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Guilds Push Bargaining Programs

Contracts Being Negotiated and Signed in Hot Weather Drive

Bargaining Goes Ahead
Effective collective bargaining is continuing through the summer at a high rate, despite the heat and stalling by publishers pending the referendum. Newark last week signed its second paper this year and reported negotiation progress with a third. The Philadelphia Guild has completed negotiations with the Inquirer and the agreement bringing notable increases has gone into effect. The Portland (Me.) Guild negotiations are progressing, but the publisher is still trying to avoid a wage increase. Salt Lake City is preparing its first bid for a contract.

Newark Seeks New Pact

NEWARK.—Following the signing on Aug. 12 with the Newark Ledger, the Guild here moved rapidly toward agreement with the Newark Sunday Call management on contract terms. The outstanding difference between the Sunday Call unit and management lies in the unit's reiterated demand for a Guild shop clause. The paper has taken an equally firm stand against the clause.

Agreed by the unit and management are \$50 minimums for five-year newspapermen; vacations to three weeks for five-year workers on the paper; an apprentice limitation clause; an overtime provision giving employees credit beginning from the end of the day's work in cases of night assignments; dismissal indemnities up to 24 weeks for 15 years service; sick leave on the same basis, and a clause giving the unit the right to refuse to execute struck work in case of a strike at the plant.

Portland Line Different

PORTLAND (Me.).—Guy P. Gannett, publisher of five newspapers in three Maine cities, told a negotiating committee on Aug. 15 that he does not agree with the contention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association that the Guild shop affects the freedom of the press. He added, however, that he had other objections to inclusion of the Guild shop in a contract now being negotiated with him.

The ANPA argument, he agreed with the Guild committee, is "ridiculous." His own objections to it were that it "might" impair his right to hire and fire and that it "might," through some means he did not explain, decrease the "creative" abilities of editorial department workers.

In the second conference the negotiating committee has had with him, he agreed to include in the prospective contract the 5-day, 40-hour week, severance pay running up to 13 weeks' wages upon resignation or discharge of an employee, and retention of a pension plan already operative on his papers.

As a substitute for wage mini-

(Continued on page 2)

FLASH

UP Election Is Near;
NLRB Issues Ruling

The way was cleared for the long-awaited United Press election on the choice of the ANG as collective bargaining agent when the Labor Board announced its decision on disputed eligibility, on Aug. 21. Managers of one-man bureaus are eligible to vote, but not others; and the Los Angeles City News Bureau (a UP subsidiary) will be included.

Seattle Typos Return to Jobs

Howard Orders Men to Cross Star Picket Line

SEATTLE.—Striking Guildsmen are continuing a successful campaign of attack on the circulation and advertising of the Seattle Star in spite of physical assaults by AF of L teamsters and city police, working in unison, and the attempts of the Central Labor Council to sabotage the boycott campaign.

President H. Richard Sells and three other Guildsmen were arrested last Tuesday morning after a brief scuffle provoked by 20 Star printers who were attempting to march into the plant in a body after having agreed to respect the picket lines unless the management came to a settlement.

The printers' march through the picket line was headed by E. J. Pelkey, international representative of the International Typographical Union, and Harry Marshall, Star publisher, and 30 police.

No printers were hurt, but Roy Ryerson, striking reporter, received a severe blow on the head.

The agreement made by the printers with the Guild to remain outside the plant until the Star consented to reinstate locked-out Guildsmen was violated upon orders of Charles P. Howard, president of the I.T.U., who instructed the members of the chapel to return to work.

In an attempt to break the strike, Teamster Dave Beck's "vest pocket" Central Labor Council has issued a letter on AF of L letterheads urging all advertisers and subscribers to support the Star against an "illegal" and "subversive strike."

ANG's Poll Starts; 6,844 Qualify to Vote

REFERENDUM FACTS

Referendum ballots were mailed to presidents of local Guilds on Aug. 19. Each local Guild is required by the Constitution to hold the election by secret ballot within ten days after they arrive.

Only members as of June 1, in good standing as of Aug. 14, are entitled to receive ballots.

Questions on the ballots all ask whether to rescind the action of the Convention. Hence, a "NO" VOTE WILL BE A VOTE TO SUPPORT THE CONVENTION'S ACTION; A "YES" VOTE WILL BE A VOTE AGAINST THE CONVENTION'S ACTION.

Results of the voting must be tallied by the local officers conducting the poll and forwarded to International headquarters within 48 hours after the voting ends. Local secretaries must keep all ballots, valid, spoiled and unused, in a sealed envelope for a period of sixty days after the voting in case the result is challenged.

Results must be forwarded to International headquarters in sealed envelopes. They will be opened and tabulated by the IEB or officers designated by it in the presence of watchers representing both sides.

All results must be at International headquarters within 22 days after the ballots were mailed out—that is by Sept. 10.

New Hearst Foldup Brings 20 Firings

Approximately 20 editorial employees in New York, Chicago and Washington lost their jobs on Aug. 15, when the latest in a series of consolidations of Hearst newspaper properties was effected. Universal Service, the morning paper agency, was merged with International News Service, the afternoon agency, and both began operating as the INS on a 24-hour day, seven-day-week basis.

Those dismissed were employees of Universal. They were fired the day before the consolidation was put into effect. No intimation of the merger reached the employees until two days before the consolidation.

The severance pay ranged from two weeks up to a maximum of ten weeks' salary, in accordance with a schedule obtained by the ANG.

Chicago Leader Fired

CHICAGO.—Another Chicago leader, Leonard Arnold, member of the Guild Executive Board and a nationally known Hearst writer, was among those fired in the fold up of Universal Service. All of the dismissed staff members were Guild members.

Dues Reach High Point

Referendum Spurs Paying; \$8,255 Collected

In sharp contrast with the usual summer drop, 6,844 members who joined not later than June 1 are in good standing on the headquarters records and eligible to cast votes in the referendum. The list includes 6,773 members in 88 chartered locals and 71 members at large.

The last-minute rush of members to qualify for the vote, following the usual post-Convention lag, brought to the ANG treasury receipts from per capita tax and assessments aggregating the record figure of \$8,255.67 in the closing eight-day period. The rush placed an unprecedented burden on the ANG's bookkeeping force, who were obliged to work for two weeks without even week-end interruption, past midnight every night, entering the returns and checking the lists of voters.

The number of eligibles is slightly

(Continued on page 2)

Polling Climaxes Intensive Drives; Final Result is Due Sept. 10

Voting on the referendum proposals to rescind ten main acts of the St. Louis Guild Convention was starting as this issue of the Reporter went to press.

As the balloting began Guilds were bringing to a climax an intensive month-long campaign of discussion of the issues.

Ballots for the 6,844 members, as of June 1, who brought themselves into good standing for the vote were sent out by International headquarters on Aug. 19. At the Convention it was estimated that slightly over 7,000 were represented. The last of the filled-out ballots are to be returned to headquarters by Sept. 10. The official tally of the total vote may be made on that day; otherwise it will be made at the regular quarterly meeting of the International Executive Board, to be held at headquarters on the two days following. The unofficial result will probably be known long before, as Guilds make known their results locally.

The stream of returns was expected to start about Aug. 20, as the supply of ballots spread across the country. Newark (N.J.) was believed to be the first Guild polling its members, having set its referendum for Aug. 20. New York, with 1,950 members eligible to vote, was polling its members by mail, with a midnight, Aug. 30, deadline for returns. The Philadelphia-Camden Guild was to vote at its headquarters, on Aug. 23, 24, 25 and 26. Milwaukee set Aug. 22.

Campaigns Waged
With local committees in many cities waging fights on both sides to impress the membership with the importance of the referendum and its effect on the future of the ANG, the total vote was expected to near the eligible membership figure.

As the campaign developed it revealed increasingly around the issue of the small Guild vs. the large Guild—whether to adhere rigidly to the present more or less craft lines, or to seek additional strength through enrolling the commercial department staffs. The Washington Guild, most active attacker of the Convention actions, campaigned for support of the CIO affiliation; but opposed taking in the office staffs. In New York the Unofficial Referendum Committee, composed of opponents of the Convention actions, decided to recommend neither for nor against the CIO affiliation, but to oppose the others. The Twin Cities Guild (Minneapolis and St. Paul) was opposing affiliation. The Akron (Ohio) executive committee recently expressed itself in favor of CIO affiliation. It wanted the commercial staffs organized separately but with some kind of joint committee. Other-

(Continued on page 2)

IEB Meeting Set

The International Executive Board's regular quarterly meeting has been set for Sept. 11 and 12 at International headquarters.

Pennsylvania Publishers File Petition For Wide 44-Hour Law Exemptions

HARRISBURG.—Organized Pennsylvania publishers are seeking exemption for their editorial, advertising, circulation and mechanical department employees from the terms of the Women's 44-Hour Act, and the General 44-Hour Act, which become effective on Sept. 1 and Dec. 1, respectively.

The Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers' Association, representing 113 dailies, 100 weekly and semi-weeklies, and 17 other publications, last week filed a petition for modification of the acts, with the State Department of Labor and Industry. Association publishers employ 33,000 persons, of whom 10,000 are women.

Asking for an extension of the eight-hour day provision, the association submitted a schedule in which was cited the "necessity" for elasticity in hours of employment.

