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SEATTLE STRIKE IS WON; BIG GAINS ELSEWHERE

FiringStirs StrikeVote in Peoria

Walkout Set for Nov. 30;
Reinstatement and a
Contract Demanded

PEORIA, Ill.—A unanimous vote empowering a strike on the Peoria Journal-Transcript after midnight Sunday, Nov. 29, unless its demands were met before that, was registered by a general meeting of the Peoria Newspaper Guild on Nov. 23. All those voting were members of that paper's unit, the only one here. The vote was precipitated by firing of Clifford Claus, Journal-Transcript photographer.

Faced with a demand for reinstatement and for contractual recognition of the Guild, Carl P. Slane, publisher, offered a verbal agreement to abide by arbitration of the firing of Claus and of any Guild members' dismissal during an indefinite future, provided the Guild dropped its contract demand.

Don Stevens, AFL organizer, refused to recommend such a settlement to the unit. He declared, however, after three hours of negotiations with Slane and Joseph Vincent, special investigator of the Illinois State Department of Labor, acting as mediator, that he felt progress had been made toward eventual settlement. Negotiations were recessed to be resumed later in the week.

Minimum Demands Set

Stevens planned to address two labor meetings on the situation on Nov. 23. One was a joint meeting of printers and pressmen. The other was the regular weekly meeting of the Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly.

The Guild voted, just before negotiations opened on that day, the following minimum demands, backed by its strike vote:

R. instatement at once of Claus
(Continued on page 6)

Hearst Accords Guild Recognition; Bargains with Locals in Other Cities

Settlement of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer strike with Guild recognition, the 5-day, 40-hour week, increased security and pay rates, bringing substantial increases to almost every striker, climaxed a fortnight in which ANG branches made the largest group of gains in the organization's history.

New high minimum pay rates and dismissal bonuses ranging up to six months' salary were agreed to by the New York Journal, a Hearst paper, in negotiations with the Guild; while in San Francisco the Chronicle, a locally-owned paper, agreed to establish minimum rates higher than for editorial workers in any other metropolitan area in the West, and the Examiner, Hearst-owned, quickly met them. Both of these San Francisco papers recognized the Guild in making their announcements, and this question was under consideration in New York. Other important improvements are included in all cases.

High Minimum on N.Y. Journal

Gains on Hearst Paper Due
By Jan. 1

The management of the Evening Journal, a Hearst paper, agreed on Nov. 20 to establish not later than Jan. 1st the New York Guild's proposals covering hours, wage minimum of \$55 for three-year reporters and \$60 for desk men, photographers and artists, and severance indemnities ranging up to six months' pay for ten years' service.

On Nov. 23, with no announcement, the five-day week was re-introduced on International News Service, a Hearst enterprise.

At a second conference with William R. Hearst, Jr., scheduled for
(Continued on page 5)



SIGNS IN SEATTLE
Richard Seller

Watson Sues Trade Paper

\$25,000 Damages Asked of
Editor & Publisher

A libel suit for \$25,000 damages has been started against Editor & Publisher by Morris Watson, ANG Vice-President for Wire Services. Watson charges that the paper printed a malicious libel in its Oct. 31 issue which has caused him to be "damaged in his reputation and in his good name and credit as a newspaper reporter and in his business as such." He asks punitive and compensatory damages.

The alleged facts published by the paper were derogatory to Watson's capabilities as an editorial worker and were purported to have been disclosed by a witness in the hearing of the Associated Press case before the National Labor Relations Board in New York on Aug. 27.

Morris L. Ernst, Watson's attorney, pointed out that no such testimony was given. In a letter to Editor & Publisher notifying them of Watson's intention to take action, he said regarding the statement objected to:

(Continued on page 3)

Meanwhile, two new full contracts had been worked out, one between the New York Guild and the Daily News, the largest-selling newspaper in the country, embodying the highest minimums yet established in any Guild agreement; and one between the Philadelphia-Camden Guild and J. David Stern, covering his Courier-Post newspapers in Camden, N. J. The Daily News contract was awaiting action by the unit as the Reporter went to press, and in Camden virtually all points at issue had been settled except the Guild's demand for a flat 10 per cent salary increase to offset a depression cut. An agreement had been reached to arbitrate this point.

Negotiations are still going forward with the Hearst paper in Pittsburgh, the Sun-Telegraph, and with the Hearst American in New York City, and important progress is reported in parleys with independent papers in several cities.

Chronicle Men Accept Terms

5-Day Week Assured in
San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO. — The second wage and hour agreement successfully negotiated by the Northern California Newspaper Guild with a San Francisco publisher during November was concluded this week, with the San Francisco Chronicle.

Paul C. Smith, executive editor of the Chronicle and collective bargaining representative of Publisher George Cameron, has agreed to all provisions of terms, which returns the five-day, 40-hour week to Chronicle editorial employees and guarantees them minimum wages
(Continued on page 2)

SEATTLE. — In an agreement signed by the Seattle Post-Intelligencer and the Seattle Newspaper Guild on Nov. 25 the strike that had kept the paper closed since Aug. 13 was ended with recognition of the Guild and with improved pay and working conditions.

Pay rises ranging from \$2.50 to \$10 weekly were provided for almost everyone and the 5-day, 40-hour week will go into effect on March 1.

The paper was to begin publishing on Monday, Nov. 30, the staff resuming work on Sunday.

The agreement reached on the eve of Thanksgiving ended a struggle that promises to be historic in American journalism as the first time that a powerful paper has been obliged by the united action of organized labor to remain shut for a long period until its management was ready to grant the right of its
(Continued on page 5)

Celebrate Guild Victories By Cleaning Up Back Bills

The battle of Seattle is won. The gain is big. As a minor aspect of the victory, we hope there will now be some respite for the members upon whom we have called unceasingly, and legitimately, for funds to support the fight. (We still hope the Peoria publishers will see the light and not force us to strike there.) But before letting up in the drive, we appeal to the membership to keep contributing for another two weeks. There remains the all-important task of cleaning up the debts left after the settlement in both Seattle and Milwaukee. That is our problem.

The bills in Seattle and Milwaukee should aggregate about \$2,500. Let's

clear them off the books promptly.

The GUILD REPORTER issue which carries the account of the Seattle victory also tells of results in San Francisco, New York, Camden and Pittsburgh, which probably constitute the greatest achievement, in material benefits to individual members, in any period of the Guild's history. A variety of factors enter into these successes. But the one outstanding factor was that the Guild proved itself in Milwaukee and Seattle. Those Guilds carried the fight for all of us. The least we can do is to carry our small part, that of financial support, to its conclusion.

INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE
FUND COMMITTEE

BUILDING: Fight for AFL Unity On Progressive Lines

By JONATHAN EDDY

TAMPA, FLA.

AS THIS is written none of the major issues in the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor has come to a vote. It seems to be assumed here that the Executive Council, having deprived the CIO unions of their vote by suspension, has sufficient voting strength in the convention to carry its position by a majority in excess of two-thirds.

The Executive Council, in order to place onus on the CIO for the predicted split in the American Federation of Labor, is believed to be in favor, by a small majority, of continuing the suspension, rather than calling for expulsion at the present time. With the bulk of the progressives absent from the convention, the latter is also expected to empower the council to carry through the expulsion when and if the Lewis groups set up the machinery for a rival federation.

Although the CIO unions are absent, the convention includes a large block of delegates who favor the CIO as against the craft union forces represented by the Executive Council. When
(Continued on page 4)

WIDESPREAD BARGAINING BRINGS NOTABLE GAINS

PACT NEAR IN CAMDEN

Text of Chronicle Agreement With Guild

Which San Francisco Examiner's Follows

Agreement Reached
On All Points
But One

TO WEIGH PAY RISE

PHILADELPHIA.—The last meeting between the Philadelphia Camden Guild negotiating committee and J. David Stern, publisher, cleared away all major disputed points, except one, in the proposed contract on the Camden Courier-Post newspaper.

The one exception is a flat 10 per cent increase, to effect a flat 10 per cent cut suffered by the staff in 1935 and never restored. Both the Guild and the management have agreed to submit this point to an impartial arbitrator.

The management offered to make pay raises totaling 5 per cent on the basis of "merit," and to restore to the pre-cut level those men who had not subsequently been raised to that point. This was turned down by the Courier-Post unit and the Executive Council of the local Guild.

Agreement has been reached on the following points:

Closed shop covering the 65 or more editorial employees of the Courier-Post.

Graded dismissal notice.

Five-day, 40-hour week.

Overtime pay; paid vacations of two weeks.

The following pay scale for salaried suburban reporters, long an issue between the Guild and the management, was finally approved:

Salary reporters regularly covering territory outside the City of Camden—during the first year of this contract, \$30; during second year, \$32; during third year, \$34; during fourth year, \$36.

Other scales were approved by Stern, subject to ratification by his managing editor in Camden, as follows:

Employees other than clerks, copy boys and suburban reporters start at \$30 per week for the first year and step up to \$40 per week after four years' experience.

Clerks: experienced, begin with \$15 weekly and step up yearly to \$18.50, \$19, \$20, \$22.50 and \$25 after five years.

Copy boys start with \$15 and step up \$1 annually to \$18 during their fourth year, and \$20 thereafter.

5-Day Week, Wage Scale Won in Chronicle Accord

(Continued from page 1)

The 80 Guild members on the Chronicle editorial staff of approximately 100 voted unanimously to accept the agreement.

