Island Star-Journal. They had been idle since Dec. 8.

The Mirror and News celebrated their return to the newsstands by firing 21-gun salutes and releasing balloons. The Times and Tribune marked the occasion by raising their prices from five to ten cents.

The Times ran a 16-column review of the strike by A. H. Raskin, veteran labor specialist and a member of the Times editorial board. Raskin concluded that the ITU scored "breakthroughs" on its three "key issues of principle": the 35-hour week, a common contract expiration date and a share in the gains of automation.

(For extensive excerpts from the Raskin article, see Pages 4, 5). Wagner said he would make an early announcement of his plan for heading off future strikes. The plan is expected to include a joint union-management industry board, a recommendation made in his strike-settlement proposal.

The joint board, similar to one operating in the steel industry, would concern itself with technological change and other continuing industry problems on a year-round basis, preparing the way for subsequent bargaining.

There also have been suggestions for the formation of a joint council of newspaper unions for common bargaining.

Both union and management spokesmen conceded improved bargaining machinery of some kind is needed.

"Either we must find a better relationship or we'll go back to the jungle and fight tooth and nail," said Bertram A. Powers, president of ITU Local 6. "Things will either get better or they will get worse."

Walter N. Thayer, president of the Herald Tribune, agreed that negotiating machinery must be improved and that there should be no more "piecemeal bargaining."

(Continued on Page 6)

And In Cleveland

Strike Ended; 3 Members File Charge Against Guild

Cleveland, Ohio—The Plain Dealer and the Press and News resumed publication this week after a record-breaking shutdown of 129 days.

The two dailies ceased publication Nov. 30 and it was 18 weeks later, on April 4, before contracts with 11 unions, including the Guild, were finally settled. The papers, a 96-page morning Plain Dealer and an 80-page evening Press and News, reappeared on April 8.

Meanwhile, three Cleveland

Vol. XXX, No. 8

Return
Requested

Washington, D. C.

1125 16th St. N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

April 12, 1963

The ANG GUILD REPORTER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD (AFL-CIO, CLC)

Key Memphis Minimums Up \$15; Chicago's, \$12



Photo by Harry Grogan, New York Guild

End of the Blackout: Jubilation is reflected at the New York Mirror as 114-day strike ends. Wilfred E. Alexander, New York Guild president and Mirror rewrite man, holds the first post-strike edition as he shakes hands with publisher Charles B. McCabe.

Others are General Manager W. N. Thompson, at Alexander's left; Managing Editor Selig Adler, checking edition at front left; Rose Bigman, Walter Winchell's "Girl Friday," Editor Glenn Neville, seated right, and Night Editor Morton Ehrman, holding paper at extreme right.

Four Weeks Of Vacation 1st In South

Increases of \$15 in key editorial and advertising minimum salaries and up to \$29 in other minimums have been won by the Memphis Guild in a new two-year settlement with the Scripps-Howard Commercial Appeal & Press-Scimitar.

Meanwhile, in other major wage settlements:

► Increases of \$11 and \$12 in key editorial minimums have been won by the Chicago Guild in a new two-year contract with the Sun-Times & Daily News. Minimums for assistant city editors are increased \$15.

► Increases of \$10.25 to \$11 in key news and commercial minimums are provided by the new two-year contract with United Press International ratified this week by Wire Service Guild members. In four UPI bureaus, the newsman minimum is increased \$22 as the result of upgrading. (For further details, see Chicago and UPI stories on Page 2.)

The Memphis Guild also won a fourth week's vacation, the first in a Guild contract in the South; arbitration of discharges, and seniority protection in economy discharges. The contract will be presented to the members for ratification April 21.

The new top minimums for reporters and display advertising salesmen—which go to \$140 in the second year of the contract—are the highest in the South. They are increased \$7.50 retroactive to Dec. 11, 1962, the effective date of the contract, plus an additional \$7.50 effective Dec. 11, 1963.

The contract provides for an average money package of \$9.25 over the two years, with \$7.25 going into wages. One dollar goes into pensions, 25 cents into insurance and 75 cents to cover the cost of adjustments in certain minimums.

The settlement came after six (Continued on Page 2)

U.S. Accountant Turns 'Loss' Into Profit At L.A. Examiner

Hearst's Los Angeles Examiner would have shown a \$6.1-million profit instead of a \$2-million loss in its last five years if proper accounting procedures had been used, a government accountant told the Celler committee this week.

Samuel M. Shulman, an audit manager for the U.S. General Accounting Office, presented his analysis after Hearst officials told the House antitrust subcommittee they had suspended the Examiner because it was a "failing newspaper."

The committee is investigating

the simultaneous suspension of the morning Examiner and Norman Chandler's evening Los Angeles Mirror, which Hearst officials conceded was accomplished by mutual agreement.

Hearst executives, testifying before the committee, conceded that the evening Herald-Express lost money consistently while the Examiner earned \$137,000 in 1958 and \$1,026,000 in 1959. They reported losses of \$653,000 in 1960 and \$1,551,000 in 1961 for the Examiner.

But Shulman said unjustifiable expenses charged to the Examiner in Hearst's internal bookkeeping from 1957 through 1961 transformed a \$6,124,000 profit into a \$2,037,000 loss. Shulman's analysis was based on a detailed examination of the Examiner's books and on information supplied by Malcolm Roop, chief accountant for Hearst's Los Angeles Division. G. O. Markson, Hearst general manager, said Roop has since been fired.

Shulman said the Examiner showed a loss because:

► Termination costs of \$1,257,000 when the Examiner was suspended in January 1962 were charged to 1961 expenses.

► The Examiner was charged \$21 per 1,000 copies of Hearst's American Weekly and comic

weekly as against customary industry charges of \$2 for weekly supplements, costing the Examiner \$3,928,000 more over the five-year period.

► Commissions paid to the Hearst Advertising Service for national advertising approximated 14 percent, compared with a range of from 8 to 11 percent paid outside agencies by the Herald-Express and Hearst's San Francisco Call Bulletin. The difference came to \$570,000 over an 18-month period.

► The Examiner's share of (Continued on Page 6)

Publisher's Portrait:

Fat Cat, \$60,000 Kitty

Definitely a "fat cat," smug and satisfied. With a salary ranging from \$17,000 to \$60,000 yearly.

This is the picture of the typical U.S. newspaper publisher drawn by the Gallagher Report from its recent study of the industry (GR, March 22).

A negative image. At least in terms of aggressiveness and new ideas.

"He's inclined to be stodgy," says the report. "Getting along in years. Locked in on the job. Used to old ways. No great urge to

chart new courses." Most publishers have overstayed their tenure, the report concludes, and the industry shows a serious lack of fresh, new faces with ideas to match.

From a questionnaire answered by 348 publishers of dailies, the report finds:

► Average age of top newspaper executive is 50.

► He has held his present job for 11 years, been with his present newspaper 19; he chalks up 27 (Continued on Page 7)

Key Minimums Go Up By \$15 In Memphis

(Continued from Page 1)

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Other minimums are increased by the amount of the general increase, which ranges from \$5.50 to \$8.50, effective as follows:

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Under \$125	4.00 3.50
Under \$100	3.50 3.00
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The fourth week's vacation is provided for employees with 20 years of service (nearly a fourth of the unit), and the new job security clause provides that seniority shall govern in economy dismissals so long as there is no "substantial" difference in ability.

Other gains include a uniform mileage rate of 10 cents for the first 200 miles and 8 cents thereafter, with a \$12.50 guarantee.

Three days before the settlement was reached, the Commercial Appeal publicly assailed the Guild in a 15-inch, two-column page one editorial, announcing it would continue to publish "whatever action is taken."

The Guild retorted with a two-column ad of full-page depth when the paper refused to grant it unpaid space for a reply. The ad was censored twice before the paper agreed to print it.

The Commercial Appeal, in refusing it space for a statement, said the Guild could reply in a letter to the editor—a recourse which, the Guild pointed out, would result in several days' delay.

"Such is the power of the press," declared the Guild in commenting in its ad on the paper's position, "especially a monopoly press which can, if it chooses, publish only its side of a dispute."

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He Writes 'In The Interest Of Complete Reporting'

Editorial: The Guild Reporter for March 22 uses this phrase in connection with protests of Cleveland Guild members about non-payment of benefits.

"A formal request for benefits was made to ANG by another Guildsman, Jack Clouser, who claimed 'legal right' to them despite failure to perform strike duty."

In the interest of complete reporting, would it be too much for G.R. to note that I, and others like me, claim benefits only beginning with March 1, when the new contract was signed here?



Looking It Over: Members of the Memphis Guild bargaining committee study a wage-brokerage proposal offered by the Memphis Publishing Co. Left to right (seated): Vincent Thillien; ANG Vice President Dick Lane, who is also local

president; Wangs (Pat) Patterson, and First Vice President Jim White, who headed the team. Standing are Mike Malone, left, and CHM Hussman. Not shown are Emmett Rasch, Layman Hicks and Robert Christofferson, ANG International Representative, who assisted the local in bargaining.

\$3.50 To \$22 Minimum Increases Are Provided In New UPI Contract

New York City—Increases in minimum salaries ranging from \$3.50 to \$22 a week are provided by the new two-year contract with United Press International ratified this week by UPI Guildsmen.

Largest minimum increases in the agreement, which covers 988 UPI employees, went to the newsmen classifications in Albuquerque, Austin, Honolulu and St. Paul which were upgraded from Class III to Class II. Top minimum in these bureaus was raised from \$142.50 to \$159.50 as of March 16, 1963, effective date of the contract, and \$164.50 on March 16, 1964, a total of \$22.

Top minimum for newsmen in the 12 Class I bureaus was raised \$10.25, up \$5.25 to \$169.75 the first year, up another \$5 to \$174.75 the second year. Class I bureaus are Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis and Washington.

Top minimum for newsmen in the 47 Class II bureaus was increased \$10.50, up \$5.50 to \$110.50 the first year and up \$3 to \$113 the second year.

A general increase ranges from \$3.50 to \$7.50 and is effective as follows: \$2 the first year and \$1.50 the second for those earning up to \$74.99; \$2.75 and \$2.25 for those earning \$75 to \$99.99; \$3.50 and \$3 for those earning \$100 to \$119.99, and \$4 and \$3.50 for those earning more than \$120.

Management's contribution to hospitalization coverage was increased \$1 a month to \$10, effective Jan. 1, 1964. A seventh holiday, the employee's birthday, was added as of the same date. And reimbursement of up to \$2.50 per flight for insurance, and life insurance have been incorporated into the contract, among other improvements.

Employees have the option of participating in the life insurance

Stockton First

Stockton, Calif.—The Stockton Guild has achieved a first. Telephone operators on the Record went to a top minimum of \$101 on April 1, the second year's increase in a two-year agreement.

