

NLRB Issues Complaint On Mirror's Closing

Hearst Cited For Failure To Bargain

The National Labor Relations Board has issued an unfair labor practices complaint against Hearst's New York Mirror, charging it with failing to bargain over its action in going out of business Oct. 16.

The complaint was ordered by Arnold Ordman, the NLRB's general counsel, who said the Mirror's decision to cease publication without consulting with the unions that represent its employees appeared to be a violation of the paper's bargaining responsibilities.

The complaint was issued on a charge brought by the New York Guild and New York locals of the Pressmen's and Stereotypers' unions.

Ordman said prior NLRB decisions "suggest that the circumstances of the Mirror suspension would constitute a statutory refusal-to-bargain violation."

He cited the board's ruling last January that the Star Baby Co. of New York City violated refusal-to-bargain provisions of the National Labor Relations Act by "unilaterally terminating . . . business operations without consulting with the union"—in this case, the ILGWU.

Star Baby was ordered to give its employees back pay from the date of termination until they received "substantially equivalent jobs elsewhere."

Public hearings on the charges will begin Jan. 20 before an NLRB examiner in New York. The case will then go to the full board in Washington for a decision; Ivan C. McLeod, NLRB regional director, said it may go to the courts after that.

The Mirror was closed and sold to the New York Daily News without notice Oct. 16, terminating the jobs of 1,600 employees, including 496 Guild members. Employees were told of the shutdown only a few hours before the paper closed its doors.

The News was the "logical buyer" for the Mirror because "it meant most to the News to put the Mirror out of business," William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspapers, told Editor & Publisher in an interview printed before the NLRB action.

Hearst said the death of the Mirror will make it possible for the News to raise its price "to six, seven cents or even higher."

Speculation about an imminent increase in the News' daily price gained force last week when the News boosted the price of its Sunday edition from 15 cents to 20. Time magazine reported that the News has picked up 200,000 of

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December 13, 1963

Star Minimums Rise \$22; SFONG Wins \$13 Pact; Truce Halts Toledo Strike

28-Hour Talk Yields Gains On Security

San Francisco, Calif.—Twenty-eight hours of continuous bargaining under the threat of an imminent strike has given 1,500 Guild members at three San Francisco papers a two-year wage package up to \$9.75 and an additional \$3.25 for health and welfare benefits.

A greatly strengthened job-security clause and automation protection are also contained in the San Francisco-Oakland Guild's two-year citywide contract with the Examiner, Chronicle and News Call Bulletin.

The settlement was reached in a nonstop bargaining session that started at 10 a.m. Nov. 24 and lasted into the following afternoon. The Guild had notified management that Nov. 25 was the last day for reaching a settlement.

Strike headquarters had been opened and picket rosters prepared in preparation for implementing strike authorization voted in October.

The agreement was ratified overwhelmingly by members of all three units Dec. 1.

Highlights of the settlement, in addition to improvements in wages and health and welfare, are:

► A clause calling for 90 days notice to the Guild of technological changes affecting employment, with the employer required to meet with the Guild on retraining and other measures to minimize their impact and to submit any disagreements to arbitration after 45 days.

► A job-security clause making seniority the rule, with minor exceptions, in both discharges and

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IN THE WAKE OF TRAGEDY: Marvin Ogletree, Toledo Guild President, announces result of the secret-ballot vote by which striking Guildsmen decided to return to work under a truce following the President's assassination.

Publication Resumed After Assassination

Toledo, Ohio — An uneasy strike truce precipitated by the assassination of President Kennedy continued to prevail at the Toledo Blade and Times this week as negotiations moved forward slowly.

The Toledo Guild withdrew its pickets a few hours after the assassination Nov. 22. Publication was resumed with the Blade's Sunday edition of Nov. 24 under an agreement that included a company promise to consum-

mate new contracts with the Guild and other unions "with all due speed."

International Vice President Kenneth E. Rieger, the Guild's chief negotiator, said "some progress" has been achieved in three weeks of negotiations since suspension of the strike. The company has withdrawn several retrogressive proposals and has agreed to several job reclassifications and the upgrading of a num-

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D. C. Walkout Averted By 11th-Hour Bid

A general increase of \$12 over two years and a \$22 increase in top minimums for reporters and display salesmen were won from the Washington Star this week in an offer placed on the bargaining table 15 minutes before the expiration of a "no-contract, no-work" deadline.

Some position minimums will go up as much as \$38 under the new agreement, which will raise the Star's key minimums in June 1965 to \$180, matching the highest now prevailing in an ANG newspaper contract.

The Washington Guild also won improvements in severance pay and hospitalization and medical insurance, and obtained a clause that provides for retraining of employees displaced by new methods or equipment. The Star recently installed a computer.

The contract was ratified unanimously at a Sunday-morning membership meeting. The unit had voted to strike upon the expiration of its contract at Saturday midnight if no satisfactory settlement was reached.

Negotiation of the new agreement coincided with an intensive free-ride organizing campaign at the Star. Eighty-five new members were added to the Guild's strength during the last three months while negotiations proceeded.

The \$12 raise will come in four \$3 steps, the first effective Dec. 8, and the others successively next June, next December and the following June.

Top minimums for nine commercial groups will go up \$15 over the two-year period, while the starting reporter minimum

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Guild Messages Reflect Grief At Kennedy's Death

The deep sorrow into which the assassination of President Kennedy plunged the world was reflected not only in Toledo, where Guildsmen interrupted a strike to bring the news to their fellow citizens, but in expressions of grief by ANG and newspapermen's organizations around the world.

Guild headquarters remained closed Nov. 25, the national day of mourning, and a message of condolence signed by the Guild's three top officers was sent to Mrs. Kennedy at the White House.

Recalling the President's close personal relationship with newspapermen and the fact that he himself had been a working newsmen, it said:

"On behalf of the members of the American

Newspaper Guild, we should like to extend our condolences on the tragic death of President Kennedy.

"As newspapermen and union members, we have reason to feel a special affection for him; as citizens, we join men of good will everywhere in honoring him as a courageous and devoted leader in the pursuit of peace and liberty, equality and well-being, for all the peoples of the world.

"Please accept our deepest sympathy."

As U.S. Guildsmen mourned their president, messages of sympathy began arriving at Guild headquarters from all over the world.

The Canadian District Council, meeting in Toronto, wired "profound sympathies from Guildsmen

in Canada to brother and sister Guildsmen in the United States."

In a telegram to Executive Vice President William J. Farson, the council said "the free world grieves over the loss of an outspoken fighter for peace, freedom and equality of man."

On behalf of the Toronto Guild, International Vice President Jack Dobson wrote to express "sorrow and sympathy to our American Guild brothers on the loss of their president," and added that the assassination "was a blow to Canadians as well as to Americans."

"His steadfast support for the protection and

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ANG Revises Model-Contract Language To Meet Problems Posed By Automation

Model-contract language designed to protect Guild members from the sudden disruptions of automation was approved this week by the ANG Contracts Committee.

The new model contract forbids dismissals resulting from the introduction of automation processes, strengthens the definition of the Guild's jurisdiction and provides for six months' notice of new equipment resulting in job changes.

The Contracts Committee did not recommend specific new language to cover sharing in the gains of automation; instead, it urged that locals insist upon their proper share of such gains in improved wages, hours, vacations, holidays and other contractual benefits. Maintenance of present income, the committee pointed out, already is protected by model-contract provisions prohibiting reductions in pay.