A third agreement with the San Francisco Examiner (Hearst) had been negotiated as the Hearst unit went to press, and the unit members were halting on the statement of terms. It accorded recognition to the Guild, returned the five-day week and fixed minimum wages ranging up to \$57.60 a week.

Clarence Lindner, publisher of the Examiner, had agreed to all provisions of the statement, which was to be posted immediately on acceptance by the Examiner NCGU unit.

Conditions not provided for in the agreement will be decided upon in further negotiations between Lindner and the NCGU.

Coming on the heels of the bulletin board agreement reached earlier this month with the publisher of the San Francisco News, the Chronicle agreement has sent American Newspaper Guild soaring to a new high in the San Francisco area.

PITTSBURGH GAINS SEEN

Hearst Publisher's First Offer Not Good Enough

ASK CLARIFICATION

Below is the text of the agreement just reached between the Northern California Newspaper Guild and the San Francisco Chronicle, the most comprehensive thus far obtained in the West. It is in the form of a bulletin board announcement by the executive editor. The agreement with Hearst's Examiner is virtually identical with the Chronicle statement in wage and hour provisions. Other conditions are to be negotiated later.

As a result of negotiations between me and a committee of the Northern California Newspaper Guild, chosen by a majority of the staff to represent them in collective bargaining, the following was agreed upon and is effective as of Dec. 1, 1936:

1. Classification. The term editorial employee, as hereinafter used, shall include the following:

a. Employees directly charged with reporting, writing and editing news and full time feature writers.

b. Photographers.

c. Artists, cartoonists, retouchers and layout men.

d. Librarians.

e. Copy boys, office boys, messengers, tabulating clerks and editorial secretaries.

2. No editorial employee within the classifications a, b and c as set forth in the preceding paragraphs shall receive a rate of pay per month less than set forth in the following schedule:

a. Those having more than five years' experience, \$250.

b. Those having more than two years' experience, but less than five years' experience, \$130.

c. Those having more than one year's experience, but less than two years' experience, \$120.

d. Those having less than one year's experience, \$110.

e. No library worker, with the exception of copy boys, shall receive less than \$100 a month.

3. No copy boy, office boy, messenger or tabulating clerk who has been with the Chronicle less than six months shall receive less than \$95 monthly, and those who have been employed there more than six months shall receive not less than \$75.

4. It is understood between us that the term "experience" refers to previous or present employment whereby the employee shall have been, or is, obtaining his full time revenue from work as editorial employee for a metropolitan newspaper of known circulation and standing.

With regard to other conditions of employment, the following will be in effect:

(a). It is understood that no person will be required to perform work as editorial employee without compensation, and when paid, will be paid at least the minimum.

(b). As is now the practice, the wages will be paid twice monthly.

(c). The hours of employment shall be eight (8) hours per day within ten (10) consecutive hours and not more than five (5) days in any one week. It is understood, of course, that the above shall not interfere with the completion of assignments nor with the performance of emergency assignments. It is further understood that, due to the present system of the hours of labor now in force, that the above weekly hours will not be effective until January 1, 1937.

(d). The present practice of taking care of overtime will be continued; that is, for all overtime work, time off will be given in extra days off equivalent to the hours of overtime work performed. These adjustments in time off will be made at least every three months. In the event of dismissal of an employee overtime due him will be compensated in a lump sum.

(e). In figuring the working day, time spent by the editorial employee traveling to and from assignments will be considered as part of that day.

(f). Following past practices and standards such practices, a minimum severance pay, in addition to accrued pay and overtime, will be paid to discharged employees, in accordance with the following schedule:

1. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher for less than two years, two weeks' salary.

2. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two years and less than five years, four weeks' salary.

3. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than five years, six weeks' salary.

4. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than ten years, eight weeks' salary.

5. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than fifteen years, ten weeks' salary.

6. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than twenty years, twelve weeks' salary.

7. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than twenty-five years, fourteen weeks' salary.

8. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than thirty years, sixteen weeks' salary.

9. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than thirty-five years, eighteen weeks' salary.

10. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than forty years, twenty weeks' salary.

11. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than forty-five years, twenty-two weeks' salary.

12. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than fifty years, twenty-four weeks' salary.

13. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than fifty-five years, twenty-six weeks' salary.

14. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than sixty years, twenty-eight weeks' salary.

15. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than sixty-five years, thirty weeks' salary.

16. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than seventy years, thirty-two weeks' salary.

17. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than seventy-five years, thirty-four weeks' salary.

18. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than eighty years, thirty-six weeks' salary.

19. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than eighty-five years, thirty-eight weeks' salary.

20. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than ninety years, forty weeks' salary.

21. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than ninety-five years, forty-two weeks' salary.

22. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred years, forty-four weeks' salary.

23. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and one years, forty-six weeks' salary.

24. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and two years, forty-eight weeks' salary.

25. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and three years, fifty weeks' salary.

26. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and four years, fifty-two weeks' salary.

27. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and five years, fifty-four weeks' salary.

28. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and six years, fifty-six weeks' salary.

29. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seven years, fifty-eight weeks' salary.

30. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eight years, sixty weeks' salary.

31. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and nine years, sixty-two weeks' salary.

32. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ten years, sixty-four weeks' salary.

33. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eleven years, sixty-six weeks' salary.

34. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twelve years, sixty-eight weeks' salary.

35. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirteen years, seventy weeks' salary.

36. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fourteen years, seventy-two weeks' salary.

37. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifteen years, seventy-four weeks' salary.

38. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixteen years, seventy-six weeks' salary.

39. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventeen years, seventy-eight weeks' salary.

40. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighteen years, eighty weeks' salary.

41. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and nineteen years, eighty-two weeks' salary.

42. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty years, eighty-four weeks' salary.

43. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-one years, eighty-six weeks' salary.

44. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-two years, eighty-eight weeks' salary.

45. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-three years, ninety weeks' salary.

46. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-four years, ninety-two weeks' salary.

47. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-five years, ninety-four weeks' salary.

48. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-six years, ninety-six weeks' salary.

49. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-seven years, ninety-eight weeks' salary.

50. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-eight years, one hundred weeks' salary.

51. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and twenty-nine years, one hundred and two weeks' salary.

52. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

53. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

54. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

55. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

56. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

57. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

58. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

59. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

60. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

61. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and thirty-nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

62. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

63. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

64. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

65. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

66. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

67. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

68. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

69. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

70. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

71. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and forty-nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

72. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

73. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

74. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

75. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

76. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

77. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

78. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

79. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

80. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

81. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and fifty-nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

82. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

83. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

84. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

85. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

86. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

87. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

88. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

89. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

90. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

91. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and sixty-nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

92. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

93. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

94. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

95. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

96. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

97. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

98. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

99. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

100. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

101. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and seventy-nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

102. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

103. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

104. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

105. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

106. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

107. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

108. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

109. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

110. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

111. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and eighty-nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

112. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

113. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

114. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

115. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

116. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

117. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

118. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

119. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

120. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

121. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than one hundred and ninety-nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

122. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

123. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and one years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

124. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and two years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

125. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and three years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

126. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and four years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

127. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and five years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

128. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and six years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

129. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and seven years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

130. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and eight years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

131. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and nine years, one hundred and twelve weeks' salary.

132. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and ten years, one hundred and four weeks' salary.

133. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and eleven years, one hundred and six weeks' salary.

134. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and twelve years, one hundred and eight weeks' salary.

135. If the employee has been in the service of the publisher more than two hundred and thirteen years, one hundred and ten weeks' salary.

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NEW DRIVE IN CHICAGO

Stevens Pushes Organization Efforts

ISSUES GUILD PAPER

CHICAGO—After several weeks during the election campaign, in which he "felt out" the Guild situation here, Don Stevens, general organizer, A. F. of L., assigned to the Guild, has worked out with the Chicago Guild Executive Committee a definite organizing drive.

The Chicago Guild, raised once to an enrollment of around 75 by ANG Organizer, Bill Davy, had slumped during his absence on the Milwaukee strike some 20 members eligible to vote in the officer election of Oct. 30. The membership in good standing this week is 33, according to Paul Puschel, hard-working treasurer.

The Chicago Guild issued a mimeographed "Guild News" of six pages Nov. 15, starting the new campaign, with an accompanying letter to all Chicago newspapermen from Organizer Stevens. He quoted the letter written some months ago by Colonel Frank Knox to Heywood Brown which said, regarding slowness of Chicago organization:

Benjamin Child

"My guess is that intimidation hasn't anything to do with it, but rather that the hard-bolled, individualistic and realistic men who staff Chicago papers don't see the benefits."

Doubting the average Chicago newspaperman is harder-bitten than many a Guild member elsewhere, or that intimidation had been completely absent from Chicago any more than elsewhere, Organizer Stevens believed there was less "balance" in the statement that Chicago newspapermen had not seen the benefits. The Guild mailing list, for instance, which previously was about 150, has been stepped up to some 650 for the GUNS RUMORS and local matter.

With strong co-operation from the Chicago Guild Executive Committee, headed by President Martin Kane, night bureau manager of the United Press, and Secretary E. A. H. Stevenson, editor of the Train Dispatch, an intensive schedule of meetings and other work is under way. The local executive committee meets almost daily with the organizer.

A. F. of L. Co-operates

The Chicago Federation of Labor has given the Guild fine co-operation as has the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and considerable money has been raised for both the Milwaukee and the Seattle strike through this co-operation.

Organizer Stevens and Mrs. Stevens have established a combination apartment and office on the first floor of the Sleiben Tower, in the Loop and handy to all the newspaper and press association offices.