The figure passes the \$100 weekly ANG wage goal for adult classifications and is the first such minimum for phone operators in a Guild newspaper contract.

The minimum is reached after five years in the PBX operators category.

\$159.50 the first year and up \$5 to \$164.50 the second year.

Top minimum for newsmen in the 33 Class III bureaus was boosted \$11, up \$5.50 to \$148 the first year and up \$5.50 to \$153.50 the second year.

In the commercial department, biggest increase in the minimums went to the bookkeeper classification, up \$8 to \$110 the first year and up \$3 to \$113 the second year.

A general increase ranges from \$3.50 to \$7.50 and is effective as follows: \$2 the first year and \$1.50 the second for those earning up to \$74.99; \$2.75 and \$2.25 for those earning \$75 to \$99.99; \$3.50 and \$3 for those earning \$100 to \$119.99, and \$4 and \$3.50 for those earning more than \$120.

Chicago Wins \$188 Salary For Editors

Chicago, Ill.—Increases ranging from \$5.50 to \$15 in minimum salaries, a new classification reaching \$188 in 1964 and a general increase ranging to \$9 highlight the new two-year contract between the Chicago Guild and the Sun-Times and Daily News.

The reporter top minimum is up \$12, the copyreader minimum \$11. Retroactive to March 1, the reporter minimum is raised \$8 to \$158, then \$4 to \$162 on March 1, 1964; copyreaders go up \$7 to \$170 and then \$4 to \$174.

The minimum for cable and telegraph editors, officially designated assistant department heads, columnists, and drama, literary, movie, music and television critics also is increased \$11, \$7 to \$180 and \$4 to \$184.

The newly-created group of not more than three officially designated assistant city editors on each of the two papers goes to \$184 retroactively and next year to \$188. This represents a gain of \$15.

Stenographers, clerks and receptionists get pay raises of \$3 the first year to \$86 and \$2.50 the second to \$88.50.

A general increase of \$3 to \$5 the first year and \$2.50 to \$4 the second is applied to other minimums.

During the life of the contract, the Guild and the Field management will discuss, at four meetings, pay for syndication of employees' work used by the Daily News service packet. Such work currently is excluded from extra compensation arrangements.

Mandatory leave for one Peace Corps enlistment has been negotiated.



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Picket-Line Crosser Expelled By Guild

Twine Cities, Minn.—Robert Lopez, the only Guildsmen who crossed picket lines during the 117-day craft union-Teamster strike at the Minneapolis Star & Tribune last summer, has been expelled from the Guild.

A Twin Cities local membership meeting voted to sustain a trial panel's decision that Lopez be expelled from the Guild and its recommendation that he never be allowed to join again.

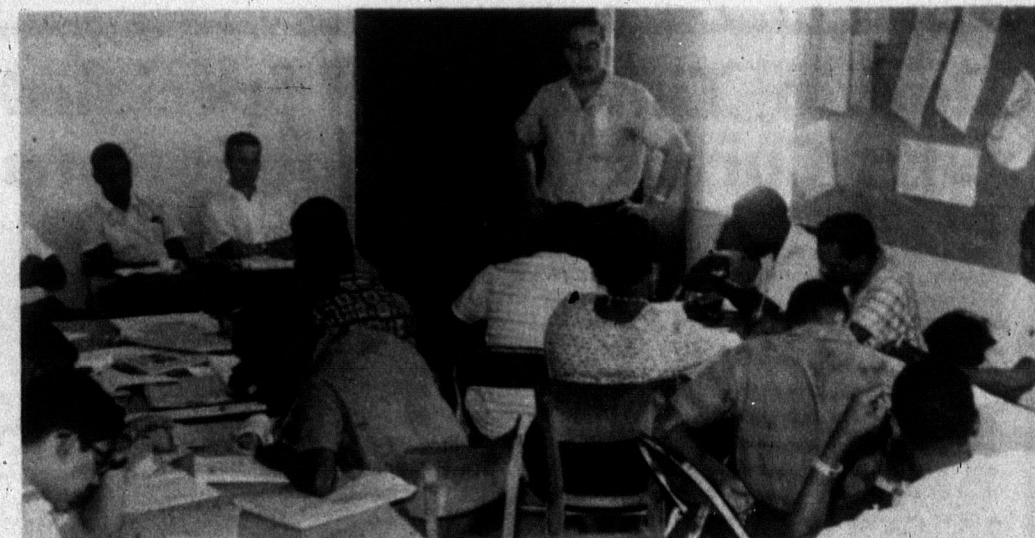
The trial panel found Lopez guilty of violating Article XII, Section 1 (e) of the Guild constitution which lists "working for or in a shop which is on strike" as an offense for which a member can be disciplined.

Ten members of the local filed charges against Lopez in September 1962. The charge was referred to the trial panel which held a hearing in January.

Lopez did not deny that he crossed the craft union picket lines during the strike, but contended he had not violated the Guild constitution because the Guild—whose contract was closed—was not "on strike."

The trial panel noted, however, that a decision to respect the craft picket lines had been made by a unanimous vote of 190 members of the Star & Tribune Unit on the day the strike started. Lopez admitted he knew of the meeting and of the decision to be voted on, but still made no effort to be present.

Lopez said he felt that "as a matter of conscience" he was obligated to report for work because he was the supervisor of the library staff. The accusers pointed



ANG Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., IAFWNO co-chairman, addresses Trinidad seminar on "Collective Bargaining Techniques." Other ANG representatives also assisted at the seminar.

ANG Aids In Caribbean

Seminar Strengthens News Unions

Port-of-Spain, Trinidad—West Indian newspaper unionists have returned home expressing determination to restructure their unions for more effective organizing and bargaining on the basis of what they learned at the first Regional Trade Union Seminar for the Caribbean-Guiana area.

The seminar here was held by the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen's Organizations March 18-29 for 22 newsmen of Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana and Puerto Rico.

ANG played a leading role in the seminar. International Representative John Sloan took vacation time from his ANG duties to serve as an instructor along with Richard P. Davis, ANG international affairs representative who is now inter-American representative for the IAFWNO. Davis organized and directed the seminar.

Charles A. Perlik, Jr., ANG secretary-treasurer and IAFWNO co-chairman, was a guest lecturer on "Collective Bargaining Procedures and Techniques."

The seminar opened with a discussion of basic trade union principles, followed by an intensive series of lectures on trade union structure, collective bargaining goals in the field of job security, union security and benefits; collective bargaining procedures and techniques; strikes; organizing; shop stewards; and contract enforcement.

As the two-week seminar progressed, however, the emphasis shifted from lectures to discussion groups and workshops, including a mock grievance session and three mock bargaining sessions.

While Davis and Sloan spoke chiefly of ANG experience, other instructors brought the seminar



Seminar participants, on their day off, visit the Texaco refinery at Pointe-a-Pierre, Trinidad. Here Max Marshall, Texaco, demonstrates processes to Clyde Coward of Trinidad; Basil Blackman, assistant secretary of the Caribbean Congress of Labour, who was one of the seminar instructors, and Luis Montanez, president of the Puerto Rico Newspaper Guild.

more closely to West Indian practices. They were:

Basil B. Blackman, assistant secretary of the Caribbean Congress of Labour; a British Guianese with years of experience both as a teacher and as a trade unionist.

Winslow Carrington, president of the British Guiana Transport Workers Trade Union and an organizer for the B. G. Trade Union Congress, who last year attended a three-month course of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in Washington, D.C.

V. A. Stanford, president of the Trinidad and Tobago Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers, whose union was host for the seminar. Stanford gave the closing lecture of the seminar on "Trade Union Discipline."

The seminar scored several "firsts" for the UCIW.

It was the first seminar to be held in the new UCIW hall.

It was the occasion of the first installation of the officers of the Editorial Branch, UCIW, which is the Trinidad affiliate of the IAFWNO.

Perlik, as installing officer, was the first North American trade unionist to perform such a function for the UCIW.

Guest lecturers in addition to Perlik were Osmond Dye, secretary-treasurer of the Caribbean Congress of Labour; Senator John F. F. Rojas, president of the Trinidad and Tobago National Trades Union Congress; Nicholas Pentcheff, treasurer of IAFWNO; and Father Davy, a Trinidad expert on cooperatives.

Right To Glow

Trenton, N. J.—The New Jersey Publishers Association says a new law which places newspaper plants under state factory inspection laws threatens "freedom of the press."

Lloyd Burns, executive secretary of the association, has objected that the law would allow the state labor commissioner to close down a newspaper plant if it refuses to correct a fire hazard.

Burns said the law negates a 1952 attorney general's finding that newspapers were not subject to safety inspection because they were neither a business nor an industry.

The publisher spokesman didn't say what he thought they were.

N.Y. Backs Biennial Bid

New York City—The New York Guild has welcomed a suggestion that the ANG consider holding biennial rather than annual conventions.

The New York Executive Board, responding to a letter from the San Francisco-Oakland Guild, voiced interest in the proposal and said it is prepared to discuss it with SPONG and other locals at this year's convention in Philadelphia.

The West Coast local has urged other Guild locals to consider the

advisability of holding conventions every other year, citing the \$100,000 to \$150,000 cost of each convention.

The New York Guild's Representative Assembly has voted to cut this year's convention delegation from 25 to 14 as an economy measure.

The New York local, its treasury depleted by the 114-day newspaper strike, will save several thousand dollars by trimming the delegation, it was estimated.

Profits Mount 15 Percent At Typical Medium Daily

Net profit on Editor & Publisher's typical medium-sized daily rose 15.7 percent in 1962, giving the newspaper a five-year gain of more than 25 percent.

The unidentified paper, whose financial operations are analyzed annually by the news industry trade journal, reaped profits of 18.6 percent before taxes, 8.6 percent after.

After-tax profits for all U.S. manufacturing corporations during 1962 averaged 4.6 percent.

The paper's improved profit position appeared to place it in a category with most dailies of its size (45,500). Seventy six percent of newspapers in the 10,000-50,000 circulation bracket sur-

veyed by the weekly Gallagher Report increased profits in 1962 (see Guild Reporter, March 22, 1963).

The paper's gain in revenue (\$259,800) outpaced its increase in costs (\$181,400) not only in dollars but in percent—8.9 to 7.4.

Last year's profits of 18.6 percent before taxes and 8.6 after compared with 17.5 percent and 8.1 percent respectively in 1961.

The daily's total revenue has increased \$908,000 since 1958, E&P reported, while total expenses have gone up only \$780,100.

Net profit is \$55,600 higher—25.5 percent.

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Employees have the option of participating in the life insurance plan.