Article I, Section 3, of the model contract now reads:

3. The jurisdiction of the Guild is: a. The kind of work either normally or presently performed within the unit covered by this contract, b. New or additional work assigned to be performed within said unit,

c. New or additional work similar in skill, or performing similar function, as the kind of work either normally or presently performed within said unit, whether performed by presently or normally used processes or equipment or by new or modified processes or equipment.

Performance of such work shall be assigned to employees of the Publisher within the Guild's jurisdiction.

Article VII, Section 2(a), which permits economy dismissals under certain conditions, is amended to conclude:

... except that there shall be no dismissals as the result of the introduction of new or modified processes or equipment.

A new Section 7 of Article VII reads:

7. New or modified processes or equipment which would introduce new jobs or alter the content of existing job classifications shall not be put into use until after six months' notice to the Guild.

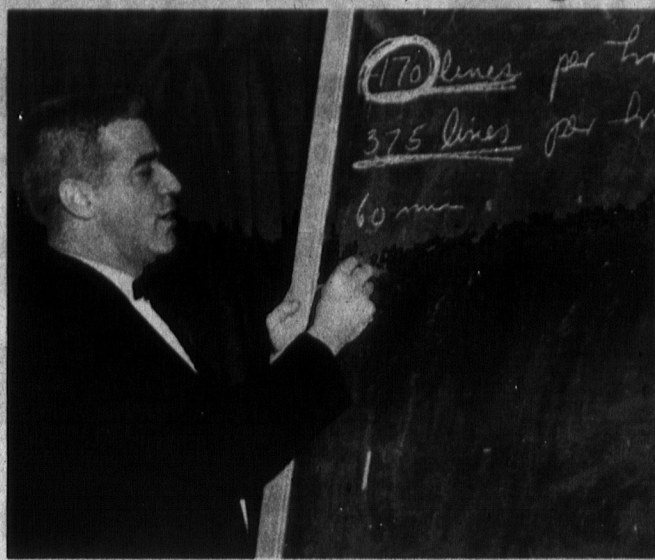
The changes in the model contract were drafted with the aid of Guild counsel Irving Leuchter at a five-day meeting of the ANG staff at headquarters last week.

Automation Catastrophic?

New York City—Automation is becoming "a real enemy in this society" and "could bring us to a national catastrophe," AFL-CIO President George Meany warned in his keynote address to the federation's biennial convention.

Every major corporation, he declared, is "in a mad race to produce more and more with less and less labor without any feeling as to what it may mean to the whole national economy."

Meany urged a shorter work week, an increased minimum wage, tax relief and increased government spending for public facilities to help cope with the economic problems created by automation.



MAN VERSUS MACHINE: ANG Collective Bargaining Director J. William Blatz compares the speed with which a linotype operator and a computer can copy copy.



New York Guild Photos by Harry Grogan
R&I Director Ellis T. Baker, with new-grown beard, looks on. Blatz and Baker conducted New York City seminar on automation sponsored by three district councils.

75 Delegates At Regional Institute Ponder Challenge Of Automation

New York City—Seventy-five delegates from 19 locals in seven states attended a Guild institute on automation here last weekend and heard the ANG's new model-contract protective provisions presented for the first time.

Theme of the institute, which was held at New York Guild headquarters, was "Automation and the Guild." The meeting, first of the 1963-64 ANG regional weekend-institute series, was sponsored by the Empire State, New England and Middle Atlantic district councils.

The institute included sessions on the development and future direction of the current revolution in newspaper production methods, computers and their operation and effects, local union experience with computers and other technological changes, and how the Guild can best respond to the immediate challenges of automation in the industry.

The sessions were conducted by ANG Collective Bargaining Director J. William Blatz and Research and Information Director Ellis T. Baker. The new model contract provisions, approved this week by the ANG Contracts Committee (see story elsewhere on this page), were outlined by Blatz at the concluding session of the institute Sunday morning.

Noting that the ANG Convention forum last summer had dealt with automation of the future, Blatz explained that the institute series was being devoted primarily to more immediate problems, such as the introduction of computers, and how they can be met through collective bargaining. He said the introduction of computers alone would revolutionize newspaper operations.

The Convention directed that the Guild's first concern should be the protection of its members' jobs, and Blatz emphasized that the new model-contract clauses—by strengthening existing job-security, jurisdiction and notice provisions—seek to prevent dismissals as the result of automation instead of merely softening the blow, as some other unions have chosen to do.

Blatz said that ANG, after considering plans negotiated by other unions, did not think it wise

to attempt to advance a specific formula for sharing in the gains of automation at this time but instead is urging locals to insist upon their proper share of such gains in improved wages, hours, vacations, holidays and other contractual benefits.

Plans negotiated in other industries still are in the experimental stage, he emphasized, and the negotiation of such plans in the newspaper industry is complicated by the fact that publishers do not bargain with a single industrial union but with a number of other unions, in addition to the Guild.

ANG President Arthur Rosenstock, of New York, welcomed the delegates at the opening of the institute Saturday afternoon. That evening the delegates were guests of the New York Guild at a buffet.

That night, at its business meeting, the Middle Atlantic Council voted to contribute \$100 to the strike of printing-trades unions against the Kingsport Press in Tennessee.

At the Empire State Council's business meeting following the institute the next afternoon, the Kingston delegation read into the record a statement criticizing the

Perry Links Computer With Photocomposition

Florida's Perry Publications, Inc., is wedding photocomposition and computerized typesetting in a new step toward complete automation of the composing room.

The company has announced the purchase of 17 Photons to be installed at six Perry newspapers now serviced by a central computer system at the West Palm Beach Post and Times.

Perry, which has been testing a computer-operated Photon at West Palm Beach, is the first publishing company to inaugurate computerized photocomposition on a large scale. The combination produces display composition at a rate 300 percent faster than conventional methods.

ITU printers at the West Palm Beach papers and the Pensacola News-Journal have been on strike

for more than a month over company plans to lay off 30 employees displaced by the computer.

Meanwhile, the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune has become the latest paper to install a fully automatic computerized typesetting system.

The South Bend system provides for an uninterrupted flow of copy from tape perforator to linecasting machine without human intervention. Tape goes from the perforator to the computer for justification and hyphenation. The computer then activates a reperforator which produces new tape for the linecaster.

All news and classified advertising matter is now being set by the computer, an IBM 1620 model.

It Seems To Us

Guild Scholarship Urged As Tribute To Kennedy
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Editor: To date I have not heard of any movement on the part of the American Newspaper Guild to honor the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy.

Would it not be fitting to establish a scholarship, or at least a partial scholarship, in the memory of President Kennedy? If each of the more than 30,000 members of the Guild contributed \$1 or more, on a voluntary basis, the resultant fund should be enough so that the interest would perpetuate a scholarship.

I would also like to propose that the scholarship be to Harvard University for the purpose of studying political science, and if possible, be limited to a member of a minority race.

It seems appropriate that the Guild and its members should make some contribution in an attempt to continue and extend President Kennedy's work in politics and in civil rights.

RUTH K. MILLER
San Francisco-Oakland Guild

Milwaukee Profits Seen As Employees' Money
ST. PAUL, MINN.

Editor: You reported Nov. 22 that The Milwaukee Journal earned a net income of \$4,990,832 before taxes in 1962. But you left out a couple of things.