"I wish every Guildman who knows a Chicago newspaperman would write him about the Guild, without blah-blah, sticking to facts," the organizer said, "and also that he would write me at 4102 Sleiben Tower."

Did You Write One?

Publication of the annual series of "Best News Stories" has been taken over by Houghton, Mifflin Co., New York publishers. Manuscripts for inclusion in the 1935-36 volume may be submitted to Prof. Frank Luther Mott of the University of Iowa school of journalism, Iowa City, Ia.

J. Laurence Leonard, a member of the Greensboro (N.C.) News unit, has been named sports editor succeeding Edward V. Mitchell.

New California Guild

Bids Public to "Frolic" SANTA MONICA, Cal.—The recently formed Santa Monica Bay District Guild was to make its bow to the public on Nov. 21 with a "Front Page Frolic."

Jean Muir, Lionel Stander and Fred Kesting had promised to be present. The event was to be held in the Santa Monica Deauville Club. The announcement of the party on Nov. 7 occasioned a flurry when the president and secretary of the Guild, Emerson Glass and Adelaide Fielding, whose names appeared on the Guild stationery, were told by the managing editor to choose between the Guild and the paper. They stood by the Guild and the incident blew over.

A third member was fired on an excuse unrelated to the Guild, but the Guild is convinced that his activity was the real reason and has voted unanimously. Efforts are being made to reach an adjustment.

For 'Key Men'

All on 5-Day Week on Chicago Times

CHICAGO—Extension of the five-day week to some ten sub-executives of the Chicago Times began Nov. 20 in apparently one of the first benefits to Chicago newspapermen of the current resurgence of Guild activity here.

A few days ago Organizer Don Stevens circulated all Chicago newspapermen with an organization letter which included a brief discussion of the special desirability of the five-day week for so-called "key men" from the standpoint of both men and the management.

The short week had been in effect since NRA days on the Times, except for key men with the better salaries, such as editors and their assistants. It now will include the entire staff except Managing Editor Louis Ruppel. The new policy seems to have been instituted at Ruppel's suggestion—and if so, would be another forward step in his brilliant handling of this newspaper, whose current strides are an outstanding event in American newspaperdom.

Virtually the whole staff of the Times is set for formal organization as a full-strength Guild unit, Stevens said, adding:

"The attitude of the staff and management being what it has during the last two weeks especially, with many men already signed up. Only this Peoria trouble has delayed my helping to arrange a final organization meeting. Those boys on the Times had plenty of questions for a while, but now all they ask is 'When is that meeting?'"

"The two Hearst paper staffs here and the News and the Associated Press still have the six-day week. For this and other reasons not unapparent to an increasing number of men on those staffs, there should soon be a general loosening up of wage hour and working conditions."

MILWAUKEE IN PARLEY AND DRIVE FOR MEMBERS

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Pressing contract negotiations, renewing unit efficiency and accepting applications for membership from recruits, the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild has effected a revival of activity that evidences the most widespread interest in months.

Negotiations with the local management of the Sentinel, morning Paul Block publication, were resumed at a conference recently with Jules Lieberman, manager, and a second meeting was tentatively scheduled.

Negotiations Continued Request for improvements in the currently effective statement of company policy made at the behest of the Sentinel unit after its first generally attended meeting in several months. The points were put into writing at the request of Lieberman for consideration by the management.

EDDY HITS CIO OUSTER

Joins Tampa Caucus Trying to Keep Labor Unity

ON STEERING BODY

The two principal issues before the Tampa convention of the American Federation of Labor of most direct concern to the Guild, according to published reports, were the question of suspension of the ten international unions that formed the nucleus for the Committee for Industrial Organization, and a proposal by John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the Federation, asking for a constitutional amendment that would prohibit central labor unions from placing on their unfair lists any firms having agreements with national or international unions.

Frey's proposal was considered to be aimed at the Seattle Post-Intelligencer strike.

Jonathan Eddy, ANG Executive Secretary and the Guild delegate, figured prominently in the efforts to prevent the expulsion of the CIO unions. He was especially one of the delegates opposed to the expulsion and Eddy was chosen a member of the steering committee, according to reports carried by some papers.

Eddy, Jerome Davis, president of the American Federation of Teachers, and J. C. Lewis, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, were mentioned as participants in the debate on the issue.

Anti-Dual Move The fate of Frey's proposed constitutional amendment was not mentioned in dispatches available at Guild headquarters. The amendment was embodied in a resolution which Frey introduced, as follows:

RESOLVED, That Article Eleven of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by inserting an additional section reading:

"No Central Labor Union or Central Body of Delegates shall have authority to declare any firm or firms having national or local agreements with national or international unions unfair in violation of the provisions of such agreements."

The news of the settlement in Seattle came about the time of a debate on the question of ending the boycott on the papers of William Randolph Hearst, adopted at the last convention. Eddy announced the signing of the agreement and this news was greeted with pronounced applause, according to dispatches.

They Included a Request for an Additional Salary Minimum of \$55 a Week for Men with Five Years' Experience or More, (Businessmen now get \$35 or more and three-year men \$40 or more), time off or extra pay for work over eight hours a day, and rewording of the dismissal bonus agreement to make it effective in all cases except discharge for "wilful misconduct."

The Guild also asks the use of the office bulletin board for announcements.

Present salary minimums, five day week, dismissal bonuses and paid vacations and sick leave were definitely provided April 1, 1936, in the midst of the Wisconsin News strike, similar concessions being made simultaneously on the Journal (Independent) and News (Hearst), respectively. The News staff later won additional points.

Sentinel negotiations were revived partially on the basis of Paul Block

BUILDING: Fight for AFL Unity

By JONATHAN EDDY (Continued from page 1)

the first vote that could be considered even remotely a test was called, President Green must have had some difficulty in deciding the vote on the basis of volume of sound. However, when it comes to a roll call, the count on the side of the progressives is expected to be very low.

Disparities in Voting Strength

PROBABLY the general public has little understanding of the machinery by which the large craft unions maintain sway. A hint is conveyed when it is stated that the entire membership of organized labor in New York State, comprising about one-third of the American Federation of Labor, casts only one vote here through the New York State Federation of Labor. Similarly, the city central body in New York City, representing hundreds of thousands of workers, casts only one vote. The American Newspaper Guild, because it is an international union, casts votes on a basis of one for each one hundred members. Some of the big craft unions hence cast thousands of votes.

Eighty-odd delegates attended a progressive caucus during the first week of the convention. Most of the delegates attending represented city central bodies and state federations. This indicates that most of the local and federal unions in their cities or states are in favor of the CIO. But the voting power of these delegates in the convention will be negligible.

Desire to Avoid Split Is Strong

MANY persons not close to the present turmoil in the American labor movement may wonder why, if these unions favor the Committee for Industrial Organization, they have not adopted the strategy of the CIO and remained away from the convention. On the surface the explanation might appear to be that whereas most of the CIO unions have been suspended, these other bodies still enjoy their voting privileges.

That there is more to it than this became evident in the general discussion in the progressive caucus. Speakers declared that while they favored the CIO there was still a chance to avoid a split. How devastating a split would be to the welfare of labor organizations in general has already been indicated in a small way in the convention, plans being already started by powerful craft unions and groups of unions to boycott the union label of other organizations. Dual unionism, with labor itself attacking the fight being waged by labor, will wreck state federations, city central, and some of the most important national and international themselves. Anyone who has been through strikes and noted how the whole tactic of an unfair employer may be based on setting one group of working people against another must be horrified by mere contemplation of what a grievous injury this dual unionism will work upon our entire movement.

Feeling About the CIO MOST of the delegates who favor CIO at this convention are actuated by the determination to avoid this split. They are believers in industrial unionism and the general school of trade union thought that goes by the name progressive, and will never give up the fight for these principles. But they are equally opposed to dual unionism, feeling that labor's internal differences must be settled inside the house of labor.

They do not accept President Green's assertion that the Lewis group is guilty of dual unionism, since no rival federation has been set up, even though the leaders in the all-important campaign to organize the steel industry have been deprived of their democratic voting rights. They hope that the CIO will continue to exercise this restraint, even though expelled from the American Federation of Labor. The present machinery of the CIO is adequate, they hold, for the purpose for which it was set up.

They wish to support the CIO in every way possible, but they believe that in the present circumstances, and in the long run, the fight must be carried on inside the organization of the American Federation of Labor. This course, they believe, must inevitably lead to the reinstatement of the CIO unions and to the re-establishment of unity. Such re-establishment would necessarily carry with it the establishment of progressive policies for the entire American Federation of Labor.

Reorganization of the Journal unit to fill vacancies in its list of officers was effected recently, John Ekyrt, rewrite man, being elected unit president and an executive board member. He takes the place of Herbert A. Jacobs, who left to take a job in Madison, Wis.

Plans have been begun for an annual Guild publication in the form of a magazine containing the news behind the headlines.

Negotiations are also under way for inclusion of members of Newspaper Writers' Union No. 8, which has a closed shop contract on the Leader, labor paper, in the Milwaukee Guild. Guild officers made overtures to the union immediately after AP of L. affiliation was voted at the June Convention. The union now has asked and received information on specific points concerning their affiliation en masse.

Units have resumed periodic meetings, and the Milwaukee executive board has been meeting weekly.

Journal Unit Elects

SEATTLE VICTORY

Strikers Win 5-Day Week, Minimum Wage Scale, Dismissal Bonuses

(Continued from page 1) editorial employees to bargain collectively.