The undersigned, who was a charter officer of Local No. 1 and a member of the Guild before Heywood Brown, now is expected by ANG to continue payment of dues and assessments to help build a fund from which he is denied any benefits because he opposed the Cleveland officers in their strike demands. Heil Hitler!

JACK CLOWSER
Press Unit
Cleveland Guild

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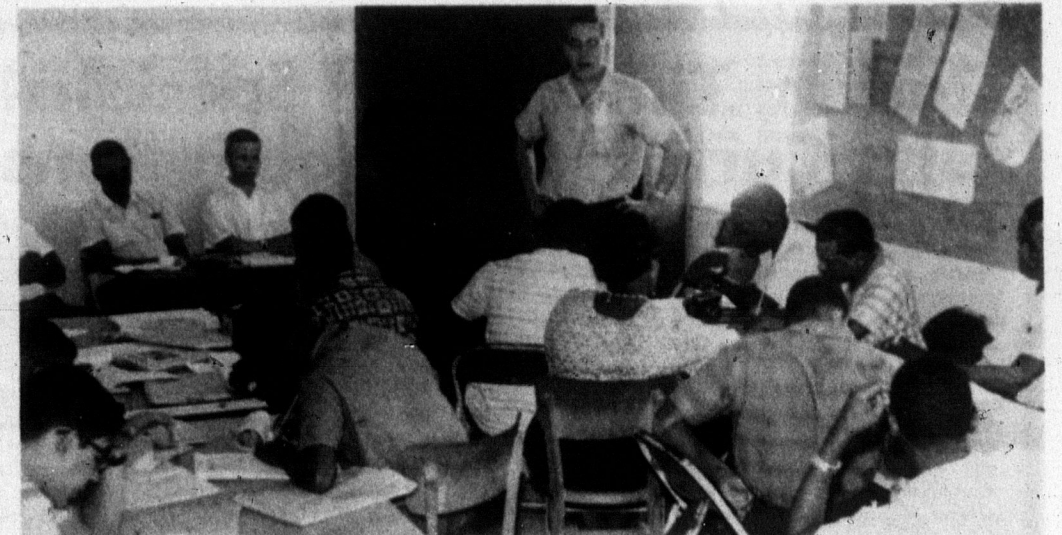
trial panel said.

In an additional commentary accompanying the decision, the trial panel said:

"It is clear from the comments he made during the panel hearing that Mr. Lopez was willing to obtain the benefits of Guild membership without taking on any of the obligations (beyond the simple act of paying dues).

"He did not attend meetings. He did not inform himself about the constitution. He did not know the provisions of the contract. He did not indicate that he found the Guild useful to him or felt it to be a constructive influence in the shop."

"He appears really to have believed that he could put on, and



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Seminar Strengthens News Unions

Spain, Trinidad—West Indian newspaper unionists have been expressing determination to restructure their unions on the basis of the principles learned at the first Trade Union Seminar in Caribbean-Guiana area. The seminar was held by the American Federation of Newspapermen's Organization (AFNPO) on March 18-29 for 22 newspapermen from Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana and Puerto Rico. It played a leading role in the seminar.

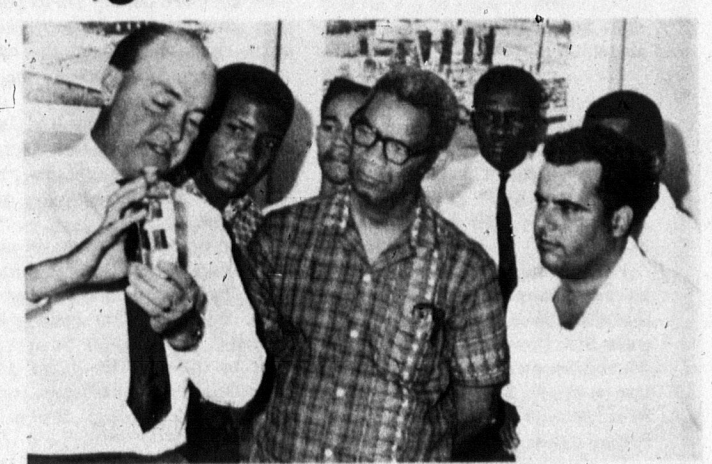
John Sloan took vacation from his ANG duties to act as instructor along with P. Davis, ANG international representative who is also a member of the IAFWNO. Davis organized and directed the seminar.

A. Perlik, Jr., ANG treasurer and IAFWNO international representative, was a guest lecturer on "Collective Bargaining Process."

The seminar opened with a discussion of basic trade union principles followed by an intensive lecture on trade union collective bargaining in the field of job security, seniority and benefits; organizing procedures and strikes; organizing; and contract negotiations.

Two-week seminar program was followed by the emphasis on lectures to discussion and workshops, including grievance session and bargaining sessions.

Davis and Sloan spoke chiefly of ANG experience, other instructors brought the seminar



Seminar participants, on their day off, visit the Texaco refinery at Pointe-a-Pierre, Trinidad. Here Max Marshall, Texaco, demonstrates processes to Clyde Coward of Trinidad; Basil Blackman, assistant secretary of the Caribbean Congress of Labour, who was one of the seminar instructors; and Luis Montanez, president of the Puerto Rico Newspaper Guild.

more closely to West Indian practices. They were:

Basil B. Blackman, assistant secretary of the Caribbean Congress of Labour, a British Guianese with years of experience both as a teacher and as a trade unionist.

Winslow Carrington, president of the British Guiana Transport Workers Trade Union and an organizer for the B. G. Trade Union Congress, who last year attended a three-month course of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in Washington, D. C.

V. A. Stanford, president of the Trinidad and Tobago Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers, whose union was host for the seminar. Stanford gave the closing lecture of the seminar on "Trade Union Discipline."

The seminar covered several "firsts" for the UCIW.

► It was the first seminar to be held in the new UCIW hall.

► It was the occasion of the first installation of the officers of the Editorial Branch, UCIW, which is the Trinidad affiliate of the IAFWNO.

► Perlik, as installing officer, was the first North American trade unionist to perform such a function for the UCIW.

Guest lecturers in addition to Perlik were Osmond Dye, secretary-treasurer of the Caribbean Congress of Labour; Senator John F. F. Rojas, president of the Trinidad and Tobago National Trades Union Congress; Nicholas Pentcheff, treasurer of IAFWNO; and Father Davy, a Trinidad expert on cooperatives.

MICRODEX CORRECTION GUIDE (M-9)

CORRECTION

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New York City—The New York Guild has welcomed a suggestion that the ANG consider holding biennial rather than annual conventions.

The New York Executive Board, responding to a letter from the San Francisco-Oakland Guild, voiced interest in the proposal and said it is prepared to discuss it with SFONG and other locals at this year's convention in Philadelphia.

The West Coast local has urged other Guild locals to consider the

advisability of holding conventions every other year, citing the \$100,000 to \$150,000 cost of each convention.

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After-tax profits for all U.S. manufacturing corporations during 1962 averaged 4.6 percent.

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veyed by the weekly Gallagher Report increased profits in 1962 (see Guild Reporter, March 22, 1963).

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Last year's profits of 18.6 percent before taxes and 8.6 after compared with 17.5 percent and 8.1 percent respectively in 1961.

The daily's total revenue has increased \$908,000 since 1958, E&P reported, while total expenses have gone up only \$780,100.

Net profit is \$55,600 higher—25.3 percent.

Key Minimums Go Up By \$15 In Memphis

(Continued from Page 1)

Months of hard bargaining in which Memphis Guildsmen voted for the first time in their history to authorize a strike. In the closing days of negotiations, the dispute was aired publicly in a front-page editorial in the Commercial Appeal and an answering advertisement by the Guild.

During the term of the contract, top minimums also will be increased \$15 for building mechanics, to \$120; \$20 for classified outside salesmen and advertising artists, to \$120 and \$122.50; and, as the result of upgrading, \$29 for promotion artists, also to \$122.50.

The top minimum for ad make-up men is increased \$12, to \$97.50; and the starting reporter minimum is increased \$9, to \$75.

Other minimums are increased by the amount of the general increase, which ranges from \$5.50 to \$8.50, effective as follows:

Dec. 11 Dec. 11	
1962 1963	
\$125 and over	\$4.50 4.00
Under \$125	4.00 3.50
Under \$100	3.50 3.00
Under \$75	3.00 2.50

The fourth week's vacation is provided for employees with 20 years of service (nearly a fourth of the unit), and the new job security clause provides that seniority shall govern in economy dismissals so long as there is no "substantial" difference in ability.

Other gains include a uniform mileage rate of 10 cents for the first 200 miles and 8 cents thereafter, with a \$12.50 guarantee.

Three days before the settlement was reached, the Commercial Appeal publicly assailed the Guild in a 15-inch, two-column page one editorial, announcing it would continue to publish "whatever action is taken."

The Guild retorted with a two-column ad of full-page depth when the paper refused to grant it unpaid space for a reply. The ad was censored twice before the paper agreed to print it.

The Commercial Appeal, in refusing it space for a statement, said the Guild could reply in a letter to the editor—a recourse which, the Guild pointed out, would result in several days' delay.

"Such is the power of the press," declared the Guild in commenting in its ad on the paper's position, "especially a monopoly press which can, if it chooses, publish only its side of a dispute."

IT SEEMS TO US

He Writes 'In The Interest Of Complete Reporting'

CLEVELAND, OHIO—Editor: Guild Reporter for March 22 uses this phrase in connection with protests of Cleveland Guild members about non-payment of benefits:

"A formal request for benefits was made to ANG by another Guildsman, Jack Closser, who claimed 'legal right' to them despite failure to perform strike duty."

In the interest of complete reporting, would it be too much for G.R. to note that I, and others like me, claim benefits only beginning with March 1, when the new contract was signed here?



Looking It Over: Members of the Memphis Guild bargaining committee study a wage-bracketing proposal after winning a \$9.25 settlement from the Memphis Publishing Co. Left to right (seated): Vincent Thillies; ANG Vice President Dick Lane, who is also local

president; Wanda (Pat) Patterson, and First Vice President Jim White, who headed the team. Standing are Mike Malone, left, and Cliff Hansen. Not shown are Emmett Rasch, Layman Hicks and Robert Christofferson, ANG International Representative, who assisted the local in bargaining.

\$3.50 To \$22 Minimum Increases Are Provided In New UPI Contract

New York City—Increases in minimum salaries ranging from \$3.50 to \$22 a week are provided by the new two-year contract with United Press International ratified this week by UPI Guildsmen.

Largest minimum increases in the agreement, which covers 988 UPI employees, went to the newsmen classifications in Albuquerque, Austin, Honolulu and St. Paul which were upgraded from Class III to Class II. Top minimum in these bureaus was raised from \$142.50 to \$159.50 as of March 16, 1963, effective date of the contract, and \$164.50 on March 16, 1964, a total of \$22.