1. The Milwaukee Journal has the finest kind of profit-sharing plan—one under which more than 90 percent of the employees own two-thirds of the company stock, share proportionally in the earnings and sit on the board of directors. Thus, that near-five-million profit is really money in the workers' pockets.

2. The Milwaukee Journal newspaper is non-Guild.

You left out these things despite the fact you had room to include the statement, "The Journal profit was achieved despite a reported \$3 million paid for the Milwaukee Sentinel..." Any accountant will tell you the Sentinel purchase has nothing to do with it, since the Journal company simply traded one asset (cash) for another (the Sentinel).

This is an example of the highest type of unbiased reports we get in our Guild Reporter.

Thanks...
GENE E. MALOTT
Twila Cities Guild

Editor's Note: The profit statement was based on a report by Journal business manager Robert Drew in the March-April 1963 issue of the company's business report. Drew cited "heavy morning newspaper acquisition and startup costs" as a major factor in reducing last year's profits.

The Journal's profit-sharing system, which bears considerable analysis in itself, hardly seemed relevant to the brief story, which was designed to convey the point that newspapers—even non-Guild ones—occasionally do make money.

Letters shall be limited to 200 words and shall avoid libel and publicity detrimental to the Guild. Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply in the same issue, but publication of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue.

Letters relating to circulation or membership to appear in the issue providing distribution of letters and membership lists preceding the start of voting shall be confined to selected material already published.

All news and classified advertising matter is now being set by the computer, an IBM 1620 model.

Sale Ends Guild Unit In Rockies

Great Falls, Mont.—An eight-member unit of the Great Falls Guild has been dissolved with the sale last week of The Montana Farmer-Stockman, a biweekly farm magazine with 30,000 circulation, to a Spokane publisher.

The 50-year-old publication was sold to W. H. Cowles by Lester Cole and the Great Falls Tribune and Leader, joint owners.

Severance pay, accrued vacation pay and two weeks' notice pay were promptly given to all eight Guildmen, although two will continue to work under the new owner.

Editorial offices will remain in Great Falls, but the Farmer-Stockman will be directed from the Spokane office of Cowles' Northwest Farm Paper Unit, which includes four other publications in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Utah.

Cole, who remains as associate publisher, said the decision to sell was dictated by pressing economic realities of rapidly changing production processes in the national farm publication field.

"To continue competitively," he said, "the Farmer-Stockman would have had to make immediate investment in excess of half a million dollars for new press facilities."

N.Y. Asks Units To Press Fight On Hiring Bias

New York City—New York Guild units are being asked to set up human-rights committees in each shop to press the Guild's campaign for fair-employment practices.

The formation of unit committees was decided upon at the initial meeting of the Local's newly organized citywide human-rights committee. The unit committees were asked to meet with their managements to gain information on hiring practices and report back to the citywide group.

International Vice President Edward Easton, Jr., was elected chairman of the Local committee. Representatives of 22 units attended the initial meeting.

Some improvement in minority-group hiring was reported in several shops. Meetings with New York Times management during recent years have resulted in the hiring and promotion of a number of Negroes and the establishment of a training program to help bring about further promotions, it was reported.

\$1,000 Pledged To Fund Drive

St. Louis, Mo.—The St. Louis Guild has pledged \$1,000—approximately \$1 a member—to the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Fund at a rate of \$200 a year for five years.

The pledge was made at a November membership meeting. Efforts will be made to raise the money by voluntary contributions. The Local will make up any deficit if voluntary contributions do not achieve the goal.

Arbitration Group To Sponsor 2nd Union-Publisher Parley

A second newspaper industry labor-management conference will be held in Tampa, Fla., next month as a pilot project in a new American Arbitration Association program to aid collective bargaining.

The Tampa conference, scheduled for Jan. 20-22, is an extension of last September's union-publisher meeting at Santa Barbara, Calif., sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

While no agenda has been announced for the off-the-record conference, talks are expected to center on problems raised by automation and other technological changes in the newspaper industry.

In addition to ANG Executive Vice President William J. Farnon, top officers of the printers, stereotypes, pressmen, photoengravers and teamsters have been invited to attend.

The 28 executives invited to represent management will include top officials of the Hearst, Scripps-Howard and Gannett chains, the New York Times, Washington Post, Minneapolis Star and Philadelphia Inquirer, among others, and the standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Presiding will be Dr. Clark Kerr, president of the University of California. Arbitrators Theodore W. Kheel, David L. Cole and Samuel Kagle also have been invited to take part in the discussions.

Donald B. Strauss, president of the arbitration association, said the Tampa conference will mark the start of a new AAA service that will "operate independently of the association's arbitration tribunals."

Strauss said "we do not consider it will be a panacea for settling strikes." The objective, he said, is "to help unions and management set up continuing bilateral and tripartite off-the-record discussions of matters that cannot usually be dealt with during the short time available for negotiation of collective-bargaining agreements."

"Unlike our arbitration service, this new activity will not result in final and binding decisions. The emphasis will be on arriving at understandings, which the parties will themselves express in future contracts."

To shape the new program, AAA has established an advisory committee of nine top neutrals

in the labor-management field, headed by Cole.

Jesse Simons, a former New York Post official who organized both conferences, will act as consultant in developing the program.

The national newspaper "summit meetings" grew out of last winter's 114-day New York newspaper strike, but efforts to convene a similar top-level meeting of the New York City Publishers Association and New York unions have bogged down because the association has refused to sign a contract with the Pressmen's Union while antitrust and wage-claim suits filed by the union are pending.

The pressmen have filed an unfair-labor practices charge with the NLRB, and the Newspaper Unions Unity Committee has refused to meet with the publishers until the contract is signed.

New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner, who proposed the \$12.63 wage and benefit package that settled last year's printers' strike, last week urged both sides to get together. Calling for closer labor-management relations in the industry, Wagner said, "Many non-economic issues can be settled . . . in advance of the start of actual money negotiations."

Federal Examiner Fails To Find Discrimination In Detroit Lockout

Detroit, Mich. — An NLRB trial examiner has recommended dismissal of a complaint accusing the Detroit News of discriminating against Guild members and other organized workers by locking them out during a series of strikes in 1962.

Trial examiner William J. Brown rejected the Detroit Guild's charge that during successive craft strikes at the News and the Detroit Free Press from April 20 to May 9, 1962, the News kept all its unorganized employees on the payroll while laying off all but a few of its non-striking organized employees.

The Guild had asked that the company be required to discontinue a policy of discrimination against union members and that back pay with interest be awarded to laid-off members of the Guild, the Stereotypers and the Photoengravers unions.

Brown recommended dismissal of the complaint on the ground that during the period the paper was suspended there was work for the unorganized editorial, business and advertising departments but not for the 33 janitors and one maid who belonged to the Guild nor for the members

of the printing-trades unions.

The examiner held that a previous admission by James T. Dorris, the News' associate business manager, that it had been the company's policy to lay off organized workers while retaining unorganized employees was insufficient to prove that the policy was retained during the 1962 strike.

Litigation is continuing in a \$20,000 damage suit on behalf of News Guildsmen similarly laid off during a 1955 stereotypers' strike. Michigan courts were ordered to hear the suit after a Guild appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

South-Of-The-Border Seminar

Latin Newsmen Receive Bargaining Pointers

Mexico City — Newspaper workers from Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama, the Dominican Republic and Cuba in exile received basic trade-union training here during a two-week seminar sponsored by the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen's Organizations Nov. 18-29.