Fought for 15 Weeks The struggle had begun 15 weeks before as a result of the discharge of two veteran members of the staff, Frank M. Lynch, chief photographer, and Everhardt Armstrong, dramatic critic. The members of the Guild, convinced that both men were discharged for Guild activity, tried for weeks by peaceful persuasion to induce the management to reinstate them. The efforts were futile, and on Aug. 13 the 36 Guild men and women struck. The group represented a majority of the editorial staff. The paper did not publish a single edition.

Lynch and Armstrong made possible the acceptance of the present settlement by insisting that they would be satisfied with Guild recognition. Their cases will continue in the hands of the National Labor Relations Board. The Guild accepted their sacrifice because the prolongation of the strike had worked serious hardships on members of other unions.

Guild Recognized The settlement took the form of a statement by C. B. Lindeman, associate publisher, and was signed jointly by him and by Richard Seher, president of the Seattle Guild. The preamble said:

"As a result of negotiations between me and a committee of the Seattle Newspaper Guild for the purpose of ending the strike against the Post-Intelligencer, the following formula was agreed to: 'The office policy, covering wages, hours, dismissal notices and working conditions, was made a part of the agreement.'"

Minimum pay for staff members of less than three years' experience is set at \$25, and at \$40 for those of more than three years. Library clerks and employees of the home economics and society departments receive minimums of \$25 for those of more than three years' experience and \$30 for those of less. Copy clerks, office clerks and messengers start at \$15 and step up to \$18 after three years' experience.

Other provisions assure two weeks' vacation after a year's service and one week after six months' service. Over time allowances to be made either in days off or in pay, and to be balanced every three months and sick leave, the management deciding the frequency and duration.

Discontinuation Banned The agreement provides that there shall be no discontinuation against anyone because of membership in the Guild, and states that "the management will be glad at any time to meet with employees or a committee representing employees for the purpose of discussing grievances."

Some opposition was expressed against provisions of the settlement because a Hearst paper in San Francisco had just accorded better and there was much regret at the absence of immediate reinstatement of Lynch and Armstrong. However, considering all factors, all but two members ultimately voted in favor of acceptance.

Decision in the Lynch and Armstrong cases is expected shortly, the Labor Relations Board having recently completed the taking of testimony. Owing to the uncertainty over the constitutionality of the Labor Relations act, as applying to newspapermen, the management is expected to take the case to the Supreme Court.

A surprise came the day after the settlement was reached when the management announced that John Boettiger, son-in-law of President Roosevelt, had been appointed publisher. The Guild Daily editorially welcomed the appointment.

The Last Maneuvers

The settlement was made as soon as the Hearst management had given up its last hope of wrecking the Guild's labor support. Harvey J. Kelly, labor adviser of the Hearst chain, went to Tampa to appear for a second time before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to try to persuade it to exert additional pressure on the Guild in Seattle. Kelly was in a bad spot, however, for an intermediary of the management, E. B. Fish, who showed the Guild representatives a letter signed by C. B. Lindeman, associate publisher, authorizing him to speak for the paper, had just negotiated a settlement which, though distinctly a compromise, the Guild was prepared to accept out of consideration for the hardship inflicted on other trades unionists by the prolonged suspension of the paper. At the eleventh hour the management repudiated this settlement—and was strongly condemned for its "unprincipled attitude" in a formal resolution of the Seattle Central Labor Council adopted on Nov. 18.

Interpretation Planned This uncompleted settlement consisted of an "interpretation" of the A. F. of L.'s Executive Council's proposal by which the Executive Committee of the Seattle Guild would be appointed the official negotiating committee of the Seattle Central Labor Council to negotiate with the Post-Intelligencer management on behalf of the strikers. The committee was referred to specifically in the agreement in its Guild capacity.

It was part of the plan agreed upon in arriving at this proposed settlement that Dave Beck, prominent Seattle labor leader and head of the Teamsters District Council, would, if the Guild accepted the plan, fly to Tampa and seek to persuade the Executive Council to accept the interpretation of its proposal. Despite the fact that the Hearst management backed out,

BROWN HAILS THE PEACE

"Victory, But Advantageous to Both"

Heywood Brown sent the following wire about the strike settlement to the Guild Daily:

It seems to me that the settlement is distinctly a victory for the Guild. But I would like to add that I believe it will be advantageous to both sides. I hope it means the beginning of mutually satisfactory settlements between newspaper publishers and editorial workers throughout the country through frank collective bargaining with the American Newspaper Guild. In fact, I hope that the publishers themselves will come to realize that the new dispensation means a better day for American journalism all around.

Of course the Seattle settlement is only a beginning. The Guild has gone further elsewhere and hopes to make the best agreements the standards throughout the nation.

We acknowledge warmly our debt to the labor movement in Seattle and to the growing army of friends who see the great role which the labor movement can play. Let me voice, too, our realization that our gains will be made through the continuance of close cooperation with other labor groups in the newspaper industry.

HEYWOOD BROWN.

JOURNAL

Gains on Hearst Paper Due January 1

(Continued from page 1)

Nov. 27, it was expected that the American would establish conditions at least equal to the Journal conditions.

In all cases, thus far, the Hearst management has refused to enter into a contract with the Guild, declaring that the form of its agreement will be a bulletin board announcement.

The Journal agreement was reached at a conference on Nov. 20, between George J. Auer, assistant publisher, and William A. Curley, managing editor, representing the management, and the Guild negotiating committee composed of Milton Kaufman, executive secretary, Herman Dinsmore, Times, and Tom Cassidy, News.

Curley, at this conference, declared that the Guild's proposals were acceptable, with the exception of a demand for a 10 percent restoration and the Guild preferential shop.

Curley said the improvements would be put into effect as quickly as possible, probably within two weeks. He said that every effort would be made to persuade the general management, which will have a hand in drafting the announcement, to include a statement of the fact that the conditions were agreed to by the management as a result of a series of conferences with the New York Guild.

Extend Other Points

The Guild's proposal includes the extension of the five-day, 40-hour week, equal time off for overtime, \$25 minimum for reporters for the first year and \$15 for copy boys, and provides for the formation of an Adjustment Committee to bring individual complaints to the attention of the management.

(For Journal details, see page 2)

At the American conference, during discussion of the Guild's proposals, William R. Hearst, Jr., expressed the opinion that in general they appeared reasonable. He declared the stated policy of the management on formal recognition of the Guild. As did Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the Times. Hearst said the Guild would be recognized formally only when the management was "forced" to extend such recognition. Hearst said that no member of the staff need fear dismissal because of his membership in the Guild, so long as his activities were not conducted during the hours of his employment.

The same committee is conducting negotiations on the Journal and American.

The other New York Hearst units, INS, Mirror, INP, and Universal are now preparing for negotiations.

Carl Randau Is Renamed

For N.Y. Guild President

The New York Guild Representative on Nov. 18 nominated officers for the coming year. Nominations by petition could be made until Nov. 30.

The slate follows:

Carl Randau, World-Telegram, president; James Kieran, Times, first vice-president; Monroe Stern, American, second vice-president; Tom Cassidy, News, secretary; Nat Einhorn, Brooklyn Eagle, treasurer.

The Assembly re-elected Ray Torrey, American, as chairman, and I. Kaufman, Brooklyn Eagle, vice chairman.

"Going-To-Town" Party

The Labor Press unit of the New York Guild will hold a "Going-To-Town" Party on Dec. 5 at the L.L.G.W.U. Stage Studios, 106 West 39th Street, for the benefit of the Guild Defense Fund.

A novel musical program has been planned and refreshments of many types will be served. Tickets are 25c each and may be purchased at the New York Guild office, 62 West 45th Street.



Mr. and Mrs. Forrest Williams

STRIKE CAN'T FAZE HIM

Guildsman Takes Wife In Seattle

SEATTLE, Wash.—Indicative of the high morale of Seattle strikers, even when they had been out three months Forrest Williams, Guild Daily courthouse reporter, married Mrs. Lois L. Read, Seattle commercial artist on Armistice Day.

The romance began a month earlier when "Forrie," who had been putting in weeks of 18-hour days on the strike, was chased out of the office with orders to rest.

Back went to Tampa with the document.

Beck and Kelly arrived at Tampa on the same plane, Kelly having boarded it at Chicago. Jonathan Beck, ANG Executive Secretary, had arrived meantime.

President Green invited Eddy to attend the same meeting at which Kelly appeared. During the hour in which Kelly talked he was interrupted repeatedly by President Green and by other members of the Council with questions as to why the management had repudiated its representative's settlement. The upshot of the meeting was that the Council "washed its hands" of the whole matter.

Talks Fought Fruitless Eddy and Kelly then discussed possible terms for two days, but Eddy discontinued the meetings, finding they were getting nowhere.

Eddy issued a statement, saying: "Certain influential Hearst executives believe they can open their eyes to the advantages of recognition of the Guild by appealing to the public with an announcement of higher wage scales and a simultaneous effort to induce the printers to break the ranks of organized labor. They have underestimated the caliber of printing craftsmen of the Northwest."

The Guild has won its past victories without the advantage available in Seattle and is well prepared to fight through this case if need be. We are hopeful that a council of the square-shooters on the Hearst side will prevail. A settlement has been negotiated. If the Hearst organization will not abide by the decision of its fully authorized representatives, either the entire dispute will have to go to arbitration or the dance goes on."

