

CIO Shifts Aid Plans For Guild

*Regional Assistance
Program Set; Staff
Is Reduced*

The development of regional organizing staffs and the formation of city industrial councils by the Committee for Industrial Organization has now reached the stage where the Committee feels that much of its aid to particular unions can be supplied more effectively through these channels than by direct allotment of organizers and it has consequently notified the ANG that it is cutting the Guild's allotment from ten to five.

Under a staff reorganization plan adopted by the ANG International Executive Board as a result, two organizers will be dropped. The plan is further dependent upon the absorption by local Guilds of several organizers, and the lending by executive functionaries and organizers to the ANG of portions of their salaries for a period not longer than two months.

Plan Described

Under the new plans, described in a letter to President Heywood Brown from Walter Smethurst, executive assistant to John L. Lewis, as chairman of the CIO, local Guilds will be expected to make increased use of the facilities of the CIO, now developed in all the main centers of population. Smethurst added that "we consider it desirable that special attention shall be given to assisting the Guild at this time and we are accordingly proposing to assign representatives from these offices, where the services will be most needed by you, to co-operate with the Guild in the area under their supervision."

As the surge of organizing in the commercial departments is now reaching the stage where several Guilds or groups of Guilds may soon be able to engage full-time organizers, the IEB has decided to make this an occasion for further strengthening of the Guild organizational structure by speeding up this development.

In preparation for the new arrangement it adopted a plan whereby

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BUSINESS OFFICE PARLEYS OPENED ON MANY FRONTS

*N. Y. Speaks for 350
New Members On
World-Telegram*

The New York World-Telegram management agreed last Tuesday to negotiate a supplement to the existing Guild editorial department contract to cover the 350 employees of the commercial and allied groups. A second conference was scheduled for Saturday.

Negotiated in this manner, it will be possible to bargain for the commercial and editorial departments together upon the expiration of the present contract in April.

The commercial division proposals are identical with the contract provisions now in effect for the editorial employees with respect to hours, overtime, sick leave, vacations, severance pay, and expenses. Apparently the chief point for negotiation will be the minimum wage provision covering 17 classifications.

New Problem

A problem was met in the initial conference which had not been met before in editorial negotiations, and which will have to be solved in the negotiations. Minimum wages based on experience have in the past involved experience on newspapers. In a number of commercial groups, however, this would be unjust. Telephone operators, addressograph operators and bookkeepers are equally experienced whether their

prior service has been in the newspaper industry or in any other industry. In other commercial division groups the distinction is less clear.

The justice of a different application of the meaning of experience was immediately accepted by the management of the World-Telegram. N. S. Macneish, assistant publisher, and spokesman for the management, has given the Guild assurances that every effort will be made to speed the negotiations.

Some of the minimum wage ranges submitted by the New York Guild follow: bookkeepers, senior clerks and payroll clerk, \$30 to \$40; secretaries and stenographers, \$25 to \$35; telephone operators, \$25 to \$35; multigraph operators, \$30 to \$40; artists and publication desk men, \$45 to \$60; production schedule and make-up men, \$75; composing room boys, \$25 to \$40; classified outside solicitors, \$25 to \$50; inside \$22 to \$35.

Started on Two Papers

PHILADELPHIA. — Negotiations for advertising and business departments here are now under way on two newspapers where the least difficulty was anticipated, and the lessons learned from the problems met

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U. P. Proposals Condemned; Unit Aligns Self With CTUA

Resolutions roundly condemning the bargaining tactics of the United Press, and petitioning the International Executive Board to make common cause with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union in the fight for the five-day week and other benefits, were adopted last Wednesday by the UP New York unit. The ANG negotiating committee, headed by Vice President Watson, was to inform the UP of the unit's attitude at a conference today.

The resolutions, adopted at a meeting of about 60 members, denounced management counter proposals as "violations of the Wagner Act, the Constitution, and the principles of organized labor, and designed solely to obscure the real purpose of the management—that it is not prepared

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N. J. Strikers 'Pull' Big Ads

*Contempt Citations
Follow Success*

BAYONNE.—Despite a second vicious attack from the anti-union courts of New Jersey, striking Bayonne Guildsmen last week delivered smashing blows to the publishers of the Times.

Selecting the paper's largest advertiser—Sears, Roebuck, for initial picketing of advertisers, the Guildsmen brought the chain store's ad out of the paper after a day of effort. Other small advertisers followed in what amounted to a stampede at the example of Sears.

Vice Chancellor Egan, the absent-minded justice who last week signed an injunction he admittedly had not read denying the Guildsmen the right to strike, issued a contempt citation based on use of the Guild's sound truck and the picketing of advertisers.

The jurist's order was based on the charge that picketing of advertisers constituted intimidation and that use of sound truck constituted coercion.

IEB Group Urges Speedy Collections

With effective drives to clean up arrears of dues and assessments reported in virtually every Guild in the country, the IEB Finance Committee is urging all Guildsmen to cooperate and help speed the proceeds of the drives to international headquarters.

"We hope all members, "that this is an emergency situation which must be met with effective action by all. With three strikes to support, including the two largest in ANG history, and with the ANG called upon to finance three Guilds taken over from the CIO list, the demands on both the general and defense funds are severe and exceptional."

Warm Reason on the War Of Publishers Versus Guild

All future Guild negotiators will save much conference talk if they will tie the publisher down at the first session and read to him the speech about the Guild by Irving Brant, editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis Star-Times, delivered before the recent convention of the Sigma Delta Chi and printed on pages 5 and 6 of this issue.

It may not even be painful. In the conflict between Guild and publishers, Brant speaks as a benevolent neutral. He is a Guild member but he knows the publishers' side. He has tried to heal the conflict by friendly reason.

If any publisher can knock holes in his argument, he is welcome to try in the Guild Reporter. The space will be his.

Meanwhile every prospective member should get a copy. Any member who still has qualms about the CIO or such policies as the Guild shop will find reassurance in it. It should also be in the hands of key citizens whose understanding of the Guild is particularly important.

The usual extra copies are being sent to all Guilds and 2,000 additional copies have been printed for distribution on request.

Brant has done a service to the Guild, the public, and, we hope, the publishers.

Move Made To Mediate In Brooklyn

*Second Try Comes as
More Ads Drop
Out of Eagle*

The New York State Mediation Board has once again stepped into the picture of the Brooklyn Eagle strike, now 11 weeks old.

The Guild and Publisher M. Preston Goodfellow for the management last week agreed to appear before a board to be set up under auspices of the State Labor Department. Arthur Meyer, member of the State Mediation Board, is to preside as head of a fact-finding board along with two other members still to be chosen, and on a date later to be set.

Mediation was attempted once before, early in the strike, and failed when the publisher took the view that he wanted to select and reinstate "a handful" of the 250 strikers. Since then, however, the Eagle has taken a thorough licking in the loss of more than half its advertising revenue, which may uncover a different management attitude. On the other hand, the strikers have been wary of mediation maneuvers which might rob them of the fruits of victory.

Ads Still Falling

While the mediation overtures were being made, the strikers increased their efforts at forcing the few remaining advertisers out of the struck paper. One of the leading New York ladies' apparel shops with a branch in Brooklyn came out of the paper after nine minutes of picketing the Manhattan store. The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company withdrew its advertising as the result of picketing and the national "consumers' strike" reported in the Guild Reporter and other labor publications. White Rose Tea and Gorton's Cod Fish cakes were among the past week's ad withdrawals following the "consumers' strike."

Filing of a petition by a so-called "majority of the Eagle employees" with the National Labor Relations Board last Monday asking for an election drew the charge from the Guild that the group comprises a company union formed during the strike.

The scab move came as printers

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IEB Approval Is Necessary For Filing NLRB Complaint

Guilds contemplating Labor Board action of any kind, including elections, are reminded that IEB approval is required prior to filing, by Convention decision.

The 1936 Convention adopted the following ruling, recommended by the Convention Employer Relations Committee:

"The ANG in Convention assembled rules that local Guilds filing complaints through regional offices of the NLRB do so only with the advice and consent of the IEB."

The ruling is designed to protect the ANG and particularly the local directly concerned from the danger to their position which may result from a complaint which is loosely prepared or which, even though justified, is based on insufficient evidence.

The IEB Employer Relations Committee, which has been handling the NLRB cases on behalf of the board, believes, from its experience, that the ruling by the Convention was well-founded, and that it is much to the advantage of the local to have a prospective complaint examined by ANG headquarters, with its greater facilities for local advice.

L. A. PACTS ARE SIGNED

Comparison Reveals Trick Clauses in AF of L Draft

LOS ANGELES.—After two and one-half months of negotiation, the Los Angeles Guild has signed a contract for the Herald-Express unit containing substantial salary increases and other benefits. At the same time, Local No. 1 of the AF of L's Federation of Newspaper Writers and Reporters signed a contract on behalf of Examiner editorial employees after a month of negotiations. Both papers are Hearst-owned.

The comparison of clauses in the two contracts in the adjoining columns tells its own story, graphically explaining why the Guild negotiators spent ten weeks in haggling with Harvey J. Kelly, Hearst labor relations counselor. For days after their contract was signed, Examiner employees were trying to learn what was in the document.

Whether they have since found out everything is questionable, because of the many ambiguous clauses in the contract. Supposedly a one-year contract, it now develops that the contract cannot be reopened during the first two years of its life, because of a trick phrase in the renewal clause. After that, it renews itself automatically year after year, but any differences arising in negotiations must be arbitrated.