Top minimum for newsmen in the 12 Class I bureaus was raised \$10.25, up \$5.25 to \$169.75 the first year, up another \$5 to \$174.75 the second year. Class I bureaus are Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis and Washington.

Top minimum for newsmen in the 47 Class II bureaus was increased \$10.50, up \$5.50 to a dispute."

Stockton First

Stockton, Calif.—The Stockton Guild has achieved a first. Telephone operators on the Record went to a top minimum of \$101 on April 1, the second year's increase in a two-year agreement.

The figure passes the \$100 weekly ANG wage goal for adult classifications and is the first such minimum for phone operators in a Guild newspaper contract.

The minimum is reached after five years in the PBX operators category.

\$159.50 the first year and up \$5 to \$164.50 the second year.

Top minimum for newsmen in the 33 Class III bureaus was boosted \$11, up \$5.50 to \$148 the first year and up \$5.50 to \$153.50 the second year.

In the commercial department, biggest increase in the minimums went to the bookkeeper classification, up \$8 to \$110 the first year and up \$3 to \$113 the second year.

A general increase ranges from \$3.50 to \$7.50 and is effective as follows: \$2 the first year and \$1.50 the second for those earning up to \$74.99; \$2.75 and \$2.25 for those earning \$75 to \$99.99; \$3.50 and \$3 for those earning \$100 to \$119.99, and \$4 and \$3.50 for those earning more than \$120.

Management's contribution to hospitalization coverage was increased \$1 a month to \$10, effective Jan. 1, 1964. A seventh holiday, the employee's birthday, was added as of the same date. And reimbursement of up to \$2.50 per flight for insurance, and life insurance have been incorporated into the contract, among other improvements.

Employees have the option of participating in the life insurance

program which is graduated according to salary, with the employee contributing 60 cents per month and management paying the balance, approximately 40 cents per \$1,000.

Chicago Wins \$188 Salary For Editors

Chicago, Ill.—Increases ranging from \$5.50 to \$15 in minimum salaries, a new classification reaching \$188 in 1964 and a general increase ranging to \$9 highlight the new two-year contract between the Chicago Guild and the Sun-Times and Daily News.

The reporter top minimum is up \$12, the copyreader minimum \$11. Retroactive to March 1, the reporter minimum is raised \$8 to \$158, then \$4 to \$162 on March 1, 1964; copyreaders go up \$7 to \$170 and then \$4 to \$174.

The minimum for cable and telegraph editors, officially designated assistant department heads, columnists, and drama, literary, movie, music and television critics also is increased \$11, \$7 to \$180 and \$4 to \$184.

The newly-created group of not more than three officially designated assistant city editors on each of the two papers goes to \$184 retroactively and next year to \$188. This represents a gain of \$15.

Stenographers, clerks and receptionists get pay raises of \$3 the first year to \$86 and \$2.50 the second to \$88.50.

A general increase of \$3 to \$5 the first year and \$2.50 to \$4 the second is applied to other minimums.

During the life of the contract, the Guild and the Field management will discuss, at four meetings, pay for syndication of employees' work used by the Daily News service packet. Such work currently is excluded from extra compensation arrangements.

Mandatory leave for one Peace Corps enlistment has been negotiated.



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Picket-Line Crosser Expelled By Guild

Twin Cities, Minn.—Robert Lopez, the only Guildsman who crossed picket lines during the 117-day craft union-Teamster strike at the Minneapolis Star & Tribune last summer, has been expelled from the Guild.

A Twin Cities local membership meeting voted to sustain a trial panel's decision that Lopez be expelled from the Guild and its recommendation that he never be allowed to join again.

The trial panel found Lopez guilty of violating Article XII, Section 1 (e) of the Guild constitution which lists "working for or in a shop which is on strike" as an offense for which a member can be disciplined.

Ten members of the local filed charges against Lopez in September 1962. The charge was referred to the trial panel which held a hearing in January.

Lopez did not deny that he crossed the craft union picket lines during the strike, but contended he had not violated the Guild constitution because the Guild—whose contract was closed—was not "on strike."

The trial panel noted, however, that a decision to respect the craft picket lines had been made by a unanimous vote of 190 members of the Star & Tribune Unit on the day the strike started. Lopez admitted he knew of the meeting and of the decision to be voted on, but still made no effort to be present.

Lopez said he felt that "as a matter of conscience" he was obligated to report for work because he was the supervisor of the library staff. The accusers pointed

out that Lopez was the only member of the Guild, including those in jobs which outranked his, who felt so compelled.

In an additional commentary accompanying the decision, the trial panel said:

"It is clear from the comments he made during the panel hearing that Mr. Lopez was willing to obtain the benefits of Guild membership without taking on any of the obligations (beyond the simple act of paying dues).

"He did not attend meetings. He did not inform himself about the constitution. He did not know the provisions of the contract. He did not indicate that he found the Guild useful to him or felt it to be a constructive influence in the shop.

"He appears really to have believed that he could put on, and shed, the responsibilities of membership according to the way he felt at the moment, and that, when faced with a strike situation, he was free to make up his own mind whether or not he should respect the Guild constitution and use the protection of the Guild contract.

"This is what we find so difficult to understand: that even if he felt the Guild should not respect the picket line he did not come to the meetings and try to persuade the unit (and then if he failed, abide by the decision), but rather that he simply offered to resign very much as he would resign from the Rotary Club."

The trial panel was composed of James Shoop, chairman; Ted Kolderie, Ted Pederson and Ken Carley.

Hampton Roads Seeks To Raise Press Level

Norfolk, Va.—News reporters covering court cases have as much responsibility as the courts in helping defendants receive fair trials, U.S. District Judge Walter E. Hoffman told a Guild seminar here.

The judge was the guest speaker in the first of a series of educational meetings sponsored by the Hampton Roads Guild and aimed at raising the standards of reporting in the Tidewater area.

A second meeting is scheduled for summer, with a military representative to discuss the problem of public information.

The Hampton Roads Guild's program calls for the presentation of nationally prominent figures speaking on subjects closely related to—but not exclusively devoted to—the news.

One of the major problems judges face with news coverage of court cases is the reporting of

evidence not admissible to the jury, Hoffman pointed out.

This can result in mistrials, he warned. These are unfair to the defendants and costly. It also can give a judge the unpleasant task of locking up the jurors overnight for the remainder of the trial, so that they are not exposed to the information through news media.

Such reporting includes "re-hashing" just before a trial the evidence brought to light immediately after the offense was committed, and listing prior records of defendants.

Another example, he said, is reporting evidence discussed in open court while the jury is out of the room.

These pitfalls could be avoided, Hoffman said, if the reporter will ask himself: "If I were on the jury, would I feel prejudiced by reading this article?"

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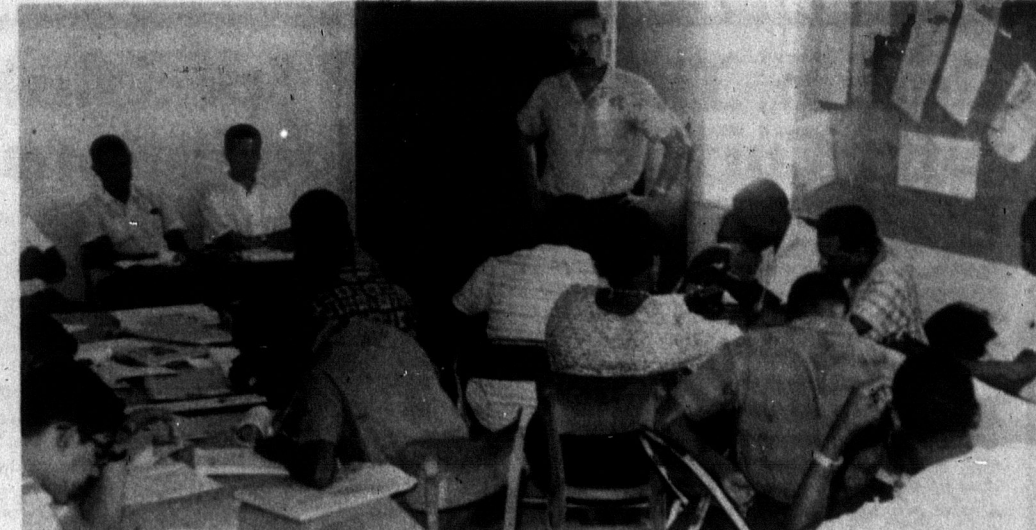
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ANG Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., IAFWNO co-chairman, addresses Trinidad seminar on "Collective Bargaining Techniques." Other ANG representatives also assisted at the seminar.

ANG Aids In Caribbean

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The seminar here was held by the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen's Organizations March 18-29 for 22 newsmen of Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana and Puerto Rico.

ANG played a leading role in the seminar. International Representative John Sloan took vacation time from his ANG duties to serve as an instructor along with Richard P. Davis, ANG international affairs representative who is now inter-American representative for the IAFWNO. Davis organized and directed the seminar.

Charles A. Perlik, Jr., ANG secretary-treasurer and IAFWNO co-chairman, was a guest lecturer on "Collective Bargaining Procedures and Techniques."

The seminar opened with a discussion of basic trade union principles, followed by an intensive series of lectures on trade union structure, collective bargaining goals in the field of job security, union security and benefits; collective bargaining procedures and techniques; strikes; organizing; shop stewards; and contract enforcement.

As the two-week seminar progressed, however, the emphasis shifted from lectures to discussion groups and workshops, including a mock grievance session and three mock bargaining sessions. While Davis and Sloan spoke chiefly of ANG experience, other instructors brought the seminar



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Net profit is \$55,600 higher—25.5 percent.

Behind The Scenes In New York

Raskin, Times Labor Specialist, Lifts Curtain On Negotiations

The New York printers' strike began Dec. 8. Thereafter, Raskin reports, no significant bargaining occurred until three weeks later when Mayor Wagner, Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., president of the City Central Labor Council; Amory H. Bradford, vice president and general manager of the Times and chief publisher negotiator, and Bertram A. Powers, president of the N. Y. printers, met at Gracie Mansion, the mayor's official residence.

The first substantial movement on the bargaining front came in total secrecy at Gracie Mansion on Dec. 30, the Sunday before New Year's Day. Mr. Van Arsdale had met privately with several ranking publishers on Friday and had expressed confidence that a pact could be worked out if both sides dropped some of their frozen attitudes.

He proposed that he and the Mayor, acting as mediators, sit with Mr. Powers and Mr. Bradford to seek a meeting of minds on every point. The Gracie Mansion session began at 10:30 A.M. and ended at 2:30 A.M. the next day.

At one stage the prospect for an accord appeared so bright that the discussion centered on how soon Mr. Powers could assemble the Big Six members for a ratification vote and how long after that it would require to get the presses rolling again.