Guild Daily Hammers Away In the meantime the Guild Daily, kept showing up the management's maneuvers, and published the text of the letter in which the Post-Intelligencer authorized Fish to handle all industrial relations for the paper. The letter said:

"This confirms the arrangement which we have with you whereby you are authorized to handle all industrial relations for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer for the 12-month period beginning Nov. 1, 1936. You are fully authorized to act for the management of this newspaper in the settlement of disputes and in the furtherance of amicable relations with organized labor."

The Guild Daily also obtained an interview with the regional director of the National Labor Relations Board, Charles W. Hope, expressing surprise at the repudiation of the settlement.

About this time the morale of the Post-Intelligencer management was further upset, it is believed, by the appearance of a full-page advertisement from a local department store, Proctor's. This advertisement, which drew considerable crowds to the store, represented the first break in the united front maintained by large advertisers against the Guild Daily up to that time.

The Guild Daily was steadily growing in circulation, being circulated to 23,000 homes and reaching, it was believed, 60,000 readers.

HOW TO QUALIFY FOR SECURITY BENEFITS

Dec. 5 Set as Deadline

Board Outlines Procedure and Ways Guilds May Cooperate

Every employed Guild member should fill out and hand in his blank for the Social Security annuities by Dec. 5. Here is an explanation of the plan of the act, procedure to be followed by employers and ways in which Guilds can co-operate, furnished by the New York regional office of the Social Security Board.

Under the federal system of old age benefits eligible workers will receive annuities from the Federal Government, ranging from \$10 to \$45 per month upon retiring from employment at the age of sixty-five. Besides these monthly benefits, the plan calls for lump sum payments to a worker's estate after his death and similar payments to workers who have not worked long enough or earned enough to qualify for the monthly payments.

Monthly benefits do not begin until 1942, lump sums are payable any time after January 1, the date on which the system goes into effect. The amount of these payments, both monthly and lump sum, are based on the total amount of the worker's earnings from employments covered by the Act, after January 1st and up to the time of his sixty-fifth birthday. Certain employments such as maritime service, domestic service in private homes, public employment, agricultural labor and employment for non-profit educational and

charitable institutions are excluded from the system. The Social Security Act also levies new taxes on employers and employees alike. The tax on both begins at 1 per cent of wages for the year 1937 and advances by one-half of 1 per cent every three years until it becomes permanently 3 per cent on both employer and employee in 1945, twelve years from now. No tax is paid either by employer or employee on that portion of earnings which goes above \$3,000 a year. Payments to workers will be made out of a special Old Age Reserve Account in the Federal Treasury to which Congress is authorized to appropriate annually from the general revenues an amount sufficient to meet demands on the fund.

Each Gets Account Number
Every worker who is covered by this system of old age benefits is required to file with the Social Security Board before Dec. 5, a form known as the Employees Application for Account Number. These forms, known as SS-5, are now being distributed by employers at all work places and may also be secured at any Post Office.

With the identifying information on this form, the Social Security Board will be able to set up a numbered account for each eligible worker on which will be kept an accurate record of the earnings according to which he will ultimately

receive benefits. Workers may return these applications in any one of five different ways, namely:

1. By handing it to the employer.
2. By handing it back to any labor organization of which he is a member.
3. By handing it to a letter carrier.
4. By delivering it to the local Post Office.
5. By mailing it in a sealed envelope, addressed Postmaster, Local.

Each worker who files an application will receive from the Social Security Board a card certifying that an account has been set up in his name and giving its number. This will be returned to him through the same channel by which his application reached the Post Office. Guilds, along with other labor unions, may cooperate with the Federal authorities in the collection of employees' application forms. Every member should file his application promptly, either through the Guild, or in any one of the other ways provided, so that the wage record necessary to insure him the old age benefits to which he is entitled may be set up by the Social Security Board.

Labor Groups Co-operating
In the event that applications are returned by an employer or a labor organization in a block, it is probable that the account numbers for those cards will be assigned in sequence. This probable assignment of numbers may or may not be considered an advantage by the organization returning the cards.

Any person who is in doubt as to whether he comes within the scope of the Act, is urged either to fill out an application form and return it in the required way or seek advice from local Post Office authorities or from the Social Security Board itself.

Warning to Unionists

CIO Director Says Application Sent to Union Entails Risks

A warning to unionists on the handling of old age benefit applications is given by John Brophy, a director of the CIO. His statement follows:

As 26,000,000 wage-earners register under the Federal old age benefit plan, there are a number of important points unions must consider in deciding what part they should play in connection with the process.

1. The union may serve as an agency for collecting and turning in the applications. However, the employer can find out what workers have given their applications to the union, since persons submitting their applications in a block will receive consecutive registration numbers.
2. All those turning in their blanks through the employer will similarly receive consecutive numbers. The employer will be able to tell, therefore, by an employee's number, whether he preferred to submit his application through some other channel. Where only a few employees do this, it may expose them to suspicion.
3. The employer does not have to turn in the employee applications until December 5. Some employers may have their opportunities and inspect the applications.
4. While every employee must fill out a blank, corrections of the information given may be made at a later date.

Later, the Social Security Board has to check in any case. In the light of the above facts, it is clear that the part played by a union in connection with the applications must depend on its strength. A well-established organization does not care whether the employer knows its members—presumably does, anyway.

Guarding Against Trouble
But many unions in a formative stage will not want their membership known. They, therefore, cannot afford to run the risk of collecting applications.

Such a union may assist its members in putting down the information, but it should then tell them to turn in the blank individually. It will often be safer for the employee to give the blank back to the employer rather than to the postmaster, since, as explained before, the employer will be able to tell what workers did not submit the blanks to him.

But if a man has given his age wrongly to the company in order to get his job, he may not want to turn down a different age on an application which is then given to the employer. If he fears loss of his job, he can write down the same incorrect age on his application, and then make the correction later. A woman who has concealed the fact of her marriage can similarly put down the same name as is recorded in the company office. Such persons should remember to inform the Social Security Board of the true facts at a later date.

PEORIA MAY STRIKE

Threat Follows Guildman's Dismissal

(Continued from page 1)

as a photographer at the same rate of salary he was receiving when dismissed, with a signed agreement that he would not be dismissed for any reason not acceptable to the Guild until after a Guild contract is signed by the paper, whereupon his case could be arbitrated.

A signed agreement whereby: 1—The Peoria Newspaper Guild is recognized as the collective bargaining unit for all employees of the paper eligible for Guild membership.

2—It is agreed that on or before Dec. 1, upon initiative of the Guild, negotiations between the paper and Guild shall be begun, which shall terminate on or before Jan. 1, 1937, with the signing of a contract for one year or such longer period as the Guild shall desire. Which contract shall include:

A dismissal bonus schedule based on the American Newspaper Guild standard.

Standing committee and arbitration machinery based on ANG standards.

Guaranteed preferential shop.

And such provisions as may be agreed to in negotiations before Jan. 1, covering hours, wages and working conditions.

Backed by Labor
The Peoria Guild unit's unanimous opinion was that nothing short of Claus' reinstatement and union recognition by contract would save the organization from disaster in this key Mid-Western point and that with the backing of organized labor it holds the power to force such a settlement.

Julius Klyman, ANG vice president in St. Louis, came to Peoria for the week-end and participated in the Guild's efforts.

Claus had been eight years on the paper. He was fired Nov. 18 for alleged failure to cover an assignment which was one of five for 6:30 and 7 p.m. the night before. The

Peoria Guild voted unanimously its belief that Claus was fired for Guild membership and activity. Claus attempted to organize news photographers years ago and was a charter member of the local Guild, and the Guild asserted it had evidence he was slated to be fired 1st July, when three others got the axe, but was kept on for fear of a photographer strike.

Paper Listed Unfair
A proposal by Slane to have Vincent arbitrate the dispute was turned down by Organizer Stevens with the assurance the Peoria Guild would welcome Vincent as mediator but would not arbitrate Claus' reinstatement. Martin Durkin, State Director of Labor, who took a leading part in the Illinois Labor-for-Roosevelt campaign, which the Journal-Transcript opposed, was reported visiting in a Milwaukee sanitarium.

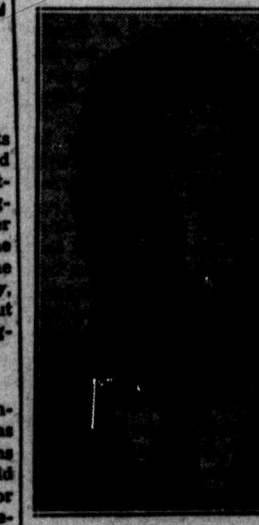
Powerful support from Peoria's strong labor movement appeared certain in the impending showdown. The paper was listed unfair by the Peoria and Peoria Labor Councils and the Peoria city printing was withheld from it last Summer after three leading Guildsmen were fired immediately after organization.

After a six weeks' fight two of the men, Leo Zalucha and Irvin Kreiman, were reinstated. The third, James E. Tripp, preferred not to return. The settlement, finally negotiated with Publisher Slane by Vice President Klyman, included also the posting of a bulletin board statement recognizing the right of official employees to join an organization of their own choosing.

Official figures indicated that the Journal-Transcript lost over 4,000 subscribers during the period it refused to negotiate with the Guild.

Ernst Heads Unit
Zalucha, reinstated, worked one day and went to a better paid job

In Better Job



Dean Jennings

on the Joliet Free Press, where last week he was promoted to Managing Editor. Kreiman, taken back as circulation editor, was told about two weeks ago he must go on commission basis instead of reporter salary of \$22. A protest to Slane kept him on salary. Tripp worked during the election campaign for the Labor Club of Illinois, headed by Durkin and supporting Roosevelt and Horner. The Journal-Transcript strongly opposed Roosevelt and still does.