The seminar was directed by ANG International Affairs Representative John K. Sloan, who is IAFWNO's inter-American representative.

Richard P. Davis, ANG's associate director of research and information, also participated in the instruction. Other instructors were Jose M. Fregoso, Central American activities director for the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (ORIT) and Arturo R. Blancas, general secretary of the Union of Workers of Herriar Publications, Mexico City.

The participants represented a wide range of union experience, varying from the Mexicans, who have well developed unions, to the Hondurans and Guatemalans,



SEMINAR IN MEXICO: John Sloan, ANG International Affairs Representative, demonstrates a contractual point to Luis Mejia of the Dominican Republic during IAFWNO seminar in Mexico City for newspaper workers of Central America and the Caribbean. Other students are Danilo Luna, left, of Panama, and Diomedes Baldemora of Honduras.

who have no unions at all.

The seminar covered the principles and structure of newspaper trade unions, collective bargaining, contract enforcement,

strikes, cooperatives and political action.

The participants held a mock bargaining session on clauses from the ANG model contract,

which was one of the principal working documents of the seminar. Contracts of Latin American newspaper unions were also examined.

AFL-CIO Asks Federal Antiscab Law

New York City—Enactment of a federal law to ban the recruitment, training and importation of professional strikebreakers was asked by the AFL-CIO's biennial convention here last month.

The convention also urged all AFL-CIO affiliates to cooperate in the continuing campaign for state and municipal job-protection statutes.

A federal job-protection law, the convention said, would protect employees from "goons, racketeers and other unsavory characters" imported and employed during labor disputes.

AFL-CIO officers were empowered to "place the full support of organized labor" behind the drive for a federal antiscab-law.

Ten states and 33 municipalities have adopted such legislation in a campaign spearheaded by newspaper unions. The unions have drafted a model federal bill, but it has never been introduced.

The convention also called for a rededication of the labor movement to "the cause of freedom and equality for all Americans," urging the removal of "the last vestiges of racial discrimination" within labor's ranks.

The resolution urged prompt enactment of pending civil-rights legislation with strengthened provisions on public accommodations and fair-employment practices.

Federation President George Meany reported progress in a "task-force" program under which AFL-CIO bodies have taken the lead in communitywide programs to combat racial discrimination in selected cities.

Plans for concerted civil-rights programs have been worked out in Cincinnati, Boston, Washington, Milwaukee, Oakland, San Francisco, Denver and Houston, Meany said.

ANG delegates to the convention—President Arthur Rosenstock, Executive Vice President William J. Farson, Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and New York Guild President Wilfred E. Alexander—sponsored two resolutions adopted by the federation.

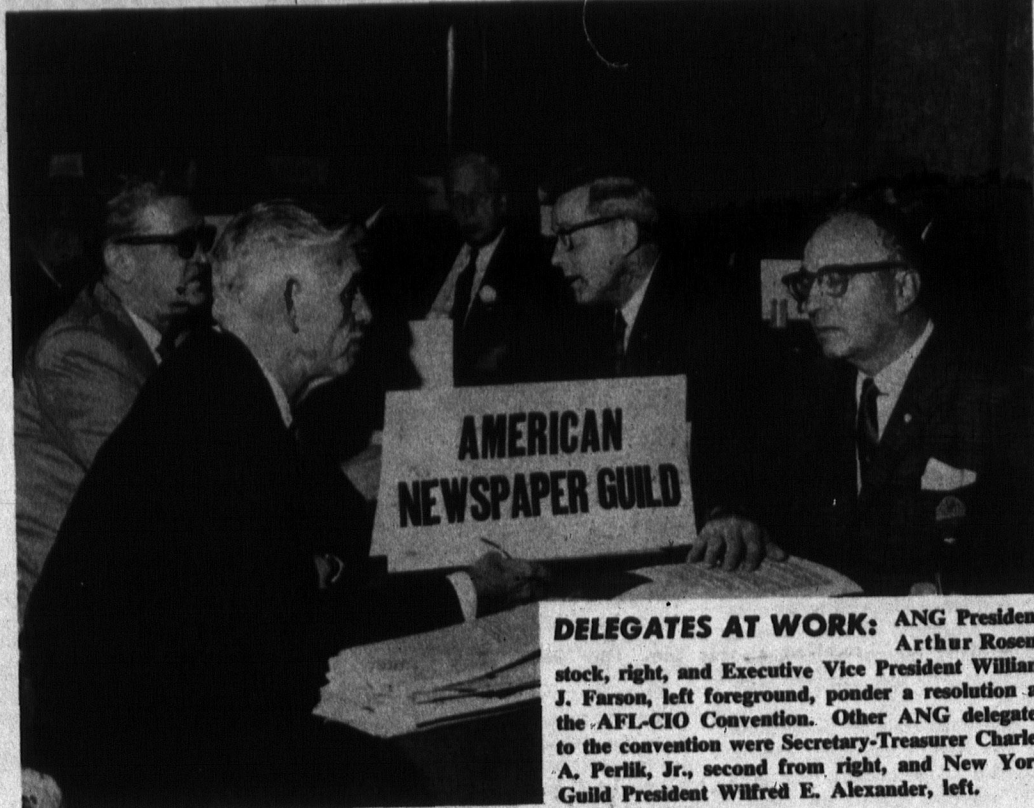
The first called for a five-point government program to arrest the growth of newspaper monopolies (GR, Nov. 22). The second, co-sponsored by several other unions, urged Senate ratification of the U.N. Genocide Convention, bottled up in committee for more than a decade.

Convention action on a wide range of other problems included: A 15-point economic program to sustain full employment, including a \$2-an-hour minimum wage, an \$11-billion tax cut, a shorter work week and the creation of a presidential commission on automation.

A recommendation for "every action short of war" to force the abolition of South Africa's apartheid system.

A call for a major federation effort to assure increased labor registration and voting in the 1964 presidential election.

Opposition to proposed constitutional amendments that would give state legislatures the right to amend the U.S. Constitution and



DELEGATES AT WORK: ANG President Arthur Rosenstock, right, and Executive Vice President William J. Farson, left foreground, ponder a resolution at the AFL-CIO Convention. Other ANG delegates to the convention were Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., second from right, and New York Guild President Wilfred E. Alexander, left.

bar the Supreme Court from ruling on state reapportionment.

Authorization for the full use of federation resources in a

series of coordinated organizing campaigns along the lines of a pilot program conducted during the past year in Los Angeles.



PRESENTATION PRELUDE: ANG President Arthur Rosenstock reviews the record of 25-year Guild pla from Rosenstock and New York Guild President Wilfred E. Alexander, left. The presentation was made at a party given by ANG officers for newsmen covering the AFL-CIO Convention.

Grievance On Collis Is Settled

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—A grievance involving former ANG President Joseph F. Collis in his new role as managing editor of the Wilkes-Barre Record has been settled amicably after having been taken to arbitration.

The dispute arose in the Record newsroom as a result of Collis' performing desk work that the Wilkes-Barre Guild claimed came under its jurisdiction.

The Guild maintained in a grievance session, that Collis—a former Local president—should not replace any Guildsmen on a regular basis on the desk. The Guild said that the company was saving considerable money on overtime as a result of Collis filling in on Guild jobs.

The Guild offered to permit Collis to fill in on the desk jobs in case of emergencies and where no Guildsmen was available for work, but management declined the offer, maintaining that Collis could fill any job in the newsroom.