Some of the reasons given were difficulty in obtaining competent workers, the need for publishing occasional extra editions, and the fact that some papers are published seven days a week.

Investigation of such requests are

usually conducted by the Hour and Wage Board, an administrative board of the Department of Labor and Industry. Final decision is up to the Pennsylvania Industrial Board. There is a possibility that public hearings will be held.

Members of the industrial board are: Chairman, Ralph Basehore, secretary of the Department of Labor and Industry; John Phillips, president of the State Federation of Labor; Morris Harrison, of the Hamermill Paper Company, Erie; Herbert Sanders, Pittsburgh, and Mrs. George B. Wood, Philadelphia.

ANG Polling Begins

6,844 Members Qualify to Vote on St. Louis Convention Decisions

(Continued from page 1)

While most of the campaign was carried on within the Guild, through letters, pamphlets, bulletins issued nationwide and locally, and at special meetings, it was still getting attention outside of Guild publications. Westbrook Hight, Scripps-Howard columnist wrote a sarcastic column not specifically mentioning the Guild. The Scripps-Howard Denver Rocky Mountain News columnist, Lee Chase, wrote a sharp reply, also veiled. Both columns appeared in the same issue, together with an editorial in which the paper named names.

Sidney Barson, president of the Harrisburg (Pa.) Guild, reported that Fegley's column, printed in the Harrisburg Patriot on Aug. 17, caused "members who had been bitter in their criticism of the Guild to reverse their stand promptly and vote in the coming referendum which will vote to uphold the Convention on all questions."

CIO Helps

The column, he added, "appears to create among Guild members the feeling that they are being sold down river by their own kind, and they have suddenly come to the realization of the need of unanimity in action. If the Guild is to survive the underground machinations of the publishers, because behind the article they see the hand of the publishers."

In California the CIO helped in the campaign. CIO officers distributed an eight-page pamphlet discussing the difference between CIO and A.F. of L. and pointing out that "the victories of the Guild have identified it as part of the most virile section of the labor movement."

The A.F. of L. weekly newspaper in Chicago made a new spitting attempt, carrying a story headlined "From Men Score at Guild Move."

Local bulletins arguing for support of the expanded membership

Dues Reach High Point

(Continued from page 1)

less than the paid-up membership represented at the Convention, which was estimated at slightly over 7,000. To obtain the correct total membership in good standing today it would be necessary to add the names of several hundred in the editorial classifications alone, who achieved subsequent to June 1.

Constitutional requirements to achieve good standing under the referendum provisions were more stringent by one month's dues than for the Convention. Convention representation was based on standing as of one month before the Convention, while for the referendum it was based on the time of the referendum. This meant that members represented at St. Louis in June needed only to have paid dues through March, while members who will receive ballots this month have paid dues through June. They also have had to pay two defense fund assessments, levied in April, which did not affect their Convention standing.

Labor Journalism

Teacher Is Wanted

Commonwealth College, training school for organizers and rank-and-file leaders in the labor movement, at Mesa, Arizona, has asked the ANG for aid in obtaining a teacher in labor journalism for the fall quarter beginning October. The college will provide carfare and complete maintenance. The position is without salary.

have pointed out that the CIO supplied, regardless of possible preference, it favored upholding the Convention.

In the drive to gain Convention action support a nationwide ANG Convention Program Committee sent a four-page letter to all members. It discussed the issues under the caption: "To Preserve Guild Gains Vote No On All Questions." Besides all international officers and representatives the letter was signed by about 70 local officers from 20 local Guilds. New York issued a special edition of its four-page Guild News devoting it to discussion by both sides. A separate pro-Constitution committee letter to members called attention to the IEB plan of unit organization, holding that it safeguarded any special departmental interests.

The local held two meetings on Aug. 19, one for day workers and the other for night workers, attended by a total of 450 members. An anti-Constitution meeting attended by 20 members, had been held earlier.

In Washington, the opposition drive made by the local leadership was countered with a letter to all Guilds signed by five members. They asserted that "many Washington Guild members are heartily in accord with the actions of the Convention."

The Executive Council of the Philadelphia-Camden Guild by a vote of 16-1, adopted a pro-Constitution statement sent to the membership. It said the commercial groups already enrolled had proved a "surprising source of strength."

Mover of the first seven proposals in the referendum, the Columbus Guild has refrained from any nationwide campaigning on the issues. President William Newton has adhered to his position that the Guild wished merely that the ANG membership pass on them.

A.N.G. Fights for N.L.R.B.

Threat to Appropriation Brings Action

The ANG swung into action to help save the National Labor Relations Board from emasculation at the hands of the House of Representatives Appropriations Committee on Aug. 17.

The committee had recommended cutting in half the \$1,000,000 which had been proposed for the Board by the Bureau of the Budget.

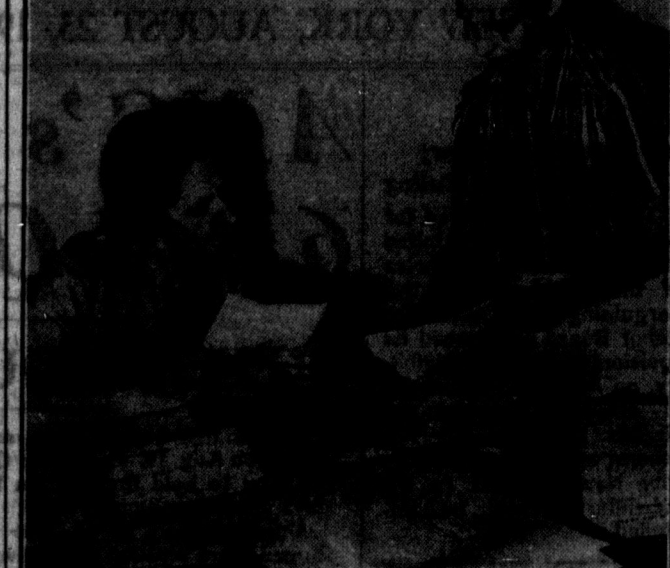
Word of the threat was telegraphed to President Brown by John Brophy, Director of the CIO. Brown sent a telegram of protest on behalf of the whole ANG and efforts to mobilize local support were begun with the sending of wires to fourteen Guilds in all parts of the country.

Acting President Harry Wohl of the Chicago Guild wired ten Congressmen from the Chicago metropolitan area and two Congressmen-at-large protesting and demanding that they line up the Illinois delegation and say what they proposed to do.

Later news dispatches brought the word that the House had restored the other half of the appropriation when the committee report came to a vote.

Labor Board officials pointed out that the halving of its funds would seriously impair the effectiveness of its work by necessitating long delays. These would work to the disadvantage of the unions.

The attack on the Board's funds was preceded by sharp speeches in



Dorothy Tudor and Toni Creadock

Paper Quits Parleys; Unit Seeks Strike

BULLETIN

Announcement by the Brooklyn Single management that it had decided to defer contract negotiations until after the referendum last week prompted the unit executive committee, already armed with a strike vote, to request the Representative Assembly of the New York Guild to authorize a strike.

Negotiations have already dragged out for a long period and this delay meant nearly another month.

On Aug. 21 the Guild executive committee wrote to E. M. Bitzer, general manager of the Hearst newspaper, for the opening of contract negotiations on behalf of the editorial departments of the New York Mirror and Journal and the commercial departments of the Mirror.

About half the paper's editorial staff of 125 received increases. Most of the others, above the minimum, but earning \$75 or less weekly, will get a 15 percent increase on September 13.

Other benefits, including a universal five-day week, overtime pay, dismissal bonuses, grievance plan, also went into effect August 2. The benefits were accepted in a bulletin board statement rather than a contract, because the Guild refused to sign without a Guild shop clause.

Cleveland Talks to NEA
The IEB has authorized the Cleveland Guild to act as its representative in negotiations with the Newspaper Enterprise Association, Scripps-Howard feature service, with headquarters at Cleveland. Fifty-two NEA staff members are Guild members. 38 in Cleveland, nine in New York, three in San Francisco, and two in Washington.

Salt Lake Works on Pact
SALT LAKE CITY.—The Tribune-Telegram unit has adopted a draft contract for negotiation. The draft embodies a Guild shop clause, 5-day 40-hour week, dismissal indemnity up to six months' pay for ten years service, and the other usual features.

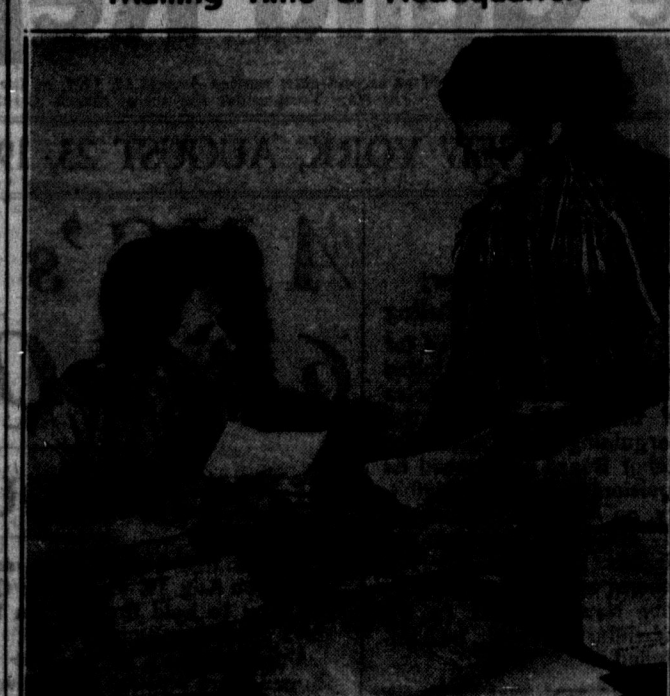
Chicago Asks \$75 a Week
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gotiations with the Herald and Examiner, made on Aug. 13, had not been answered by the local publisher up to the time of publication.

