

BUILDING

**Aren't Publishers
Discrediting Press
In Eyes of Public?
Open Letter to Them**

By JONATHAN EDDY

IN Rowland Watson's report to President William Green, Harvey J. Kelly is quoted as demanding on behalf of the Hearst management in Seattle the unconditional surrender of the newspaper, Guild as the only basis for ending the strike against the *Post-Intelligencer*.

This is extraordinary enough, though perhaps only what some of us would expect from Hearst. But there is another remark by Mr. Kelly which is equally startling. One of the various groups and individuals that have been trying to bring the two sides together ever since the start of the strike quotes Mr. Kelly as declaring that the American Newspaper Publishers' Association would not recognize the Guild "until it has to."

Mr. Kelly was trying to justify to this intermediary the refusal of the management to meet with the Guild or with any third party to negotiate a truce, and the purpose of his assertion was to show that Mr. Hearst was not alone in this intransigent attitude, that the American Newspaper Publishers' Association was backing him up.

In this instance Mr. Kelly was not guilty of misrepresentation, and I think it is about time that a few earnest words be said to the publishers of this country as to the reaction of the public. After all, that is what they hire us for.

Since one rarely meets a publisher who is not more familiar with the columns of the *GUILD REPORTER* than the average Guild member, perhaps this is as good a medium as any.

**An Open Letter to
Publishers**

**MEMBERS of the Daily
Newspaper Publishing
Fraternity:**

The American Newspaper Publishers' Association has discredited American journalism in recent years in the eyes of the reading public. It has accomplished this in the main by its attitude towards the child labor amendment and legislation governing conditions of employment. Its present attitude towards the Guild may be an important factor, but only as contributing to a general picture.

Some papers of large and increasing circulation have dissociated themselves publicly before their readers from moves which are so obviously to their own interests as against public interest. The *New York Daily News*, the *Evjue* papers of Wisconsin, and the *New York Post* are among these. Even the Scripps-Howard papers have disavowed the ANPA's stand on child labor. These papers have done this despite the disciplinary powers inherent in a huge confederation of newspaper publishers.

The ANPA has its proper sphere, that of costs; and the cost of labor as well as of materials. But when, in the attempt to keep costs down it publicly fights federal legislation, already actually enacted, looking towards general public improvement, it is making the grossest mistake, which is bound to, and is, discrediting newspaperdom. The convention of publishers called during NRA to force President Roosevelt's hand in the Jennings case and the appearance of of-

(Continued on page 2)

The Guild Reporter

Organ of the American Newspaper Guild, an Affiliate of the American Federation of Labor

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The Wisconsin News Signs; P.-I. Is Deaf to Peace Talk

Guild Allies Stand Firm In Seattle

**Door for Parley Kept Wide
Open as Local Fights
Maneuvers**

SEATTLE, Wash.—With the Hearst management still spending \$1,500 or so a day for anti-labor propaganda radio broadcasts, maintaining a contingent of guards at its closed plant and using an entire floor of a downtown hotel to house its executives and "loyal" workers, the Seattle Newspaper Guild's strike against the *Post-Intelligencer* entered its second month on Sept. 13.

The paper remains suspended, not having published a single edition since the strike began. Despite numerous attacks by the management, the remarkable demonstration of labor unity that prevented the paper from coming out on the first day has held firm, awaiting for Hearst's agreement to negotiate.

The strike was called after several weeks of futile efforts to secure the reinstatement of two veteran staff men on the paper, the head photographer and the dramatic critic, and when more discharges appeared to be in prospect. The *Post-Intelligencer* unit is convinced that the two men were fired for Guild activity, and that their discharges, and others impending, were intended to destroy the Guild organization.

Guild Ready to Talk

The Guild with its limited resources has fought back against the barrage of propaganda, meanwhile welcoming every effort made by any re-

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Truce Is Delayed By Peoria Paper

PEORIA, Ill.—Settlement of the lockout involving three Guildsmen of the *Peoria Journal-Transcript* staff was virtually reached here, only to be left up in the air when Publisher Carl P. Slane decided at the last minute to throw the entire matter into the lap of the paper's board of directors.

Following three negotiation conferences between Slane and Gunnar Mickelsen, IEB representative, terms for a final settlement had practically been worked out. After the final meeting, however, Slane called the board together and a flat refusal to re-instate the three discharged Guildsmen was made.

Throughout the negotiations both sides expressed a willingness to have the situation handled in a peaceful manner. Slane assured the Guild representative that he would meet and deal with a Guild committee at any time he may be asked to do so. He insisted, however, that the three employees were discharged for just cause.

Not only has the organized labor movement of both Peoria and Pekin

(Continued on page 6)

ANG Treasurer



Victor Pasche, Who Has Been Elected to Succeed Don Stevens. Pasche, a Member of the Newark Guild, was Nominated by Newark, New York, Hudson County and Columbus. (Story on Page 3.)

Milwaukee Strikers Return With Gains And Year Guarantee

**Labor Leaders Negotiate for Guild and
Witness Hearst Statement of Policy
Assuring 5-Day Week and Pay Rises**

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The Guild has won from Hearst in Milwaukee. Each and everyone of the 14 *Wisconsin News* strikers who stuck it out since the start of the struggle on Feb. 17 has been returned to work. They went back in a body. Several strikebreakers were fired. The five-day, 40-hour week is guaranteed for one year. The Guild unit remains. Hearst cabled his okay from Berlin. Despite his often repeated refusal to deal with the Guild, he has been forced to do so.

The Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, with which Guild is affiliated, appointed a negotiation committee with the consent of the

Guild. This committee, composed of outstanding Wisconsin labor leaders, was authorized in writing to negotiate with the Hearst publisher on behalf of the Guild.

Guild Decided Terms

The committee reported to the Milwaukee Guild Executive Board after each of its meetings with the local publisher, John H. Black. The Guild board okayed or rejected terms obtained by the committee, until a final agreement—part of it in writing, part of it verbal—was reached. When this agreement had been okayed by the Guild executive committee and by the striking unit, the strike was terminated.

Said one of the committee's members, "The assertion that Hearst has refused and continues to refuse to

(Continued on page 2)

Put Your Power Behind Seattle

They say Hearst is worth \$220,000,000. By the same definition of worth, the average Guildsman isn't "worth" very much. But, there is only one Hearst and there are nearly 6,000 of us. We laid our dimes and dollars and our hearts together and we beat Hearst at Milwaukee.

We've got a better chance to repeat at Seattle; Hearst is a little more used to backing up. It will come a little easier for him at Seattle, especially since the public out there is helping so much to persuade him.

The members in Seattle didn't expect, they weren't promised support from the rest of us. But shucks! Who wants to stay out of a fight like that? The Milwaukee drain has been plugged up; Seattle is giving the united publishers the most compelling Guild argument in history; the struggle has become so momentous and the need is mounting so, that we must throw ourselves behind it.

It's the quarters and the half dollars. . . . You know about that. Don't wait for your unit collector to come. Go find him!

IEB Maps New Finance Plan; To Levy for Future Strikes

**Ask More Regular Aid for Present Struggles
—Points to Dangers in Unsystematic Basis**

Convinced that the ANG's financing of strike situations is unsatisfactory, from the standpoints of both the support of status and the effect on organizational finances, the International Executive Board at its meeting just concluded at headquarters, on Sept. 11 and 12, decided on these steps:

1. An immediate appeal to all Guilds to undertake to raise at least 25 cents per week per member until the Seattle and Peoria situations are cleaned up and the debts are paid in Milwaukee.

2. A plan to repair damage already done to ANG finances by the strikes when the Seattle struggle is concluded, by imposing enough assessments to create a small defense fund, against which assessments funds contributed between Sept. 12 and the conclusion of the strike will be credited.