The AF of L signed away the unit's right to strike.

Threat Wins

Contract Conditions Set on Hearst Unit

PITTSBURGH.—A strike threat against Hearst's Sun-Telegraph last week broke a deadlock and resulted in approval by the Sun-Telegraph unit of a contract. It provides \$50 for five-year copy readers and general desk men; \$50 for five-year reporters, photographers and artists, with three step-ups from a starting \$25.

Raises are retroactive for five weeks. Dismissal pay rises to 24 weeks for 15 years. There are eight exemptions from the 40-hour week and nine in the financial department from the five-day week.

Probably most important gain in the contract is one recognizing the principle of rehiring competent men dismissed for economy. The Guild shop was omitted from the contract. The strike threat arose when the Guild finally became convinced the publisher did not intend to grant a contract comparable to those existing on other papers here. Within five days the CIO group here had pledged support and it was obvious the mechanical units would not walk through picket lines. Strike headquarters were arranged for and on Monday an ultimatum was delivered to the publisher.

Chicago Makes Gain

CHICAGO.—Thanksgiving proved to be a real holiday for editorial workers of the Hearst-owned Evening American as a result of current negotiations. The management discontinued the long established practice of considering a holiday as a regular day off, and henceforth the staff will get the regular day off in addition to the holidays.

Another improvement came when the 5-day 40-hour week was placed in effect for the reference room workers and the last photographer who had remained on the 6-day week.

Guild, AFL Contracts Compared

THE EXAMINER AF OF L CONTRACT

1. **Wages.** \$30 after one year's experience up to \$52.50 for five years, for editorial workers, photographers, artists, retouchers.

Experience must have been on a metropolitan newspaper published in a city of 100,000 or more.

No specified wage for head librarian up to third year of experience. Then \$40 a week.

Library clerks get \$18.50 the first year; \$20 the second, and \$21.50 the third.

(In the Guild contract, submitted to the Examiner management in September, Examiner employees would have received \$5 more in every classification than Herald-Express employees, as is the practice on most morning papers in Los Angeles. In San Francisco morning paper workers get \$7.50 more than those on evening papers.)

All employees already receiving more than \$52.50 and up to \$75 get a \$5 a week increase.

(It's the Big Shot on the Examiner and the Little Shot on the Herald-Express who profit by this clause. If a five-year man on the Examiner is already getting the minimum, or \$50, he will get a \$5 increase, bringing his weekly check up to \$55. On the other hand, if the head of a department at the Herald is already getting \$70, he gets nothing more. But on the Examiner, he would be raised to \$75.)

2. **HOURS.** Eight hours within ten consecutive hours.

3. **Overtime.** All overtime to be compensated for in equivalent time off or in pro rata pay, or both, at the option of the publisher.

4. **Mileage.** 5c per mile.

5. **Severance Pay.** Begins with two weeks' wages more than six months' work and goes up to 26 weeks wages for 15 years' work.

Payment shall be at the rate of pay current at time of dismissal.

According to Section 16 of the Examiner contract: "Any employee discharged for cause forfeits his claim to dismissal pay."

Paragraph 6, Section 11 of the same contract, specifies: "These provisions shall not apply to any employee discharged for gross neglect of duty or gross insubordination."

Nothing about gross neglect of duty. Nothing about gross insubordination.

Those who resign will get severance pay if they have been asked to resign or have worked for the Herald-Express for 25 years.

6. **Security of Employment.** The AF of L contract says: "The Union agrees that all working time belongs to the Publisher who shall employ and discharge, prescribe duties, designate working hours individually and collectively; determine policy and in every manner, whether or not stated herein, operate the editorial department and select editorial talent as in the Publisher's best judgment best liquidates his journalistic obligations to the public."

Another section hedges the union even more. It provides: "The Publisher, or his representative, shall be the sole judge of the number of men required in the editorial department or any subdivision thereof and shall select and designate the number of employees and prescribe their duties. He shall, as in his judgment seems proper, increase, reduce, merge, or eliminate departments and may transfer any employees from one department to another."

One paragraph reads: "In consideration of the schedule of severance pay, hereinafter set forth, employment and tenure of employment shall be solely at the discretion of the management."

7. **Arbitration.** Section 18: "The principle of conciliation and arbitration shall govern in this agreement. Should any dispute over interpretation, or any grievance, or claim for dismissal pay arise such matters shall be submitted to arbitration, the decisions to be final."

The AF of L Examiner contract declares categorically, "Section 2 and first paragraph of Section 11 are not subject to arbitration." Notice this difference in the two contracts: Examiner editorial workers are forced to arbitrate everything except dismissals. They are specifically forbidden the right to arbitrate these. They can do absolutely nothing about dismissals. The whole staff could be fired tomorrow and it even so much as a feeble protest was made, it would be a violation of the contract.

8. **Right to Belong to a Union.** No employee is to be discharged because of his work in the union as a member, committeeman, or officer, provided it is on time not paid for by the Publisher, does not lessen the employee's efficiency on time paid for by the Publisher, and is not inconsistent with the letter and spirit of this contract.

9. **Method of Negotiating Contract.** Four editorial employees of the Examiner negotiated the contract. They were given blanket authority to sign any contract they thought acceptable. No observers were ever present.

10. **Who Wrote the Contract?** R. P. Guild, business manager of the Examiner, wrote the contract. The contract as written by him was signed.

THE HERALD-EXPRESS GUILD CONTRACT

1. **Wages.** \$25 for beginners up to \$50 for five years, for editorial workers, artists, retouchers and photographers.

Experience must have been on a daily newspaper of not less than 10,000 bonafide general circulation.

\$25 for head librarian for first year; \$30 for second, and \$35 for third year and over.

Library clerks get \$20 the first year; \$22.50 the second, and \$27.50 the third.

All five-year men getting \$50 or less who are not increased by at least \$5 per week under the new minimum will be increased by that amount.

2. **HOURS.** Eight hours within nine consecutive hours.

3. **Overtime.** All overtime to be compensated in equal time off, except upon dismissal or resignation employees shall be paid for accumulated overtime. (Elimination of money equivalent at request of Herald-Express unit.)

4. **Mileage.** 7c per mile.

5. **Severance Pay.** Begins with one week's pay (after 6 months' work) for each 30 weeks of employment or major fraction thereof and goes up to a maximum of 26 weeks' pay.

Payment shall be at the highest rate of pay received during the last six months.

The Guild contract at the Herald-Express says: "When an employee is discharged after six months' service he shall receive in cash a dismissal indemnity of \$100."

Nothing about cause. Nothing about gross neglect of duty. Nothing about gross insubordination.

Those who resign will get severance pay if they have been asked to resign or have worked for the Herald-Express for 25 years.

6. **Security of Employment.** The Guild contract contains no such security as this. It was against just such provisions that Guild negotiators fought for 10 weeks.

The only right the publisher has to fire under the Guild contract is contained in Section 13: "Nothing in the contract shall be construed to impair or invade the right of the Publisher to determine or change the classification of his employees on the basis of their efficiency and competency and peremptory discharge for cause."

The Guild contract provides: "Upon dismissal an employee, making written request within 72 hours, shall receive in writing from the publisher, or his representative, a statement of the cause of discharge."

7. **Arbitration.** The Guild summarily refused arbitration, which the management tried to force for weeks, and insisted that all arbitration clauses and references be stricken out. They were.

The question of a vacancy in the IEB as a result of the resignation of Vice-President Garland Ashcraft, of Cleveland, has been closed with the adoption by the board of a motion thanking him for accepting to its request that he withdraw his resignation, and expressing its regrets to the local for the inconvenience of them involved in starting the election machinery to fill the vacancy.

The resolution approved Ashcraft's request for a leave of absence until Feb. 1.

Proposed by Secretary-Treasurer Pasche, the motion was adopted by the following vote: Affirmative, Klyman, Michelson, Homan, Watson, Pasche; blank ballot, Ballantine.

10. **Who Wrote the Contract?** The Herald-Express unit wrote its own contract.

4-CONTRACT DISCUSSION

Wilkes-Barre Near Wage and Hour Clause Stage

WILKES-BARRE.—Discussion of wages and hours for inclusion in a Wilkes-Barre Guild shop contract with the publishers of four newspapers was to have been reached here last Friday.

The Friday conference was the second of the week. At the first on Monday, a subcommittee composed of Michael J. Kosik and Joseph Kmetz, United Mine Workers Union officials, was appointed to act on the publishers' demand for exclusion of certain editorial employees from the contract.

The publishers have expressed opposition to the 5-day 40-hour week, intimating that they would surrender in exchange for Guild recession on wage demands.

As the negotiations progressed, the Guild was consolidating its position in all white collar departments of the four units, to be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

News Vendors

IEB Adopts Policy on Their Organization

Because the question of enrolling street news vendors into the Guild has arisen in several local, the International Executive Board, after considerable study and consultation, has adopted the following advisory statement to local units.

The IEB has studied the question of organized street news vendors, and has taken it up with the Committee for Industrial Organization. Two major factors in the situation are the fact that almost universally news vendors sell more than one paper, and therefore would not, if enrolled in the Guild, fit in any Guild plant unit, and the fact that the problems of the news vendors are so materially different from those of all other classifications of workers in the Guild.