The Peoria Guild, headed by President Leslie R. Ernst, Star reporter and well known Mid-Western newspaperman, numbers 14 members in good standing, 13 being on the Journal-Transcript. The eligible staff is about 25 on the morning and evening papers. Unorganized on the Peoria Star, afternoon, are some 22 men, with general conditions and pay much better than on the Journal-Transcript.

The local membership, the International Representative and leading figures in the local labor movement were convinced that definite contractual relations, including especially

Gets Along OK

Jennings "Case" Toronto Star Posts Doubles Salary

CHICAGO—Dean Jennings, the Guild's first famous "case," has left for Washington, D. C., having been promoted to assistant director of the information division of the Regional Administration from the R.A. in Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri and Iowa. He also covered 22 states, placing the administration's film, "The Plow That Built the Plains."

Jennings, making \$45 a week on rewrite, and struggling for time to write fiction, when he became the central figure in the Hearst vs. Guild case that blew "Section 7A" sky high, never has been sorry he stood up for organization rights. He now makes \$6,000 a year on the government job for which he was recommended by the Guild. He also pulls an average of one detective story a week, writing under five different names to keep from monopolizing any one issue of a magazine with one byline. At the 1936 ANG Convention he thanked the Guild for his "martyrdom."

"Of all the men who took it on the chin for the Guild in the San Francisco Bay area in those early days, and there were plenty of them, I don't know one who is not today better off and happier," Jennings remarked recently.

A grievance committee machinery, were only concessions which could spell the difference between further Peoria organization and a sniping campaign with disastrous results on organization throughout a wide region.

Magna Charta

Toronto Star Posts Workers' Rights

TORONTO—Regarded as a moral achievement for the Gums Roccoa—which has been distributed to all Toronto newspapers for the past two months—something approaching a "magna charta" of rights for reporters and other newsmen workers on the Toronto Daily Star, Canada's biggest paper, was posted on the bulletin board a few days ago.

The notice sets forth the principle of the 44-hour week—apart from night work, of which there is to be a maximum of two nights work a week and a day and a half free time per week.

A provision is made that a man working after 11 p. m. shall be allowed eight consecutive hours plus time for traveling, breakfast, etc., before showing up for the following day's work. There is a joker here in the fact that the determination of what are "necessarily late hours" is in doubt, for a second notice states that late check-ins will "not be tolerated," if, in the opinion of the city editor, the reporter took too long to write his story.

Editors are now required to submit to the vice-president weekly reports on the number of nights each man has worked, Sunday jobs, etc.

"The 'magna charta' invited suggestions as to how the paper could further satisfy its newsmen employees. By way of emphasis, the city editor had a locked box placed under the notice board marked, 'Suggestions.' Since the notice was thumb-tacked, five or more new copy boys and cub reporters have been taken on. This followed long on the heels of a periodic firing of experienced employees, some of whom had been with the Star for several years. At the time the discharges took place, several senior men—two had been with the paper 20 years—had severe salary cuts.

SIDE LINES

By CAROLYN MARK

Patrick Casey, vice-chairman of the Chronicle unit of the Northern California Guild, is the author of three stories appearing in the December issue of *Mystery Adventures* magazine. The stories are entitled: *The Island of Lost Ones*, *Opit of the Atolls*, and *A Dead Ship on a Windless Night*. The last two are identified by pen names. Casey is the author of four books: *The Gay Cat*, *The Wolf-Cub*, *See Plunder*, and *The Story of William Hyde*. He has used as pen names P. and T. Conditine and Garrett Evers Marshall.

Henry C. Beck, Camden Courier-Post Guildman, has just published his "Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey."

William Schack, of the New York Times Unit, has an article in the December Forum analyzing the relationship of Jews, Arabs, and the English government in Palestine.

Frank Mayer, chairman of the Minnesota Journal unit of the Twin Cities Guild, is the author of a football story, "A Game of Blocks," which appeared in the Nov. 26 issue of *Collier's*. Mayer is a former football star, having played guard on the University of Minnesota team in 1915 and 1916. He is the only licensed lawyer among newspaper men in Minnesota and St. Paul and covers the court house run for the Journal.

Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, members of the Correspondents Unit of the Washington Guild, dedicated their new book, "Nine Old Men," to R. F. and L. M. R. F. is Ruth Finney, well-known newspaper woman and wife of Allen. The initials L. M. mystified Washington circles for several weeks until Pearson's marriage was announced and it was revealed that L. M. is Lucie Moore, of Washington and Santa Fe. The Pearsons are now on a six weeks' honeymoon, visiting the Balkans, Italy, France, England and Portugal.

Charles Hanson Towne, of the New York American, wrote a piece on ten good books of 1936 for the December issue of *Good Housekeeping*.

Real strength in Labor

Story magazine is offering two awards, one of \$500 and the other of \$100, for "the best piece of prose writing by an author who has at any time been engaged on a WPA Writers' Project." Sinclair Lewis, Harry Scherman, and Lewis Gannett will act as judges. There is no stated limit to the length of manuscripts and they may be either fiction or non-fiction. Address manuscripts to: Story, 432 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Shepard Stone and Hanson W. Baldwin, of the New York Times, have signed a contract with Simon & Schuster, Inc. to edit a volume of newspaper chronicles by Times correspondents and reporters in all parts of the world.

Frederick T. Birchall, chief European correspondent of the Times, will contribute a chapter about troubled Europe; Arthur Crook, Washington correspondent, will write about the New Deal and developments in the nation's capital; Meyer Berger expects to give some close-up of the New York underworld; Louis Stark will tell stories involving the rights of labor.

Others who are expected to contribute include Olin Dowden, Walter Duranty, Turner Catledge, James Hagerly, John Kieran, Brooks Atkinson, Frank Nugent, Elliott Bell, Anne O'Hare McCormick, Hugh Byas, John W. White, Russell Owen, F. Raymond Daniell, Lauren D. Lyman, Harold Denny and Hanson W. Baldwin. The book is scheduled for fall, 1937 publication and all the material will be written specially for it.

Please send notes about the outside writing of your fellow Guildsmen for this column. Address contributions to the Guild Reporter.

Building the Guild 'Takes Courage'

JERRY CRY, M. J. Editor, The Guild Reporter: After reading Mr. C. C. Nicolet's article in the *American Mercury* and his letter in the *Gums Roccoa*, I must agree with him that there's something wrong with the Guild, that something being that there are too many men in the Guild like Nicolet; or, if not yet in, too befuddled or timid to join.

I don't doubt the sincerity and intelligence of Brother Nicolet; I am acquainted with many good newspapermen like him. The trouble with them is that they have gone to college, or associated too much with editors, publishers and stock brokers, or have become twisted by reading the newspapers they work for. They are to the American Newspaper Guild what the old fogies in the A. F. of L. are to the American labor movement—an awful drag, but necessary, like the pawns on a chess board, to fill up the spaces.

Brother Nicolet complains of the "radical" leadership of the Guild. I see a case of radicalism, but simply means that men with the wisdom and courage to put a union such as the Guild on its feet are usually of the liberal stripe. If the conservatives are in the majority, why don't they move in and take command? Welcome, brethren! The truth is that conservatism, as its name implies, has no imagination and daring to establish something new. If Christopher Columbus had been a conservative, he never would have discovered America.

THE FREE PRESS - - "Rebel" is a Horrid Word; Out of AP Style Book

"The American Newspaper Guild, while recognizing that the responsibility for both news and editorial policy rests upon the publisher, and not upon the newspaper men, nevertheless declares it to be the objective of newspaper men to drive constantly for greater honesty and accuracy in the presentation of news."—Resolution of the 1936 convention.

If General Franco lays down the law as to how foreign newspaper correspondents in Spain are to write the news, that goes with Associated Press. The press association admits as much.

The AP's handling of news of the civil war brought forth criticism from Mrs. Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which is headed by Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

Mrs. O'Connor cited a story from Lisbon which spoke of the "Fascist Spanish Government." John Evans, executive assistant in the AP foreign service, pointed out that the reference was corrected 21 minutes after it was sent out, that "just as soon as the error was discovered a message was sent on all wires to make it the 'provisional' government." "That, I am sure you will agree," Evans wrote Mrs. O'Connor, "shows intent to be truthful." He added:

You are mistaken in your other various accusations about suppression of the truth. The Associated Press used the terms "government" and "Fascist" for the Madrid government and "Fascist" and "Fascist insurgents" for the other side. The only reason the word rebel is not used is because the AP has American correspondents in Spain who have been told at Fascist headquarters they would be punished if the term "rebel" were applied to the insurgent forces.

The Associated Press values the safety of its men more than it does a particular word especially when there is no sacrifice of principle. To call the Fascists "insurgents" would be to leave anyone in doubt as to their position. The term "loyalists" is not used.

It may interest the Associated Press to know that the term "loyalists" is barred in the Hearst papers also, which are admittedly sympathetic with the Spanish Fascists.

I do not charge that the AP deliberately lies about Spain. I have

simply observed around the country that the majority of the people who depend on the AP for their information have no idea that it was a liberal democratic government against which the generals rebelled nor that any believing Catholics were ever in the government. If you don't want to call that suppressing the truth, you don't need to, but you will admit that you omit to mention those things. And that omission allows the rebels to put their propaganda across that the issue is between Christianity and Communism.