Encouraged by indications that the publishers might give way on the 35-hour week and other key issues, the union president scaled down his package demand to \$16.42 a week, less than half the figure he set when the countdown for the walkout was under way Dec. 8. Mr. Bradford asked: "How do we fit that into a \$10 bill?"

When it became plain that the publishers were unprepared to go more than a few cents above the money that was available on the day the strike began, the talks collapsed.

Mr. Van Arsdale, disappointed at the employers' refusal to make any substantial improvement in their pre-strike offer, told union associates the next day that he would not walk one block in any direction from then on to be helpful in settling the tie-up.

Publisher Tactics: Divide, Conquer

At the [Medina] board's behest, Federal, state and city mediators opened a new round of negotiations between the printers and the publishers Jan. 12.

The so-called Board of Public Accountability, under former Judge Harold R. Medina, had made an informal inquiry into the strike early in January.

The employers raised their pre-strike offer of \$9.20 a week by about \$1 to bring it into line with the tentative settlement they had reached with the deliverers an hour before the printers quit.

The union pruned \$1 off the wage part of its Dec. 8 demands, leaving the total still at least \$10 a week above the \$16.42 figure Mr. Powers had unveiled in the off-the-record conversations at Gracie Mansion two weeks earlier.

This retrogression caused a further dampening in the publishers' hopes for an agreement with Big Six and they turned actively to efforts to crack the union front.

The aim was to induce the

When the New York Times resumed publication April 1 it contained an unprecedented two-page, 15,000-word summary of the New York strike by A. H. Raskin, the Times' labor specialist and a member of its Editorial Board. Raskin, as many Guild members know, is a long-time member of the Newspaper Guild of New York and a delegate to its Representative Assembly. Excerpts from his article are reprinted on this and the adjoining page.

other printing crafts to break away from the Powers leadership and negotiate contracts in their own right. Out of this, the publishers hoped, would come sufficient pressure on Big Six to oblige it to enter into parallel settlements or to risk a refusal by the other unions to continue honoring its picket lines.

The pressmen, who had been close to an agreement on Dec. 8, negotiated all through the night of Jan. 8 without arriving at a settlement.

After that there were sporadic moves inside the Big Six in contract talks, but no union ever got a tempting enough offer to make it want to take the lead and none was prepared to instruct its members to walk through the printers' lines.

Powers Asks \$16 A Second Time

Almost every day some new overture would come from a would-be architect of an agreement, outside the formal negotiations.

Charles Collingwood, the Columbia Broadcasting System commentator, set up one such venture Jan. 16 after he had presided over a television program on which Mr. Powers and Walter N. Thayer, president of The Herald Tribune, appeared. The two men met alone in the C.B.S. board room at 485 Madison Avenue, and Mr. Powers came down to his \$16.42 figure for the second time.

Salinger Tries, Is Disappointed

At midnight the next day, Jan. 22, another new face popped into the negotiations. Mr. Salinger hitched a ride in an Army plane

Miscalculated Risk

Despite advance warning by Secretary of Labor Wirtz, A. H. Raskin's Times article indicates, the New York publishers refused to believe the printers were serious about striking.

After the Guild strike against the News in November, Raskin reports, Wirtz met with Richard E. Berlin, president of the Hearst Corporation, and "stressed the danger of a Big Six strike in what one publisher later described as 'terms far more solemn and far more urgent than any we had ever heard from our own professionals.'"

"At 6 P.M. on Dec. 7, with the deadline only eight hours off, Mr. Bradford expressed to other members of the publishers' group his opinion that there would be no

from Washington to join Secretary Wirtz in his suite at the Gotham Hotel. . . . He arrived at the Gotham just as the Labor Secretary was winding up a meeting with Mr. Powers and Mr. Van Arsdale.

They exchanged a few words of greeting, then left. Mr. Wirtz, exhilarated by indications that the Big Six leader was moving into a zone of potential settlement, telephoned Mr. Thayer and roused him from bed.

The Herald Tribune executive drove to the Gotham, where he conferred with the two Kennedy aides from 1:30 A.M. until 5.

After a two-hour cat nap, they started a round of telephone and personal conferences, all intended to determine what "give" there might be in the employers' position on money, hours and other issues.

By evening, when they were scheduled to meet with Mr. Powers and Mr. Van Arsdale, Secretary Wirtz was predicting to Mr. Salinger that a settlement could be arranged for a \$12.50 package.

This was within 13 cents of the figure that emerged when the final peace formula was hammered out by Mayor Wagner six weeks later. But it never got close to emerging that night.

Mr. Powers showed up without Mr. Van Arsdale, who was attending a civic dinner.

The printers' head began ticking off a list of demands much stiffer than the ones he had sketched out the night before. When the Labor Secretary said he was reversing himself on almost every key point, Mr. Powers asserted that he had been misunderstood.

After an hour the White House officials gave up. They went to Mr. Salinger's suite on the floor above and advised a publishers' committee, waiting expectantly, that it might as well go home.

Less than an hour later the Secretary and Mr. Salinger were on a plane bound for the capital.

Mayor Enters, Bradford Balks

Mr. Wagner [at the suggestion of Secretary Wirtz] sent telegrams informing everybody that he was intervening as mediator and that he expected them to cooperate in continuous negotiations

Papers Shun Warning

walkout," Raskin writes. "His judgment reflected the sentiment of most of the labor relations experts attached to the employers' negotiating committee."

"Miscalculations by the publishers led them astray on whether the strike would begin at the deadline and on whether they could chip other unions away from the Powers' banner," Raskin concludes. "The I.T.U. never had authorized a walkout immediately on expiration of a contract, and this gave heart to management confidence that Big Six would stay at work after the 2 A.M. countdown."

"When this proved wrong, hope shifted for many weeks to the possibility that other unions could be induced to cross the printers' picket lines."



Times Ticking Again: A. H. Raskin, standing left, joins Times Guild members Emanuel Perlmuter and Nan B. Robertson in greeting the end of the strike.

at City Hall until the walkout was over.

The publishers got their telegrams on their return from a private meeting with the Governor, at which they had informed him they had no use for his bill [to set up a state commission to settle the strike].

Their initial reaction to the Mayor's intervention was no more cordial.

In fact, Mr. Bradford telephoned the Mayor at once and told him his action was the most foolish he had ever taken. Mr. Wagner flashed back that he was Mayor and would do the things he deemed necessary to protect the community interest.

When the invitation to go to City Hall came up for official consideration at the Publishers Association that evening, Mr. Bradford reported that the association's executive committee (made up of ranking administrative and labor relations officials) was overwhelmingly against acceptance.

Its members believed that the talks would prove a waste of time and that the Mayor, with Mr. Kheel [impartial chairman of the New York City transit industry] and Mr. Van Arsdale as his principal advisers, would lean so far in favor of the printers that the cost of settlement would rise to even more forbidding heights.

The publishers themselves overruled these objections. The owners of the papers and the heads of the big chains said it was unthinkable on public relations grounds for the press to say no to the Mayor when all the dailies had been shut down for so long.

Confronted with their unanimous decision to be represented at City Hall, Mr. Bradford put on his hat and coat and said he was not going. The next day he was persuaded to change his mind.

New Hopes Rise, Then Fall Again

Both sides came to City Hall with meager enthusiasm. Their first insistence was a guarantee by Mr. Wagner that he would not make any settlement recommendations of his own. Their second was that the talks be off the record.

The wall of secrecy was made so tight that even the other members of the Unity Committee were denied information about the precise positions of the printers and the publishers.

The next day Orvil E. Dryfoos, president and publisher of The Times, visited the mediator at his home and assured him that the employers wanted him to stay.

Mr. Kheel, in turn, told Mr. Dryfoos that it was very important that Mr. Bradford also remain in the negotiations.

Unity Strained On Both Sides

Both Mr. Kheel and Mr. Bradford stayed on the job but, Raskin reports, the momentum went out of the City Hall talks in their second week, pending the outcome of the Feb. 6 I.T.U. referendum to replenish the union's defense fund.

During this period of drift, ill-feeling between Mr. Powers and some of his associates on the Unity Committee kept bubbling to the surface.

Leaders of the other unions charged that Big Six was deliberately stalling in the negotiations because even the prospect of an early settlement might undermine support for the assessment.

Mr. Powers replied that all the delay was on the publishers' side and that he was as eager as ever for an agreement.

Irritations also made themselves felt in the publishers' councils, but they were mostly over the slowness with which agreement came on any shift in bargaining position, even on minute issues. The head of one morning newspaper said to another, as they left a particularly enervating session at the Publishers Association: "That was like trying to move around in a barrel of molasses."

Hearst, Scripps Exercise Veto

With the union vote no longer a hazard [the assessment carried], the Mayor asked Elmer Brown, president of the I.T.U., to come to New York to take a personal hand in the negotiations. Preparations were made for a climactic effort to end the tie-up over the week-end of Feb. 8-11.

The week-end wound up in failure at 9 A.M. Monday after a 20-hour session. The breaking point came when Mr. Kheel tried to sweep aside the log jam on hours by getting the publishers to consider a 32-month agreement, with the cut in the work week to come in the last year.

The publishers had a split vote, but their rules require unanimity. The Hearst and Scripps-Howard chains, concerned about the impact of a 35-hour schedule on their papers in other cities, exercised their veto.

Kennedy Blast Salinger's Idea

The Kennedy attack on Mr. Powers, reminiscent in its bluntness of his criticism of the steel industry for raising prices last April, was inspired by Mr. Salinger. Secretary Wirtz had drafted a statement for use at the President's news conference a week earlier, but Mr. Kennedy did not use it.

The Wirtz draft contained no direct personal criticism of the union chief. It was limited to a call for "independent determination." Mr. Kheel, who kept in regular communication with the Labor Secretary, had told Mr. Wirtz he felt such a call might strengthen the Mayor if he found his mediation at a dead end.

Mr. Salinger incorporated this part of the Wirtz statement in the remarks he drew up for the Feb. 21 conference.

However, his irritation at Mr. Powers for his abrupt switch of position at the Gotham four weeks before spurred Mr. Salinger to recommend that the President use strong words against him.

Secretary Wirtz was vacationing at Cabbage Key, off Florida's

West Coast, and could not be reached by phone.

However, Mr. Salinger did read the draft to Mayor Wagner that morning.

The Mayor suggested that the personal criticism be toned down to prevent the negotiating climate from becoming so inflamed that all hope of progress would have to be abandoned.

The proposed changes were made.

Philip Graham Tries His Hand

While the echoes of the Kennedy statement were still reverberating, yet another volunteer peacemaker put in an appearance. This time it was Philip L. Graham, president and chief executive officer of The Washington Post and Newsweek.