That at least for the present local Guilds would not be well equipped to handle the problems of news vendors. The IEB adheres to its position that the eligibility provisions of the Constitution leaves to the local Guild the decision on the eligibility of borderline classifications of workers.

It advises the local, however, of its view that at least for the present street news vendors should not be enrolled in the Guild, and should be encouraged and assisted in forming CIO industrial unions.

The Board naturally trusts that all local units will work in close cooperation with such unions of news vendors.

Vote on this action was yes—Pasche, Watson, Farmer, Eddy, Homan, Klyman, Ballantine and Michelson. The votes of other Board members had not yet been received on Nov. 26.

Ashcraft Gets IEB Thanks for Action

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IEB URGES F.D.R. TO QUIT SOCIETY

Resolution Points Out Anti-Guild Acts of APS

The International Executive Board last week adopted a resolution formally requesting President Roosevelt to withdraw his acceptance of honorary membership in the American Press Society, whose activities have exposed it as an employer weapon to undermine the Guild.

The resolution was moved by Vice President Watson, who pointed out that Chief Justice Hughes dropped his honorary membership because of the Washington Guild's protest.

The resolution follows: It is well known and a matter of common comment throughout the newspaper industry that the American Press Society was established as an answer to the prayer of newspaper publishers for an organization to serve as a counter-irritant to the American Newspaper Guild.

The American Press Society, while ostensibly started by self-elected newspaper academicians, has been nurtured by the publishers through their accepted trade organs and otherwise.

Moreover, despite its fine words and the delusions under which some of its members are laboring, the American Press Society is in fact functioning as an employer weapon, through actual attempts to undermine strikes and other peaceful efforts of employees to gain decent pay, hours and working conditions.

The invitation of the American Press Association to the President of the United States to become an honorary member obviously is for the purpose of enhancing the prestige of the American Press Society and making it a more effective weapon.

Such membership is contradictory to aims of the President's own administration of his high office. The American Newspaper Guild, therefore, through its International Executive Board, requests the President to consider these facts and to sever his connection with the American Press Society.

The resolution was adopted by the vote, yes, Eddy, Pasche, Watson, Klyman, Homan, Farmer, Ballantine, and Michelson. Votes had not yet been received on Nov. 26 from the other members of the board.

Chicago Also Acts CHICAGO.—In a strongly worded resolution, passed unanimously by the Representative Assembly, the Chicago Guild last week urged President Roosevelt to resign from the American Press Society because it is "an organization admittedly anti-labor and working against the interests of thousands of organized newspapermen."

It took the orderly conducted Guild strike of white-collar workers to spotlight the combine's activities and expose the links between the business interests, the police and the courts through what has come to be known widely as "Lobdell Law."

One result of this was a mass meeting last Tuesday which gave birth to a permanent organization, the Brooklyn Citizens' Committee for Civil Liberties, to aid labor's fight against the borough's open-shopbers.

Meeting With Lobdell More than 100 representatives of labor and kindred progressive organizations responded to the meeting called by the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union at five Seattle warehouses. With Guildsmen were nearly a thousand other progressive union members there to show their strength.

Several times strikers have aided members of the CIO Truck Drivers Union in their fight to force coal operators to sell them fuel. The operators—with Beck's prompting, have sought to sell only to members of the Teamster's Union.

Seattle Strike

SEATTLE.—While awaiting a Labor Board hearing on Nov. 29 that strikers feel will be an important step in their battle to force the Star management to a just settlement, Star Guildsmen aided other unions in the fight on Dave Beck and continued to pull out the struck paper's remaining advertisers.

All Star Guildsmen appeared for picket duty at a drug warehouse one morning last week to bolster other unionists. Beck has attempted to move in on the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union at five Seattle warehouses. With Guildsmen were nearly a thousand other progressive union members there to show their strength.

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WILKES-BARRE VICTORY SPIRIT IN BROOKLYN

PRESSURE TO SAVE WAGE BILL ASKED

Broun Urges Locals To Seek Passage By Congress

Following receipt of a telegram from E. L. Oliver, executive vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, President Broun last week addressed the following appeal to local Guilds:

I am taking the liberty of addressing you personally on the subject of the Black-Conspiracy Wage and Hours Bill now pending in Congress because while the American Newspaper Guild has not specifically taken a position on this measure or legislation of this kind, I am convinced that support of this measure is in line with the history of the Guild and that passage of the bill at the present special session of Congress is greatly to be desired from the point of view of all newspaper employees as well as labor generally. You all know that efforts are being made to prevent action on the bill. I believe it is up to all locals of the Guild to bring all possible pressure to bear on our Congressmen through resolutions, letters and telegrams, to defeat those efforts. Below is quoted a telegram just received by me from E. L. Oliver, Executive Vice-President of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and I hope that all of you will cooperate in carrying out the suggestions in it.

Oliver's telegram to Broun reads: Refusal of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives to permit the House to vote on the Black-Conspiracy bill makes it necessary that other means be found to bring the bill up for a vote. Members of Congress have prepared and are signing a petition discharging the House Rules Committee from further consideration of this bill. To get action 218 signatures are necessary. More than 150 have been secured already. We are urging our state and local representatives to exert all possible influence upon members of Congress asking that they sign this petition. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation in this campaign. If you can consistently request your officials and membership to write or wire their congressmen urging support of the petition in question it will be most helpful.

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CIO SHIFTS PLAN OF AID FOR GUILD

Regional Assistance Program is Set; Change Means Net Drop of 2 Organizers

(Continued from page 1)

The ANG will keep five of the seven other international representatives on the ANG payroll for at least another month, during which time it will try to arrange for locals to take over at least four of them. The local will be asked to finance their organizers entirely if possible, or, if not, with help from the ANG.

This plan calls first of all for an immediate speeding up of the drive by locals to improve their financial standing, so that the ANG can carry the increased burden. Second, it calls for a temporary loan arrangement adopted by the IEB, under which all paid functionaries connected with the ANG and CIO are asked to loan back to the ANG all their income for salary and maintenance above \$60 a week. It will mean loans by Executive Vice President Eddy of \$40 a week in addition to traveling expenses, and lesser amounts from others.

Personnel Listed

The Board has designated for the CIO payroll: Vice President Morris Watson and Representative Morgan Hull, "Don" Stevens, Bernice Morgan, Bill Davis, Honore Armstrong, Douglas Jacobs and H. Richard Seller. It is necessary to give up Ernest Moore and Charles L. Irvine.

Goldberg, who has been acting as assistant editor of the Guild Reporter since it began weekly publication, will continue on this assignment.

The CIO has now developed regional offices in 35 states with as high as 15 field representatives working under regional directors and is conducting campaigns in a large number of local industries and the concentration of resources on this work is strengthening the whole movement.

Southwest's letter to Brown outlining the new plan said:

The Committee for Industrial Organization, in line with decisions of the recent conference in Atlantic City, is at present making plans to concentrate its organizing forces and extend its activities in certain fields which appear to promise the best immediate results.

Facilities Available

In going over these plans, we have given special consideration to the situation confronting the American Newspaper Guild and to the question of making available to the Guild more of our present organizing facilities.

As you know, there are at present some 48 CIO Regional offices, each with its own organizing staff in all the main centers of population. The facilities of these offices are at all times available to unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, but we consider it desirable that special attention shall be given to assisting the Guild at this time, and we are accordingly proposing to assign representatives from these offices, where their services will be most needed by you, to cooperate with the Guild in the area under their supervision.

I am therefore enclosing herewith a tentative list of ten CIO Regional Directors and Field Representatives, who will be instructed to devote all possible time to aiding in Guild organizing work and to assisting you to consolidate your organization in the bigger centers.

We should like to have your advice as to whether this list represents the most advantageous disposition of our forces so far as the Guild is concerned, and if you have suggestions as to where help will be particularly needed, we shall be glad to revise the list in line with your requirements.

At the same time, we recommended by the Atlantic City con-

ference, we are encouraging the setting up of Industrial Union Councils in all cities where there are not yet in existence. These Councils will, of course, have their own officers and staff, in proportion to their resources and needs, and we anticipate that they will be helpful to the Guild in all cities where they are formed. We urge that the American Newspaper Guild instruct its local chapters to affiliate with these Industrial Union Councils and to avail themselves of their facilities.

Designed to Help

In view of the assignment of CIO representatives as above-mentioned and in view of the additional facilities which we expect to be available through the Industrial Union Councils, we consider that it will be possible for the Guild to dispense with the assistance of several of the Guild organizers now directly on the payroll of the national CIO and would like you to notify us as to which five of these organizers could be substituted for by our new assignments, effective Dec. 1, 1937. I want to assure you that the proposed reorganization is designed to render all possible assistance to the Guild with our existing forces. So please advise us.

Commercial Department Negotiations

(Continued from page 1)

There will be applied to solving the difficulties that may be expected on the remaining three papers.

About 125 employees of the circulation, bookkeeping, classified advertising and dispatch (sometimes known as advertising detail) departments of the Inquirer have joined the Guild.

Editorial workers on the Inquirer reached an agreement after Guild negotiations with the management about six months ago which contained all the usual Guild contract clauses in addition to wage minima.

These clauses have already been agreed to for the commercial department employees, and in several cases have been improved upon. The 40-hour week for editorial workers has been improved to a 35-hour and 37½-hour week for advertising solicitors.

Nearly 100 commercial employees of the Record have joined the Guild and negotiations are now in progress for most of them. More than two thirds of all the employees on the paper eligible for Guild membership are enrolled, and it is anticipated it will not be long before the shop is 100 percent Guild.