3. Announcement that the IEB policy would be to support future strikes basically by assessments.

The IEB finance committee was directed to prepare a statement for the membership explaining the needs and the new plans.

Financial Burden Uneven

Not only is the defense fund too low at present, but a study of strike contributions revealed that the burden of the recent fights in which the Guild's future has been at stake has fallen with increasing unevenness upon sections of the membership. Some Guilds, though benefiting unmistakably, have contributed little or nothing, while many others that were helped relatively less through the strikes have contributed heavily. The board members concluded that the assessment plan was the only feasible method for equalizing membership contributions to the Guild's defense.

All members of the board were in attendance at the meeting except

(Continued on page 6)

Ohio Asks Scripps to Parley

CLEVELAND.—The negotiating committee of the Ohio District Council, acting on behalf of the Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis (Ind.) and Knoxville (Tenn.) Guilds, has forwarded a letter to Robert P. Scripps of the Scripps-Howard chain, asking him to meet with the committee for the purpose of collective bargaining for the Scripps-Howard units in those Guilds.

The letter points to the dissatisfaction with the results of attempts to negotiate with local publishers and editors and says the project has the authorization of the local executive committees and a large major-

ity of the employees in the units concerned.

The committee expressed the hope that Scripps would be able to meet with it in Cleveland at an early date.

A meeting of the Ohio District Council is scheduled for Sept. 20 at the Virginia Hotel in Columbus, by which time a reply to the letter is expected.

The council has worked out a quota plan to raise \$500 from its Guilds to put on a fall organization drive with the aid of a national organizer. The plan contemplates a three-months drive with the ANG matching the \$500 fund.

NEWS SIGNS GUARANTEE

Strike in Milwaukee Ends When Hearst Accepts Plan

(Continued from page 1)

recognize the Guild is now but an empty phrase that no one need pay any attention to."

Milwaukee Guild leaders estimate that the strike cost the local Hearst paper a quarter of a million dollars in lost circulation, lost advertising revenue, loss of good will and cost of elaborate promotion.

Guild's Advantage Agreement
These are the conditions on which the strikers agreed to return to work:

Minimum pay of \$40 a week for men and women of three years' experience.

Minimum pay of \$25 a week for men and women with less than three years' experience.

A working week to consist of five days of eight hours each.

Pay or equal time off for overtime.

Dismissal bonus of one week's pay for each year of service up to five years for all discharged, except in cases of willful misconduct.

Vacation of two weeks after one year's service.

Sick leave with full pay for periods left to the discretion of the management.

The right of the employee to appoint representatives of their own choosing to discuss all grievances.

All these conditions were set down in writing in the technical form of a statement of "company policy," guaranteed by the management for one year from Sept. 1, 1936, and witnessed and signed by Henry Ohi, Jr., president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; Herman Seide, general secretary of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council; Jac Friedrich, organizer for the council, and Benjamin Dolnick, general organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and by Publisher Black.

Discrimination Banned
In addition this committee made a verbal agreement with the publisher on behalf of the Guild which included a guarantee that there will be no discrimination of any kind against Guild members, and a promise by the Guild to help the management rebuild its circulation and advertising. Black gave an assurance that this assignment, given to non-striker who had been prominent in the strike, would last only a few weeks.

felt that news of our organization was almost universally suppressed in the newspapers, or if not suppressed, distorted so as to discredit us. Be that as it may, certainly no paper popular with Mr. Pew's friends and neighbors has provided us an avenue of expression. The newspapers as a whole have printed the scummiest of news about the Guild, and that "angled." The furthest that any newspaper has gone as a "Guild propaganda" medium has been, as in the case of the New York Post and the New York Times, to give adequate coverage to both sides. And the overage to both sides, and the either printed nothing, or like the Hearst papers, the publishers' side only. So where can there be any general "Guild propaganda"? Gentlemen, "it ain't no such a goodneth thing."

AL sorts of charges and counter charges have been heaped about regarding the Seattle P.-J. strike. I have had the experience of unexpectedly hearing a radio loud-speaker blast "Jonathan

Bitner's Version Of the Settlement

Harry M. Bitner, general manager of the Hearst chain, in a statement issued in New York, portrayed the Milwaukee settlement as a Guild defeat. He said:

Twelve of the original 21 strikers have decided, we are informed, to go back to work tomorrow, purely as individuals. The Wisconsin News has recorded no recognition—made no settlement with Guild. The Guild has simply called off its dogs.

They will go back to work under standard practices as announced and put in force by the Wisconsin News and the Milwaukee News and standard vacations and sick leave on pay.

The present schedule of office practice is not a contract with anyone. Nor has there been any agreement as to the length of future employment of the men returning to work. That will be determined by the quality of service they render.

after which the men would be returned to editorial work.

Better than March 31 Plan
The major points of the agreement were similar to those in the statement of "company policy" with which the management tried to defeat the strike March 31. But it had important differences.

The March 31 policy was drawn up in a conference of four days and nights between national and local Guild representatives and Hearst representatives, including Harvey Kelly, the labor adviser. The Guild had been willing to settle on the arrangement then drawn up, provided that it was witnessed by a group of Milwaukee labor leaders as an assurance of performance.

This formula had been agreed to in advance by the Hearst representatives, but after ascertaining the minimum conditions which the Guild would settle, they suddenly terminated all negotiations, refused to have their statement signed by labor leaders and declared what amounted to a lockout of the strikers.

In the present settlement the management came back to the original plan of signing.

A few weeks before the final settlement, the Hearst management turned down a Guild proposal to negotiate on the basis of the March 31 statement. The Milwaukee

BROWN HAILS THE PEACE Sees Considerable "Tinge of Victory"

WASHINGTON—The greatly overworked "freedom of the press" cry advanced by publishers as an argument against organization of news-writers was ridiculed by Heywood Brown, ANG president, in an address before the National Press Club at a special luncheon on Sept. 4.

The title of Brown's address was: "Why the Newspaper Guild?"

The Milwaukee strike settlement was described by Brown as "a compromise with a considerable tinge of victory."

"We realized," he said, "that it would be extremely difficult to get outright recognition, and yet we wanted to get something of the character of a bargain."

Brown praised accounts of the Seattle situation by Russell Porter in the New York Times, declaring that Porter, although not a Guild

member, had written the story fairly.

Replying to the complaint of publishers that reporters joining the Guild no longer would be able to write impartial stories about labor disputes, Brown said he thought the Guild had made a distinct contribution to a understanding of the labor question in the city room.

The Bridgeport Guild, in sending its second, made no comment on the question. The question was decided by its policy committee.

The Board of Directors of the Buffalo Guild opposed the proposed settlement, "because the Board is unwilling to take any action that would further imperil the unity of the American labor movement."

Its statement went on to urge "that every effort be made to preserve and reinforce the solidarity of the labor movement."

The Pittsburgh Guild informed the IEB that it also is opposed to the proposed referendum without giving reasons.

A referendum on the CIO question is not necessary at this time, in the opinion of the Tri-City (Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N. Y.) Guild.

The Boston Guild believes the referendum is unnecessary at present for the following reasons:

The ANG is already committed in the clearest possible fashion on the question of promoting industrial organization both by its Constitution and by resolutions passed at the last two Conventions.

It is vitally important for the Guild to enter into the work of central labor unions and state federations; a referendum at this time might place immediate obstacles in the path of co-operation."

And George Mann, Milwaukee Guild president, said:

A notable effect of the strike was the improvement of pay and working conditions on the two other commercial papers of the city, which, as part of the Hearst maneuver of March 31, established conditions identical with the policy then announced by the News.