He had heard that Time was coming out with a cover story on Mr. Powers and he asked the unionist to visit his suite at the Carlyle Hotel Feb. 23 so he could decide whether Newsweek ought to do something equally extensive.

The two men talked for six hours. Mr. Powers mentioned his \$16.42 package, including an item of \$2.75 for welfare he had hinted he would drop in the first week at City Hall. Mr. Graham filled sheet after sheet of yellow paper with notes.

Finally, with Mr. Powers still in the room, the Washington publisher called the President in Palm Beach and began telling him he had made a mistake in criticizing the union chief.

He praised Mr. Powers and re-lyed the New York publishers.

When Mr. Kennedy learned that Mr. Powers was present, he asked Mr. Graham to call him again when he was alone.

The upshot was a call by the President to Mayor Wagner in Boston and to Mr. Kheel in New York. He informed them that Mr. Graham had suggested that the Mayor name him (Mr. Graham) chairman of a special mediation board, with Walter Reuther and a conservative businessman as members.

[Graham's associates later denied that he had suggested himself as chairman of the board, the Times reported.]

Mr. Kheel was delegated to notify Mr. Graham that arrangements already had been completed for resumption of negotiations at City Hall the next afternoon and that introducing new faces now might upset everything.

With Mr. Graham still confi-

Bargaining Antagonists

Powers, Bradford Both Tenacious

The chief antagonists in the New York strike emerge from A. H. Raskin's Times article as men of sharply contrasting backgrounds, but equally strong personalities.

Raskin describes 41-year-old Bertram A. Powers, president of the striking printers, as "tall, dapper, with whitish-blond hair, an earnest manner and no talent for small talk."

"A printer at 17," Raskin notes, "his formal education ended after two years in high school."

"One of the army of Government peacemakers who got to know him well in the endless hours of round-the-clock negotiations after Dec. 8 describes Mr. Powers as 'honest, clean, democratic — and impossible,' the



Obsolete: New York printers junk their picket signs and stock back to work at the Times a few minutes after photographers ratified a settlement to end the 114-day newspaper stoppage.

dent he could find a settlement. Mr. Kheel agreed to have him meet the Mayor at Gracie Mansion a few hours before the City Hall talks.

When Mr. Graham pressed Mr. Wagner and Mr. Kheel to let him sit in on the negotiations, they were obliged to tell him that the New York publishers had served notice that they would leave City Hall the moment he came in.

Even though this was the immediate cause of Mrs. Schiff's departure, a more basic impellent was her abandonment of hope for a settlement.

Why Mrs. Schiff Quit Publishers

The first important power shift of the strike came on Feb. 28 when Mrs. Schiff announced that The Post would resume publication on Monday, March 4.

The specific spur for Mrs. Schiff's decision to resign from the Publishers Association and break the publishers' solid front was the association's refusal to appoint Mr. Orenstein, her labor counsel, to a new negotiating committee.

She had won her own appointment to a similar committee a few weeks earlier after an exchange with Mr. Bradford. She said she felt she ought to serve with Mr. Bradford, Mr. Thayer and Mr. Flynn. The committee head replied: "There is no rule of the Publishers Association that says The Post has to be represented on every subcommittee."

"Yes," Mrs. Schiff replied, "and there is no rule that says The Post has to be a member of the Publishers Association."

When the negotiating group

was recast to comprise Mr. Bradford, Eugene Buttrill, vice president of The Herald Tribune, and John J. Green, assistant business manager of The World-Telegram and Sun, the association stood firm on the exclusion of any additional members.

Even though this was the immediate cause of Mrs. Schiff's departure, a more basic impellent was her abandonment of hope for a settlement.

Even though this was the immediate cause of Mrs. Schiff's departure, a more basic impellent was her abandonment of hope for a settlement.

Printers Win Breakthroughs

The semantic problems were even more troublesome than the problems of substance. On the use of Teletypewriter tape, the publishers were willing to let an arbitrator decide how much payment should be made and to let the union decide how the money should be used. But they did not want an explicit declaration of the principle of sharing or of the formal establishment of a fund.

The language on the pivotal problem of a common expiration date was no less tricky.

Mr. Powers did not want to be charged with renegotiating the Guild contract after all his objections to having the Guild negotiate the Big Six contract.

So the proposals Mr. Kheel drafted for the Mayor relied on an affirmation by the Unity Committee of the desirability of a single date in recommending that all unions seek contracts expiring two years from the return to work.

work

On all three of Mr. Power's key issues of principle, the union achieved breakthroughs. It got its 35-hour week, in return for the sacrifice of 15 minutes of daily wash-up time. The change will become effective in the second year. The common expiration date was ordered, although not on the Oct. 31 date the local had wanted.

The use of Teletypewriter tape was limited to AP and UPI tables of transactions on the New York and American Stock Exchanges, about two-thirds of the material the publishers had hoped to include. A joint committee will study the savings and decide what payments should be made, with an arbitrator to take over if no agreement is reached.

Future Peace Requires Changes

What of the future? In the closing days of the tie-up, the Mayor told the publishers that they would have to get over the attitude that everything could be handed down in lordly fashion from on high. He advised them to make labor relations a front-office job, 365 days a year, and not leave it to functionaries at contract time.

In separate talks with union leaders, the Mayor stressed his conviction that an overhaul of their bargaining machinery was needed to guard against whipsaw tactics that would imperil the survival of marginal newspapers, and to insure that each union would have a direct voice in establishing contract conditions without an endless chain of strikes.

Industry leaders are already discussing privately what changes ought to be made in their negotiating machinery to improve the chances of lasting peace.

One possibility under consideration is the designation of a top-level professional chairman to represent the association in future contract bargaining. This would be a permanent, full-time post, with the new official unconnected with any newspaper.

"Our professionals miscalculated on every major point," is the lament of one pillar of the association. "Everytime they were unanimous, they were wrong. Always their approach was 'Give 'em nothing—and do it retroactively.'"

The unions also are doing some reassessment, although the hostilities that turned the Unity Committee into a battleground may take many months to heal.

"Every union leader was a de Gaulle saying, 'I am out to protect France,'" one member of the committee says. "We were each out to protect our own union. Now it is time to recast the committee so it will be a vehicle for advancing the interests of all our members."

Two developments are likely to determine whether more harmonious industry-union relations grow out of this excursion into what one management lawyer terms "collective bargaining reduced to the absurd."

One is how speedily the two sides move to set up a joint industry board to deal with the vexing problems of new technology in a field in which the traditional dividing lines between the printing crafts are fast being erased. The other is how successful the unions are in submerging their internal wrangles and creating a new bargaining council.

New York Stoppage Ends After 114 Days

(Continued from Page 1)
ing." But he was dubious about the likelihood of any immediate, major innovations.
"I don't know the answer," he said. "I have an idea we'll have to take little steps before we take big ones. I don't think we'll come to a solution quickly."

The Newspaper Unions' Unity Committee, which coordinated union efforts during the strike, will meet April 17, at which time it is expected to review the bargaining situation.

The strike headed into its final phase March 24, when the printers, who had rejected Wagner's

Cost-Plus

New York City—The New York Times' five-cent price increase will yield it about \$4.5 million a year above the cost of its contract settlements with newspaper unions.

Both the Times and Herald Tribune have increased their prices to ten cents on daily papers sold in the metropolitan area.

The Times said dealers will get 1.15 cents of the increase, with the publishers receiving .85 cents. This will yield the Times approximately \$7.9 million more a year on its metropolitan circulation of 660,000. The Times has estimated that its settlement with the ITU and other unions will cost it \$3.5 million annually when full increases take effect in the second year of its contracts.

\$12.63 proposal by a 64-vote margin a week earlier, reversed their stand by a vote of 2,562 to 1,763. Balloting was by voting machine following a meeting in Madison Square Garden.

ITU Mailers, the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers, the Pressmen and the Paper Handlers ratified similar settlements. But a snag in negotiations between the publishers and the Photoengravers prolonged the stoppage for another week.

The Photoengravers, like the printers, first rejected the \$12.63 proposal despite union leaders'

recommendation for acceptance. Their veto by a 191-111 vote blocked plans to resume publication March 27.

Further negotiations led to a reshuffle of the package, adding \$1 a week to wages the first year and 65 cents the second in place of three days' personal leave, and the engravers ratified the proposal by 213 to 104 March 31.

Picket lines were promptly disbanded, employees thronged back to work and newspapers were on the streets a few hours later.

Terms of the newspaper union contracts provide for a March 31 expiration date two years hence, with the Guild agreeing to extend its contracts and give up its Oct. 31 termination date in exchange for a deferred wage increase averaging \$4.13.

The change in contract terms was approved by the Guild's Executive Committee March 25 by an 8-3 vote, with five abstentions. The Representative Assembly approved it by 58 to 30 March 31.

All six units had previously approved the change in separate meetings.

The \$4.13 average increase, effective Nov. 1, 1964, is expected to increase top minimums for reporters and ad salesmen by from \$5 to \$5.50, raising the highest such minimums to almost \$184.

Meanwhile, final contract terms are still to be worked out at the Post, where a dispute over sick-leave provisions had delayed agreement before the strike. Negotiations were to be resumed April 11.

Other unions must also negotiate separate agreements with the Post, which quit the New York City Publishers Association and resumed publication March 4.

The shutdown newspapers returned to the streets with varying degrees of effectiveness.

"New York's Alive Again!" trumpeted the Mirror. "Well, Hello There! We Have News For You," blared the News. "Oh, What A Beautiful Morning!" exclaimed the Herald Tribune.

The Times, with characteristic restraint, contented itself with announcing: "114-Day Newspaper Strike Ends As Engravers Ratify Contract."



This is it: Don Marshall of the Hudson County Guild, center, receives a Heywood Brown Award honorable mention certificate from Daniel A. McLaughlin, Guild Region 1 vice president, right, as Eugene Farrell, editor of the Jersey Journal, looks on. Marshall's stories in the Journal won a retrial and freedom for a Negro, previously sentenced to death in Georgia.

Jack Of All Trades

Computer Eyes Editor's Job

Chapel Hill, N. C.—Computers, which in recent months have taken over the duties of linotype operators and wire-service tabulators, now have their electronic eyes on the editor's chores.

Experiments under way at the University of North Carolina School of Journalism have shown that a Univac 1105 Computer can perform the task of sorting out the news, selecting what is to go into the paper and cutting it to fit available space.

Prof. Wayne A. Danielson, who has been developing the computer program, contends that news selection and cutting are done according to formulas that the computer can duplicate for any given newspaper.

The editor's only task would be to work up the formula.

As outlined in Editor & Publisher, this is what Univac does: ▶ Determines, through the formula and the size of the day's

news hole, how much space should be allotted to each news category.