California's 'First'

LOS ANGELES.—California's first industrial union Guild contract went into negotiation on November 24. Negotiators representing the Glendale News Press unit presented publisher W. S. Kellogg with demands for workers in the editorial, display and classified advertising, circulation, and business departments. The contract demands a Guild shop, severance pay, accumulated over-time benefit, and the five-day forty-hour week.

Wages asked range up to a \$65 minimum for display salesmen with five years experience; \$35 for clerks; \$27.50 for messengers; up to 40 for classified outside solicitors with over three years experience; up to \$33.75 for telephone salesmen with three years experience; \$35 for clerks; from 35 for the first six months to \$55 after one year's experience for circulation; and in the business office, from \$28 for stenographers to \$45 for collectors and bookkeepers.

The business offices at the Herald Express have been spurred by the editorial contract just signed, and now claim an overwhelming Guild majority. A supplemental contract

CIO Help Available In Regional Setup

The CIO is rapidly developing its regional staffs and forming city industrial councils to consolidate organizations and contract gains already made.

Guild locals are urged to communicate with the regional headquarters of the CIO for guidance and assistance in their problems of organizing and bargaining. Every state is covered by a regional director and a staff of Guild representatives who are ready to help in all union difficulties. For the name of the CIO director and the field representatives in any region, write to ANG headquarters or the Committee for Industrial Organization, 1184 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

In line with the above suggestions, as to how allocations may best be made to render this assistance most effective, many Guilds have long worked closely with their local CIO offices and affiliated with industrial councils where these have been formed, and they have benefited from the experienced trade union advice and active assistance obtained.

The plan was adopted by the IEB by favorable votes of Vice-President Eddy, Secretary-Treasurer Patch and Vice-Presidents Watson and Michelson, who jointly made the motion, and Vice-Presidents Klyman and Farmer. Votes from the other members of the board had not yet been received on Nov. 24.

N. Y. UNIT ATTACKS U. P. PROPOSALS

Management Offer Condemned As a Stale Alliance with Telegraphers Asked

(Continued from page 1)

That "the demands of our union . . . are just and fair and he unit hereby declares that it will back the members of the CIO with all its resources." The arbitration award handed down by Roscoe Johnson, former international president of the CIO, dismissed the five-day work issue with the statement that "it may come in the natural course of events." Johnson is chief operator for the UP in Chicago.

L. E. Stephenson and S. W. McCleave, the union negotiators, recommended rejection of the award with the statement that "it was apparent the management did not want to set a precedent for another group of men employed by the United Press."

Makes Full Reply

The Guild unit urged the IEB "to confer immediately with the Commercial Telegraphers Union for the purpose of coordinating their efforts for the achievement of their common aims."

Embodied in the unit's resolution on the management's counter proposal was a detailed reply to the hedging and meaningless proffers made by the UP.

"The management through its own admission agrees that it proposes to grant its employees absolutely nothing that they do not already have beyond 'dismissal pay,' which in itself is so limited as to make it inapplicable in most cases; the proposal in fact amounts to an offer to give us nothing that we do not already have and restrain us from doing what we have a right to do."

It charged that the UP, "through its policy of drawing out the negotiations as long as possible, and involving the negotiators in countless arguments through the use of such catch-phrases as 'freedom of the press,' 'purity of the news,' and 'impartial reporting,' indicated its desire to save money at the sacrifice of its employees."

"We shall not give up our demands for a Guild shop, the 5-day, 40-hour week, increased pay with minimums, overtime, sick pay, severance indemnity, right to picket and engage in public activity, vacations, review of dismissal, no restriction on outside writing, and other rights as stated in detail by the Guild negotiators."

You may say that this picture of the American newspaper man belongs in Hollywood, but it is not far from the picture cherished by American newspaper publishers. That is why the Newspaper Guild is such an incredible institution. Instead of forming a nice, innocuous professional organization like the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and raising the level of American journalism by adopting resolutions on ethics, the news men banded together in an effort to bring the wages of reporters, copywriters and assistant city editors up to the level enjoyed by printers and typesetters. And at the same time they sought to bring hours of editorial labor down to the hours of the composing room. They undertook to do this through collective bargaining. In short, the American Newspaper Guild is a labor union, and has been a labor union from the day of its foundation.

Two meetings with these employees have been held, and 22 have been signed up.

William Shine has been elected group chairman and James Van Schoick secretary for the office and advertising solicitors. Both are advertising solicitors.

Detroit Has Majority

DETROIT.—A majority in the business office of Hearst's Detroit Times has been organized into a division of the Times Guild unit. Ralph Novak is chairman, and Leonard Gossard, controller.

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This Bitter War of Publishers versus Guild

We have been forced along our present line by employers' efforts to destroy us, says Editor Brant, warning publishers that the Guild's power is the power of the public itself.

By IRVING BRANT

Editor of the Editorial Page, St. Louis Star-Times

Ever since the spring of 1934, newspaper publishers in the United States have been perplexed and disturbed by the American Newspaper Guild. Even today, after the Guild has been in existence for nearly four years, they look upon it in much the same fashion as the man we've all heard about who gazed for a long time upon a giraffe and at last pronounced the verdict, "There ain't no such animal."

I must confess that I have to pinch myself occasionally to keep from saying the "same thing about the Guild. From the moment it was organized, in December, 1933, its members have not behaved at all as editorial employees are supposed to behave.

Legend Sees Reporter

Individualist Forever

You all know what a newspaper reporter is supposed to be like. If he is given his choice between working eight hours a day for \$50 a week, or sixteen hours a day for \$25 a week, he is supposed to choose sixteen hours at \$25, because that sets him apart from the ordinary run of American money-grubbers. It indicates that he is so filled with the journalistic spirit that he will sacrifice sleep, recreation, family life and his hope of heaven or hell (most newspaper men, I think, would prefer hell), out of a mystic, fanatical devotion to the chasing and handling of news. He never is satisfied until he gets home at 8 o'clock in the morning and meets himself going to work.

Not only this, but the editorial worker is supposed to be an individualist of the most intense kind.

Then there is the matter of being hired and fired. Firing a reporter, in the good old days of American journalism, was as nonchalant a performance as shooting a Chinaman in a California mining camp. A newspaper man who didn't get turned out of his job with a week's notice, or without a week's notice, every once in a while, was likely to develop an inferiority complex. He thought something was wrong with himself, or with his boss.

You may say that this picture of the American newspaper man belongs in Hollywood, but it is not far from the picture cherished by American newspaper publishers. That is why the Newspaper Guild is such an incredible institution. Instead of forming a nice, innocuous professional organization like the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and raising the level of American journalism by adopting resolutions on ethics, the news men banded together in an effort to bring the wages of reporters, copywriters and assistant city editors up to the level enjoyed by printers and typesetters. And at the same time they sought to bring hours of editorial labor down to the hours of the composing room. They undertook to do this through collective bargaining. In short, the American Newspaper Guild is a labor union, and has been a labor union from the day of its foundation.

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paper code of the

NRA for the purpose of organizing editorial employees. had advanced some ideas "that were 'revolutionary, hallucinatory in fact.' . . . 'I express the sincere hope and conviction,' said Mr. Hanson, 'that when the tortures of the delivery room are ended, there will be no threat to a free press from the efforts of news writers to organize.'"

At this same time, the editorial workers were being advised, in newspaper trade journals and by newspaper publishers, that the Guild would be destroyed by its own tactics. If it persisted in becoming a labor union, the great mass of newspaper workers, the Guild was told, never would join an organization which used the language and weapons of organized labor. The Guild should be a high class professional association, with a committee on journalistic standards, and everything. It should have an economic program—yes—it might ask for higher wages and shorter hours, but it should do so in a dignified manner, and if it didn't get them, why, it could ask some other time. This advice from the publishers was punctuated by the judicious discharge of a few active Guild leaders, here and there over the country.

You are familiar, of course, with the trend of events since that time. The mass discharge of Guild members on the Newark, New Jersey, Ledger, termed by the Guild a lock-out, was met by a strike. The Stern papers in New York and Philadelphia, and Mr. Patterson's New York Daily News, voluntarily entered into agreements with the Guild. In Milwaukee, the Guild struck against William Randolph Hearst's \$17-a-week wage, and won the strike. In Seattle, when Guild members were discharged by Mr. Hearst's Post-Intelligencer, the Guild not only struck but tied up publication of the paper for three months, and won the strike. The Scripps-Howard chain signed contracts with the Guild, somewhat unwillingly. Many other publishers signed contracts, some voluntarily, others under varying degrees of compulsion. Wages went up and hours were shortened all over the country, either as a result of Guild contracts, or to forestall contracts, or to discourage the formation of Guilds by making them seem unnecessary.

Throughout this time, the Newspaper Guild moved steadily in the direction of

TOPEKA, Kan.—Irving Brant's vigorous but dispassionate denunciation of publishers' anti-Guild activities at the national convention of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalists' fraternity, Nov. 13, were followed by speeches by William Allen White, publisher of the Emporia Gazette, and former Gov. Henry J. Allen, editor of the Topeka Journal.

Mr. White said he did not know whether the Guild was "the answer," but unhesitatingly declared that the issue which the coming newspaper man would need to face was "ownership vs. public interest."