Under the present agreement one of the strikers whose job had been eliminated during the strike was reinstated as a reporter with a salary increase of \$10 a week.

A third striker who had only two and one-half years' experience, and therefore might be a strict interpretation, have been held not entitled to the \$25 a week minimum, was reinstated at \$30 a week, or an increase of \$10 over his previous salary. One of the strikers, Len Bullard, veteran reporter, returned with the strikers, but handed in his card at once. She had decided on a home rearing career.

Under the terms of settlement the new minimums represented increases of \$10 a week for two strikers, in

addition to those already mentioned, and increases of \$5 a week to two others.

A vital plank in the settlement was the provision that the duration of the strike will not be considered a lapse in employment for such purposes as determining vacations and dismissal bonuses.

Seeks Vacate Hastily
On the same afternoon that the settlement was concluded several of the strikebreakers employed in the editorial department were discharged and told to remove their personal belongings at once to clear the desks for returning employees.

The strikers were also quick to give full credit for the success of the campaign to the great support, financial and otherwise, of Guild members throughout the nation.

A vote of thanks was given to the labor committee that successfully conducted the negotiations and to the local and national Guild leaders who participated in the strike.

There was unanimity in the opinion among strikers and Guild leaders that the Milwaukee strike had been brought to a successful conclusion if the Guildmen in the help of organized labor to close down the Hearst plant there.

Those who conducted the final negotiations for the Guild were Bill Davy and Morgan Hull, national organizers; Gunnar Mickelsen, international vice president; Howard Hayden, president of the Wisconsin News unit; J. Nash McCrea, strike treasurer; Herbert Langendorff, unit vice president; Joseph Cohen, strike and Milwaukee Guild vice president.

VOTE ON CIO IS OPPOSED

Eight Guilds Want No Referendum at Present

Eight Guilds have now expressed opposition to the proposed referendum on the question of the ANG's adhering to the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.) Guild.

The eight include the four whose opposition was recorded in the last issue, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Newark and New York, and four new ones, Buffalo, Tri-City (Albany-Schenectady and Troy, N. Y.), Pittsburgh and Boston.

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ORGANIZER APPOINTED

Hull Named to Post as Part of ANG Expansion

3 MEN IN FIELD

The ANG's expansion program envisaged when the New York Convention raised the per capita tax reached a new stage when the International Executive Board at its meeting just held at headquarters voted to appoint Morgan Hull, formerly West Coast organizer, as international organizer, and authorized the executive secretary to negotiate with the Ohio district council regarding co-operation in a three-months organizing drive planned in its area.

Hull will be the Guild's second international organizer. The first, Bill Davy, is expected to take the Ohio district assignment when it is ready, about Oct. 1. With the services of Don Stevens, A. F. of L. organizer, the Guild now has three men in the field.

Hull, who has worked on the Milwaukee strike since the Convention, had gone to Seattle to supervise the strike there when his new appointment was made.

His appointment followed a Board vote of appreciation and gratitude for the brilliant work performed by William Davy and Morgan Hull, which culminated in the Guild victory in Milwaukee. The Board also voted appreciation for the services of the ANG of Gunnar Mickelsen, vice-president, in Milwaukee, elsewhere. Just before the Board meeting Mickelsen was sent to Peoria to help the locked-out Guildmen there.

Hull became West Coast organizer for a temporary period in March, on the recommendation of the executive council of the Northern California Guild. The West Coast Guilds, Northern California, Salt Lake City, Tacoma and Spokane all contributed to the organizational campaign, jointly with the ANG. Part of Hull's organizational work included starting the Seattle Guild.

Interpretation of Clause
At the request of the St. Louis Guild, the board rendered the following interpretation of Section 1, Article XII of the ANG Constitution:

"The clause, 'Provided that every effort be made that the negotiators are not members of the unit involved' shall be interpreted to mean that the Executive Committee of a local Guild shall in no case appoint negotiators who are employed by the trustee with whom bargaining is to be made, unless there are no available Guildmen capable of carrying on the negotiations other than those employed by the publisher involved."

Strike Fund Body Enlarged
The board voted to add Milton Kaufmann, executive secretary of the New York Guild, to the strike fund committee. The other members are Heywood Brown, Clyde Beak, Victor Pasche, Morris Watson and Jonathan Eddy. The resolution stipulated that any three of these present at ANG headquarters could constitute a quorum.

Tribe to Blives Article
A letter of appreciation was sent by the board to Bruce Blives, editor of the New Republic, for his article entitled "Union-Card Journalist," which appeared in the Sept. 9 issue of the magazine. Brown said of the article that it is "a penetrating piece and the best thing that has been done to answer the argument that the Guild interferes with freedom of the press." (It is reprinted in this issue of the Reporter, on page 8.)

REMEMBER DUES
And Strike Money

Four Leaders In Milwaukee Victory



GEORGE MANN
Milwaukee President



MORGAN HULL
International Organizer



GUNNAR MICKELSEN
ANG Vice President

Hearst's Losses

How Strike Hurt Is Now Revealed

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—It was not until the strikers returned to work at the Wisconsin News that they fully realized how effective their six-and-one-half month campaign and advertising had been. The cost of the subscription campaign will total well over \$300,000.

Suppression Urged
The strikers point out that the Hearst papers, and those other papers which have sided with them during the Guild strike, are doing an injustice to publishers and the public alike by suppressing all information about the actual effect of the strike on circulation and advertising.

The strikers believe that other publishers who may be inclined to defy the Wagner Act and refuse to bargain with the Guild would hesitate were they in possession of the knowledge of how truly unpopular such defiance would be with their readers.

The Milwaukee Journal, rival of the Wisconsin News, gained an estimated 25,000 subscribers during the strike and loss of thousands of dollars in advertising. This information, too, should be made available to publishers generally.

Justification of the Guild's purchase of a sound truck is found in the complaint of many district circulation men that "things weren't so bad until that damned red truck came through—then phoo-o-o-ey went the subscribers."

Approximately 2,000 cancellations were turned in during the last two months of the strike by Guildsmen directly. "Stop" signs on the cards held by district managers show that the total number of cancellations, due to the sound truck, was at least double this amount.

The sound truck is now being used by the Guild in Peoria, Ill.

Wants ANG Organizer
The Tri-City Guild (Albany, Schenectady and Troy, N. Y.) in a meeting on Aug. 30, asked the IEB to appoint a full-time ANG organizer for up-state New York.

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REMEMBER DUES
And Strike Money

PASCHE IS TREASURER

Succeeds Stevens by Vote of 48 to 10

SUBMITS BUDGET

Victor Pasche, of the Newark Guild, has been elected treasurer of the ANG to succeed Don Stevens by a vote of 48 to 10.

The ballots were counted at the first session of the International Executive Board meeting on Sept. 11. The new treasurer took up his duties immediately as Stevens' resignation became effective upon the election of his successor. He had been pinch-sitting during Stevens' absence and presented his first quarterly budget on Sept. 12.

Stevens handed in his resignation upon his appointment as A. F. of L. organizer detailed to the ANG.

The other candidate was Alfred S. O'Brien, president of the Bridgeport Guild. O'Brien is on the staff of the People's Press.

Ballots were distributed to all Guilds, the number of their votes being the same as they would have been entitled to at the last Convention. The record of ballots follows:

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AREN'T PUBLISHERS DISCREDITING THE PRESS? AN OPEN LETTER

(Continued from page 1)

acial ANPA lobbyists against the Child Labor Amendment are instances in point. The average reader behind the newspaper fighting social legislation as a matter of self-interest, and naturally proceeds to question the integrity of the press as a whole.