▶ Cuts the stories to fit their allotment on a priority basis, assimilating new leads, inserts and corrections.

▶ Makes up any deficiency in the amount of news for each category by assigning the space to other material according to its priority.

North Carolina's Univac can already perform all of this with Teletypewriter tape from Associated Press. It can also be programmed to set type, according to Prof. Danielson.

One-Day ITU Strike Shuts Inquirer

Philadelphia, Pa.—A dispute involving the firing of a composing room employee—while conducting union business—and a mass protest by fellow printers resulted in the failure of the morn-

ing Inquirer to publish its March 29 editions.

It also resulted in inability of the Inquirer to get into type some of the advertising lineage scheduled for a special home show edition, March 31.

Tests over the next year will determine the correctness of Danielson's thesis that newspapers divide their space according to a formula that Univac can predict.

The news treatments of nine North Carolina dailies have been analyzed and programmed for the computer; Univac's handling of the news will be compared day by day with that of the actual papers.

Prof. Danielson won't disclose the identity of the newspapers. Their editors might change their policies to "beat the computer," he fears.

2 Cleveland Dailies Resume Publication

(Continued from Page 1)

contracts on March 1, the Guild continued to observe picket lines of other striking unions.

The charge alleges that the ANG and the Local "restrained and coerced" the three signers, and eleven other Guild members, in the exercise of their rights guaranteed by law, since March 1, refusing to pay them benefits "because they refrained from engaging in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining."

ANG Executive Vice President William J. Farson said the charge was wholly without merit and that a reply asking dismissal of the charge would be filed with the NLRB next week on behalf of both the ANG and the Cleveland Local.

The charge was signed by Jack Clowser, Joseph F. Collier and Beatrice Vincent. The eleven other persons named in the charge are: Forrest Allen, William Tanner, Marie Daerr, Richard Penger, Dean Wilder, James Herron, James Frankel, Bill Dvorak, Bill Roberts, Milton Widder and Kenneth Solt.

Clowser earlier, in a letter to ANG, had claimed a "legal right" to benefits beginning March 1 regardless of the performance of previous strike duty (GR, March 22; see also letters to editor in this issue). Allen is one of the leaders of the group which opposed the Guild strike.

End of the Cleveland strike came at 12:22 A.M. April 5 when pickets from the Mailers union were withdrawn after language in a contract that had been ratified March 22 was clarified.

An hour earlier the printers voted 339 to 286 to end their strike. Then, during the weekend, the ITU signed a 26-month contract, which leaders estimated at \$13.95 weekly per man.

The ITU contract provides a \$2.50 weekly pay raise retroactive to Oct. 1, when the old contract expired; another \$2.50 effective April 1; and another \$5 starting next Oct. 1.

Management hospitalization contributions are \$2.70 per week. Pension fund payments are increased to 75 cents a work turn from 60 cents.

Other gains include four weeks' vacation after 20 years' service, instead of 25, valued at another 25 cents; and liberalized sickness and accident benefits, also valued at 25 cents.

The weekly day rate is raised to \$138.50 from \$133.50, increasing to \$143.50 next Oct. 1.

A 25-month pact calling for a union-estimated \$12.70 money and fringe benefit package was accepted April 4 by the Machinists union whose 14 members had been striking since Feb. 2.

Settlements with the other various craft unions generally provided pay and fringe benefit increases of \$5 a week in each year of two-year contracts.

The shutdown, which set an industry record for major metropolitan dailies when it surpassed the 117-day suspension of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune last year, started Nov. 29 when the Teamsters rejected a wage offer of \$3 the first year and \$3 more the second and walked out.

Meeting early the next morning, the Executive Board of the Cleveland Guild, representing 222 editorial employees at the Plain Dealer and 178 news and 278

Miscalculation

Cleveland, Ohio — Indicative of management pre-strike thinking was the reply of a Plain Dealer labor relations executive when told last November that the delivery drivers were talking about a strike and might cause trouble: "Oh, that's just wind. I've got those guys in the palm of my hand."

There are about 49 eligibles. The Trentonian owned by the Goodson-Todman chain. The ANG represents Goodson-Todman employees in Elizabeth, N. J., Chester, Pa., and Pawtucket, R. I.

The Guild had a local in Trenton during the years when the Trentonian was operated by the International Typographical Union, but a lapse of interest led to the revocation of the Trenton charter by the ANG's Eighteenth Annual Convention in Pittsburgh in 1951.

The Guild first asked for a Guild shop. Subsequently it modified this to a demand for an agency shop. The publishers stood firm.

New Guild contracts were signed March 1 with the permission of the ANG Contracts Committee, but against the recommendation of the committee that the local continue negotiations in an effort to capitalize on the fluid bargaining situation and improve the settlements.

The Guild pacts provided \$10 increases for most employees over two years and at least \$9 for more than 90 percent of them.

The Guild figured the general increase as averaging \$9.75 for the Plain Dealer members and \$9.25 for the Press. The difference resulted from variations between the two papers in the number of employees in various categories.

An improvement in the night differential setup raised the estimated average for Plain Dealer employees to \$10.40.

The union security clause provides maintenance of membership as a condition of employment with discharge without dismissal pay as the penalty for failure to remain in good standing during the life of the contract. A seven-day escape clause is provided at the end of the contracts.

The Press contract provides that when a new employee is hired he be referred to the office of the Director of Personnel and given a copy of the contract, an application for membership card, a dues deduction form and a statement prepared by the Guild. The new employee is assured that "joining the Guild will have no effect whatsoever on his status or opportunities for promotion, merit increases and otherwise by an employee."

The Cleveland Record, strike interim daily published by nine unions, including the Guild, went to press for the last time on April 6. It had been publishing five times a week and had a circulation of 100,000.

In its initial post-shutdown issue, the Plain Dealer declared editorially, "We're Glad to Be Back." A readout head under its Page One streamer of "Plain Dealer Presses Roll," exclaimed "What a Glorious Morning!" It carried a front page box announcing that its edition the next day would carry the names of about 5,000 persons who died in the Cleveland area since Nov. 30.

Guild Seeking 50-Man Unit At Trentonian

Trenton, N. J. — Employees in the editorial, advertising, and business departments of the morning Trentonian filed a petition April 4 with the National Labor Relations Board regional office in Newark, asking for an election to certify the Philadelphia Guild as their bargaining agent.

There are about 49 eligibles. The Trentonian owned by the Goodson-Todman chain. The ANG represents Goodson-Todman employees in Elizabeth, N. J., Chester, Pa., and Pawtucket, R. I.

The Guild had a local in Trenton during the years when the Trentonian was operated by the International Typographical Union, but a lapse of interest led to the revocation of the Trenton charter by the ANG's Eighteenth Annual Convention in Pittsburgh in 1951.

Portrait Of A Publisher: Fat Cat, \$60,000 Kitty

(Continued from Page 1)

Almost half got their start in the advertising department. Four out of 10 worked in editorial in early years. Twenty-seven percent started in business; 18 percent had early experience in circulation; another 18 percent in production. Many worked in more than one of these areas in their early days.

Despite a large number who had early training in advertising or business, few publishers have opinions on important marketing and advertising subjects.

The average publisher of a paper with less than 10,000 cir-

culation makes about \$17,000 a year," says the Gallagher Report.

His salary goes steadily up with circulation. Publishers with papers in the 10,000 to 49,999 group earn approximately \$25,000 a year. The take goes to \$32,000 for publishers managing papers with circulation of 50,000 to 249,999.

The big papers pay their top man about \$60,000.

The Gallagher Report is a weekly newsletter to advertising, marketing and media executives, edited and published in New York City by Bernard P. Gallagher, a negotiator for sales of communication properties.

Guild Challenged At Dow Jones

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago Guild's coverage of about 28 staffers in the news and editorial offices of the Chicago Wall Street Journal operation has been challenged by the Independent Association of Publishers Employees. IAPE represents the com-

mercial department in the Chicago Dow Jones office.

The petition, naming the "Chicago News Guild" as the recognized or certified bargaining agent, was filed with the National Labor Relations Board April 1. The Guild has been bargaining agent since October, 1951.

U.S. Accountant Turns Hearst's Los Angeles 'Loss' Into Profit

(Continued from Page 1)
some joint printing costs with the Herald-Express was 70 percent although pressroom and composing room payrolls showed a 60-40 ratio. Use of the 60-40 ratio would have reduced the Examiner's expenses by \$234,000 in 1961.

Classified advertising expenses were pro-rated on a 90-10 basis, based on classified revenue rather than space although the Examiner's rates were higher than the Herald-Express'. A proper allocation would have reduced the Examiner's 1961 expenses by \$148,000, according to Shulman. The Examiner would have shown a profit of \$1,240,000 in 1961 if proper cost-allocation had been used, he declared.

Shulman noted that Hearst's own figures showed an improved financial position for the Examiner during the last quarter of 1961, with a profit of \$306,000 as against a loss of \$283,000 for the same quarter of 1960. The Herald-Express, on the other hand, was in a worse financial position than a year earlier, he

told the committee members. Markuson and E. D. Becker, former general manager of Hearst's Los Angeles papers, vigorously disputed Shulman's analysis, maintaining that their allocation procedures were correct. Becker said every effort had been made to give the Examiner an even break.

But Shulman said Roop — whom Markuson said was discharged six months ago — had agreed that allocation of classified expenses according to revenue was improper and told him that the \$21 per thousand charged for Sunday comics and the American Weekly represented an allocation of losses incurred by the American Weekly.

Shulman quoted the former Hearst accountant as declaring that papers outside the Hearst chain paid only \$2 per 1,000. Markuson denied this but conceded that two non-Hearst supplements, This Week and Parade, either cost publishers nothing or bring them revenue.

Markuson admitted that Hearst Advertising Service commissions

are higher than those of independent services but said this is offset by the fact that participating papers have no other national advertising costs.

However, Becker, under questioning by Stuart Johnson, chief counsel to the committee, conceded that George Hearst, publisher of the Herald-Express, had opposed switching from an independent service to Hearst Advertising because of the higher cost.

Which Chandler Do You Read?

Norman Chandler, president of the Los Angeles Times-Mirror Co., told the Celler Committee last month that the growth of community newspapers in the Los Angeles area has confronted the city's metropolitan dailies with intense competition.

This week Stuart Johnson, chief counsel to the committee, inserted into the record a Times-Mirror brochure which described the supposed "surge of community papers" as "one of the greatest exaggerations and distortions."