Mr. Allen attempted a platitudinous rejoinder, the gist of which was that there were fundamental differences between "publishers" and "downstairs" and that unionism should be kept out of the editorial room.

He said he had never seen a first class newspaperman in need of a job. Discussing Guild organization activities in Topeka, he ridiculed the Guild for sending a "railroad man" as its negotiator. "Slack" was the word he had for Brant's address.

What the undergraduate delegates thought about the merits of the Brant and Allen presentations was evident from the fact that a large number surrounded Brant after the program and piled him with questions about the ANG. This incident, as well as the fact that many journalism teachers have gone

out of their way to take digs at the Guild in their classes.

At the concluding business session, the convention approved a resolution which put Sigma Delta Chi on record as not favoring either an anti-labor or a pro-labor policy and as unwilling to align itself with existing publisher or employee groups. Sentiment in favor of a possible tie-up with the American Press Society, expressed at the outset of the convention, did not materialize.

there is a labor conflict in the newspaper industry . . . as sharp and bitter as any . . . in America."

there is against the New York Times. The Associated Press, which fought the Guild to the Supreme Court on a claim that the Wagner Act is unconstitutional, is still fighting the Guild as tenaciously as it had not lost that famous case. To sum it up, there is a labor conflict in the newspaper industry, centering in the American Newspaper Guild, as sharp and bitter as any that can be found in the entire field of industrial conflict in America.

In discussing the conflict over the Guild, who might be called a disinterested partisan, I am a member of the St. Louis Star-Times chapter of the Newspaper Guild. My personal economic interests are not with the Guild, but it has my sympathy and support. In discussing the conflict over the Guild, my chief aim is to clarify the issues. If, what I say, I am critical of newspaper publishers, that criticism is based on a hope that an analysis of their attitude, showing what it is leading to, may help to break the deadlock.

First let me state my own attitude toward the Guild as a part of organized labor. When the question of affiliation with the AF of L came up for action in 1933, I opposed it. The Guild, I said at that time, is a labor union. It is a labor union because its primary object is to obtain economic advantages for its members through collective bargaining. But many of its members and prospective members do not know that it is a labor union. If you proclaim that fact now by affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, I said, you will split some of the Guilds in two, you will prevent the organization of Guilds in cities where there is prejudice against organized labor, and you will intensify the hostility of publishers and give them a weapon with which to fight the Guild.

Guild Fought Union Battles Without Organized Labor's Aid

In that year, 1933, affiliation was defeated by a narrow margin. In 1936, at a meeting of the Star-Times chapter of the Guild, I was asked whether I still felt the same as in 1933. I replied that every argument I had offered against affiliation in 1933 had become invalid. The newspaper publishers, I said, were appealing to the Guild to stay out of the AF of L had treated it as if it were in. They had refused to recognize it for collective bargaining, they had discharged employees for Guild membership, and in some instances had given the Guild members no choice except to see their organization destroyed, or declare a strike to preserve it. "The Guild, therefore, sustained all the hostility that would come to it as a part of organized labor, without the offsetting advantage of support from other labor unions. Furthermore, I pointed out, publisher hostility had cemented the Guild together."

It came down to this, that publishers, by trying to destroy the Guild, not only drove it into the American Federation at Labor but protected it against a split when it went in. In 1935 I heard members of our chapter excitedly declaring that they would leave the Guild if it affiliated with organized labor. A year later they were among the most active supporters of the Milwaukee and Seattle strikes and were talking in terms of trade unionism. Why? Because they saw tangible benefits in wages, hours and working conditions resulting from organization of the Guild and they saw a national campaign against it which could only be met by trade union methods and the support of organized labor.

CIO a Militant Force, Guild Joins Its Ranks

Hardly had the Guild received its AF of L charter before it swung over to the CIO. I voted for the change of affiliation from the AF of L to the CIO, for three reasons. First, the CIO is a vigorous, growing organization, and the fact that the typographical union was partly affiliated with it made it possible for the Guild to join without antagonizing other organized newspaper employees.

Second, the attitude of President Green of the AF of L in the Guild's strike against the Seattle Post-Intelligencer indicated that the Guild could expect no effective support, but rather the contrary; from the national officers of the American Federation of Labor. Third, I believed that industrial unionism, in which all employees belong to one union, while difficult to establish in the newspaper business, is a better form of organization than craft unionism, both from the stand-

(Continued on page 6)

This Bitter War of Publishers versus Guild

(Continued from page 5)

point of the employees and of the publisher.

The campaign which is in progress to destroy the Guild is of course in violation of the Wagner Act. I am less concerned about it as a violation of the law than as a matter of policy. Lawlessness is a feature of American life that needs to be worried about on a grander scale. I would simply ask the practical question, is it possible for the Guild and the publishers to come to an agreement except at the end of a grueling and expensive conflict? To explore that question, it is necessary first to know just what the conflict is, not what it is called, but what it really is.

Here is the rule to follow in finding out what a thing really is: First find out what it is called, then find out why it is not what it is called, then find out why it is called what it is not, and by that time you know what it is.

'Guild Shop' Seared Gathering in Chicago

To find out what the conflict between the Guild and the publishers is called, one may go to the records of the national convention held by American newspaper publishers in Chicago last June.

The publishers met to deal with what was termed a crisis caused by the Guild's demand for a "Guild shop." This, as I have said, is a clause in Guild contracts providing that all editorial employees should be members of the Guild, or shall become members within thirty days after being employed. The advantage of the "Guild shop" to the employer is that it removes the likelihood of his being discharged for Guild membership. There is no use firing one man for belonging to the Guild if the man who succeeds him is required to join the Guild. And of course, by protecting the individual member against discharge for Guild membership, the "Guild shop" likewise prevents the undermining of the Guild by a series of discharges.

Now, what is the effect of the "Guild shop" upon the publisher? I have already suggested one effect: it makes it difficult to undermine the Guild. What is the effect as a restraint upon employment? It leaves the publisher free to employ anybody he pleases, provided the person employed is willing to become a member of the Guild. There is some uncertainty, which could easily be cleared up, over the status of persons who might be expelled from Guild membership or who have served as strikebreakers. In general, the "Guild shop" gives the publisher a free hand in choosing employees. It leaves the field of apprenticeship wide open. Under the "Guild shop," the publisher himself would decide in the long run who shall be in the Guild, because the Guild consists of the men and women the publisher decides to employ.

Freedom of Press Boycotted by Publishers

The "Guild shop," therefore, stands out in contrast to the "closed shop," such as that of the typographical union, which requires that printers shall be hired from the membership of the union, and the union consists of a limited membership, built up, controlled and restricted by the union itself through the control and limitation of apprenticeship. I don't believe there is anybody, with a spark of journalistic fire in him, who wants such a system in the editorial rooms of newspapers.

I have described the difference between the "Guild shop" and the "closed shop," as different in nature as if they were called the "open door" and the "closed door." I want you to keep that difference in mind while I read a few typical headlines from newspapers to show how the newspaper publishers of the country greeted the demand for the "Guild shop." Here are the headlines:

"Newspaper Heads Oppose Closed Shop of Guild."

"Publisher Denounces Idea of Closed Shop."

"N.E.A. Head Argues Against Closed Shop."

"Publishers Reject Closed Editorial Shop."

"World Gone Haywire," Publisher Declares, J. G. Stahlin Denounces Closed News and Editorial Shop."

In all the public discussion I have heard or read since the American Newspaper Guild made its demand for the "Guild shop," I have never found one instance in which newspaper publishers have discussed or even acknowledged the difference between the "Guild shop" and the "closed shop." There you have Exhibit No. 1 in the ledger to determine what the conflict over the Guild is called. It is called a struggle

against the "closed shop." But that is not all it is called.

In the gathering of publishers in Chicago, a resolution was adopted declaring that the "closed shop" in editorial and news departments, as demanded by the A.N.G., would destroy the freedom of the press, the basic elements in which is "unfettered presentation of the news." I continue to quote from the publishers' resolution adopted in Chicago:

"This vital service of the press to the public can be performed properly only when those who are responsible for the publication are free to choose the persons whom they deem best qualified to report and edit the news. This responsibility cannot be discharged if some outside authority, beyond their control, determines whom they shall or shall not employ. That is precisely what the American Newspaper Guild seeks by its demand."

Now, that resolution precisely fits the "closed shop" of the typographical union. Does it fit the "Guild shop"?

To decide whether it does or not, suppose that we incorporate the actual terms of the "Guild shop" into the resolution adopted by the publishers at Chicago. I quote from the resolution, thus modified:

"If editorial employees must become members of the Guild thirty days after they are hired, publishers are not free to choose the persons whom they deem best qualified to report and edit the news."

Is that true? Obviously not. Now let us take another sentence in that resolution, and incorporate the "Guild shop" into it:

"If editorial employees must become members of the Guild thirty days after they are hired, some outside authority determines whom the publishers shall or shall not employ."

Does that make sense? Not to me. It is a complete non sequitur. It is contrary to fact. It shows that this supposed menace to the freedom of the press is an illusion created by the "Guild shop," but by calling the "Guild shop" a "closed shop," which it is not.

Proposition Offered To Disprove Writers' Bias

In this connection I should like to discuss, but cannot take time to do so fully, the supplemental argument that freedom of the press is threatened because the St. Louis Convention of the Newspaper Guild adopted resolutions on subjects like the war in Spain, political action in behalf of labor, the President's court plan, and a few other things which may be wise or foolish. The publishers in their Chicago resolution declared very solemnly that although newspaper men were of sufficiently high character to disregard their own personal convictions in handling news on these subjects, they would be bound to show bias on matters concerning which the Guild had expressed an opinion.