EVEN though a publisher may be

GUILD KEEPS WAY OPEN FOR PARLEY IN SEATTLE

Fights Maneuvers As Hearst Chiefs Reject Talks

(Continued from page 1)

Some person or body looking to stand negotiations. It maintained the stand of Jonathan Eddy, international executive secretary of the American Newspaper Guild, who flew here to supervise the strike in its early days, and who declared that because of the several hundred other workers involved the Guild was not making rigid demands, but would accept any reasonable settlement that would reopen the paper.

"This strike could be settled in no time if we could get together with the management around a table," Eddy declared.

Numerous prominent individuals have made attempts to bring the two sides together, only to meet each time with the management's refusal. Eddy, leaving just before Labor Day to attend the meeting of the A. N. G. Executive Board in New York on Sept. 11 and 12, saw no likelihood of a termination of the strike within the following fortnight.

"The management is evidently trying to starve the printing craftsmen into insisting on a return to work at all costs," he declared.

"Typographers in Seattle feel that that international outfit is the P-I men some special assistance and therefore are opposed to subjecting themselves to an assessment when the international has failed to. The refusal of the international to assist these men is a grave factor."

However, the strength of the labor movement in the Northwest, the marvelous unity which makes an eastern wonder where he has been all his life, has shown as yet no sign of cracking under the maneuvers of the management.

Frances Seattle Guildmen, only a few months organized, have demonstrated ability and ingenuity that might be a model for us all. What they have done in raising their own finances and in coming out every day from the beginning with a daily paper is nothing less than amazing.

"This strike may prove to be the most decisive in the history of the Guild. With proper support it cannot be lost."

Eddy has been succeeded in Seattle by Morgan Hull, who helped lead the Milwaukee strike to its successful conclusion and who was appointed a national organizer by IEB at its recent meeting.

The international heads of both the typographical and the pressmen's unions at the outset wired their Seattle locals to make every reasonable effort to pass the picket lines and go to work, but after two such attempts had proved unavailing they were abandoned, at least for the present.

Types Losing Pay

Members of the typographical union, sympathetic toward the Guild in its fight for life, nevertheless were in danger of considerable suffering by reason of being kept from their jobs by the Guild strike. The strike-bound paper's management immediately ceased paying them.

The Hearst officials' other effort to cut away the Guild's labor support, that of putting pressure on President William Green of the American Federation of Labor to have him declare illegal the action of the Seattle Central Labor Union in putting the paper on its unfair list, not a reverse when Green held the body's action had been taken legally. President Green made his decision on the basis of a report from his Seattle representative, Rowland Watson. (Green's statement is printed elsewhere.)

That the management had further plans in mind was indicated by the return of Harvey Kelly, Hearst's

Strike Fund Receipts

Below are the receipts for the A. N. G. Strike Fund at headquarters:

FROM GUILDS	DISBURSEMENTS
Previously acknowledged	
Through Aug. 25	
Aug. 26 through Sept. 8	
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N. Y. LABOR BACKSGUILD

Federation Votes Moral Support in Strikes

The New York State Federation of Labor convention, held in Syracuse, N. Y., on Aug. 25-27, placed the moral backing of its 1,100,000 members behind the Seattle and Milwaukee strikes of the American Newspaper Guild, and called upon publishers in the state to bargain collectively with Guild locals.

At the same time the convention declared itself of the opinion that the freedom of the press is the right of the people, and that the right of the press to publish is a right which cannot be denied to the public, and that the right of the public to be informed is a right which cannot be denied to the press.

The resolution urging publishers to bargain with the Guild also called on city central bodies to assist in the organization and promotion of Guild locals.

The three Guild resolutions were presented by delegates of the New York Guild. The Seattle and Milwaukee resolutions were sponsored by Carl Randau, William Mangold and Milton Kaufman. Ray Torr was the fourth New York delegate. The Tri-City Guild (Albany, Schenectady and Troy) was represented at the convention by Fred Mowers.

More than 20 resolutions were submitted at the convention on the industrial unionism issue, all of which opposing the A. F. of L. Executive Council's action in suspending the CIO unions. After long debate, however, the convention adopted a hands-off resolution substituting the convention resolution committee.

The convention also voted to endorse President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Governor Herbert H. Lehman for re-election.

P-I Hearings

NLRB Charges Dismissals Were

SEATTLE, Wash.—In a superior courtroom of King County, jammed to the doors by an interested crowd of spectators from almost every walk of life, hearings opened here last week on the charges of unfair labor practices filed against the Seattle Post-Intelligencer by the National Labor Relations Board.

The charges accuse the management of the strike-bound Seattle Post-Intelligencer of having discharged two veteran employees for union activity—activity in forming the Seattle unit of the American Newspaper Guild.

May Appeal to High Court
Should the Labor Board find the charges substantiated, it may order the two men reinstated. In that case it appears virtually certain, the suspended newspaper's counsel will appeal the decision, possibly to the Supreme Court.

The presiding officer at the hearing is Edwin S. Smith, member of the Labor Relations Board, a former newspaper man, a Harvard graduate, and a writer on capital and labor subjects. He came to Seattle from Washington, D. C., to conduct the hearing. The Labor Board's case is being presented by Robert B. Watts, Edward G. Woods, general counsel for the Hearst newspapers, heads the battery of defense counsel.

The letters debating on what matters should be considered within the ANG's bulletin have had to be held out of this issue, owing to the pressure of news.

WPA Order Opposed As Hitting Newsmen

A recent order of the WPA cutting down the number of non-relief persons on WPA employment from 25 percent of the total payroll to 10 percent was protested by a vote of the IEB. The Board also endorsed the Joint Action Committee of the Four Federal Arts Projects of WPA, which is opposing the reduction, and sent a message to Administrator Hopkins.

Morris Watson explained that many unemployed newspapermen who will not register for relief are sorely in need of employment but are in effect, deprived of it under the new WPA order.

Brown appointed Watson to represent the Guild in a delegation that will go to Washington to protest the reduction. Since Watson will make the trip regardless of the appointment he will be without expense to the Guild.

Coast Parleys

S. F. Contract Drive Makes Progress

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Despite the attitude of the Hearst management in the Seattle P-I strike, negotiations looking toward contracts are continuing with publishers of the three Hearst dailies of this area, and the Independent Chronicle. Despite the recent statement of the Scripps-Howard attitude also, negotiations looking toward improved conditions are proceeding with the News, the local paper of that chain.

On the Chronicle negotiations have reached the stage where the proposed contract has been submitted by the publisher to his attorney for a legal opinion only. Matters governed by the contract were not to be considered by the attorney, according to Paul Smith, executive editor.

Contracts to be Talked
For the next meeting with Clarence Lindner, general manager of the Examiner (Hearst), it has been agreed that writing of the contract satisfactory to both sides will be the order of business.

A meeting is scheduled with Fred Wagner, publisher of the Hearst Call-Bulletin, to further discuss a contract.

On the Oakland Post-Enquirer further conferences were held in abeyance pending outcome of negotiations on this side of the bay.

On Labor Day here 30 members of this Guild participated in a parade of 70,000 persons that required five hours to pass a given point.

Two delegates, Charles Irvine and Estel Ward, were chosen to attend the State Federation of Labor convention opening in Sacramento on Sept. 14. M. R. Frasier and Dick Dyer were named alternates.

Responding to the Seattle Guild's request for establishment of a news service, the Executive Council approved Frasier and Ward as correspondents for this area, after they had volunteered.

The largest and strongest unions of the city, including the teamsters, building trades and United Mine Workers, have promised the Guild full support in whatever action may

Evil Days for E. & P.