REPORTER CORRESPONDENTS: Rank shames on referendum results to headquarters as fast as possible. Photos can be taken up to Friday morning.

The Ballot Rush

Mailing Time at Headquarters



Dorothy Tudor and Toni Creadock

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CIO UNIONS EXPELLED

Green Fires Guild in Akron on Eve of Referendum

AKRON.—Following close on the heels of an impressive victory for labor in the mayoralty and councilmanic primaries here, President Green of the A.F. of L. has ordered the expulsion of CIO unions from the Summit County Central Labor Union.

Among the expelled unions was the Akron Newspaper Guild. Widespread comment was occasioned by the fact that Green's order came just before the American Newspaper Guild referendum on the question of CIO affiliation. Local Guilds pointed significantly to the fact that the A.F. of L. president did not wait for the outcome of the referendum before ordering the expulsion.

The CLU is overwhelmingly CIO in representation and sympathies. Its campaign activities, with Labor's Non-Partisan League resulted recently in the nomination of labor's candidates for mayor and 10 council seats.

While the CIO unions plan to establish a new council if and when they are expelled on Green's orders, plans looking to harmonious action with the A.F. of L. council are being made, in order to preserve the gains made at the polls.

Knoxville Leaves CLU

KNOXVILLE (Tenn.).—By unanimous vote, the Knoxville Guild has withdrawn from the Knoxville Central Labor Union and affiliated itself with the Knoxville Industrial Union, CIO central body.

In notifying the A.F. of L. body of the Guild's decision, President John T. Moutoux pointed out that, among other incidents, President William Green of the A.F. of L. had appointed an organizer to form a rival editorial union here. Moutoux recalled that in spite of this development, the A.F. of L. central body had pledged its support to the Guild in the fight to compel the Knoxville Journal to bargain in good faith.

The relations with the body had been friendly, he added, and the Guild hoped they would continue so. The Guild had asked the CLU to place the Journal on the unfair list, but the action was prevented by order of Green.

Unit Asks Strike
Vote Over Firings

NEWARK.—Incensed by the violation of the spirit of its contract and of a management pledge, the Star-Eagle unit has requested the Guild executive committee to take a strike vote, following dismissal of two members of the suburban staff.

The discharged men, Edward Johnson and Fred Long, brought to five the number fired by the Star-Eagle for "economy" since the Guild contract was signed April 26. The Standing Committee which protested to the management after the first dismissal, was promised by General Manager H. J. Auth that there would be no further firings. The committee had charged that the paper was attempting to recover payroll increases stated in the contract by cutting down the staff.

The Star-Eagle unit at a meeting on Aug. 16 unanimously voted that a strike poll be taken. It was pointed out by unit members that while employees were being fired for "economy," the paper added a high-priced editorial executive to the staff. The following day Auth informed the Standing Committee that "nothing could be done" about the unit's demand for reinstatement of Johnson and Long.

Notations with the Herald and Examiner, made on Aug. 13, had not been answered by the local publisher up to the time of publication.

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TRENDS THAT PROMISE NEW PAPERS

Lundberg Sees Forces Counteracting Recent Merger Tendency

By FERDINAND LUNDBERG

The recent discontinuance of certain Hearst and Gannett newspapers has caused various commentators once again to lament an ostensible trend in American journalism toward fewer newspapers concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. This theme, I believe, has been somewhat over-emphasized; its propagators overlook the fact that the rise and fall of newspapers throughout American history reflects social and economic movements.

It can be said that the extent to which the forces behind the New Deal succeed in their objectives, to the same extent will there be a revival of independent journalism in this country. Furthermore, in addition to the groups behind the New Deal, present social forces have set into motion new social groups. We find, in addition to signs of revival of the old independent newspapers of the New Deal faction, virile publications appearing in other social strata.

American newspapers have always been the mouthpieces of private economic groups. Few have been owned by the individual entrepreneur dependent for support only on the public. Most have been subsidized in one form or another; by wealthy individuals, by aspiring political groups, by coalitions of the wealthy and the political-minded.

In the period down to the Civil War the agrarian bloc was predominant, with the mercantile next in importance, the industrialist third and the financial last. Of the agrarian bloc the most important part was the press of the rich planters, concentrated mostly in the South.

William E. Dodd, professor of history at the University of Chicago and present Ambassador to Germany, has told how this Southern press was dragged into following the editorial line of the planter faction.

"The famous editor of the Richmond Enquirer, Thomas Ritchie, who had fought for and with Jefferson for more than twenty years, was threatened by great slave owners. His paper was to be ruined if he did not abandon its democratic policy. A new paper was to be set up if he did not yield. Being deeply in debt, due to the great depression which followed the Napoleonic wars, the slave-owner opponents loaned Ritchie \$20,000, and his paper changed its policy—80 per cent of all the Southern press did the same thing in five years."

Hundreds Collapsed in South

In Post-Civil War Shakeup

The 80 per cent pro-planter press of the South compares very closely with the 80 per cent pro-banker press in the election campaign of 1896 and the 90 per cent anti-court-reform press of 1897. These uniformities of viewpoint are, of course, not accidental.

The virile, prosperous pro-planter press of the South was smashed by the Civil War, which smashed the economic base of this press: land cultivation by chattel slaves. At one stroke hundreds of newspapers passed out of existence, to be succeeded by the fugitive newspapers of the carpet-baggers.

In the period of industrial development following the War five newspapers came to exist in place of each one that had existed before, although the new publications were located in the North. As various individuals and groups, in divergent branches of industry, attained wealth, they also set up newspapers to shape the public mind.

To illustrate the extent of this trend, a few examples may be cited. Tom Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, acquired the New York World, which in 1875 he sold to Jay Gould, who sold it to Pulitzer in 1883 after having used it against his enemies and on behalf of his grandiose speculative schemes. "The World" was notably used by Gould to undermine public confidence in Cyrus Field's management of the New York elevated railway.

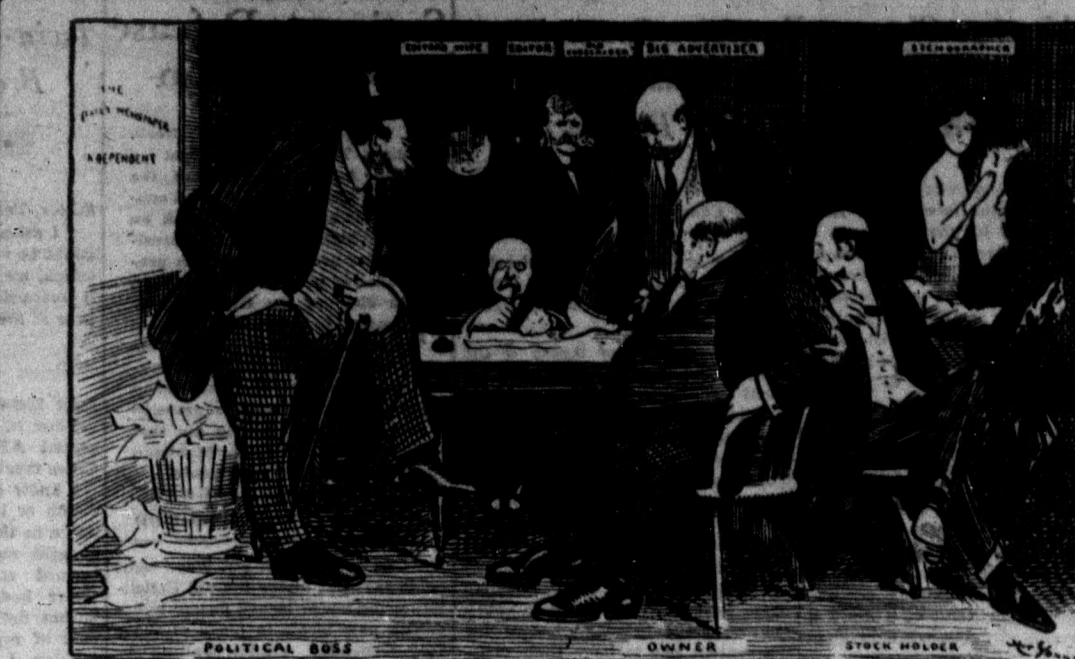
Anthony Drexel, banker, gained control of the Philadelphia Ledger, which he used to ruin Jay Cooke, rival banker, by spreading harmful rumors about his credit. Cooke, on his own account, bought newspaper editorial policies right and left, as did Morgan's New Haven Railroad at a later date.