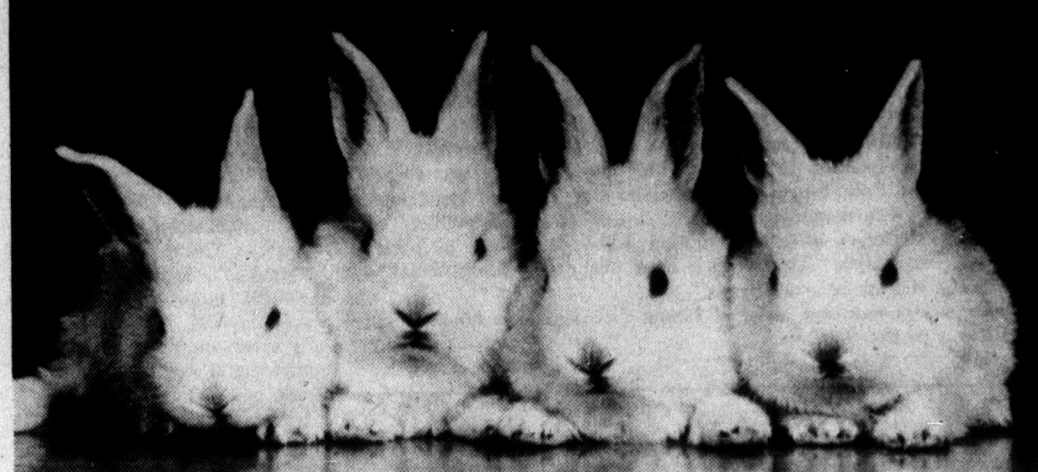
Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the subcommittee, said he thought the suspension agreement might have been a "technical violation" of the antitrust laws but that it would be "unrealistic to prosecute" because both Hearst papers would have gone down without the action.

Testimony by the Hearst officials and Hearst memoranda read into the record by Celler indicated that possible agreements with Chandler on changed edition times and "improved" circulation prices had been considered prior to the suspension.

Celler disclosed that "cross agreements" between Hearst and Chandler "which would have stifled competition" through the now defunct Los Angeles Newspaper Publishers Association are under Justice Department investigation.

Becker, defending the agreement to suspend the Examiner and the Mirror, said that without it Los Angeles would soon have had a Chandler monopoly "to the detriment of advertisers and readers."

Multiply Your Benefits



LABEL YOUR DOLLARS

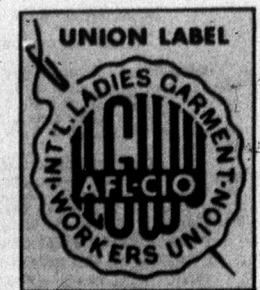
When you give your family pleasure, you benefit. That's what happens when you buy Easter outfits. It's nice to see your loved ones all dressed up for Spring.

But you benefit in many other ways when you make sure that your garments carry the little ILGWU Label that means so much.

When your dollar "goes label" you help members of other unions buy the products and services which protect your pay envelope — you spread union contract benefits and security not only for yourself but for all workers.

The ILGWU Label is your guarantee that the apparel you buy was made in sanitary shops by skilled union craftsmen under decent American working conditions. Make sure you get all these fringe benefits when your family buys its Easter wardrobe.

LOOK FOR THE ILGWU UNION LABEL in all women's and girls' apparel: Bathing Suits/Blouses/Coats and Suits/Dresses/Foundation Garments/Girls Wear/Lingerie/Neckwear/Rainwear/Shirts/Slacks/Shorts/Slips/Sleepwear and Robes/Snowsuits/Sweaters and Knitwear.



Symbol of decency, fair labor standards and the American way of life

EDITORIAL

The Great Pyramid

There is no question that a strike the length of the recently concluded 114-day New York newspaper shutdown is costly—to the publishers, to employees and to businesses dependent to a greater or lesser degree on the newspaper industry.

But we sometimes suspect that publishers and business leaders are not above deliberately inflating strike costs in order to exaggerate a strike's impact and muster public sentiment against it.

Consider, for example, the New York Commerce and Industry Association's estimate of a \$45 million loss to retail stores, restaurants and theaters during the stoppage. Figures released by the City Finance Department suggest that this revenue was merely displaced, not lost.

For while sales-tax receipts, a standard business barometer, were off by \$562,000 in Manhattan during a period that included nearly three months of the strike, citywide receipts were up by \$357,000. All other boroughs showed increases.

Figures announced by the Transit Authority reinforced the indication that New Yorkers didn't stop buying during the strike but simply bought closer to home. Transit revenues fell by \$1.5 million during the same three-month period, reversing a previous trend.

Other figures that have been added up to create a strike-loss figure of from \$190 million to \$250 million are pocked with similar fallacies. The publishers' \$101 million loss in sales and ad revenue is not offset by strike-insurance payments; employees' salary losses of \$50 million are not reduced by benefit payments, unemployment compensation or other income.

Not only are such offsetting figures not subtracted from the losses; they are added on to build the pyramid even higher. Thus, New York State's payment of \$4 million in unemployment compensation is piled on top of figures that already include salary losses to help reach a still more awesome total.

In short, the \$250 million strike cost figure is constructed by having dollars climb upon their own shoulders two, three and four times.

For example, the \$50 million wage losses would have been paid from the \$101 million in lost revenue—as would \$28.7 million in lost income to newspaper companies, and part of the \$11 million in lost state and federal tax revenue. And additional lost tax revenue would have come from the lost wages, already pyramided on top of newspaper revenue.

Figures may not lie. But two truths may make a falsehood.

Profit Into Loss

The Guild, which has often asked for access to a publisher's books to test claims of poverty, seldom gets it. Testimony before the Celler committee this week suggests there may be a reason.

A government accountant called in by the committee to examine the financial operations of Hearst newspapers in Los Angeles concluded that proper accounting procedures would have transformed a listed five-year deficit of \$2 million into a profit of \$6.1 million.

Among other things, he concluded that the parent corporation was overcharging the Examiner for national advertising and Sunday supplements and was loading the Examiner with an inordinate share of the costs of operating the Examiner and the sister Herald-Express.

Before its suspension in January 1962, the Examiner was owned by the Hearst Publishing Co., a subsidiary of Hearst Consolidated Publications. For many years Hearst Consolidated has publicly reported annual losses of several million dollars, although its parent company, the Hearst Corp. (which does not make public financial statements), has operated at a profit.

Perhaps a government audit of Hearst Consolidated's books might take it out of the red, too.

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Data Processing—Hearst Style



DATELINE: WASHINGTON

Kennedy Leaven Working In Democratic Party

By WILLARD SHELTON, Washington Guild



This is the third of a series of reports on the fluid scene in Washington in what seems a time of genuine change in Congress, when new leaders of both parties are reaching for the levers of power, when a brave and potentially extraordinary President is still trying out the techniques of public influence and congressional liaison that may give him effective command of foreign and domestic policy.

The series began with an acknowledgment of the intelligent, conservative, vigorously articulate Young Turks or "activists" among the Republicans, particularly in the House, who have no further patience for the worn-out negative leadership of Charlie Halleck of Indiana and are moving to replace him.

It continued with a discussion of the unmistakable unrest between the White House and the congressional Democratic majorities—the mutual sense of opportunities lost, of leadership that falls short, on both sides of the immense gulf separating the White House and Capitol Hill.

I state this recapitulation because of the time-lag sequence and because any serious appraisal of Mr. Kennedy and the 88th Congress, as we move toward another presidential election, deserves to be discussed in perspective.

There is a Kennedy leaven working within the Democratic Party, in this observer's belief, just as the Young Turk leaven is working within the Republican Party. The elders and apostles of the Democratic congressional church—Byrd and McClellan of the Senate, Clarence Cannon of the House Appropriations Committee—can barely endure it, but Mr. Kennedy keeps up a persistent, pervasive pressure to change the thought patterns and the votes in the key committees.

The President, after two years in office, is not "young" any more. One suspects he has lost many illusions he carried into his first campaign oratory; no man, surely, can gaze into the abyss of nuclear war and come away unscathed. It would be inaccurate to call him a liberal in the cliché-ridden connotations of that honorable American term of an earlier and simpler era.

What he desires is to be effective—to lead the people and Congress in an effort to meet the problems of the Sixties. He sees these problems as vastly different from the issues of the Thirties and he gives no hostages to antique emotions and attitudes.

His leaven is working. He got a trade bill last year that scarcely anyone believed he could obtain without long preliminary campaigns to educate public opinion. He seems very likely to get a tax bill this year that is closer to his original proposals than at first appeared conceivable.

Still, it is entirely possible that he can serve eight full years as President and never have the luck to get effective floor leaders in the House and Senate of his own generation and mind-set.

A groundswell of discussion has arisen in Senate circles, for example, that centers on Sen. John Pastore of Rhode Island as the next Democratic leader.

The natural presumption has been that Sen. Humphrey of Minnesota, now assistant leader, would get the job and its responsibilities when Sen. Mansfield of Montana gives up the post, which he is known to loathe. But the Senate elders moved to block Humphrey when Mansfield and the White House wanted him as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and it has been suggested within Humphrey's hearing that perhaps he would be happier if Pastore took over as Mansfield's assistant.

Why Pastore, whose national reputation is certainly lesser than Humphrey's? For one thing, he is as willing as Barkus.

In the House, the President's leaders have proved surprisingly adroit and tough so far this year. Speaker McCormack, Floor Leader Carl Albert of Oklahoma and Hale Boggs of Louisiana, the whip, are doing their home work. They are stronger, also, because they are making use of the exceedingly able Richard Bolling of Missouri, in both the planning and execution of programs.

Yet the Rules Committee remains an obstacle that the President has not even begun to crack. The decision to "reform" that committee by the smallest possible step—the more permanent addition of two generally pro-Administration Democrats to give leadership a thin one-vote margin of control—is very likely to prove a strategic error rather than merely a tactical one.

It may be said upon solid authority, in summary, that the natural Kennedy allies in Congress show signs of fighting harder, wish he would carry more issues to the country, wish he would intervene more decisively when the opportunity occurs to change the nature of the key committees and the tables of organization.

Great changes are certain in the near future in both houses of Congress. The ruling seniors are old, old men. Pushing up behind them are solid groups of newcomers of great talent and capacity, anxious to be used.

They think, as Mr. Kennedy does, in terms of the Sixties. They desire to take part in affirmative battles. They don't want to wait for the expected Kennedy second term to get started. They feel the leaven is working too slowly.

Kennedy Scouts News-Strike Law

President Kennedy sees no basis for federal legislation to curb newspaper strikes.

The President told a press conference April 3 that unless unions and publishers are willing to accept compulsory arbitration—"and there is no indication that either would be"—no "mechanical changes" in federal labor laws could stop city strikes.

Kennedy suggested that state legislatures might want to set up "emergency procedures" patterned after the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law.

But even as the President spoke, the New York Legislature was voting down a bill empowering the governor to appoint boards of inquiry to investigate such disputes as the New York City newspaper strike.