Editor & Publisher had a bad fortnight. While it was trying to conjure up the horrors to be expected from the Guild's success these cats walked out of its bag:

Everybody Out of Step but Marlen

(From Marlen Pau's Department, "Shop Talk at Thirty.")
My experience in recent weeks, reflecting talks with dozens of persons who have no personal interest in newspaper affairs, is that the average man or woman is convinced that the American Newspaper Guild and all its works, including the actual suppression of a newspaper, represents a wholesome effort on the part of an underpaid and overworked class of men and women to defend their jobs and homes through collective action. I do not find the average person with whom I have talked sensitive about the violations of principle that are inherent in an affiliated union of news writers. When I start to talk about free press, or about impartial news reporting, or any other principle that seems involved in the Guild method, people express impatience and are inclined to hand back to me some of the familiar cynical wisecracks that Guild propagandists have audaciously planted in the matter they have succeeded in getting into print and on the air during the past three years. These neighbors of mine say: "Free press—well, is there one?" or "Free for whom?" I believe the latter to be the catchword of Brown. It seems the general view that all reporters are underpaid and worked to death and that the old married editor still strides the boards of the city room, cracking off heads with abandon. And as for "impartial reporting," I find that the average man and woman thinks there is no such thing, that almost every newspaper is manipulated, its every utterance, news and editorial, being dictated by a publisher who in turn may be controlled by some commercial or political interest. It is all a game, and the reporter who thinks that he is a literary puppet, always has been, and does right to demand his "pay" in the profits.

Now, I assure you, the persons who have given me this impression of popular opinion on the Guild question are not radicals or morose or of the Smart Alec gentry. They are neighbors and friends, and they leave me amazed by the success of the Guild propagandists in getting their case before the reading public. But I suddenly awake to the fact that Editor & Publisher has been practically alone in publishing the story of the organization of the Guild and its progressive invasion of what I have always considered the sacred ethical precincts of American journalism. If anyone will turn the pages of the (Omnibus) file he will find that Editor & Publisher has been the one publication of the country that has consistently attacked the Guild as a mischief, and has been viciously counter-attacked by Guildmen in their house organ. The general public has only been fed such views and statements of fact as have issued from the Guild membership. The result is that public opinion, or at least that part visible to me, is badly twisted. The real principles in the case seem obscure to most people.

Australia Bears It and Grins

From an interview with the Sydney Herald, chairman of the Australian Associated Press, managing director of the Melbourne Herald and Weekly Times and managing editor of a number of weeklies and pictorial papers. He has just been traveling in this country.

Sir Keith noted that there was a feeling of anxiety and worry in every newspaper office that he visited here in regard to labor difficulties. There is a note of trouble in the minds of executives, he said.

"I believe in an association of editorial workers for mutual bargaining with an association of employers," he stated when asked about a union of editorial workers. "The Australian Journalists Association, which is almost 100 per cent industrial, has been an advantage to the whole industry."

"In Australia, before the formation of the AJA, the bulk of the editorial men were well paid, but there were a few employers who were to be feared. The association, therefore, was a good thing. It is the only way a bad employer can be dealt with."

"The editorial workers in this country are probably working too hard for too little pay, and anything that will help them would help the employer and also help the public."

Justice Is Stirring, Says William Allen White

(From a statement by William Allen White, publisher of the Emporia Gazette, in a symposium on the Seattle strike.)

The fundamental issue in Seattle is deeper than the Guild strike and, alas, it is an issue of the next decade and it may be popularized with difficulty today. The issue hinges on a man's right to his job. In this issue, by a "man" I mean any worker in any industry who has invested any considerable portion of his life satisfactorily to him and to his race in any job. I believe that investment is as deeply a vested interest as an investment in dollars.

I believe that a decently organized society will recognize a man's vested right to his job. . . . For that right, organized labor has been fighting for more than a century. When that right is finally recognized most of the strife between labor and capital will end. The conflict cannot and should not end until that right is established. The Seattle strike on its surface has dramatized a number of unpleasant circumstances. They are superficial. Beneath them is the social urge, the latent sense of justice in the human heart. . . .

The law protects the right of property to a decent return from a going concern. The law says day that claim legally that the laborer is worthy of his life.

was used to good advantage at the picnic. The following day Chief of Police Fred Nussbaum called in the Guildmen and said it was illegal to use the sound-truck on the streets. It was pointed out to him that numerous business houses use sound-trucks and that the police department itself the week before had used three sound-trucks to advertise a safety campaign.

Director Beman, of the Chicago regional labor relations board, has taken an active interest in the job, and Louis Disser, assistant director, conferred with the Guild and with the publisher, and said that he was satisfied there was sufficient evi-

LEVY PLAN IN STRIKES

IEB Sees Dangers in Unsystematic Support

(Continued from page 1)

Beity Ballantine of the Pacific Coast district who was unable to get time off for the trip. Her paper promised to release her for the December meeting.

Seattle Report

Action was taken by the Board on the C.I.O. question, the Seattle strike and the Peoria lockout situation, and these decisions will be given publicity within a few days. The Board heard a report on Seattle from Jonathan Eddy, who just returned from there, and one by Vice-President Gunnar Mickelson from Peoria, where he was sent by the IEB.

It received financial reports from Victor Pasche, newly-elected ANG treasurer, and Jonathan Eddy. The evidence in these showed that the present lapsed strike financing method has worked serious injury to the general administration and organizational finances of the Guild. Due to the uncertainty and irregularity of strike contributions, "raids" on the general fund were several times made necessary. Also the heavy demands on the regular ANG organization in times of strike situations mean large increases in expenses for telegrams, traveling expenses and salaries and living expenses of organizers on strike duty, which consume funds intended for organizational and other work.

Voluntary contributions do not provide for these drains and as a result the drains tend to cripple activities that could result in rapid growth. In this way loans obtained from other unions for strictly organizational and administrative purposes have in effect been partly used for strike expenditures.

Permanent Fund Voted

These facts led the board to the conclusion that the establishment of a permanent Guild defense fund has become imperative. Acting upon the suggestion of Jonathan Eddy, the Board voted 4 to 2 to lay the foundation for such a fund at the conclusion of the Seattle strike by levying approximately three assessments of 50 cents each, either weekly or monthly, at that time. The votes were, Ashcraft, Watson, Brown, Mickelson; no, Homan, Klyman.

In order to somewhat make amends for the present inequitable distribution of the strike burden, however, it was decided that local Guilds will be credited as against the assessments for the full amounts contributed voluntarily for strike purposes after Sept. 12, 1936. Thus a Guild whose members have contributed for the Seattle and Peoria defenses an amount equal to the assessments necessary to create the defense fund (say \$1.50 per member) will be exempted from the full amount of the assessments.

In the meantime both the Seattle and the Peoria situations remain problems that vitally affect the Guild's welfare, and bills remain to be paid in Milwaukee. The Board felt that all local Guilds may be reasonably expected to raise money equivalent to 25 cents a week per member for the support of these two Guild struggles and to pay off strike debt, and the IEB finance committee was instructed to so notify all Guilds.

The finance committee will write a full statement shortly. Hence on which to base a charge that the Wagner act had been violated. He said that only reinstatement of the three Guildmen could save the publisher from a summons to a labor board hearing.

Mickelson returned to Peoria after Labor Day and will make further attempts to settle the matter peacefully.

HOW TO UNDERTAKE GROUP MEDICINE PLANS

Last of three articles on the possibilities of Guild medical care projects.

By JEAN LYON
Chairman, New York Guild Committee on Medical Care.

THE first medical care committee meeting held in the New York Guild ended with a discussion of how to get passes to a fight in Madison Square Garden. That's the way the subject makes a committee feel. With a thousand and one ailments your members may have, you begin to wish you had never heard of a non-silicosis or a gall stone.