In Florida in the 1880's Henry M. Flagler of the Standard Oil Trust (the original formal name of the enterprise) acquired the Jacksonville Morning News, the Jacksonville Evening Herald and the Florida Times-Union as his instruments of social and political influence. In Philadelphia Thomas Wanamaker, merchant, acquired the North American and, later, the Record. In California George Hearst in 1890 took over the San Francisco Examiner. Collis P. Huntington, railroad manipulator, in the 1880's and 1890's owned, through dummies, the New York Morning Advertiser.

How and Why Capital Acquires Newspapers—Even by Marriage

Cyrus Field and a number of other capitalists in 1867 backed Charles A. Dana with \$175,000 in the purchase of the New York Sun. Field also owned the New York Mail and Express, but sold it in 1886 to Elliott P. Shepherd, chief attorney for the Vanderbilt family and the New York Central Railroad. It became a Vanderbilt organ. In 1866 James J. Hill, railroad promoter, acquired the St. Paul Globe merely to use it as an anti-Bryan organ in the election campaign.

It was indeed, the same story throughout American journalism, although the industrialists took control by



The Editorial "We." An Old Cartoon Reprinted by Permission from "The Best of Art Young."

different means in different places, sometimes by means of marriage. For example, the distinguished Whitelaw Reid, owner of the New York Tribune, married a daughter of Darius O. Mills, mining lord of the Pacific Coast. The New York Herald remained in the Bennett family, which had started the New York Telegram in 1867, but James Gordon Bennett the second, very unlike his independent crusading father, himself became a member of the moneyed coterie.

Some observers allude to this as the period of "personal journalism," because editors spoke out with apparent frankness on all questions. Personalities, however, were of least consideration. The frankness of the news and editorial columns was merely a manifestation of the eagerness of each group in each city to expose its economic rivals. About its own backers each newspaper maintained discreet silence.

The mercantile press lords were in many cases bought out. The famed Horace Greeley was given Northern Pacific stock and became fascinated by the opportunities offered the average man by the West, which the railroads

Ferdinand Lundberg, author of "Imperial Hearst," is just completing "America's Sixty Families," a study of the careers of some of the country's wealthy figures and the uses to which their fortunes have been put, which will be published by Vanguard Press in the fall. Lundberg was formerly a financial reporter for the New York Herald Tribune.

were anxious to populate. As the railroads had been given huge tracts of land by the government, they wanted to sell this land to newspaper readers.

The industrialist-mercantile press existed down to the World War, during which bank capital completed its task of gaining control of industry as is shown by Berle and Means in "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," Rochester in "Rulers of America," and Laidler in "Concentration in American Industry." As industry passed into the hands of the bankers, the press of industry passed as well. Because the transfer was effected invisibly it was, naturally, not commented upon. With few exceptions the newspapers of today throughout the United States are under Wall Street ownership or control, mostly the former. From Wall Street come the loans to "independent" publishers; from Wall Street comes the advertising for the big corporations that it controls.

Bank Control, Interlocking

Directorates—F. E. Gannett

There are so many current instances of bank control of newspapers that full citation must wait until a later time. But a few examples may not be amiss. The case of Hearst, publisher of the chain with the greatest number of papers and the greatest block of circulation, is in point; earlier revelations about bank loans to Hearst have been supported by later revelations through the medium of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Then there is the Chicago Daily News. Frank E. Knox appears to have paid off the bank loans to Charles G. Dawes which he acquired with the paper, but the board of directors of the Chicago Daily News today is composed of a director from each of the leading Chicago banks. The News board is worth studying. It includes Sewell L. Avery, chairman of Montgomery Ward and Company, president of the United States Gypsum Company, and director of the United States Steel Corporation, Armour and Company, the Northern Trust Company, the State Bank and Trust Company of Chicago, the Chicago and Great Western Railroad and the open-shop Illinois Manufacturers' Association; J. L. Hougheling, of the investment banking house of Peabody, Hougheling and Company; George E. Scott, president of the American Steel Foundries, Inc., director of the Harris Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago, and of half a dozen other banks and corporations; Joseph E. Otis, chairman of the Central Republic Bank and Trust

Company, and an organizer of one of the constituent units of the present United States Steel Corporation; John Stuart, president of the Quaker Oats Company, and director of the Northern Trust Company, and Laird Bell, director of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company. A director until recently also was Max Epstein, chairman of the General American Tank Car Corporation.

Bank control over newspapers is wielded in many other ways. Frank E. Gannett, as we know, was given money by the International Power and Paper Company, which is under the aegis of the Chase National Bank of New York, to acquire the Brooklyn Eagle and the Albany Knickerbocker Press; he returned the money after the facts were revealed; by the Federal Trade Commission.

Further citations of bank control in contemporary journalism must be left until later.

A phenomenon of this post-war period has been the discontinuance of more than 100 daily newspapers and nearly 1,000 popular publications of all types. The trend, it is said, has been toward monopoly. Why have these newspapers been discontinued? A city like Chicago could once support ten daily newspapers; now it has scarcely room, it seems, for more than five. Total newspaper circulation has increased, total advertising revenue has greatly increased; yet fewer newspapers are published. Here is a paradox.

The answer is this: As the bank element took control of industry it forced consolidations of competing enterprises. As enterprises were consolidated rival stockholding factions were bought out and sent to live in Florida or on the Riviera. As economic rivalries were terminated by mergers local political rivalries were also terminated. And as these rivalries vanished the newspapers which were the outward expressions of the rivalries also vanished.

Needs for Cultivating Public Mind Vanish, So Do Papers

There was no need for the dominant banking estate to have rival newspapers to double and treble the expense of cultivating the public mind. If Coldgeian policies were "sound," why publish newspapers that differed with those policies? Better only one or two, or at most three or four, newspapers in each locality, all singing the same tunes, but in different keys.

As the reaction against the bank-minded policies of Hoover showed, however, the country did not take well to the yoke of the bankers. We now find ourselves, therefore, in a period of reaction against the post-war dominance of the banking element through the agency of the Republican Party.

This reaction, carried through mainly by small independent industrialists and large successful merchants, has been accompanied by a resurgence of the old mercantile-industrialist press, exemplified in the four newspapers of J. David Stern, in the Chicago Times, etc., and in the growth of newspapers even further to the left.

The group of small independent capitalists behind J. David Stern's New York Post was quickly brought to light under the stimulus of rival journalistic interests that do not make as frank a showing of ownership in their periodical disclosures of stockholders and note-holders. Because the composition of the Stern anti-bank group illustrates perfectly the nature of newspaper control by the independent industrialist and mercantile class it is here cited. Stockholders have been revealed as Governor George H. Earle of Pennsylvania, formerly head of the Pennsylvania Sugar Company; Senator Joseph F. Guffey, well-to-do lawyer; Samuel Untermeyer, wealthy New York lawyer; William Fox, former film magnate; the Warner Brothers, film entrepreneurs; Samuel Fels, soap manufacturer, and Albert M. Greenfield, Philadelphia and New York realtor. Vincent Astor, big real estate holder, lent money to Stern, it was also brought out.

The economic line of the New Deal is a light-goods industry line. It is not socially radical in any sense, although the newspapers representing finance capital sedulously seek to give the impression that it is. The object

(Continued on page 4)

DEBATE IS CONTINUED ON ANG DECISIONS

Washington Charges Excessive Power Given International by New Constitution; Criticizes Industrial Base

The following rebuttal in the referendum debate was issued by the Washington Guild through the Referendum Campaign Committee, authorized to speak for the Guild.

We have challenged the wisdom of accepting non-editorial workers at this time into Guild membership. We believe they should be organized by and for themselves with such help and leadership from us as they invite and we are able to extend. Opponents of this program seem to resist themselves to two points.

First, they say absorption of clerical and sales people will strengthen us, the editorial workers, in collective bargaining. We maintain the reverse, but we deem this too self-centered a view upon which to base solution of the problem. We believe that their own bargaining position will be stronger (and ours also) if they develop strength not dependent upon ours and federate with us, creating two dynamos designed for synchronized operation.

Second, our opponents enter objection, ethical in type and say that not to merge business office folk into our own ranks would brand the Guild as ineffectual in its espousal of industrial unionism and hypocritical in joining the CIO.

Lacks Development

If a plan had been carefully worked out and agreed upon substantially throughout the Guild before the new members were voted in, less damage might accrue from "broadening the membership base." But even in such case, our position is that the Guild has not yet developed sufficient strength to support a burden twice as large as itself.

One example of the many problems involved in "broadening the base," will suffice to illustrate the unpreparedness of the Guild to assume the extra burden.

Many local Guilds take members earning \$20 a week or less at dues of 75 cents a month—the exact amount of the per capita to the international office—leaving nothing for the local Guilds from the dues of such members. When business office employees were made eligible, the number of these low-paid members rose from a small percentage of the whole to potential majorities in many Guilds. Yet the Convention did not foresee that, made no provision for the influx by reducing per capita for members whose weekly earnings are small.

To postpone the effective date of one general union in the newspaper industry (which we cannot achieve anyway until the printers agree) is not to diminish the CIO. Yet the Convention noted that our international office has abandoned the chief argument they used at the Convention and no longer say it is necessary to "broaden our base" in order to secure CIO affiliation.