This, they said, impaired the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press. It would be interesting to debate this question by analogy, asking, for instance, whether a bulletin of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association opposing the child labor amendment, or that of that body to strengthen the Pure Food and Drug Act, is so binding on members of the association as to impair the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press. However, that would be a lengthy and abstruse discussion, so I'll just make this proposition:

The resolutions of the Newspaper Guild were adopted five months ago. I will pay \$300, the next time I get it, for any newspaper, headline, written since that time, which shows bias growing out of the resolutions of the Newspaper Guild, provided I am also paid five cents for every headline item in handling news on these subjects, which shows bias ordered into the headlines by those responsible for newspaper policy.

Now, coming back to this matter of calling things what they are not, why is the "Guild shop" called a "closed shop"? Why is it called a menace to freedom of the press? What reason is there for opposing it with names that do not apply and arguments that do not fit? Obviously, because the real objection is to the results the "Guild Shop" actually would produce, and it would be embarrassing to base the debate upon them.

What results may be expected from the "Guild shop"? That question was asked me some months ago by a newspaper publisher who expected to, and did, enter into full collective bargaining with the Guild.

"In your case," I answered this publisher, "the only effect of accepting a 'Guild shop' will be to remove totally the issue of Guild membership from your dealings with your employees. If you find it necessary to dis-

charge a member of the Guild, nobody will suggest you of doing it on account of his Guild membership, because the man you hire in his place will become a member of the Guild. But if you agree to bargain with the Guild, and refuse to include the "Guild shop" in the contract, then every discharge will be looked upon as a possible discharge for Guild activities and there will be fear and suspicion in the office."

So far, no publisher opposed to the Guild has asked me what effect the "Guild shop" would have upon his plans, but if one should do so my answer would be:

"If you intend to concede as little as possible in collective bargaining, and work under cover to disrupt the Guild, you have recognized it, you had better not accept the 'Guild shop,' because you will be unable to carry out your plans."

There you get down to the two fundamental facts about this much-disputed "Guild shop."

Now, since we have found out what the Guild conflict is called, and why it is what it is called, and why it is called what it is not, I think it is pretty clear what the Guild conflict is—a determination on the part of many powerful newspaper publishers—not all of them—to fight the Guild, and destroy it if they can, and a determination on the part of the Guild to establish permanent collective bargaining.

The outlook is for a hard and punishing fight. I have just read a bulletin of the ANPA, sent out to newspaper publishers, listing sixteen grounds upon which editorial workers can be discharged without violating the Wagner Act. I looked over that list and found that I could be discharged upon twelve out of the sixteen counts.

Human nature being what it is, I suppose we'll go ahead with at least two or three rounds, or maybe ten rounds, of what is now advertised as a fight to the finish. But there are several reasons why I do not believe the owners of American newspapers can afford to enter into such a conflict, or carry it on after they have entered. They cannot even afford to win it.

Let me point to a few facts in connection with the strikes that have been conducted by the American Newspaper Guild. They have shown the remarkable vulnerability of newspapers to strikes by members of the news department. In financial support, in sympathetic mass picketing, in the policies of city officials and in the attitude of the public at large, there has been a support of Guild strikes going far beyond the degree of sympathy or tolerance shown for the average labor union. Every time the Guild has called a strike against a newspaper, the circulation of that paper has dropped, and its advertising has melted away. It is immaterial whether that drop has been spontaneous or the result of solicitation and picketing; it reflects the force of general public sympathy for reporters on strike.

What is the reason for that sympathy? Partly, no doubt, it reflects the glamor that attaches to newspaper work. Partly the knowledge that editorial workers have worked long hours for low pay.

In part, it represents the strength of organized labor behind the Guild. But there is more to it than that, I believe.

Public Considers Publishers As the 'Liberal Senators'

A few weeks ago one of the liberals in the United States Senate complained to me that a liberal never could misbehave without paying the penalty. A reactionary, he said, can commit any crime from bank robbery to mayhem, and people will merely remark, "Sure, what can you expect? He's a reactionary." But let a liberal make one slip, and he's gone.

In the relationship between a newspaper and its employees, does not the public put a newspaper somewhat in the category of the liberal senator, and exact from it a conduct which it would not demand from a steel company, a restaurant or a laundry?

Because of their peaceful relationship with the printing trade unions, the newspapers have been so free from labor controversy that harmony has been taken for granted. Then, suddenly, when strikes occur, the newspaper publishers find themselves placed before all their readers as the enemies of collective bargaining in their own plants. They deny the right of organization to their own editorial employees. By that action, they reveal their latent hostility to all organized labor, including the printing unions they have contracts with. Now it is a singular fact that many people

who are somewhat unfriendly to organized labor when they see unions ridden by racketeers, or engaging in violence, or the fear that union labor may become too powerful, are nevertheless abstractly sympathetic toward collective bargaining. And because the newspaper is a semi-public institution, devoted to truth and righteousness, and, shall we say, a bit self-righteous, the people are quite likely to conclude that the newspaper office is the one place of all others where collective bargaining should be practiced.

So you arrive at this situation:

1. The newspaper publisher encounters a more unfriendly public than any other employer in the country, when he gets into a labor controversy with his employees. 2. He has a business which is peculiarly susceptible to financial damage from an adverse public opinion. 3. His position is further weakened by the fact that to fight the Guild, he must violate the National Labor Relations Act, and the public, after reading countless editorials on the subject of obedience to law, is rather inclined to expect newspapers to obey it.

Strike Damage as a Publisher Sees It

I do not believe that newspaper publishers can afford to advertise themselves to their readers as enemies of collective bargaining in their own plants, and that is the one thing they are doing by their fight against the Guild. To the publisher facing a strike, and to other publishers watching a strike, the damage inflicted upon the newspaper looks like a reckless and irresponsible misuse of power which ought not to be in the hands of any group of employees. What the publisher fails to see is that this power is created by the general public, and is called into action by the publisher himself in violating the standard he has set for himself as a public defender of morality and law.

I can readily understand why a majority of American publishers in the larger cities have the same attitude toward labor unionism that is held by members of the National Association of Manufacturers. They are in a financial system with a heritage of hostility to labor.

The hostility of newspaper publishers to industrial unionism is not due to any examination of the differences between industrial and craft unionism. It is due to instinctive hostility to the thought of a completely unionized newspaper, and to fear of the vigor of the CIO. Whenever the fact of complete unionization is accepted, it will be possible to appraise the two systems of union organization, and express a rational preference for one or the other.

'Instinctive Hostility' Behind Fear of Guild

The hostility of publishers to the American Newspaper Guild is perfectly understandable. It is a blend of many factors—fundamental opposition to all unions, the fear of complete unionization, with loss of flexibility in meeting costs (flexibility means cutting a reporter's wages 40% without asking him about it while a printer is being cut 10% by negotiation), and, finally, fear of the loss of complete publisher control over the tone and content of the newspaper. These are genuine fears, though I do not think they are soundly based, and they are sharpened by the militancy of the Guild and its affiliation with the militant CIO.

But just as the publisher fails to make a calm appraisal of the relative merits of industrial and craft unionism, so too they fail to analyze the effect upon themselves of their fight against the Guild. Certain things are inevitable in the American labor movement. One of them is a spread of union organization which can only be checked through the development of fascism, and Lord help the newspapers if they find that escape from dealing with the Guild. A second development, resulting from the first, is the growing power and influence of labor in public affairs. A third, resulting from these two, is greater coercive power of labor through sympathetic support.

I believe that it would be much better for the publishers, if, instead of adopting resolutions telling how freedom of the press is being destroyed by the effort of the newspaper editorial staff to rise to an economic parity with stereotypers, they would make a calm and dispassionate study of the factors in public opinion which make the American Newspaper Guild a power beyond its numbers.

If that is done, there will be collective bargaining between publishers and the Guild, and when collective bargaining becomes a recognized, permanent factor in American journalism, the Newspaper Guild will lose its horns and hoofs.

On Other Labor Fronts

Long Record of G. M. Sniping Explains Auto Sitdown

A steadily pursued policy of speed-up, discriminatory firings and cynical evasion of grievance adjustments by General Motors is seen in the broad background of the unauthorized sitdown by workers at the Fisher Body plant in Pontiac, which the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers ended on Nov. 25.

The precipitating force in the strike was the management's deliberate and provocative refusal to transfer an abusive trouble maker from an otherwise all-union assembly line in the plant. Behind it, however, was a long series of abuses which have been brought to a head by the management's attitude during the current negotiations for renewal of the UAW contract.

GM Gets Tough

A management-inspired breakdown of the grievance procedure established in the contract eleven months ago has been charged in recent issues of the UAW publication, the United Automobile Worker, as well as in this prepublication. Simultaneously local shop papers, developed out of a belligerent attitude on the part of General Motors which, in effect, told the union and the public through newspaper headlines that the company would refuse to renew its contract unless the union could "prove responsibility and control" of its workers.

Other factors in the Pontiac strike made the situation ominous for the union. Organizer T. N. Taylor of the A.F. of L. was busy there during the hectic week. Pontiac as a former Black Legion center presented other possibilities.