But now that two Guilds have made the leap, and we have had a chance to learn from other employ groups, it is plain that a group medicine project of some kind can be worked out in almost every city. How can it be done? This article is an attempt to answer that question briefly.

To begin with, let's put down a few first principles. Number one is the principle that the primary purpose, to us, of any medical care service is to strengthen the Guild. This means that the project should be identified clearly as ours and the benefits must be given only to members in good standing. Besides its importance to us, this rule is justified by the obvious principle that every-one benefiting from the service should share responsibility for it.

There is not much danger on this score if the plan is self-run and managed entirely by the Guild. But if the Guild decides to join a clinic managed by another group, or by a group of doctors, the danger is greater.

Only Guildmen Eligible

Philadelphia discovered that, even though it had written into its contract that only Guildmen were to be eligible to the service, the Saul clinic was able to take in other individuals. This, naturally, lessened the importance of the project to Guild members.

It should be stipulated in any contract with a medical service that only organized groups may be taken in, and these should be, preferably, labor unions, which will have similar problems and views. This stand is fully justified, moreover, from the point of view of the service, for one of the basic principles of group medicine is that by serving organized groups, doctors can reduce the cost of bill collection and eliminate the loss from bad debts.

A second principle is that the Guild or any body of unions with which it co-operates in such a service should keep the service well within their own hands financially. This is because the interest of the Guild and other unions would be to strengthen the membership by giving the best possible medical care at the lowest possible cost. If a promoter or some agency like a life insurance company gets in between the Guild and its doctors the temptation might be to increase the profits or to scrape by with as little medical care as possible.

(These same dangers, incidentally, apply to the usual company-run clinics. They can never take the place of a real employee-owned plan because the employer is interested not in keeping employees at the highest possible level of health, but merely in avoiding time-killing visits to the doctor for small ailments, or in keeping employees able to work.)

Avoid Financial Risk

A third important principle is that the Guild must not be forced to carry too heavy a financial risk. The temptation at first, in forming a plan, is to try to offer every possible medical service for a couple of dollars a month. It sounds easy. According to figures given by the Twentieth Century Fund, the average cost of complete medical service could, under group management, be about \$22 a person per year. This includes hospitalization, dentistry, and drugs as well as all other medical care.

But these figures have been computed for large numbers of people, where a large percentage can be counted on to be well during each year. Even the New York Guild, with its membership of more than 1,500, is considered by the Foundation a small unit. In its book "How to Budget Health," by Evans Clark, the Foundation estimates that a membership of about 15,000 would be required to form the ideal complete group medical unit. Therefore, Guilds must recognize that all they can do at present is to give partial service at a higher cost than would be ideal.

The experience of the Union Health Center, the Ladies Garment Workers' clinic in New York, shows that the cost of the medical service is greater than the amount paid in to carry it. The Union has to be able to pay the deficit itself. The St. Louis Guild seems to have taken on a rather heavy

The Chief Principles, Obstacles and Possible First Steps for Guilds in Starting Projects

A Group Medicine Reading List

SECURITY AGAINST SICKNESS, by I. S. Falk, published by Doubleday Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1936. The "most recent book on group and socialized medicine (which are not the same thing). Discusses at length medical insurance in Europe. Summarizes group medical plans in this country. Excellent for background.

THE COSTS OF MEDICAL CARE, A Summary of Investigations on the Economic Aspects of the Prevention and Care of Illness, by I. S. Falk, C. R. Rosen and M. D. Ring. Published by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Obtainable through the University of Chicago Press, 5759 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. The source book for most of the studies of medical costs recently published, which is full of facts, figures, charts, and information about the group medical plans already tried in this country. (The charts were taken from the first article of this series were taken from this book.)

HOW TO BUDGET HEALTH, by Evans Clark, published for the Twentieth Century Fund by Harper and Brothers, 1935. A book presenting an outline for

an ideal group medical service, with considerable data on existing plans. Much of the information was taken from The Costs of Medical Care. It is easier reading than its source book, and probably more practical as a guide to Guild medical care committees than either of the two books listed above.

GROUP PAYMENT FOR MEDICAL CARE, The Stancola Employers' Medical and Hospital Association, by C. Rufus Rorem and John M. Musser, published by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, 1932. A detailed account of the Stancola group medical clinic, which would serve as an excellent guide for any Guild planning to join with other unions to form a complete medical service.

Articles by James Rorty in the Forum, July, 1936, and in the Nation for June 24, July 4, July 11, and Aug. 1, 1936. The low down on the American Medical Association.

THE SURVEY GRAPHIC, December, 1934. The entire issue is devoted to a discussion of group medicine, and includes in it the various stands taken by official medical bodies.

financial burden in its medical care plan. But it has reserved the right to limit hospitalization for any one family during any one year to \$250. Some limits of this sort are necessary if the Guild is to carry the risk itself.

Also, the Guild should probably have a fund of some sort set aside in case the cost of the medical plan exceeds the amount paid in monthly fees.

Largest Group the Best

Spreading the cost of illnesses in the Guild over the sick and well alike, should be a fourth principle upon which Guilds build their plans. This principle is basic in group medicine, the theory being that the well will have their turn to be ill some other day, and that by enrolling as large a group as possible the overhead costs will be correspondingly lighter for each member.

THE FREE PRESS

Press Does Acrobatics

Reporting Milwaukee Victory
The newspapers met the Guild's victory in Milwaukee with some interesting acrobatics.

According to an Associated Press dispatch of Sept. 1, John H. Black, managing Wisconsin News, announced that the strike "has been settled." In a brief statement, Black was quoted as referring to the "settlement."

Universal Service the same night said that the strike "was settled," and added that the Wisconsin News gave full credit to state and city labor leaders "for bringing about the settlement." The headline in early editions of the New York American read, "Strike Settled on Newspaper in Milwaukee."

But the word "settlement" apparently implies agreement or compromise, and far be it from the Hearst press to compromise on a "principle." Accordingly, as the evening wore on, the strike, as reported by Universal Service, no longer had been "settled." It was merely "ended." Black no longer credited the labor leaders with bringing about a "settlement." They merely brought about a "conclusion." And the headline in later editions of the American became, "Strike Ended on Newspaper in Milwaukee."

Papers' Silence on Hearst

Brings Questions from Jokes
Secretary Licks asked the press some questions in his recent speech on the link between Hearst and London:

A significant aspect of the national campaign, in addition to the pregnant tactfulness of Governor Landon and Colonel Knox upon this important Hearst issue, is the almost equally impudent silence of a certain part of the American press with reference to it. It would almost seem that to some the cherished right of freedom of the press, about which Mr. Hearst and Colonel McCormick can become so excited when there is no occasion for it, is often merely freedom to distort news and to suppress news.

the AMA are important to us because they will be important to the doctors with whom we work. No reputable physician, no matter how progressive he is, or how much he may personally disagree with the position of the AMA about group medicine (and many doctors do disagree), is anxious to be ousted from it for "unethical" practice.

The ten rules concern themselves chiefly with insistence that the control of all medical services be left in the hands of the physicians themselves, that laymen not be allowed to intervene in the relation between doctor and patient, and that patients be allowed to have free choice of physician.

Why the AMA has taken the stand it has against group medicine is a long story. But the argument need not concern us here. The result to us is simply that the official body of the AMA in local communities is not the body to which Guilds should go first for advice in forming group medical plans.

There are, however, several philanthropic foundations interested in furthering group medicine who seem anxious to help such groups as ours with legal advice, literature, and suggestions. They are sometimes able to put groups in touch with reputable physicians who are sympathetic. R. V. Rickard, at the Twentieth Century Fund, 230 West 42d Street, N. Y. C., has been helping the New York committee. Dr. C. Rufus Rorem, of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901, Ellis Avenue, Chicago, did much to get Philadelphia's plan started. In Massachusetts, there is the Pollack Foundation for Economic Research, at Newton.