After the Convention the Washington Guild promptly organized 80 per cent of the downtown street corner newsmen. Many of them earn as little as 50 cents a day. Practically none of them makes as much as \$30 a week. We asked the IEB if a way could not be found to reduce their per capita. Our local gets nothing from their dues but pays all their bills. We wanted to reduce their dues lower than 75 cents. The board answered that the Constitution requires per capita for every member at 75 cents a month; and that it did not intend to violate the Constitution; but the Washington Guild might, if it chose, pay their per capita out of its treasury. In other words, Washington was invited to "strengthen its position" by draining its treasury of \$23.75 a month to pay the per capita of 125 newsmen, in addition to paying all the expenses of their organization. It is a fitting example of the unsound method of the international high command which bleeds local, keeps them weak as compared with the international, and feeds all resources into the general treasury at New York.

Washington's theory is that the true way to found a powerful international is to build powerful locals. No chain is stronger than its weakest link.

This divergence of theory is the issue underlying the three constitutional amendments proposed by Washington in the forthcoming referendum. Bit by bit the international is chipping autonomy away from the local Guilds. Three ships fell at St. Louis when the Convention deprived locals of (1) authority to determine their own discipline for collecting dues and assessments (members not in good standing never have been permitted to vote); (2) the right to plead before the Convention not to have their charters revoked, with an additional right of appeal to referendum; and (3) the right within reasonable limitations to bargain collectively with employers on their own responsibility.

The international officers say they will not use the power to prevent reinstatement of members suspended for owing dues. They construe the new constitutional language as waiving the prohibition against a local reinstating its own members after second automatic suspension. At any moment, however, the international officers may again exercise their constitutional power and construe the Constitution the other way around.

After Mr. Max Ways, of Philadelphia, rid his system of a personal attack upon the secretary and president of the Washington Guild in the August 15 Referendum, he said the new method of revoking charters of locals was a boon and not a harm. He said that heretofore the IEB had possessed "almost arbitrary and unlimited power" to suspend locals. The board, by the way, still has that power. But Mr. Ways went on to say that under the old Constitution the board lacked power to organize new locals in place of those they suspended, without waiting for the next ensuing Convention.

That is just the point. We are glad Mr. Ways was frank enough to say that the purpose of the amendment was to give the international officers more power. He ought to know. He wrote the new Constitution.

International headquarters has itself learned that it went too far and too fast in revamping at St. Louis the collective bargaining machinery. The compulsory Guild shop for all contracts regardless of local need (except by posthumous dispensation from international headquarters) has been thrown into the discard. That is to say, our GHQ is letting the local boys and girls quite generally negotiate "open shop" contracts. But the halter is still there and every local's head is in it unless the referendum results in repeal of Article XVIII of the new Constitution, (as proposed in question No. 10). At any moment the international officers may invoke its severity upon the locals. The provisions of the old Constitution on this point gave them ample control of negotiations.

Spirits to Defense Of Stahlman

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

The August 15 issue of the GUILD REPORTER devotes considerable space to an attack on James Stahlman, ANTA president, for probing the union practices of prospective employers.

In view of the Guild's many attempts to prevent so-called "shop" or non-members of the Guild from obtaining employment (as well by the closed shop contract as by more aggressive measures), it seems to me that the contention of Mr. Stahlman seems with very poor grace.

CHARLES L. MARKMANN,
(Daily News Unit)

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Twin-Cities President Hits "Saturday Night Bowling" With Publishers; Sees No "Immediate Prospect" of Split

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

I asked President Biddison of the Twin Cities if the following letter might be run in the REPORTER. After having been refused to take out things which, we agreed, might react unfavorably for the Twin Cities Guild, it is forwarded herewith. It was agreed that I might write an answer to appear at the same time. Bid's letter follows:

DON STEVENS
(ANG Representative).

Minneapolis.

Your telegram concerning the reported AFL charter to the Twin Cities received today.

I know of no such charter application or issuance of any official move in that direction. At our last general meeting a motion looking toward such action was tabled. There had been talk of that sort within the membership, but to the best of my knowledge, after some inquiry, I do not believe there is even a private request to that end.

The Twin Cities Guild has, however, set up a Committee to campaign for revoking the objectionable acts of the Convention.

With this Guild in virtual 100 per cent control of every office in the Twin Cities—members added since our last negotiations—no such thing as secession could be accomplished except by official action of the Guild or by wholesale split. Neither of these is in any immediate prospect.

The fact is that this Guild, with a very few exceptions, is fighting hard over the acts of the Convention. It is a self-respecting Guild; we are not willing to wage a perpetual public fight with the publishers, having the aspect of a Saturday

night brawl rather than a decent contest of wits and strength.

Frankly, it appears to us here very much as has been said before in print, that we have been sold down the river to do a job of work for one John L. Lewis, and that it has been accomplished for private and personal advantage, political or otherwise. Personally I strongly suspect political ambitions on the part of our Mr. Brown.

As to the action by which we were jockeyed into the CIO, we recognize, of course, that the Convention action was strictly legal. However, that does not finish the matter. We remember that when we became affiliated with the AFL we took two years to thresh out the matter, answer the objections, count the cost and then we went in by referendum with a two-thirds rule to assure practical unanimity.

We in the Twin Cities say that questions as basic as these should have been adequately considered by the whole membership; whereas, instead, the intentions of our international leaders scarcely had percolated down to them at all and had all the appearance of being railroaded.

'Bribe' Needed

We are convinced that the delegates, even granting they were elected openly and legally, and standing that all Guilds were represented in their proper numerical strength, did not truly represent the rank and file of the total membership. No, not even in New York City. What the international office needs is brakes—and yet it has been repeatedly rejected every effort in the "hinterland" to check it.

The result of all the furor thus far is that the ANG has played into the hands of John L. Lewis intentionally and then into the hands of William Greider and the IEB blunderingly (none of which we like) and has promoted a rebellion within the Guild.

Returning to the original subject, my opinion is that the best way to head off trouble would be to permit the proposals now coming up for referendum to be carried by default and get back to the first principles of a non-political craft union intent on minding its own business.

Why can't we continue the business of saving wood in the orthodox manner that was getting us somewhere and have an end to jousting with windmills?

Yours for bigger paychecks and better newspapers.

JOHN J. BIDDISON,
Chicago.

I have enjoyed my visits to the Twin Cities and hope I may continue to do so and that your local isn't really threatening to secede if the American Newspaper Guild remains CIO. I regret that Bob Buck is still able to play so easily upon the post over as result of that IEB Cleveland Convention. Also I regret your was about the last major city north of the Mason-Dixon line to apply the policies of the ANG and get a five-day, 40-hour week, chuckle, remembering that when you and I nailed a plane for St. Louis last June 9th with city-wide victory under our belts that it had been certain militant unions—"respectable" or not—and Farmer-Laborites who made it possible. Your letter is in error, of course, about how we went AFL and a lot of other things, but Clyde is short of space.

DON STEVENS.

HERBERT LITTLE.

I know of no local Guilds which "repudiated their accredited delegates," as Mr. Hallgren charges, in seeking a referendum. Indeed, my idea was that delegates were responsible to their Guilds, not vice versa. The post-convention Guild is so different from the pre-St. Louis Guild that I am sure most of the membership has good reason to take a new viewpoint on both our policies and our leadership.

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REFERENDUM ISSUES DISCUSSED IN LETTERS

'Wait Awhile' Policy Hit

Newark President Points to Past ANG Steps

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

It seems, according to Robert M. Buck of Washington that before applying industrial unionism we must wait for "carefully worked out plans," after the Guild is "strong enough."

It seemed a scant four years ago that we have been sold down the river to do a job of work for one John L. Lewis, and that it has been accomplished for private and personal advantage, political or otherwise. Personally I strongly suspect political ambitions on the part of our Mr. Brown.

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We are convinced that the delegates, even granting they were elected openly and legally, and standing that all Guilds were represented in their proper numerical strength, did not truly represent the rank and file of the total membership. No, not even in New York City. What the international office needs is brakes—and yet it has been repeatedly rejected every effort in the "hinterland" to check it.

The result of all the furor thus far is that the ANG has played into the hands of John L. Lewis intentionally and then into the hands of William Greider and the IEB blunderingly (none of which we like) and has promoted a rebellion within the Guild.

Returning to the original subject, my opinion is that the best way to head off trouble would be to permit the proposals now coming up for referendum to be carried by default and get back to the first principles of a non-political craft union intent on minding its own business.

Why can't we continue the business of saving wood in the orthodox manner that was getting us somewhere and have an end to jousting with windmills?

Yours for bigger paychecks and better newspapers.

JOHN J. BIDDISON,
Chicago.

I have enjoyed my visits to the Twin Cities and hope I may continue to do so and that your local isn't really threatening to secede if the American Newspaper Guild remains CIO. I regret that Bob Buck is still able to play so easily upon the post over as result of that IEB Cleveland Convention. Also I regret your was about the last major city north of the Mason-Dixon line to apply the policies of the ANG and get a five-day, 40-hour week, chuckle, remembering that when you and I nailed a plane for St. Louis last June 9th with city-wide victory under our belts that it had been certain militant unions—"respectable" or not—and Farmer-Laborites who made it possible. Your letter is in error, of course, about how we went AFL and a lot of other things, but Clyde is short of space.

DON STEVENS.

HERBERT LITTLE.