According to Fred Hodgson, executive secretary of the North American Committee, it is the first time a great news service has admitted "in so many words that its dispatches are colored to suit an armed bandit's orders."

The slogan added: "The latest is remarkable and revealing not for what is actually stated so much as for what is between the lines." It is the first time a great news service has admitted "in so many words that its dispatches are colored to suit an armed bandit's orders."

Hodgson complained to the New York Times about the story from George Axelsson, who is with Franco's army, which appeared in the Times of Nov. 16. The dispatch referred consistently to the Madrid government as "the enemy." Hodgson realized that the correspondent was doubtless subject to the Fascist censorship, but nowhere in the date line of the story was that indicated, although the word "Censored" has appeared frequently in the date lines of stories from Madrid. Hodgson wrote the Times:

Cluckhohn found the Marquis Villauria, former second secretary of the Spanish embassy in Lisbon, in conference with a German salesman who was displaying trucks and pictures showing how they may be converted into tanks. He was interrupted by phone calls from the "Non-interventionist" German ambassador.

The censorship to which the Associated Press adheres so reverently doesn't seem to bother Cluckhohn.

THAT 'RADICALISM' TWO MEMBERS VIEW IT AS VITAL

Building the Guild 'Takes Courage'

editors now; when the publishers have doubled our wages, given us a month's vacation in summer and a two weeks' trip to Miami in the winter and drinks are paid for by the boss when purchased in the line of duty and there's nothing for Guild officers to do but raise in the dues and lecture before women's clubs on the romance of journalism—then it will be time for the frail and opportunist Guildmen to worm their way into the soft jobs. And they will. Such is the history of all organizations, replied:

Meanwhile, he "radicals" will have to carry on, blazing the trail for their more faint-hearted brothers.

HOWARD A. LAMB.

Member Analyzes Guild Opposition

SAN FRANCISCO. Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER: I am at a loss to understand the irritation of C. C. Nicolet and others at what they term "left-wing tendencies" in the Guild.

Our endorsement of the idea of a farmer-labor party Brother Nicolet evidently considers typical and most outrageous of these irritating tendencies. Such an endorsement is simply outside our jurisdiction; we ought to be concentrating on acquisition of wage-and-hour contracts—this, I assure him, is his argument.

Nobody disputes the fact that we want wage-and-hour contracts—security—more than we want anything else. How do we get them? On our becoming a publisher gives us a contract. Mostly, however, we have to fight to get a contract. Whom do we have to fight? The

publishers or Democrats—including Saul Rosenberg? I don't know. They will not. The only public officials who will ever help us will be those elected by labor—FOR LABOR AND AGAINST THE EMPLOYERS. Oh, yes, we'll win here and there, but we'll remain about three-fourths unorganized.

I must also point out to Brother Nicolet that the P-I was closed down by unions whose chief characteristic is the "left-wing tendencies" he deplores. Brother Nicolet's idols, the "conservatives," never would have done it; they'd have broken our strike before it got under way.

Brother Charles Howard of the International Typographical Union did it and is doing his best to break our strike by denying lockout benefits to P-I backshop men. Brother William Green did his best to break our strike by trying to shove a phony settlement down our throats. Yet Brother Nicolet professes admiration for the type of unionism exemplified by Brothers Howard and Green!

Anybody anywhere who gets a new idea is called "left-wing." Green and Howard and all the rest of the "conservatives" are simply too lazy to absorb new ideas; they whine of "communist ideas" instead of trying to improve their methods. It's unintelligent unionism versus intelligent unionism. Brother Nicolet doesn't try to prove "left-wing" unionism is unintelligent; he contents himself with carping at a label.

Yes, wages and hours and such are the first consideration. But we have to use our noggin to attain those goals. JOHN CHESTER. (Northern California Newspaper Guild)

We win contracts when we get the unstinted help of other unions and when we force public officials (temph on the cops) to remain neutral. And sometimes we don't even win under those circumstances. How much better, then, to have public officials helping us! Will Re-

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.

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Clyde Beahm

Assistant Editor:

Leo Strinsky, New York World-Telegram
Staff for This Issue:
Sidney Pinner, Robert Galloway, Bernard Rodgen, C. E. Callahan, Ada Callahan, Arthur McManis, Jess R. Meyer, Saul Mills

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—of the—

American Newspaper Guild

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Betty Ballantine, 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal.

Morris Watson, A.N.G. Headquarters,
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Seattle Should Be Enough

Once more the Guild has demonstrated that it has the power, the resourcefulness and the determination to win strikes. In Seattle, the Hearst management exerted its best tricks. It used the backing of enormous wealth, it used the power of publisher allies, it played on the weaknesses of self-seeking individuals. And it lost.

We hope that not only the Hearst management but other publishers are now satisfied. We hope they will now accept the Guild as an established institution in their city rooms and deal with it accordingly. It is they, and they alone who have provoked strikes. We hope they have now had enough.

We have never made exorbitant demands; we have been, and are, content to make haste slowly. Whatever jitters the publishers have had have been of their own making. It is time for them to quiet their nerves now and deal with their editorial workers on the new plane, which is, after all, the same old plane on which they have been dealing for decades with the mechanical workers.

To the Seattle Guild members and to the great body of Seattle working men and women who stood staunchly by us out there the whole Guild is happy to pay tribute. All of them have participated in a glorious episode in American journalism—in what may well be the final stroke that establishes for all time the right of editorial workers to join an organization of their own choosing and bargain collectively for the betterment of their conditions.

The Log Jam is Breaking

If ever there was occasion to rejoice at the success of a high cause, the fruitful month of November brought one to the American Newspaper Guild. It looks as if the log jam is breaking

up, on the eve of the Guild's third anniversary. The slowness of our progress at times in the past may have been discouraging, but steady plugging along the lines the Guild laid down for itself at the beginning is bringing results.

In these three years newspapermen have gained more than in decades before the Guild was organized. The policies that brought these gains have been misrepresented by the Guild's enemies and not always clearly understood by its friends. The Guild has been dedicated to the principle of an all-inclusive organization in the editorial department, using its collective strength to deal with the publisher as an equal, neither browbeating nor begging but negotiating on a business basis.

The soundness of our policies is now demonstrated. The Seattle strike and the national election, in which labor began to speak as a united, independent group, obviously contributed directly to the present harvest.

From now on our snowball ought to gain in size rapidly. This is the time for all Guild units to negotiate, bringing into play every possible resource, for what one publisher can do others can and should do. And those units that have achieved gains have more reason than ever to maintain and increase their strength.

Power of the Press

Silicosis was a comparatively unknown word until the *People's Press* something over a year ago told the horrible story of McGauley Bridge. A Congressional investigation and widespread newspaper publicity made it a part of the common language. Now, the removal of this menace to the lives of industrial workers is in sight.

The New York State Labor Department, after several months' work on the problem, has developed a dust-catcher for rock drills and is about to make it required equipment to protect drillers. Without newspaper publicity many hundreds of workers might have continued to lose their lives from this disease. The press made a heavy contribution to progress in this instance. Unfortunately, however, the record is marred by the fact that the standard dailies played the stories down until the so-called radical and liberal press forced them into the public eye.

A lively controversy is going on in political and publisher circles concerning how the press can regain some of the public confidence it evidently has lost, judging by the recent election returns. Maybe it could go a long way toward this objective by paying more attention to the problems of the rank and file of the people, along the lines of the silicosis story.

OUCH! DEPARTMENT

That election, it seems, was held even in Weirton, Pa. Steve Barron, organizer in the steel campaign for the Steel Workers' Organization Committee, who had recently been beaten up twice by local thugs, ran for constable on the Democratic ticket, and was elected!

Do You Want The Reporter?

Editorial workers interested in the Guild, but not ready to join, and others interested in the movement who have been receiving the *Reporter* are urged to subscribe and thus keep up with the Guild's activities. The subscription rate is \$2.00 a year in the United States and Canada.

To THE GUILD REPORTER:
1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Herewith please find \$... for which kindly enter my subscription to THE GUILD REPORTER

for... years. I am a.....

employed by.....

(Type of employment)

.....

(Signature)

.....

(City, state)

.....

(Home address)

A Religious Editor Writes:

Open Letter to Publishers

"The Christian Century, a leading religious periodical, published the following editorial in its Nov. 18 issue under the heading, 'To the Newspaper Publishers of America: An Open Letter.'"

GENTLEMEN:

Do you realize what happened to you on election day? Do you comprehend that when Mr. Landon went down to defeat, you went down with him? Do you know that thousands, probably millions, of the ballots which American citizens thrust into the boxes carried not only a vote for Mr. Roosevelt, but an equally discernible vote against you? Election day, 1936, was judgment day for America's daily press. Do you who own that press, who have made it in your own image, understand the portent of the judgment which has been passed upon you?

It is now known that Mr. Roosevelt's victory is the most complete in modern American history. Your editorial writers, your syndicated columnists are doing their best to minimize the proportions of his triumph and to magnify the importance of the minority vote. Nevertheless, every American knows that Mr. Roosevelt has been returned to office with a popular majority of more than ten million votes, that he has carried every state in the union save two, that he has thus far received an endorsement which—for the first time since the sectional division of 1860—comes from every portion of the nation, and that the mandate of his party to control the federal legislature and the state administrations has for the fourth successive election been strengthened rather than diminished. These are the inescapable facts. What do they mean to your newspapers? Do you not see, gentlemen, that they write of common disaster?