Definite plans upon which Guilds might set up their medical service, are almost impossible to give, since laws and conditions are so different in each community. But the following suggestions (drawn from a completely theoretical knowledge) might be helpful.

For Small Guilds

Where it is possible to enter an established group medical service, such as the Ross-Loomis clinic in Los Angeles, this would probably be the best plan, at least temporarily. The clinic should, however, be carefully investigated, and an opinion concerning it be obtained from one of the disinterested philanthropic foundations. There are some group clinics being established by laymen for profit—a plan that should be avoided.

A second possibility would be to join with another labor group, or several other labor groups, in contracting with a group of physicians for a basic service at a set monthly fee. If the physicians are willing to include hospitalization and major operations, etc., in the service, taking the financial risk themselves (as Dr. Saul did in Philadelphia), so much the better. If not, the Guild may have to leave the expense of the larger medical costs in its first plan.

A third possibility is to arrange with one or more physicians to handle Guild cases at an agreed upon fee per case. The fee should include hospitalization and major operations, etc., in the service, taking the financial risk themselves (as Dr. Saul did in Philadelphia), so much the better. If not, the Guild may have to leave the expense of the larger medical costs in its first plan.

It is probably better for the small Guild to start with fewer benefits, until it has had enough experience to know how much of the heavier medical expenses it can carry. Start, for example, with the services of a general practitioner for office and home calls, including a general physical examination and all other services which a general practitioner can give. Then the services of specialists and the payment of hospital bills can be added later if the number of members increases and the money seems to be sufficient.

For Larger Guilds

A Guild large enough to offer to a physician, out of its monthly medical service dues, a substantial monthly salary for full or part time work (and we cannot set a figure because it differs in each community, and will have to be arrived at through discussions with sympathetic doctors), would probably do well to contract with one such medical man, and appoint him medical director of the service. He will probably be willing, if he is in sympathy with the plan, to allow his office to be the "clinic." Surplus money, over and above his salary, can be used for payments to specialists and other services. The medical director will be able to help, also, in sending members to specialists and hospitals where the charges will be moderate.

When the service cannot be complete, and some things must be paid for by members apart from their regular monthly fee, something should be done, if possible, to help them carry the heavier expenses. It has been suggested to the New York Guild that a credit union be formed for this purpose. This is in line with a recommendation of the convention that the ANG sponsor credit unions and other welfare activities. This is still only a suggestion, but we pass it along as one worth investigating.

The Guild Reporter

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"Resolved, that the editor of THE GUILD REPORTER be instructed to so edit THE GUILD REPORTER that it shall promote in every legitimate way the recommendations and mandates of the Third Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild, and that he confine the editorial policy of THE GUILD REPORTER to that specific program."—Resolution of the 1936 Convention.

Editor:
Clyde Beals
Assistant Editor:
Leon Svirsky, New York World-Telegram
Staff for This Issue:
Sydney Penner, Jean R. Meyer, Charles Martel,
Arthur McManus, Robert Galloway,
Vilas J. Boyle, Gunnar Mickelsen,
Ada Calkins.

International Officers —of the— American Newspaper Guild

President:
Heywood Brown, A.N.G. Headquarters,
1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Executive Secretary:
Jonathan Eddy, A.N.G. Headquarters,
1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Treasurer:
Don Stevens, A.N.G. Headquarters,
1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
National Vice-Presidents:
W. Erle Homan, 113 Endlich Ave., Mt. Penn, Pa.
Carland Ahcraft, 44 East 211th St., Euclid, Ohio
Julius H. Klyman, 626 Forest Ct., Clayton, Mo.
Gunnar Mickelsen, 2105 E. Kenwood Blvd.,
Milwaukee, Wis.
Betty Ballantine, 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal.
Morris Watson, A.N.G. Headquarters,
1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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Some Facts for Hearst's Managers

That the Guild won a victory from Hearst in Milwaukee was conceded by Publisher John Black of the *Wisconsin News* when at the final conference he expressed the hope that the Guild would not indulge in "loud, public cries of victory."

The union leaders who negotiated on behalf of the Guild made Black's wish known, and the publicity released by the Guild was restrained to the point of self-effacement.

The Hearst management was unable to appreciate the spirit in which the Guild met the ending of the strike. Harry Bitner, general manager of the Hearst papers, gave out a statement that was both false and malicious. Black, a charming fellow personally and well liked even by the strikers, quickly took the Hearst cue and gave *Editor and Publisher* a distorted and non-factual statement.

Both Black and Bitner are fond of comparing the terms of the settlement with a company policy statement issued on March 31. Neither mentions that this statement involved a double-cross of the Guild and Wisconsin organized labor. After it had been agreed that the statement would be witnessed, as the Sept. 1 agreement was witnessed, by organized labor representatives, so as to assure its binding nature, the Hearst management suddenly broke off negotiations, refused the witnessing and locked out the strikers.

Apparently when these gentlemen have a job to do for Hearst they lose all sense of decency.

The March 31 statement was secured by nothing but the word of a management that simultaneously gave a demonstration that its word was worth nothing. The Sept. 1 statement is secured by a promise that a hundred thousand Wisconsin trade unionists will want to see strictly kept and by a seven-month demonstration of strength and popular support that cut the paper's circulation and advertising by more

than half and cost Mr. Hearst more than a quarter of a million dollars.

All strikers returned in a body. Some 12 strikebreakers and scabs were discharged. A majority of the strikers got raises. All of them had their week reduced from six to five days. Overtime, vacations, bonus and the proper handling of grievances were provided for.

In short, seldom in American union history have employees won so clear-cut and so significant a strike victory from so powerful an employer.

Name the Culprits

A long while ago (it must have been about the time when the Guild began to think seriously about going into the American Federation of Labor) we remember reading in *Editor & Publisher* that the Guild was dead. Newspaper men and the publishers were not going to pay any attention to it any more, because it had turned out to be the type of organization for which E. & P. couldn't see any future at all, at all.

The September 5 issue of the publishers' organ carried six solid pages of news and propaganda and two editorials about the Guild.

Editor & Publisher is off on a new tack. Since newspaper editorial workers not only remain interested but are joining the Guild in increasing numbers, the publishers' mouthpiece now calls for drastic steps. In small boy fashion it defiantly reiterates its proposal that Guildsmen be denied jobs. But even a small boy would be ashamed of the muddy thinking exhibited in this organ.

The gem of the particular collection of self-contradictory arguments to which we refer is the assertion that the Guild in Seattle "had no reason for striking that would have been countenanced by any other union dealing with newspapers." Someone ought to tip E. & P. off to the fact that newspaper unions not only are countenancing but are aiding and abetting the Seattle strike. E. & P. must be aware that most strikes are for recognition and protection of union members against discharge.

You would never guess what *rod Editor & Publisher* holds out to us for support. It is the Wagner Labor Relations Act. Yes, sir, E. & P. offers us this protection in the same breath with which it approves the stand of Hearst in the Jennings case and upholds the defiance of the Associated Press in the Watson case. In fact, it points out that the Wagner law has been invoked "with success to date" in the Watson case. Except for the little detail that Morris has not yet got his job back.

It is not possible that the editors of E. & P. can be as stupid as they seem. The whole thing must be attributed to an acrobatic attempt to defend an impossible position, and we can only wonder what master minds among the publishers are feeding them such stuff.