I know of no local Guilds which "repudiated their accredited delegates," as Mr. Hallgren charges, in seeking a referendum. Indeed, my idea was that delegates were responsible to their Guilds, not vice versa. The post-convention Guild is so different from the pre-St. Louis Guild that I am sure most of the membership has good reason to take a new viewpoint on both our policies and our leadership.

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HERBERT LITTLE.

Pro and Con of the Wire Service Change

The rival leaders in the Convention debate on abolition of the Constitutional requirement that one vice president be a wire service employee were asked to sum up their views for the membership. Here are their statements.

FOR Rescinding the Convention's Action

By FRED O. BAILEY, Convention delegate for Washington and member, Wire Service Committee.

You ask me to debate Morris Watson on the referendum question of a wire service vice president on the International Executive Board.

MORE LETTERS

Eddy Likened To Dictator

Member Charges 'Clumsy Lying' To Leaders

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

The Reporter, Editor Beis, Vice-President Eddy and the national leadership for whom these gentlemen may be supposed to speak are again trying to persuade the rank and file to refuse to endorse whatever policies they personally prefer for the Guild, in effect, a vote for the publishers hostile to labor organization of newspaper workers.

The tactic is transparent. It runs like this: The New York Guild command decides that the Guild should do or say this or that. In one way or another, they commit the Guild to personal public utterance. Then they jam through a phony ratification of this.

Then they raise the cry: "Solidarity! Democracy! The Guild must not split and so give comfort to the enemy!" This is neither ingenious nor honest. It is clumsy lying.

If a vote to repudiate the action of the high command at the St. Louis Convention is a vote giving aid and comfort to the publishers—which it may or may not do—it is nevertheless still a vote against the leadership that committed or attempted prematurely to commit the Guild.

The referendum declarations were made by a Convention of delegates some considerable part of whom were without instruction from their local Guilds. These delegates voted their personal convictions without regard for the fact that they were present in Convention only in representative capacities, without authority to speak for anyone but themselves in these connections.

Broad declarations of policy, if they are to have any meaning at all, may be made only by a convention of instructed delegates or by a referendum of the entire membership. Otherwise, such declarations cannot be presented to the publisher or the public as representing anything but the doctrines of a few master minds.

Eddy and Dictators

This is a democracy. Quite obviously, it is not Eddy's notion of democracy. "Democracy," says he, "is inseparable from leadership. A democracy selects the policies and elects the individuals (leaders). It does this by majorities." He then proceeds to argue as if the majorities at the St. Louis Convention actually represented majorities of the rank and file. Thus also argue Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, not one of whom has majority support in his own country, but relies on a deliberately limited organization of shrews to ratify their acts after the fact without having been consulted in advance. There is this difference between John on the one hand and Benito and Adolf on the other: Benito and Adolf are effective; it is hardly possible that John will continue to get away with his "democracy" song and dance in the Guild much longer.

HAROLD TECUMSEH MEEK
(St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

Answers Charge Made by Ways

Washington.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Max Ways, chairman of the International Constitution Commission, says he was deprived of the help of any member of the Washington Guild, although I was appointed to the Commission. It would have been difficult for anyone to acquire that

view who had followed the work of the Commission.

I was appointed Jan. 9, 1937. I served until the Convention, which I was unable to attend. In that time I wrote eight letters and communications to the Commission, totaling 30 pages. I find my suggestions mentioned in two of the four official communications of the Commission, one of the other two being a draft constitution. I was the only member who submitted an analysis of the draft of April 23 comprehensive enough to be printed in addition to the report of the Commission's liaison group. This was carried in the May 15 Guild Reporter. I submitted a minority report to the Commission for its meeting preceding the Convention. At no time could any member of the Commission have been in doubt about my activity, my views or my opposition to the program subsequently adopted by the Convention.

My failure to attend the first meeting was because of the distance of Washington from New York and at the time of the second meeting I believed an organization meeting in a nearby town to be more important.

CARLTON SKINNER.

PUTS BLAME ON POLICY

Houston President Says Convention Caused Fight

Chicago.

In a letter replying to the appeal of members of the International Executive Board to Guilds for withdrawal of the seconds to the Columbus motions, Allison Sanders, president of the Houston (Tex.) Guild, declared that the recent publisher attacks "would never have materialized if the Guild had stuck to its knitting."

Sanders' letter pointed out that the IEB appeal was mimeographed and mailed to all local Guilds "presumably at Guild expense." It read in part:

"Doesn't it seem to you a rather striking coincidence that this vicious and concerted attack of which you speak comes right on the heels of the Guild Convention that saw the Guild assert its original objective of bettering the working conditions of editorial department workers and set out on an entirely too spacious and idealistic and impractical course of organizing the entire industry, not to mention offering advice to Congress, the President and the armies in Spain?"

"I will agree with you that hijacking is the only approach that will impress some publishers, but I do not think I am naive in maintaining that most publishers are right guys when they are treated right. . . .

"I do not believe it is the function of the American Newspaper Guild to shoulder the burden of organizing its fellow workers in the commercial departments, any more than it is our function to march out with shining sword in hand to organize the down-trodden oyster openers or the cigar makers. . . .

"Quite evidently, you folks who led the fight to throw open the Guild doors to the whole wide world had discussed the issue fully in advance of the Convention. But I question whether or not the Guild membership had adequate time to make up its mind on such an important question. The first official mention of the matter was made in the May 15 issue of the Reporter, less than a month before the question."

Have you cast your ballot in the referendum? Be as the moment year local open the polls.

Why We Won't Be 'A Minority'

Philadelphia.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Some people argue: "If we take in the stenographers and the ad solicitors, then we won't have anything to say about Guild policies and Guild wages. We'll be in the minority." That's not true. Consider (1) that the unorganized in newspaper offices approximately equal editorial employees in number, and (2) that the division of sympathies between, say, solicitors of national and classified accounts yawns far wider than that between those ancient enemies, the reporter and copy-reader.

Remember, newspaper reporters didn't invent unionism. Business office people have a right to the best kind of union they can get. They're already organized, in Philadelphia, in other cities. We organized 'em. They offered to walk out at the inquirer to help the editorial negotiations, if necessary.

So now we're asked to boost them out because a few Guild offices want "revenge on New York" and some Guild members, whose sincerity I concede, haven't outgrown a touch of the snob.

A. H. ROBERTS,
Philadelphia Record.

'Railroading' Denied

Chicago.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Chicago's Convention delegates voted for industrial union base broadening and CIO, by Guild membership instruction.

We haven't quite seen the "sudden" or "railroaded" stuff that is being alleged by some members. We had time to discuss, in one Representative Assembly meeting and two general membership meetings, all the major issues of the Convention, before instructing our delegates.

There is some dissatisfaction about Convention decisions. It comes almost entirely from the fact that the IEB proposal of July 25 on the form of unit structure and action. I don't think half enough Guildsmen have read it in the Reporter or taken the trouble to see how it works. It provides the necessary editorial department autonomy, plus the necessary cooperation with others in the plant.

I am further reassured by the official stand of the Chicago Typographical Union that it backs us in organizing the unorganized in our offices, industries, as a CIO union. I am for a vote of "No" on every question in the referendum. And the leadership that brought the American Newspaper Guild this far, against unending crisis of "Red," is okay by me. Any union can be judged pretty well by the amount of employer opposition it creates. More power to the ANG—as is.

HARRY WOHL,
(Acting President, Chicago)

CIO Help to ANG Sinister?

No, Just Sound Unionism

New York.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

In a letter to the New York Guild News of August 18, George Morris, of the World-Telegram, asks what "commitments" ANG officers made to the CIO payroll. The letter goes on to assume that there was an "agreement," and to attack the supposed "compact" as "secret" and "sinister."

Statements of this kind are based upon a complete misunderstanding of the labor movement, of the simple fact that progressive labor organizations have always followed the policy, in their own enlightened interest, of assisting new unions and organizing the unorganized. The failure of the AF of L Executive Council to apply that policy was one of the main reasons why established internationals in the AF of L found it necessary to form the CIO.

The fact is that there is no agreement, understanding, promise or undertaking of any kind, implied or otherwise, with any CIO official. Mr. Lewis' decision to give us ten organizers was broadcast to the membership more than a month ago. That allowed ample time for industry into any "secret compact," yet the first such question comes in a broad-cast on the eve of the referendum.

JONATHAN EDDY, Executive Vice President.
VICTOR PASCHKE, Secretary-Treasurer.

THAT WAS WRONG, TOO

"Only One Department" Shouldn't Strike

Philadelphia.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

New that the Guild is organizing the remaining unorganized departments of newspapers we are greeted with horrified cries from publishers—bawling that we are invading fields which are none of our business.

Yet in our strikes they have consistently impressed on the public that we represented a mere handful of their employees. Here are some sample statements:

Headline in the Milwaukee Wisconsin News when the strike started there: "29 OF NEWS STAFF OUT ON STRIKE; 655 Employees of Paper Loyal, Stay on Their Jobs."

Industrial Council of Washington, Seattle Division (large employers' group), in a full-page ad attacking the Post-Intelligencer strike: "Two men had been discharged for cause—so 650 are jobless. . . . How, you ask, could a mere handful of 22 men and boys accomplish this incalculable situation?"