For Mr. Roosevelt's staggering triumph was won, as you well know, in the face of overwhelming opposition from the American press. Mr. Landon was, to a degree never known before in a presidential campaign, a creation of the press. His availability was discovered by newspaper owners; he was "built up" into a national figure by astute newspaper publicity; throughout his campaign the newspapers men who had made him were constantly at his elbow.

Moreover, the daily press not only employed its utmost ingenuity to create sentiment favorable to Mr. Landon; it went the limit in its efforts to defeat Mr. Roosevelt. Newspaper proprietors have themselves declared that Mr. Roosevelt was fought by papers which account for 80 per cent of the daily newspaper circulation in the nation. Veterans' journalists agree that they cannot remember a campaign in which great city journals so flung to the winds the canons of fair, responsible, sportsmanlike journalism. News columns were delivered over to partisan propaganda, much of it false. Cartoons descended to a new low in savagery and distortion. Campaign roor-backs deliberately designed to swing the election by resort to lying—for instance, the social security "dog tag"—were given the widest possible circulation. Through scores of cities seeped the whisper that there were hundreds of newspaper workers who gaged at the perversion of their craft involved in carrying out the orders of the owners. Your employees, gentlemen, prostituted your columns as you demanded, for they needed their jobs. But they despised you while they obeyed you. They let their friends know how much they despised you. Whispers like that travel fast, and far.

Then came election day. As the voters went to the polls, one of the things which they bore in mind, one of the things on which they were brooding, was this part which you had played in the campaign. When they voted, they voted against you, and that night, when the returns came in, hundreds of thousands of American citizens rejoiced in the catastrophe which had overwhelmed you. They obtained a deep emotional satisfaction from the fact that you had not merely been defeated, but that you had been smashed. A vendor selling election extras at a stand across the street from the building of a great city newspaper, cried to the crowd in a transport of ecstasy "We showed the ————!" While he shook his fist at the newspaper office, the crowd cheered. Didn't you hear him, gentlemen? Then truly you have become insulated from the American public.

Do you say that, just as your properties recovered their prestige and consequent influence after their debacle in 1896, so they will recover after the disgraceful performance of this year? There are reasons to doubt it. When the daily press threw its resources into the campaign to defeat Bryan and elect McKinley, it is well to remember that it succeeded. Whatever its

journalistic sins forty years ago, the American newspaper came out of that contest a victor. It had demonstrated its power; it could build on the prestige of triumph. Today, it has revealed its impotence. Moreover, in 1896 the newspaper owner was proprietor of the only agency available for reaching the public mind. Any man who would bid for national leadership had to make that bid through the newspaper's columns; when the newspaper proprietor closed those columns the candidate had no recourse except to take to the open air, as Bryan had to do. Today it is not so; alternatives to the newspaper as a means of reaching public opinion and spreading the undistorted facts spring up everywhere. Already we have the news film, such as "The March of Time." We have the news weekly. We have the radio. And the end is not yet.

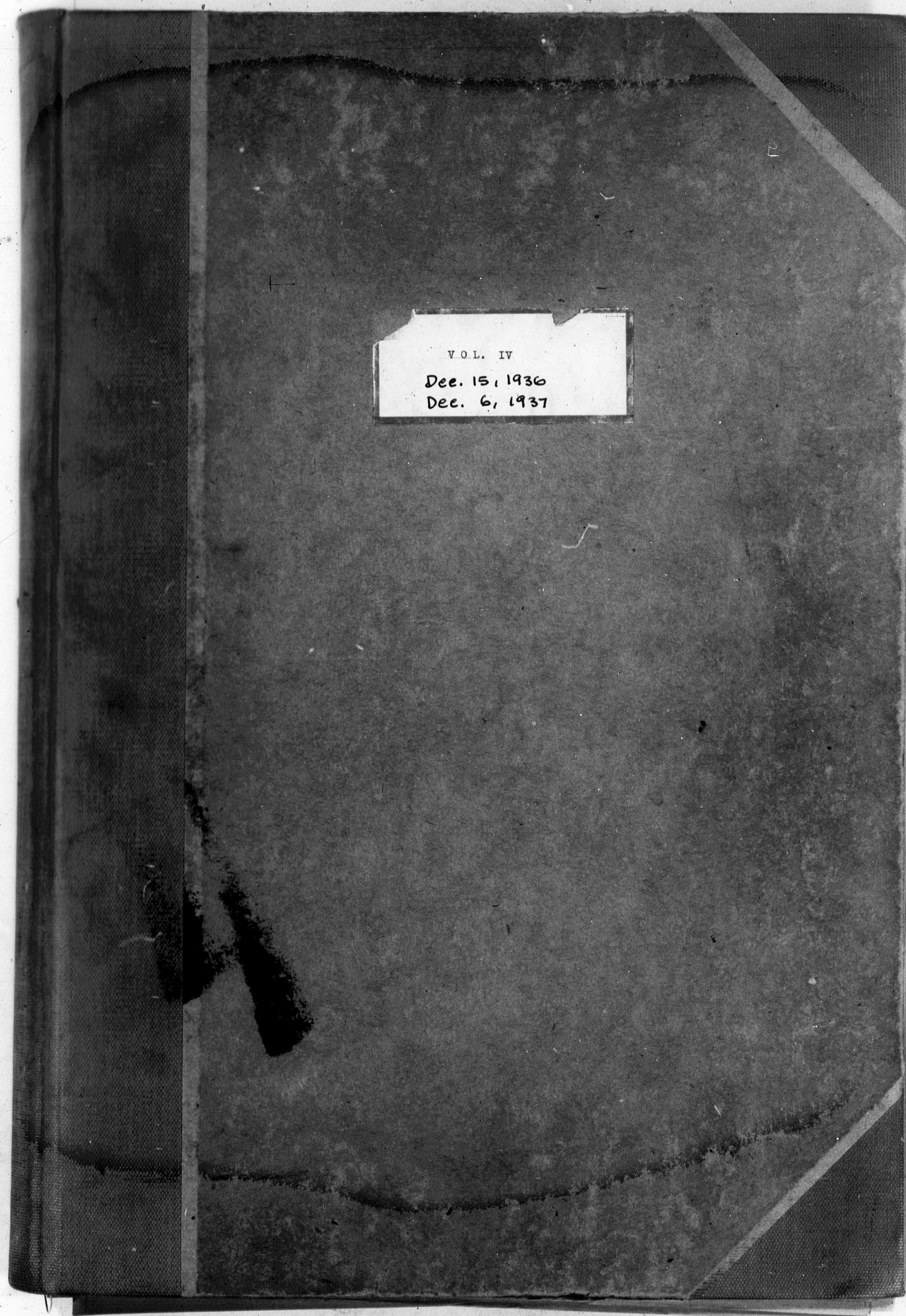
Are you telling yourselves, gentlemen, that you really have nothing to fear from the growth of these other agencies for reaching the public mind? Then you are deceiving yourselves, and nothing could be more fatal for your future prospects. Reflect on a single fact: in the issue of your trade weekly, *Editor & Publisher*, for Nov. 7, it is disclosed that during the recent campaign the party organizations spent at least \$3,000,000 for radio time. (This total is acknowledged to be incomplete.) At the same time, they spent only \$307,886 for everything that could possibly be listed as printed promotion. Even the newspaper proprietors who dominated the Landon campaign thought it expedient to spend no more than \$227,333 in their own mediums! And the democratic organization won Mr. Roosevelt's unprecedented triumph with an expenditure for newspaper advertising of exactly \$12,658! You will find the brutal facts, gentlemen, on page 32 of this, your own trade publication. Think them over. Gentlemen, in the minds of hosts of your fellow Americans, you stand today indicted for—

Your arrogance. You have not hesitated to apply reckless and malicious epithets to those who might dare to oppose you. You have shown yourselves ready to destroy reputations at your personal whim. You have constituted yourselves the patrons and censors of patriotism. You have conducted an enterprise affected with an ineradicable public interest as a personal plaything.

Your tyranny. You have shown yourselves the most unyielding of industrial barons. When your employees seek to organize to obtain decent wages and working conditions, in most of our cities they must meet in secret; they dare not so much as stand up in their own persons, but have been forced to form their American Newspaper Guild under assumed names.

Your greed. You have shown yourselves ready to go to any lengths to protect your own profits. You maintain a lobby in Washington, and lobbyists in all parts of the country, to see that no legislation is enacted, no industrial regulations put into effect which might reduce your gains by a penny. When the N.E.A. sought to establish a code for fair competition in industry, you fought it like tigers. Why? Because it was bad for industry in general? No. Because it interfered with your industry—it interfered with the child labor which you exploit to peddle your product! You screamed to high heaven that, in its attempt to bring your business under the same sort of rules which any enlightened business should be willing to observe, the government was endangering the freedom of your press. Well, gentlemen, the contents of your papers during the campaign have been sufficient to make clear what you mean by the freedom of the press.

As proprietors of great newspaper properties, gentlemen, you know that the foundation upon which your papers rest is that intangible but most real thing known as good will. It takes money, much money, to conduct a daily newspaper under today's conditions. The investment is great; the returns must be great if you are to survive, as the somber mortality rate of your industry bears witness. You are proud of your properties; you look forward with pride to passing your properties to your sons. Yet you know, when you let yourselves stop to think, that in such a business as yours the only thing which you can pass on of real worth is public good will. That is your foundation, gentlemen—good will. Every privilege, every aspect of power which has seemed to be yours has depended, ultimately, on the measure of public confidence, public good will, which you could command. Take another look at the election, gentlemen. Take a long look. How much good will have you now?



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