The dispute was taken to arbitration, but Arbitrator Peter Seitz suggested that the two parties try to reach an amicable settlement. If this couldn't be done, he said, he would hand down a decision.

Although the publisher, after several sessions, would not agree in writing to the Guild's position, it was agreed that the publisher would employ an extra copy reader-reporter who will be used for desk work when necessary.

The Guild retained ANG counsel Irving Leuchter to present its case at the arbitration hearing. He was assisted by Carl Pesavento, Local president, and John Wallace, vice president.

R.S. O'Leary Dies; Won Broun Award

Christchurch, New Zealand—Ralph S. O'Leary, 52, winner of the ANG's Heywood Broun Award in 1953, died here last month of a heart attack after returning from a Navy tour of U.S. bases in Antarctica.

O'Leary, who was science editor of the Houston Post, was a former executive-board member of the St. Louis Guild and was active in an unsuccessful Guild organizing drive at the Post.

He won the Broun Award for an expose of the Texas Minute Women, written for the Post. He worked for the St. Louis Star-Times until 1951.

against old-age social-security hospital insurance.

The complaint notes that the AMPAC recording, titled "AMPAC brings you the voice of COPE," is attached to a booklet describing the plastic record as "a transcription of a meeting held early in 1963 by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) in Allegheny County, Pa.," and listing the speaker as Normile.

The booklet states that the transcription was obtained from "a COPE member" who opposes COPE's "high-pressure" methods. The record reproduces a speech by a person, introduced as Nor-

mile, who addresses "brother COPE leaders of District 16" and announces that "our kick-in tab for '63 is 146,000 bucks . . . a buck for each USW rank-and-filer in the Allegheny County Labor Council. No ifs, ands or buts."

The complaint charges that the record portrays Normile as a "tough-talking bully who uses strong-arm tactics to obtain money to 'knock out' the 'docs' and to promote the medicare bill." The complaint states, is heard directing USWA representatives "to threaten workers with the 'graveyard shift' if they refuse to 'kick in.'"

Charges Against 3 Barred In Paterson

Newark, N. J.—A U.S. judge has ruled that the Landrum-Griffin Law bars the North Jersey Guild from trying three members on charges of attempting to undermine the Guild via NLRB action at the Paterson Call last summer.

Judge Thomas F. Meany issued an injunction Nov. 27 preventing a Local trial board from hearing a charge that the trio violated the ANG Constitution by successively seeking elections to decertify the Guild and revoke the Guild shop.

The Guild is appealing the decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The NLRB's general counsel has refused to order the board's regional director to institute an unfair labor-practices complaint the trio sought against the Guild on grounds similar to those cited in the court suit.

Judge Meany held that the three Call employees are protected from disciplinary proceedings on the charges under a section of the Landrum-Griffin Law that bars unions from limiting their members' rights to initiate court suits or administrative proceedings.

Irving Leuchter, the Guild's attorney, argued at a hearing Nov. 21 that the statute is intended to give union members the right to protect themselves against injurious action by the union, not to forestall disciplinary proceedings against a member who attacks the union's "institutional foundations."

"The statute is intended as a shield for union members," Leuchter declared. "These members are using it as a sword."

The three Paterson members

—Joseph Baron, Melvin Lewis and Fred Tenby—first petitioned for an NLRB election to decertify the Guild. When that move proved impossible under the law, they sought an election to revoke the Guild shop.

The latter petition was withdrawn after the Guild took a 4-2 lead in the voting, with 16 votes challenged.

The injunction does not bar the trial board from hearing another charge—that the three acted in collusion with management in their efforts to undermine the Guild. The Guild's executive board will decide Dec. 21 whether to proceed with that charge pending a final court decision on the others.

Employee Denied Arbitration

New York City—A New York Supreme Court judge has ruled that a New York Guild member cannot compel the Guild to arbitrate a grievance by court action.

Justice Owen D. McGivern affirmed a long-standing judicial concept that labor contracts are agreements between management and the union, not individual employees. Judge McGivern said the plaintiff, a New York Times employee, had no standing to compel arbitration.

Denying the employee's motion to force the Guild to arbitrate his grievance, the judge held that nothing in the contract provided justification for such a move.



REMEMBRANCE: Agnes Underwood, storied city editor of the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, receives an honorary 25-year membership pin from ANG Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and a statuette from Frank Polk, president of the Los Angeles Guild. Mrs. Underwood, an active Guild member before she became city editor, was honored at a dinner at which Nicholas Abraham, right, first vice president, and 22 other Los Angeles Guildsmen received 25-year pins. Disc jockey Bob Crane, second from left, was master of ceremonies.

Contract Settlements

One-Day Bargaining At Waltham Yields Pensions, \$6-\$8 Increases

Waltham, Mass. — A \$10.25 package increase for employees earning \$100 a week and over is provided in a settlement reached in a single day of bargaining at the Waltham News-Tribune.

The two-year contract with the Boston Guild provides:

► A \$4 weekly salary increase each year for higher-paid employees and \$3 each year for those earning \$99.99 a week or less. The top reporter minimum will go to \$121 the second year.

► An employer pension-fund contribution of 35 cents for each shift during the first year of the contract and 45 cents during the second year. This amounts to another \$2.25 a week "across the board" in the second year.

► A fourth week of vacation, during the winter season, for employees with 15 years' service starting in November 1964.

► A fifth day of sick leave in the second year of the contract.

The inauguration of a pension fund marks a milestone in the history of negotiations at the Waltham paper.

The negotiations also set some sort of record for speed; the present contract does not expire until Jan. 12.

Top Minimum Climbs \$6.22 At Brantford

Brantford, Ont.—A 3-percent increase in minimums in each year of a two-year contract has been negotiated by the Toronto Guild for employees of the Brantford Expositor.

The top minimum for reporters

will climb \$3.11 each year to \$109.95 in the second year of the agreement. The circulation salesmen's top minimum will go up \$2.75 each year, to \$97.01, while the highest-paying position under the contract, that of wire editor, will rise \$3.66 a year to \$129.32.

Employees will be eligible for a third week of vacation after eight years instead of the previous 10, a copy-desk differential has been increased from \$2 a week to \$1 a shift, and the company has agreed to pay the full cost of medical insurance instead of half.

The contract is retroactive to Oct. 3.

Philadelphia Units Pick New Plan For Pensions

Philadelphia, Pa.—Guild members at the Philadelphia Inquirer and Daily News have ratified a plan for increased pensions under ANG's Commingled Pension Fund.

The plan, selected over an al-

ternative proposal by a 303-26 referendum vote, will provide a monthly pension of one-half of 1 percent of monthly salary plus 35/100ths of 1 percent of the difference between the employee's salary and \$450 a month, multiplied by years of service up to 35.

The increase in benefits will be made possible through increased company contributions agreed upon in negotiations for current contracts at the two papers.

Scripps-Howard Pact Boosts Wages By \$9

Columbus, Ohio—Employees of Scripps-Howard's Ohio Bureau will receive wage increases of \$4.50 in each year of a new two-year agreement with the Columbus Guild.

The increase brings the top minimum for reporters to \$144.50 in the second year of the contract, which is retroactive to Nov. 1, 1962.

Fred Myers Dies At 59; Ex-Guild Reporter Editor

Fred Myers, a former editor of the Guild Reporter who later became vice president of the U.S. Humane Society, died in his Washington home Dec. 1 following a heart attack.