Harvey Kelly, Hearst's labor adviser in the Post-Intelligencer strike: "There is no issue in the 'ill-advised' strike except that in one department most between 140 and 150 workers were 'directly' affected, while 500 workers were 'indirectly' affected."

Editor & Publisher, also about Seattle: "Less than a third of the editorial organization, the strikers . . . had the power to join with other newspaper enemies in the suppression of a newspaper that means bread and butter for 3,000 mouths."

L. T. Russell, publisher of Newark Ledger, at the time of the Guild strike on that paper: "The Ledger has twelve departments and the Editorial Department is just one of them. . . . Every other department is and always has been happy and contented and proud of their jobs and their newspaper."

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

New efforts to enlarge the national WPA appropriation, embodied in the Allen-Schwellenbach resolution, have received the support of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The resolution would permit WPA to ask for additional funds to supplement the \$1,500,000 appropriation made this year. The AF of L's New York Central Labor Council has also endorsed the measure.

Homer Maeda, president of the United Automobile Workers' Union, has announced that his organization would cooperate with the league in its political activity. The American Radio Telegraphers Association took like action in its recent national convention.

feel that both that power and that pride will be heightened and safeguarded by organization under the IEB proposal of July 25 on the form of unit structure and action. I don't think half enough Guildsmen have read it in the Reporter or taken the trouble to see how it works. It provides the necessary editorial department autonomy, plus the necessary cooperation with others in the plant.

Resolved, That the NCNG hereby disapproves of the action of the St. Louis Convention in refusing a referendum on the CIO affiliation. . . .

The resolution contained no expression on the NCNG stand on the Convention decisions.

Maury as "CIO-er"

In Attack on Lewis

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Editorial writer for the New York Daily News, who demanded in Editor and Publisher recently that Heywood Brown and the International Executive Board resign, has now as a member of the CIO written an article for Liberty Magazine attacking John L. Lewis. Maury's Guild membership was stressed in the article and in a publicity handout about it.

Calling it an "Open Letter" to Lewis, Maury brings in the freedom-of-the-press issue, asking: "If we newspaper CIO-ers don't give the CIO the best of it in everything do we get slapped down? Do I, for example, writing this open letter to you?"

Maury tells Lewis that millions of Americans consider him to be a red menace and says that "this widespread belief and fear concerning you call up visions of American fascist youths on the march; of a lot of working people shot down; of believers in democracy suffering and rotting in concentration camps."

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Maury's attack on Lewis is a red menace and says that "this widespread belief and fear concerning you call up visions of American fascist youths on the march; of a lot of working people shot down; of believers in democracy suffering and rotting in concentration camps."

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The Free Press

—And How It Remains Free To Suppress Speech

A report of Irving Brant's speech before the ninth annual Newspaper Week of the University of Colorado College of Journalism went out on the Associated Press wires, but it was only a brief which failed to identify the speaker or give even the title of his address.

Brant is editor of the St. Louis Star-Times. The AP had often given his speeches generous space. This time, however, the shock was too great for the opening statement in Brant's speech was:

"The greatest shock ever experienced by the newspaper publishers of America was to wake up on the morning of November 4, 1936, and discover that they had no influence in a presidential election."

Editor & Publisher also was shocked at this statement, for it gave it and what followed no space. About a week later, the publishers' organ replied to the speech editorially.

Manifest Content

Brant in his much unprinted speech said that the voters chose between Roosevelt and Landon "with complete disregard, and in some cases with contempt, for the wisdom of American editors." The contempt was manifest. Cited Brant:

"In Chicago, last October, a political parade of several hundred thousand people took the form of a demonstration against the Chicago Tribune and the Hearst papers, a demonstration of contempt and hatred, due to a systematic policy of suppression and distortion of the news." This was unprintable news that policy may, and to suppress the right of theatre operators to show the film, Harold Rosman, a leading Guild member who covered the massacre for the liberal Times and whose story was the only one in a Chicago daily to lay the blame on the police, lost his job during the wave of dismissals following the publishers' association's convention. Rosman has joined the People's Press staff.

The Chicago Typographical Union has begun a campaign to force Illinois' Governor Homer to act against officials responsible for the murders.

A Publisher Lays the Groundwork for Negotiation

One way of "preparing" the public mind for negotiations with the Guild was illustrated by the Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal recently in an editorial-page reprint from another sheet of an intertemporal outburst denouncing the Guild in such terms as:

"Latterday editorial proletarianism, 'an organization aligned with every group associating itself with every hoodlum who will picket a newspaper plant for coffee and cakes, a group of opportunists trying to profit by the wave of class hatred, a boisterous minority making a noise like a hollow drum,' etc., etc. far more than a half column of type. The piece was printed shortly after negotiations were opened between the Guild and the Journal management."

Editorial Journalism

"For four years the American Newspaper Publishers' Association has been deluging its members with bulletins. First it attempted to regiment the editorial opinion of the country against the wave and hour collective bargaining provision of the NRA. Then it launched a collective campaign against ratification of the Child Labor amendment. Finally it turned its guns upon the National Labor Relations Act, not only furnishing arguments which editors might use to prove the unconstitutionality of that law, but advising publishers to refuse to obey it."

"I believe that the open and obvious anti-labor bias of a great majority of our larger newspapers, and the smug assumption that readers cannot penetrate the veil of pretended impartiality, have been more potent than the presidential election in disseminating metropolitan journalism among the masses of the American people."

"We have no press today representing the dominant political thought of the country, and there is no immediate prospect of such a press being established on a national scale."

"I look upon that fact as the most dangerous single factor in American politics."

The Movies Are Also Free—To Suppress 'Inciting' Film

The "free" movies of a free people become free only when the demand is strong enough, reports the August Film Survey, issued by Associated Film Audiences.

The Paramount newscast showing how ten steel strikers were shot in the back and clubbed to death by South Chicago police was suppressed, according to A. J. Richard of the film company, "because it might incite to local riot."

That was on June 7. On June 23, Associated Film Audiences reports, a special release on the suppression was sent to organizations and individuals throughout the country, calling for action.

"The following day," the Film Survey says, "we were able to ascertain that up till then approximately 40 protests had been received by Paramount News. In the course of the next week, over 1,000 more were received."

"It is interesting to note, that although the public session of the Senate Committee (which presented the film as evidence) was not held until July 2nd, on June 30th Mr. A. J. Richard had given orders for the release of the newscast; and on the date of the newscast's release, when he assured the country that 'conditions have changed for the better,' not one strike in the steel industry had been settled."

"This leads us to believe—and we are substantiated in our belief by information from reliable sources—that the reasons given by Mr. Richard were not the real reasons for release, but that it was almost solely due to the mass of protests which flooded the Paramount offices demanding that the pictures be shown."

In Chicago, where freedom of the movies is loosely interpreted to mean that police may, and to suppress the right of theatre operators to show the film, Harold Rosman, a leading Guild member who covered the massacre for the liberal Times and whose story was the only one in a Chicago daily to lay the blame on the police, lost his job during the wave of dismissals following the publishers' association's convention. Rosman has joined the People's Press staff.

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Editorial Journalism

"For four years the American Newspaper Publishers' Association has been deluging its members with bulletins. First it attempted to regiment the editorial opinion of the country against the wave and hour collective bargaining provision of the NRA. Then it launched a collective campaign against ratification of the Child Labor amendment. Finally it turned its guns upon the National Labor Relations Act, not only furnishing arguments which editors might use to prove the unconstitutionality of that law, but advising publishers to refuse to obey it."

"I believe that the open and obvious anti-labor bias of a great majority of our larger newspapers, and the smug assumption that readers cannot penetrate the veil of pretended impartiality, have been more potent than the presidential election in disseminating metropolitan journalism among the masses of the American people."

The Guild Reporter

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"... It shall be the duty of the GUILD REPORTER, under the supervision of the IEB, to promote in every legitimate way the policies of the ANG as established in Convention, and to confine its editorial policies to that specific program. All notices printed in the REPORTER shall constitute notices to the entire membership." — From Art. XX, Sec. 1, ANG Constitution.

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Labor Trouble

We passed a well-known restaurant in 42nd Street near Times Square the other day and saw in the window a sign bearing the following notice:—

"Closed temporarily on account of labor trouble. We will be open for business in a few days."

There was something comforting about the sign. It was nice to think that the restaurant intended to repair the labor trouble with the same dispatch with which it might give the interior a badly-needed new coat of paint. Labor seemed to have acquired a new dignity in the recognition that it was as essential a part of the establishment as the floors, ceilings, tables and even the management. Those who saw the sign must have hoped that the repairs in progress would be as satisfactory to labor as to the management.

Guild negotiators who have found on publishers' doors in recent weeks a notice reading: "Out until after the referendum" also hope the trouble is only temporary.

The labor trouble, in this case, may mark a blessed event in the Guild family, which was started with a weak little infant sired by Ta out of Lady Freedom of the Press in September, 1933.

At the time it was questioned whether the babe would live, in view of the fact that its mother had not kept herself in the best possible condition and its weight was somewhat less than a column of type. But the boy grew older and huskier and so precocious that when his father died he was almost ready to support his mother all by himself.

Then along came old ANPA and tried to seduce the lady. He planned for her a fate worse than death. But Ta's younger brother, Wagner Act, rushed to the rescue and wed Freedom of the Press. Whether he arrived in time to keep her an honest woman will soon be seen. We can hardly wait to find out whether the current labor trouble will produce a Guild child—or something else.