We will give Marien Pew and his valiant fellows a little tip on how to kill the Guild. They often shed pious tears about the exploitation of "some" editorial workers. Let them turn from generalities to cases. Let them name the publishers who are exploiting their employees. Let them put on a vigorous campaign to raise newspaper salaries. Let them tear into excessive profits gained by anti-labor policies. Let them point the way to a recent standard of living and security for editorial workers. Have they got the nerve?

Business Matter

A very disturbing situation has arisen in connection with the Republican national campaign. It seems that the Landon managers, doubtless reasoning that they are getting it free, anyway, are spending nothing whatever for newspaper advertising, although they are shelling it out heavily for radio. The publishers complain bitterly that this is a fine way for a "newspaper candidate," with a publisher running mate, to treat them.

The newspaper owners are glad to present a united front for the Republican candidate, but they would like a little something on account.

A Leading Editor Tells—

'Why I'm a Union-Card Journalist'

(The following article, by the Editor of the *New Republic*, appeared in the Sept. 9 issue of that journal. It is reprinted by permission.)

By BRUCE BLIVEN

TO MY own mild surprise, I find myself a trade-union man, in good standing, dues paid, affiliated with the A.F. of L. and entitled to address William Green as Papa. This comes through my membership in the American Newspaper Guild, which I joined as soon as it was legally possible for me to do so. The Guild lately entered the A.F. of L. and did so with such velocity, in fact, that it shows some signs of eventually going right on through and out the other side into the C.I.O. Meanwhile, however, it is a standard craft union, receiving the loyal co-operation of other unions of this type. It possesses a nationwide and effective organization.

The rise of the Guild has greatly disturbed many people, including some who, I do not doubt, are entirely sincere. In this category I would cheerfully place Mr. Roy Howard, of the Scripps-Howard newspapers and, in particular, *The New York World-Telegram*. Mr. Howard says he was in favor of the Newspaper Guild from the first, but now he is beginning to have grave doubts about it—so grave that he hesitates to sign the new agreement that the Guild asks. His objections, broadly speaking, are three. He is opposed to what he regards as the Guild's demand for a "closed shop": journalism, he thinks, should be free to summon to its glorious banner able new recruits wherever they may be found. Second, he fears the Guild may demand wage and hour conditions so onerous that the papers will not be able to meet them. And third, like numerous other publishers, he is concerned about the freedom of the press. He envisages with dismay a future in which all reporters will be labor-union members who will write exclusively from the union-labor point of view. His alarm goes even further: he sees the Guild members leaning toward a new and leftward political affiliation. He and many other publishers not only object to this but they apparently want working newspapermen to be without political affiliations of any sort. The aim is to have journalists who are above the battle even if the owners of the papers are not, and even with incomes that are often shockingly low. Such intellectual eunuchs, it is felt, would be the best practitioners of this noble profession.

Mr. Howard's first point is apparently based on a misunderstanding. The Guild does not ask for a closed shop. It only asks that new reporters and editors, after a reasonable length of time, shall join the union. Mr. Howard can continue to assemble brilliant young journalists from all directions; but if they turn out to be brilliant and to be journalists, the Guild would like to have them join the ranks of the professional association, for their own welfare and that of their calling. It is obvious to any one with common sense that without this condition, the Newspaper Guild could not long survive. Otherwise, a hostile publisher with a Guild chapter in his local room could simply pack the place with workers pledged in advance not to join, and in the course of time—and a pretty short time, too—there wouldn't be any Guild. This is a battle that has been fought and won in every unionized industry in the country, and I am a little surprised that the publishers should never have heard of it before.

As for the fear that the reporters will set their salaries too high and make all the nice publishers bankrupt, this position, also, surprises me a little. Certainly, neither the minimum nor the average wages on the papers with Guild contracts are at present exorbitant. I have been through some newspaper strikes, as an editorial executive and on Mr. Howard's side of the fence. The publishers always began by declaring that they could not pay the wages asked and would go bankrupt. That is *Move One* in the game. In the end, they always did pay them, and went on making money.

To the general public, the matter of freedom of the press is a more serious one. No doubt many honest souls are really troubled lest the accuracy and honesty of journalism be impaired through the adoption, by the working staffs, of a special point of view. One would need a book to deal adequately with this subject; but in the meantime, here are a few points, in summary outline, which the reader can fill in for himself.

1. There is not the slightest evidence that the Newspaper Guild has tried, or ever will try, to dictate the editorial policies of the newspaper where its members are employed. A point worth noting here is that the Con-

stitution of the Guild expressly says that no one shall under any circumstances be barred from membership because of his political opinions, or because of any views expressed by him in his writing.

2. In its attitude on this question, the Guild actually goes further toward the attitude of Mr. Howard and his friends than seems to me to be wise ultimate social policy. We must remember that the press is not free today, not even in America, where there is less outside interference than anywhere else in the world. There is no complete solution of this problem; the best we can hope for is a choice among evils. Today, it is the publisher and his friends and business associates who decide the attitude the paper shall take on controversial questions. Having known many publishers, and a far larger number of working journalists, I believe the social welfare would, on the whole, be better protected if the attitude of any paper were to be determined by the whole group of its employees, rather than by the single word of the one man whose personal, financial affairs are most heavily involved. We should not then have what we do today: men distorting the truth in order to hold their jobs; a Hearst anti-radical campaign conducted by persons known to their associates to be themselves in sympathy with radicalism; a great conservative journal supporting Landon with the utmost vigor when only three of fifty editorial employees intend to vote the Republican ticket.

3. What journalism greatly needs is the development of professional standards and ethics among its practitioners. These can never be achieved so long as the able, experienced journalist is forced to bow to the wishes of men who are often inferior in character and training, men whose only form of debate is to take away the livelihood of their opponents. Can you imagine a community in which all the doctors were employed on salary by, let us say, the manufacturer of a nostrum alleged to cure scarlet fever? Can you conceive of these doctors, when a scarlet-fever epidemic broke out, refusing to treat their patients except with the nostrum of their employer? Who would dare to prattle of medical ethics in such a case?

4. Those who raise the bogey of trade-union dictatorship of the press are, as usual, unwilling to read the records of experience. Great Britain has for many years had a trade union comparable in all respects to the American Newspaper Guild. Suggest to any British publisher that because of this fact the news in the English press is colored or distorted, and he would laugh in your face.

I repeat, the question of a free press is assuredly one of the greatest importance and concern. It will probably never be entirely solved, human nature being what it is, but great amelioration is possible. That is why I am sorry to see this issue so debauched by propagandists that it is now hard to get thoughtful people to give it any serious consideration at all. The newspaper publishers cried "freedom of the press" when the government sought to impose on them a code precisely similar to those created for other precisely similar businesses. They cried "freedom of the press" when a committee of the United States Senate sought to inquire into the sinister background activities of a dangerous gang of lobbyists. They cry "freedom of the press" when their own editorial employees ask entirely moderate and reasonable wage and hour conditions and the right of collective bargaining guaranteed by law. They cry "freedom of the press" when they fight the child-labor amendment on the ground of "federal regimentation." Every newspaperman remembers the editor who refused to use his largest headline type on the ground that he was saving it for the second coming of Christ. I regret to see the publishers use their heaviest ammunition in a fake fight on an unreal enemy.

I am proud of my trade-union card as a member of the Newspaper Guild because I believe the people most concerned for accurate, honest and intelligent journalism are the newspapermen who are capable of producing accurate, honest and intelligent journalism and that the greater the proportion of power that falls into their hands, the better. I am well aware that in the range of American industry, there are good unions and bad ones, and some of the bad ones are pretty terrible. The Newspaper Guild seems to me a good one. But even if it were bad, that would be no reason to abandon unionism; it would be a reason to improve it. Newspapers will not get better by seeking to return newspapermen to the status and responsibilities of office boys.