Myers, 59, was both vice president and education director of the Humane Society at the time of his death. He helped found the society in 1954 and was also a vice

president of the World Federation for the Protection of Animals.

Myers was a reporter for the Kansas City Journal, Associated Press, United Press and the New York Mirror, serving as Mirror Unit chairman before his appointment as a CIO organizer assigned to the Guild in 1937.

Later he served as executive vice president of the New England District Council, becoming an international representative in 1939. He helped conduct Guild strikes in Waterbury, Conn.; Lynn, Mass., and Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Myers was editor of the GR for a year in 1941.

He subsequently became executive director of the American Society for Russian Relief during World War II. Following the war he was named development officer and provost of the New School for Social Research in New York City. From 1950 to 1954 he was editor of the National Humane Review.

Executive Secretary

The 1,900-member Guild local in Toronto, Canada, has a vacancy in the post of executive secretary. Applicants should detail experience in bargaining, organizing, grievance handling and general administration in a similar capacity as well as complete details of union and other background. Also indicate salary and benefits expected.

To make application, or for further details, write: Jack Dobson, President, Toronto Newspaper Guild, Room 217, 129 Adelaide St. W., Toronto, Ontario, Canada

'COPE Expose' Exposes AMA To Suit For \$400,000

AFL-CIO News Service

New York City—A Steelworkers official, with the full backing of his union, is suing the American Medical Association for \$400,000 in damages, charging that its American Medical Political Action Committee libeled him by distributing a fraudulent recording purporting to present his voice and depicting him "as a tough-talking bully and extortionist."

Paul Normile, a member of the USWA executive board and director of its District 16 in Allegheny County, Pa., also asked that the AMA and AMPAC be enjoined from further distribution

of the record and be required to destroy all copies of it.

Normile declared in an affidavit filed with the suit that not only was he the voice on the recording but his but that he had never made the speech attributed to him or any speech of a similar nature.

Filing of the suit in the U.S. District Court in Washington, D. C., was announced to AFL-CIO convention delegates by Federation President George Meany on the final day of the convention here.

At a news conference, a tape of the AMPAC recording and another presenting Normile's actual voice were played for reporters,

and Normile was present in person to answer their questions.

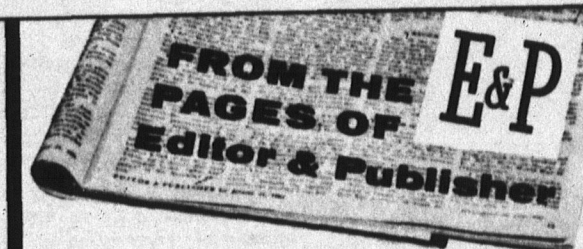
"It takes no expert to recognize that this purported speech of an executive-board member of our union is an electronic fabrication," Steelworkers President David J. McDonald declared. "It smacks strongly of the photographic fakery practiced years ago."

USWA counsel David E. Feller, who is representing Normile in the case, said the AMPAC recording had been played to groups of doctors and other persons to portray Normile and other representatives of organized labor unfavorably and encourage physicians to contribute funds to AMA's campaign

against old-age social-security hospital insurance.

The complaint notes that the AMPAC recording, titled "AMPAC brings you the voice of COPE," is attached to a booklet describing the plastic record as "a transcription of a meeting held early in 1963 by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) in Allegheny County, Pa.," and listing the speaker as Normile.

The booklet states that the transcription was obtained from "a COPE member" who opposes COPE's "high-pressure" methods. The record reproduces a speech by a person, introduced as Nor-



From Editor & Publisher, December 7, Page 11.

AP CAMERAMAN LONE 'PRO' AT JFK ASSASSINATION SCENE

James W. (Ike) Altgen, the only professional cameraman to catch spot pictures of President Kennedy's assassination, had the first of his historic photos moving on the AP Wirephoto network 17 minutes after the first bulletin was announced. Altgen gives his on-the-spot observations of the tragic events as they unfolded before his eyes—a working newspaperman's story, in the weekly magazine of all working newspapermen.

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Guild Messages Reflect Grief At Kennedy's Death

(Continued from Page 1)

growth of human rights will have its effect here as elsewhere and leave a mark on our hearts.

"His friendship for labor endeared him to us; his sane approaches to the problems of war and peace leave us eternally grateful," wrote Dobson, who is president of the Toronto Local.

Parson, who was attending a Paris meeting of the International Federation of Journalists' Bureau, was asked to convey the IFJ's condolences to ANG members. The bureau paid tribute "to the memory of this great leader of the free world who always defended the principles of democracy and justice."

In Mexico City, the Friday afternoon session of a seminar on trade unionism sponsored by the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapers' Organizations was canceled. All social events in connection with the seminar were also dropped.

Taking the floor one by one, spokesmen for the eight Latin-American delegations expressed their sympathy to seminar director John K. Sloan, ANG

His Salute To The Guild

President Kennedy gave the following salute to ANG in a message to the Guild's 1961 Convention in Vancouver:

"The Guild has been in the forefront of the fight to improve standards of the newspaper profession. Its officers and members are to be commended for their long fight through the years to ensure the members of one of our nation's most important professions shall be able to hold their own in the work of the free press."

When that was in the time of crisis, the role of newspaper men is vital. You have your rights guaranteed by our Constitution, but you also have great responsibilities to inform the American people."

International affairs representative, and Richard P. Davis, associate director of research and information. Then, in a formal statement, the delegates said: "We believe that through the death of President

Kennedy, martyr of democracy, the world has lost one of the greatest advocates of peace and freedom, and Latin America the best of its friends."

An IAFWNO affiliate, the Newspaper Workers' Association of Paraguay in exile, wrote ANG President Arthur Rosenstock: "We address ourselves through ANG to all our newspapermen colleagues in the United States, to express to them the deep sorrow felt by the exiled Paraguayan newspapermen for the tragic death of John F. Kennedy."

A cablegram to the Guild from the Argentine Federation of Newspapermen conveyed its "condolences and solidarity . . . for the tragic death of President Kennedy whose democratic ideals of social progress brought a new era to the world."

From Rome, the secretariat of the Communist-dominated International Committee for the Cooperation of Journalists cabled the Guild: "With affectionate remembrance and regret we join you in deep sorrow in the national mourning of the people of America."

Guild Briefs

St. Paul, Minn.—Two public-service awards and Page One Awards in 20 writing categories and nine photography categories were presented at the Twin Cities Guild's annual Page One Ball.

Public-service awards went to Mrs. Walter Walker for her work in hospital and health activities

in the Twin Cities and to Arthur Kingsbury for his work with Boy Scouts and other youth groups. Mary Ann Grossmann-Thomsen was chairman of the ball.

Buffalo, N. Y.—Joyce Liput's ANG lapel pin leads a charmed life these days.

Set in a silver disc by her father, her Guild pin has come out of a drawer to be worn on a bracelet with other cherished charms.

The Buffalo Courier-Express Unit reports that the novel idea has started a fad among other feminine Guild members.



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Local Elections

Boston
President, John B. Thompson; vice president, Richard P. Miller; secretary, William P. Roberts; treasurer, Charles L. Loring.

Los Angeles
President, James P. Bennett (Bureau); vice president, Fred P. Miller; first vice president, Nicholas J. Brown (Bureau); second vice president, James C. Miller; secretary, Fred P. Miller; treasurer, John V. Brown.

Newburgh-Bacon
President, Joseph P. Miller; vice president, Ward Fuchs; secretary-treasurer, Albert Smith.