THE GUILD'S LABOR HERITAGE

Rights Won in Struggles on The Picket Lines Are Enacted into Law

By MORGAN HULL
International Organizer

As Guildsmen and trade unionists we enjoy a heritage of hard-earned moral and legal rights which have been handed down to us by several generations of the American labor movement. It might be worthwhile to examine our position in the light of American tradition, particularly with reference to the manner in which our legal and moral rights were obtained, and to consider the extent to which we are faithfully preserving them.

Today we have a legal right to organize, to bargain collectively with the employer, to democratically choose our agents for collective bargaining and to be recognized by the employers for that purpose. We also have the legal right to strike, to picket and to boycott although in some cases these rights are more statutory than real.

Where and how did we get these rights and the laws and the court decisions which are their technical foundation? This question is frequently raised today by the interminable propaganda on the subject of "law and order."

The truth is that whenever we exercise these rights, legal though they are, we are enjoying the fruits of lawlessness and civil disobedience of our predecessors. Paradoxical though it may be, it is true that these legal rights originated in organized, widespread violation of law.

As Guildsmen, we are the inheritors, in common with other unions, of certain legal rights which were not won in legislative halls but in the bloodshed of our forebears on countless picket lines. Our early trade unions were banned by law as conspiracies in this free country. Strikes were "riots" to be suppressed. Union organizers were commonly sentenced to long terms in penal institutions.

In spite of the law and the courts, working people continued to organize. It is true that they sensed that certain human, moral rights were superior to employer group interests which were crystallized in the law, but fundamentally it was sheer economic necessity which drove them on. This unlawful struggle became so widespread and aroused so much sympathy from the people of the country that it was necessary for the courts and the law-makers of the land to change the law to conform with their demands.

We have lately seen a striking example of how law is made—or unmade—in the repeal of Prohibition. The legal act of repeal was merely a funeral, a formal, official acknowledgment that Prohibition had already died and was now being decently buried. The real repeal was not carried out by state legislatures but by millions of citizens who violated the law out of existence.

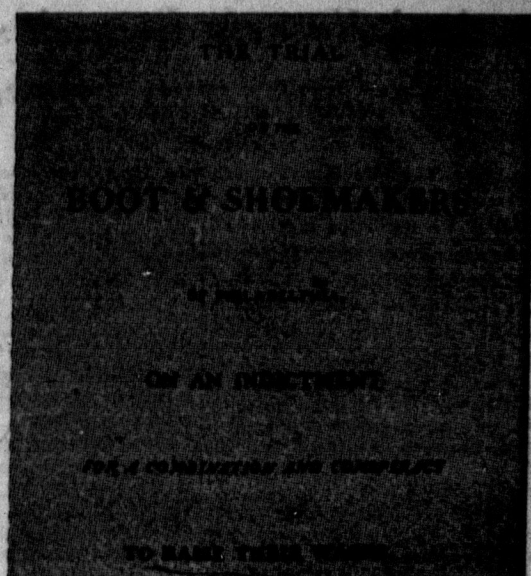
And some of the very publishers who would call this article "lawless," did their best to encourage, defend and protect the lawlessness which destroyed Prohibition. Yet, out of that organized lawlessness came legality.

Similarly, NRA was wiped out long before the Supreme Court discovered it and formally announced it to a public which was already thoroughly aware of the fact. We Guild members will always recall its death particularly vividly, because it was our organized publishers who gave it probably the death blow. When they rose and told the President that they would withdraw from their code if he allowed the Labor Board decision on the Jennings case to stand, they made the NRA's continuance impossible. The Supreme Court only wrote the "Anis."

These same publishers, and notably the Associated Press, along with other employers made the same lawless attack on the National Labor Relations Act, but an aroused public sentiment has so far protected it from destruction. Here again the publishers who cry the loudest for "law and order" violated this law themselves almost universally in an organized manner.

Neither Senator Wagner nor President Roosevelt made the National Labor Relations Act. It is no disrespect to either of them to say that the law was made by the workers of the country and that the acts of these two men were a democratic reflection of the needs of the people.

While the methods by which the Wagner Act was pre-



TITLE PAGE OF INDICTMENT RECORD OF BOOT & Shoemakers trial, 1886, one of six famous combination (union) and conspiracy (strike) trials occurring between 1886 and 1915. (Reprinted with permission of Photo-History magazine.)

served from destruction at the hands of the Supreme Court may not have been illegal, they were not exactly genteel. It is so notorious as to be a commonplace that the act became the law of the land by a process of figuratively clubbing the Supreme Court over the head. Hence we have law. A few months prior to the Watson case decision, the Supreme Court kicked the Guffey Coal Bill out of court as unconstitutional although it was predicated on the identical principles of the Wagner Act and written in almost identical language. Within the space of a few months the unconstitutional became Constitutional. The law was changed to conform to the will of the people.

The labor movement has recently furnished another striking example, little noted in the press, of its ability to preserve its rights: the case of the notorious act designed by Senator Copeland, candidate for the mayoralty of New York, which required the registration of seamen and prescribed the "continuous discharge book." This "ank-book," as labor called it, allowed the shipping employers to blacklist active union men.

The maritime unions organized widespread refusal to obey the law. Seamen blandly reported for duty, willing and ready to work but without the "ank-books." Ships were tied up. Federal courts issued injunctions and court orders and federal marshals threw sailors in jail. Threatened with a nation-wide tie-up of the maritime industry, Congress as well as Secretary of Commerce Roper (who cried for "law and order" in the form of mutiny indictments), were compelled to back down. In order to "save face" the law was not repealed; it was amended into a meaningless replica of legislation already on the statute books.

The current argument over the legality of the "sit-down" is a case in the making. There is the usual sudden barrage of court decisions, legal opinions and "anti" legislation.

Not so long ago a strike of any kind was a crime; organization of a union was deemed a "felonious conspiracy to raise wages." Our great-grandfathers seriously debated the question of whether any strike, much less a sit-down, was legal. Today, from the vantage point of historical perspective, that argument seems silly and academic. And the probability is that before we are retired from the copy desk the same argument over the sit-down will seem equally academic.

We inherit the fruits of the fight against injustice and it will be well to remember that as union men and women we tread to our own progress and betterment on the bones of countless workers, many of whom could not have read the newspapers which we make, who suffered being shot down, beaten and imprisoned in order to clear the way, legally and otherwise, in which we follow to our own economic and professional advancement.

Lundberg Views Trends That Promise New Newspapers

(Continued from page 3)

of the light-goods industrialists and merchants who have supported the New Deal is to revive popular purchasing power, which is essential to their well-being. Hence the New Deal's support of NRA, AAA, of unemployment relief, and of industrial unionization.

The idea of the New Deal light-goods industrialists and merchants (represented by the Marshall Field family of Chicago, the Reynolds family of North Carolina, et al.) has been to raise bulwarks against the further encroachments of finance capital, whose objective is not to make profits on the basis of widespread popular purchasing power, but on monopoly control of all industry.

It must be observed that as the remnants of the old independent entrepreneurs have fought back against the banking element which today controls most of industry, they have either founded new newspapers (like the Chicago Times) or have revived failing properties (like the New York Post). It is noticeable, too, that newspapers dependent almost entirely upon mercantile advertising of the department-store variety have been rather pro-New Deal, and in this connection the New York Daily News and the Scripps-Howard press comes to mind. There are, of course, some anti-New Deal newspapers apparently be-

holden primarily to department store advertisers, but only apparently. These, like the members of the Hearst chain, are initially in pawn to the banks, however, and cannot speak for the policies of the light-goods and mercantile groups.

From the long range standpoint, therefore, there is no need to be pessimistic about the journalistic prospect. Pessimism will be justified only to the extent that progress of the New Deal is retarded or blocked. A return to Old Guard "normalcy" would be real reason for extreme pessimism, naturally, for such a return would preface a recurrence of the narrowing vitriolic tendencies which became so visible in the 1920's and which manifested themselves to newspaper workers in the disappearance of many publications.

The extent to which the CIO is successful in putting through its broad program of industrial unionization will determine, to a great degree, whether the United States will have a lusty labor press, whether daily. A union of 10,000,000 members concentrated around big industrial centers like New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, St. Louis, could easily support ten daily newspapers modelled along the lines of the London Daily Herald which is now published by one of the

large commercial houses but still under the aegis of the British Labor Party.

Recent years have witnessed the uprush of the vigorous liberal-radical weekly People's Press. The New York Daily Worker, once a sectarian Communist paper and still under Communist auspices, is gradually transforming itself into a fairly non-sectarian daily labor paper. La Follette's Progressive Weekly and Upton Sinclair's Epic Weekly stand also as harbingers of a new day when there may be a further growth of independent, militant, left-wing newspapers. The Socialist Party has a new weekly newspaper, the New York Socialist Call.

Labor is on the march. The farmers are on the march. The independent capitalists are on the march. Professional people are on the march. Great social forces are on the march. And if the march continues it is safe to say that America is in for its greatest period of self-expression. It will print and read more books, more magazines, more newspapers. It will produce more plays. And it will do this because there will be many novel viewpoints in dispute.

Possibly only involvement in another great bank-inspired war can arrest this coming development of expression in America.