UAW Welchs Approval

It is understood that the UAW executive board in Pontiac in special meeting was almost evenly divided on whether to authorize the strike and then try to settle it or whether, as was actually done, to brand it as an outlaw strike and have nothing to do with it until the men evacuated the plant.

Those favoring the majority action held that "the strike is unauthorized and unsanctioned and is therefore contrary to the constitution and laws of the international union and is destructive of the best interests of the union." They feared GM would never negotiate a national contract if this strike was authorized.

Members favoring authorization argued that this would solve the deadlock, permit evacuation of the plant and resumption of negotiations of the Pontiac situation and then of the national agreement. What they feared was that the union leadership would be regarded by the men as having surrendered to GM pressure instead of defending the men.

A union that pleases the employer may be able to sign weak contracts. It was argued, but may not be able to hold its membership.

Pontiac, lying between Detroit and Flint, is a General Motors town like Flint. Its sitdown had the same general setting of provocation by GM as the more famous sitdown that began in Flint 11 months ago and led to the great UAW victory in the Morgan-du Pont corporation.

Non-Union Man

Bob Hoyt, Pontiac union member, tells how Manager Leader of the Pontiac/Fisher Body plant brought on the sitdown:

On our line, we were all of us union men except one. He belonged to the National Guard and he said nobody could make him join the union. We argued with him but he just cursed us and said: "I was with the national guard up at Flint last winter and poked the likes of you in the eye."

Then we asked the superintendent to get him transferred so as wasn't helping the work to have this argument going on all the time

HEY WANT UNIONIZED POLICIES



Insurance Agents picket Metropolitan Life in N. Y. for union recognition.

and he talking the way he did about us union men. The superintendent tried to get him transferred, but the management wouldn't do a thing about it.

The fellow got to laughing at us and we decided if he wasn't transferred by 6:30 that day he'd get a tarring.

The superintendent begged the management, again, with tears in his eyes, but the management said if that man was tarred everybody mixed up would be fired.

Well, 6:30 came and the National Guardsman said we were afraid to touch him, and up jumped a little fellow and pummed him and was

going to dip him all by himself but we stopped it. He did get some tar on him as we had promised. The management fired our executive committee and told us to go home but we sat down instead.

Other departments sat down too. We've taken this case up four times with the International Union and the management has had it before them four times. The management fired other union men too and joked about it and said: "This is open season on shop stewards and union committeemen."

So we decided it's open season on General Motors if that's the way they feel.

Threatening General Stoppage, Unions In Montreal Get Protest Meeting Permit

MONTREAL — The international labor movement here was scheduled to give its answer to recent repressive measures of the Duplessis Government at a mass meeting Nov. 29, called by the permanent organizing committee of the Trades and Labor Council.

The Montreal City Council last week-end gave permission to hold the meeting after delegates to the Trades and Labor Council had threatened a general stoppage of work if permission was withheld.

Decision to hold the meeting was reached by the Labor Council Nov. 18 when the delegates debated the action of Premier Maurice Duplessis in outlawing the CIO and denying President R. A. C. Ballantyne of the Montreal Guild permission to sue the Gazette under the provincial law designed to guarantee workers the right to organize. Ballantyne was fired by the Gazette last June.

Guild Resolution

Delegates were unanimous in declaring that the outlawing of the CIO was an attempt to split the international movement, preparatory to a similar attack on the A.F. of L. Demands were made that the international unions immediately take steps to organize politically to fight the Duplessis Government in the next election.

Meanwhile, the Guild executive planned to present a resolution call-

ing upon the Council to demand that Duplessis give Ballantyne permission to act under the law.

Duplessis has struck out at the labor movement under cover of the padlock law. Over the week-end, the homes of George Belanger, officer of a local lodge of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, was raided, and Belanger's library was seized, allegedly because it contained books of a "communist nature."

Leader's Home Raided

The same day, provincial police invaded the home of Willibrod Couturier, president of the Meat Cutters and Butchers Union, a federal local chartered by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The police were able to find nothing "incriminating," and left empty-handed.

Couturier charges the raid was staged in an attempt to pin a "Red" label on him. He is at present leading a strike of 500 workers against three local packing houses.

Further Seizure

When the Provincial Police raided the shop in which Clarte was formerly printed and padlocked it, they seized a number of cuts and matrices used in the production of The Searchlight, weekly published by the Canadian Seamen's Union, it has been learned. The union has applied to the police for the return of the material, but it has been informed the articles cannot be returned until a complete inventory of everything found in the shop has been made. Since then the paper has come out in mimeographed form.

Clarte (Light), left wing French

The Free Press

Publishers Again Lead Doughty Host in Congressional Fight

By BEN H. FEARSE

WASHINGTON — Whoever may have had the idea that the public press was opposed to President Roosevelt had better bring himself up to date. Of course, there is that little matter of the last presidential campaign, and of later memory, the Supreme Court fight, but those are just two more buckets of water over the dam and merely go to prove that boys will be boys. After all, a bygone is a bygone, and besides, the President has mentioned tax relief.

The current special session of Congress was called, it may be remembered, for the purpose of considering farm legislation, the work and hours bill, Federal reorganization and the resources conservation program of little TVA's. Before the session was convened, however, came the stock market collapse and the business recession. With hue and cry, the press flew to the rescue with a diagnosis and prescription for immediate relief. What Poor Old Man Business needed was another operation, this time to remove his excessive "regulation and unbridled surplus tax."

Utilities Cheer

Thus by eight-column banner and careful choice of who is to be quoted today, the publishers have swung the emphasis of the session away from farm legislation and the Wages and Hours Bill. Reorganization of government departments has been forgotten entirely. The little TVA program seems to have been just a club to force the utility companies to loosen up with a construction program to expand their facilities.

Meanwhile, the farm bill is having tough sledding in the Senate and House. They are far apart on methods of achieving farm relief, and already the cost and constitutionality questions are being raised. The Wages and Hours Bill is having even tougher sledding.

But if the publishers can help it, the campaign to operate on Poor Old Man Business will not lack for support. By editorial and extensive

use of columns six, seven and eight, page one, the point is being pounded home that what this country needs is a revision, in the proper direction, of taxes on business. Now, if possible, at the regular session of the latest.

Even the columnists will help. In this connection, a very interesting coincidence occurred recently which raised the corners of not a few mouths and even got a belly laugh here and there. Several days ago the Capital Times, La Follette paper in Madison, Wis., announced to its readers that the "Six Star Service" was still offering free daily articles by eight university economists to any newspaper that would print a column of little TVA's. Before the offer was solved by the explanation that the National Association of Manufacturers would foot the bill.

Star Professors

The announcement did not say which two of the eight professors were not in the "star" class, but one who could not have been was Professor Walter E. Spahr, of New York University, because he was quoted at long length a few days later by none other than Hugh S. Johnson. So impressed was Mr. Johnson by the Professor's perspicacity, insight and style, that he let him speak from the rostrum of his column for a day, writing only a lead and short-tail for what he laughingly calls his daily stint.

What the professor wants is, "that the Federal budget be balanced by cutting down expenses, not increasing taxes; . . . the Wagner Labor Act be amended; . . . that there be a definite return to constitutional law and government," etc., etc.

Business, in other words, needs not merely a breathing spell, but a permanent rest. And it is not difficult to understand why newspaper publishers, being an integral part of business, should favor and advocate such a plan.

The other seven university economists, for your information, are Dean J. E. Le Rossignol, University of Nebraska; Professor Gus W. Dyer, Vanderbilt University; Erik McKinley Erikson, University of Southern California; Clarence W. Fackler, New York University; Eliot Jones, Stanford University; and Harley L. Lutz, of Princeton, and Ernest M. Patterson, president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. An article by or for these professors' opinions, like the press, are free, even though it is through the courtesy of the N. A. of M.

Knoxville Voters Hit At Enemy of Labor

KNOXVILLE — City Manager George R. Dempster, backed by the anti-Guild Knoxville Journal, the city's hostile manufacturers, and some A.F. of L. officials, was defeated in the recent primary here in a contest for Mayor.

The highlight of Dempster's campaign was a speech at a mass meeting in which he repeated the lie first published by the Knoxville Journal that John T. Moutoux, president of the Knoxville Guild, incited the riot at the Aluminum Company of America plants at Alcoa last July.

The Journal's libelous statement is a part of the Guild's charges before the National Labor Relations Board, hearing on which will be held soon.

Walter W. Mynatt, the primary winner, was the only one of five mayoral candidates who replied to a questionnaire sent to all candidates by the Knoxville Industrial Union Council, CIO central body, expressing himself in favor of TVA power, the right of labor to organize and strike, the right to picket, as well as opposition to vigilantes.

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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Wages and Hours

THE artful forces of confusion have done their work on the Wages and Hours bill. What progressive labor is fighting now to salvage is, in the words of John L. Lewis, recognition of the principle of federal prohibition against starvation wages and oppressive hours of work.

For this, the bill's supporters are willing to accept the measure with all of its "serious limitations." They hope that amendments will be gained from future sessions of Congress.

The Black-Connery Wages and Hours bill was introduced in Congress after President Roosevelt declared in his message last Spring that "one-third of the population is ill-nourished, ill-clad, and ill-housed." It was considered in enlightened quarters as sound in principle and possible of practical application. It resisted the demagogic argument that establishment of a rock-bottom floor for wages "would make the minimum a prevailing wage."