North Jersey
President, Walter D. Brown (Bureau); vice president, John B. Bennett; secretary, William P. Roberts; treasurer, Charles L. Loring.

Philadelphia
President, Michael Cohen; vice president, Richard P. Miller; secretary, William P. Roberts; treasurer, Charles L. Loring.

Portland
President, Michael Cohen; vice president, Richard P. Miller; secretary, William P. Roberts; treasurer, Charles L. Loring.

Kennedy Assassination Brings Toledo Strike Truce

(Continued from Page 1)

ber of low salary minimums. Guild members voted 220-28 for the truce at a meeting the day after the President's death. The Guild and management issued the following joint statement: "The Toledo Newspaper Guild has resolved to subordinate its own interests to the public interests and to volunteer the services

of its members in the immediate publication of Toledo's morning and daily newspapers."

"The solemn tragedy which has befallen our nation and the world on this day requires that labor and management set aside and suspend their differences."

"The sole condition appended to an immediate truce between the Guild and the Toledo Blade Co.

is the pledge of management that negotiations shall proceed with all due speed to accomplish an honorable and expeditious settlement of the labor-management disputes now existing between the parties."

The truce was negotiated after the company rejected a proposal by the Guild and other unions that it publish a single special edition on the assassination late Nov. 22 or early Nov. 23.

The unions agreed to donate their members' labor provided the company agreed to publish without advertising and distribute the paper free. The company said no.

Negotiations were resumed Nov. 25, but despite management's pledge to bargain "with all due speed," it proposed a one-week wait before the next session. When the Guild charged this was a violation of the agreement, management caucused and agreed to a session two days later.

A membership meeting Nov. 29

Minimums Rise \$22 At Washington Star

(Continued from Page 1)

will rise \$16.25 immediately to parity with display salesmen at \$90.25 and go up an additional \$3, to \$99.25, at each step of the contract.

Top minimums for reporters, display salesmen and photographers will go up in four \$5.50 steps, raising them to \$163.50 immediately and to \$180 in June 1965.

A \$180 top minimum went into effect at the Washington Post Dec. 1 in the second year of a two-year contract. The Post has no night differential, however, while the Star has a 7 1/2-percent differential.

A fourth classification of position minimums has been created, with the top group (assistant news editor, principal assistant city editor and copy-desk chief) at \$211.75 in the final step, the second group at \$204, the third at \$195.75, and the fourth, including copy readers and rewrite men, at \$188.

The reclassification will mean a \$38 raise for the state editor, who goes from the lowest group to the second one.

Other major gains include the following:

► An automation clause providing for retraining of any full-time employee with more than two years' service who is displaced by new processes.

► A fair-employment-practices clause.

► An increase of \$1.37 a month in company contributions toward the cost of health insurance.

Mirror Complaint Issued

(Continued from Page 1)

The Mirror's 834,000 circulation. "You can't own two newspapers in a multinepaper city unless they are the top two," Hearst declared. "We determined we could never get the highest circulation in the morning against the News."

"Newspapers," he declared, "can be brutal and cruel in competition."

Hearst said attempts were made "to peddle the Mirror elsewhere to keep it alive" but that the competing News proved to be "the logical buyer."

"Now they can, if they wish, raise their price to six, seven cents

or even higher," he said.

ANG President Arthur Rosenstock and New York Guild Executive Vice President Thomas J. Murphy charged after the closing that the News precipitated the Mirror's death by refusing to raise its price, putting the Mirror in an impossible economic position.

The Justice Department is investigating possible antitrust violations involved in the closing.

Meanwhile, the Mirror announced that severance-pay checks aggregating \$3.5 million are being mailed to 496 Guild members made jobless by the closing. A number are receiving more than \$10,000.

Among Ourselves

Miss Bales, former vice president and secretary of the Washington Guild, has joined the publications department of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' New York City District Council. Miss Bales recently completed a seven-month overseas internship in Tokyo with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

under Cornell University's International Labor Training Program.

Judith L. Barrett of the Salem Guild has been awarded an Inter-American Press Association Scholarship for a year's study at the University of Chile in Santiago. Miss Barrett has been a reporter for the Salem News since her graduation from Northeastern University earlier this year.

Montreal Guild Votes Strike

Montreal, Que.—Members of the Montreal Guild have voted overwhelmingly to authorize strike action following a breakdown in contract negotiations with the Montreal Star.

A 75-day conciliation period during which the Guild is barred from striking under provincial law expires Dec. 17. A three-man board of conciliation has been convened in accordance with the law to try to bring about a settlement following a conciliation officer's failure to do so.

More than 93 percent of the ballots cast in the strike vote endorsed strike action.

unanimously rejected the company's package offer of a \$10 increase over three years and au-

thorized the executive board to reinstate strike action if necessary. The membership voted to propose a two-year contract with across-the-board increases of \$6.08 the first year and \$4.36 the second—the average of a previous scaled-down proposal.

In subsequent negotiations, the company agreed to a fourth week's vacation after 15 years' service if the Guild would accept changes in vacation accrual dates and a lengthening of the vacation period.

Negotiations are proceeding with the aid of federal mediator Harry Gray. ANG International Representative Robert Bruner is assisting the Toledo Guild.

Other unions joined the Guild in agreeing to the truce. The company and the ITU reached tentative agreement on a new contract before the truce, but its terms have not been disclosed pending a ratification meeting Dec. 15.



ILGWU PHOTO BY BURTON BERINSKY—AT BERGDOFF-GOODMAN, FIFTH AVE., N.Y.

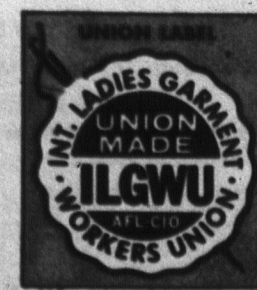
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Write for free 16-page booklet "How To Be Well Dressed" ILGWU Union Label Dept. "L", 1710 Broadway, N. Y. 19, N. Y.

Editorial

A Nonexistent 'Right'

Columnist David Lawrence, whose reaction to events is no more predictable than the rising and setting of the sun, has taken time out from his arguments with the Supreme Court and lamentations over the civil-rights movement to take up the problem of newspaper mergers.

The problem, as Lawrence's readers can be expected to anticipate, is not in the danger such mergers pose to diversity of opinion, for everything happens for the best in Lawrence's best of all possible *laissez-faire* worlds.

"In almost every industry," he writes consolingly, "for example, in the manufacture of automobiles or in steel or in the corner grocery, there has been a diminution in the number of businesses but there has also been an expansion in other directions so that the total national output has risen steadily and employment has been substantially augmented."

Newspaper readers deprived of their daily fare can take heart. Their paper may be gone, but a mashed-potato factory is likely to open up down the street.

No, the problem, as Lawrence diagnoses it, lies in attempts to inhibit the unfettered development of a monopoly press. The AFL-CIO, which last month adopted an ANG-sponsored resolution calling for legislation to curb the growth of newspaper monopolies, is the culprit.

The legislation would require any publisher prepared to merge with or sell to a competitor to offer his paper instead to any outside buyer willing to pay a fair price to keep it going.

The proposed law represents a clear effort to halt the contraction of newspapers in major metropolitan areas. But in the world of David Lawrence, "it would tend to impede the operation and expansion" of newspapers.

How it would deter the expansion of any business except that of the monopoly purchaser is a point that Lawrence never gets around to explaining. But he goes on to broader objections: The law, he complains, "would set aside the right of the seller to do business with whomever he pleases."

This "right," in Lawrence's scheme of things, is little less than the bedrock of the Constitution. It is scarcely his fault if, for three-quarters of a century, Congress and the courts have held that such a right is less than absolute when it clashes with the rights of other segments of society.

In the case of newspaper mergers, the unrestricted right to sell conflicts with the right of the public to a free and competitive press—a right the Washington Daily News recently pointed out "was not written into the Constitution to safeguard a business but to preserve a public liberty."

Lawrence sees the proposed law as one that would "tell a newspaper publisher to whom he can sell his property." In actuality, it would tell a publisher only to whom he *cannot* sell his property—a monopoly purchaser—and even that prohibition would apply only when another buyer was available.

Newspapers, of course, are already subject to the general provisions of the antitrust laws.

The right of businessmen to do with their property "as they please" has long been a dead letter, if indeed it ever existed. In the case of newspaper publishers, who are custodians of something more precious than peanut-butter factories or eiderdown plants, it is a "right" capable of producing the gravest of wrongs.

The Guild Reporter

ELIAS T. BAKER, Editor
and
Director of Research & Information
DAVID J. EISEN, Associate Editor

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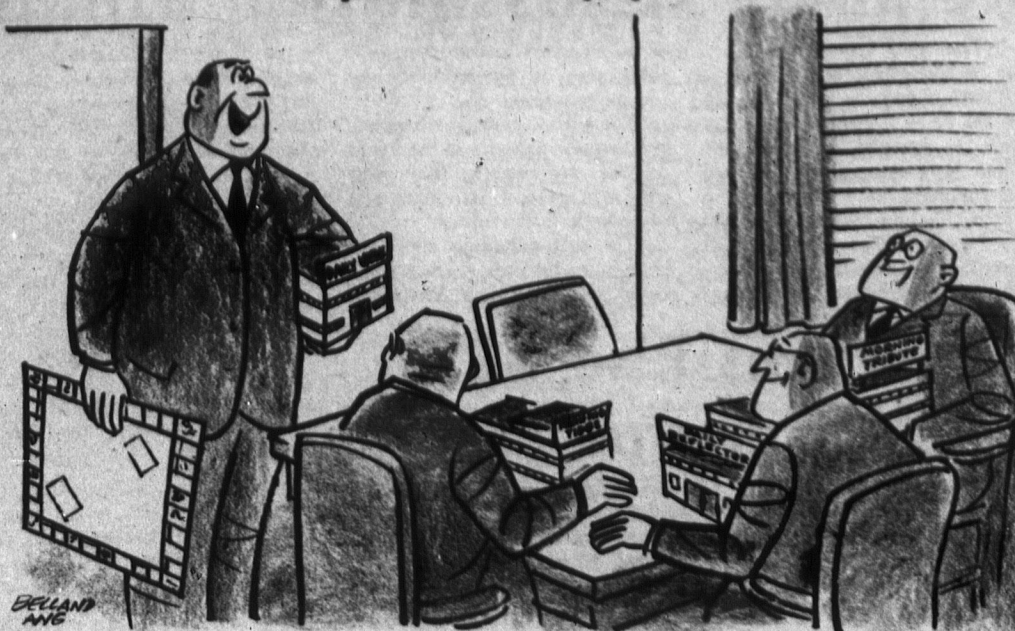
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'Anyone For Monopoly?'



DATELINE: WASHINGTON

Johnson's Skill Lifts Horizon Of Kennedy's Program

By WILLARD SHELTON, Washington Guild



The transition of executive power and initiative to President Johnson was so smooth, so unquestioned, that the shock at the senseless, indecent slaughter of John Fitzgerald Kennedy could be indulged with the tears the frightful events commanded.

In the nation as well as in the capital city, it seemed to this observer, the grief for many was almost unendurable. Kennedy brought a quality of personal charm and high gaiety, of earnestness and force, of grace and style, that gave his presidency the imprint of his search for excellence and imbued it with moral fervor. "My God," said a close friend, "it seems like six months already."

The Kennedy intimates in the White House and in various agencies were ashen-faced and half-stunned even while they picked up their tasks and began performing the duties the new President needed from them.

The style in the White House will be different: the elegance and elevation of language inherent in Kennedy's highly articulate approach were intensely personal, and Lyndon Johnson is far too strong a political figure, far too commanding a person in his own right, to pretend to be other than what he is.

What he is is an extremely able, resourceful, responsible American citizen who suffered a shock no less than that of the rest of us, plus the unique shock of realizing that he succeeded. Said an intimate three days later, as the new President labored to pick up the threads:

"It's been terribly hard on him, you know, having it fall to him this way."

The country knew Johnson primarily as the most effective Senate floor leader of his generation—and, so far as the books show, the strongest of this century. It would be dishonest and is unnecessary to say that liberals were always pleased with his own votes—on labor, on oil and gas issues, on other issues. But this reporter is on record in this space as an admirer of the tenacity and conscientiousness with which he fought as Senate leader, when his

base of operations was broadest, for good causes.

On three separate rollcall votes back on Aug. 21, 1958, he whipped down a Senate almost out of control to defeat a frightening House-passed bill that would practically have repealed the Constitution and taken the country back to the Articles of Confederation.

The majority of the Senate, that day, preferred to vote responsible approval of Judge Howard W. Smith's bill to knock out the federal "preemption" doctrine of the Supreme Court, thus making state laws supreme unless in each bill Congress said it intended the measure to "pre-empt" the area covered. Johnson kept the bill bottled up while he cajoled, bargained, traded and threatened.

In the end he got a Republican, former Sen. Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, to switch against the bill; he got the late Sen. Robert Kerr, Oklahoma Democrat, to sit in the lobby during the rollcall; he got the bill recommitted on a 41-40 vote. (The price Kerr extracted in public works was exorbitant but Johnson knew the relative values; he paid what he had to pay.)

Trustworthy Republicans and Democrats on Capitol Hill think Johnson is likely to get more legislation rather than less in the fields where Kennedy so laboriously did the spadework, such as civil rights and tax reduction, or at least to get it faster and bearing the marks of careful legislative craftsmanship.

In the House, to cite a simple example, some of the Texans are likely to follow him where they

would never have supported Kennedy. This may mean that other Southerners, perhaps from Alabama and Tennessee, will find it easier to cut ties with the conservative coalition that actually has dominated the House under Judge Smith of the Rules Committee and Republican Leader Charles A. Halleck of Indiana.

In turn, this may make it easier for liberal Republicans resentful of Halleck's bullying partisanship to tell him they will vote as they please; it is the narrowness of the margin that has given Halleck a leverage on them.

Johnson not only needs to lead the country well; he needs, also, to be elected next November in his own right, so that he has time to do his work (time John Kennedy was not granted).

He must therefore win or hold the loyalties of the disparate groups that produced both Kennedy's nomination and his election: labor, the Negro leadership, other ethnic minority groups; the city and suburban groups; the professional Democrats and part of the South.

He must win, especially, those in the Administration who gave great personal loyalty to Kennedy, and these have agreed to stay at least through the election, though some have by no means decided whether to stay after that. Mr. Johnson has eight or nine months to prove he deserves their loyalty.

Johnson should not be underrated—not by anyone. There are certified liberals and movers in this capital who mark him as likely to be the most effective progressive President (and Democratic nominee) since Roosevelt, and they know him exceedingly well.



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