The International Juridical Association's November bulletin analyzed that point in the bill thus:

By enactment of the bill Congress would not have declared that it regarded the minimum non-oppressive figures—presumably a wage of 40 cents an hour and a workweek of 40 or 44 hours—as a *fair wage* or a *reasonable workweek*. It would merely have declared the policy—which the (Labor Standards) Board was to apply as rapidly as it thought feasible—that a lower wage or a longer workweek than those prescribed in the bill constituted a substandard labor condition.

Using the fear labor has for regulation as their peg, the demagogues began their gyrations during the heat of the summer session. In the midst of it appeared John P. Frey, AF of L vice president and cloak room confidante of certain legislators.

Out of it all came the statement from a number of national legislators suddenly attuned to the wants of labor, that labor was displeased with the bill. William Green was quickly queried. After a night of thought, he gave lukewarm support to Frey's early under-cover opposition. Immediately the bill was all but torn to shreds and the scraps tossed into air by the adjourning Congressmen. In fact, the scraps were tossed into the hoppers of Senate and House committees.

Let the Juridical Association's analysis tell what the committees accomplished:

... the original rudimentary minima, a wage of 40 cents an hour, and a workweek of 40 hours, which were to be imposed ... by regulation or general application ... have become the *highest standards* which may be established (as a result of changes made in committees) ... And by characterizing those standards in terms of adequacy to maintain health and well-being, the committees rejected the effort made in the original bill to prevent those standards from being regarded as "fair" standards.

The association recommends revision of the bill, with the original measure as a basis. John L. Lewis, speaking as chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, asserts that its enactment even in the present form is of transcendent importance to workers.

Labor's 'Friends' PRESS ATTACK Upon the NLRA

Reprinted from "Your Rights Under the National Labor Relations Act," a pamphlet issued by the legal department of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

THE main purpose of this pamphlet is to explain how to use the National Labor Relations Act and to urge CIO members and friends to take full advantage of this law. It is also important to mention, however, that we may be deprived of the advantages which the law offers unless we become alert to certain dangers.

Until recently the administration of the Act has been seriously hampered by a lack of money ... It is hoped that more ample appropriations recently obtained will help to correct this situation. The threat remains, however, that at future sessions Congress may reduce the appropriation to the Board ... It is necessary that CIO members recognize this problem and bring their political influence to bear in favor of more ample appropriations whenever the opportunity occurs.

The Onslaught Grows

THERE is always the danger also that the Act may be repealed. As the success of the law becomes apparent in assisting labor in its efforts to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing, anti-labor employers and reactionary groups of all kinds begin to oppose the existence of the law more strenuously than ever ...

A more serious threat to the law than outright repeal is the possibility that it may be amended to make it serve the interests of business rather than labor, indeed to make it an instrument of the suppression of labor unions rather than their development. It has been suggested, for example, that instead of protecting workers from coercion by the employer in regard to the right to organize, bargain collectively, and engage in other concerted activities, they should be protected instead from coercion from any source whatsoever. This suggestion was made at the time the Act was originally passed and was thoroughly debated in Congress and rejected.

If this change were made, many legitimate activities of labor unions would be completely outlawed on the ground that in one way or another they interfered with the rights of other workers to engage in activities guaranteed to them by the law. The employers would be delighted to be able to prove that unlawful incidents such as occur in many strikes, or even peaceful picketing, interfered in particular cases with the rights of non-strikers in their jobs, or the efforts of the employers to get their employees into company unions ...

Giving Employers a Break

SOME amendments proposed are less subtle. It has been suggested that elections should be held at the request of the employer as well as employees so that the employer may choose the time when the union is weakest in order to establish a company union at the plant. It has also been recommended that provisions be put in the Act outlawing strikes unless they are called by majority vote taken by secret ballot. If so happens that most legitimate labor organizations require a more substantial majority than this before a strike call is issued, but the fact remains that it would be highly dangerous to begin this sort of regulation ...

It is sometimes suggested that the Act should be changed to outlaw so-called unfair labor practices by employees as well as employers. The idea here is that the law is one-sided because it merely protects employees against employers. The answer to this is that it was intended to equalize an unequal situation and for that reason gave protection to employees only. Existing laws are quite sufficient to protect employers.

Another plan, advanced unfortunately by some trade union organizations, would make it obligatory for the Board to hold a separate election or certification proceeding to determine the wishes of any craft group in a plant regardless of how the majority of the members in that plant had voted ... The Board would be obliged, if one employee so requested, to carve out a section from among the employees in the plant and make a separate investigation of the wishes of this group. Thus the principle of majority rule would be completely defeated in the interest of the preservation of craft unionism.

Unfortunately, there has been a certain tendency in recent months for the Board of its own accord to follow a policy of carving out small groups from industrial bargaining units, even where the vast majority in the plant have expressed an emphatic preference for the industrial basis. Such procedure is not prescribed by the Act. It can only be opposed with determination by believers in industrial unionism. If it becomes a regular policy it may be necessary to amend the Act in one respect, to require that the industrial unit be adhered to where the interests of all the employees so require. It may turn out that this is the only way to preserve majority rule.

It is vitally important that the members of all industrial unions be aware of these serious threats to the principles now embodied in the Act. They must bring their political influence to bear in every way they can to prevent undesirable changes in the law and make it possible for the Board to continue the work it has been doing as an aid to the American labor movement.

"Your Rights Under the National Labor Relations Act" is a valuable 47-page handbook covering practically any problem which a union may take to the National Labor Relations Board. It defines procedure and interprets legal effects of the act. Copies may be had at 10 cents each from the CIO legal department, 1106 Connecticut avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.)

VANISHING AMERICANS

Symbolic of romantic era in U. S. industry, the Morse telegrapher retreats before an advancing machine age. His successor may be Guild ally.

PRESENT membership drives of the CIO and AF of L communications unions promise to organize an industry which is closely allied with the publication newspapers.

Both are fighting to wrest some advantage for the work from the amazing technological progress being made by the industry. The American Communications Association, CIO federation of telegraph unions, is concentrating on the commercial field controlled by Western Union and Postal. The Commercial Telegraphers' Union, old AF of L international, has contracts with the United Press and the International News Service and is fighting the Associated Press for foothold in its offices. The Guild recently made common cause with this union as intervenor in a Labor Board complaint against the AP.

The struggles of both unions are interesting from several points of view. It is difficult to comprehend the beneficence of the machine age has showered upon the communications industry in the past twenty years, while the industry was stripping the worker of his job and cutting his pay. One wire now carries the same load of messages that needed at least four wires 20 years ago. One typist at an automatic telegraph machine, working for \$15 a week, transmits fifteen times faster than the old Morse operator used to send on his single wire.

Neither the CIO nor the AF of L union takes the position that it is fighting progress. Both demand a reduction in working hours, not personnel, when new and faster machines are installed. The unions report that Western Union has just installed experimental transmitters at Richmond, Va., which stepped up the sending speed to 800 messages in five hours. This pace kills jobs as well as workers, they say.

Avalanche of Machines

MORSE telegraph operators—most newspapermen know several—a group of craft-proud American workers estimated in 1918 to number 65,000, have been reduced to three per cent of that figure by the advancing technological tide. Today the Morse men surviving the avalanche of machines get, for the most part, only part time work. Much of it is in newspaper offices, and at the scene of sports and news events.

Those remaining in the industry to operate the automatic teletype machines for commercial firms earn little. A CIO petition for Labor Board election among employees of the Postal Telegraph Company states that the operators averaged less than \$15 a week and work from 44 to 50 hours. And even these jobs are going fast, because the development of automatic transmitters and receivers continues.

No More Romance

THE thinning ranks of the Morse operator meanwhile grow thinner. If the machine doesn't get his job, it is some new telephone arrangement. Lovers of romance in industry will be sorry to see him go, for the Morse operator was indeed a romantic figure.

Generally, the old time telegrapher carried an aura of romance which attaches to the newspaperman: he wore a battered slouch hat, he could take a drink, and he went battered on passes. The Morse operator was an individualist. It was difficult to enroll him in a union. It was even more difficult to keep him in one long enough to accumulate some union strength to get union pay, union hours, and other reasonable rights and benefits. That condition grew in part out of the "boomer" tradition.

A boomer operator was something comparable to the tramp printer. He knocked about the country, and got to be widely known, especially in the large communications relay centers. He could walk into any big office and get work on a per diem basis, which continued until he "got straightened out."

Operator to Riches

THEN there were the newspaper obituaries of financial or industrial leaders who died at the end of careers that began at telegraph keys. The obituary writers went to painful extremes to push up near the lead the deceased's past as a telegrapher. Rags-to-riches magazine articles have been written on the fact that many of the nation's great men came from the ranks of telegraph operators.

"Don't Write—" Blacklist

So much for romance. There were many other factors that contributed to the difficulties of unionization. Chief among them was the ruthlessness with which Postal and Western Union went after the union man. The companies easily crushed the sporadic post-war strikes. Out of them grew long and effective blacklists. Postal Telegraph tied every one of its telegraphers to a yellow dog contract.

The companies had a speed-up or bonus system which increased the output of skilled operators by 400 per cent, but raised their wages by only 50 per cent. Bonus-wire pay served to keep the big shot operators out of unions. Besides, the pace was man-killing, and the bonus operator would be too shaky at the end of the day's work to go to union headquarters. He headed instead for the nearest saloon for a couple of shots of rye. After some years of this kind of life a bonus operator sometimes would be found in an insane asylum.