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Ask Pacts For New Members

*'Vertical' Statement
Posted in Portland
By 3 Papers*

Opening of new negotiations on behalf of commercial department workers last week spread the current Guild drive on behalf of the new members into fresh quarters. In Portland, Maine, the posting of bulletin board statements in three papers, placing all departments on a 5-day, 40-hour week with individual exceptions, and instituting other gains, has brought a temporary halt to bargaining. Negotiations have been started in Toledo with the Scripps-Howard News-Bee management, and a preliminary conference has been set with the Newark Sunday Call management. Both these papers have editorial department contracts.

Portland Conditions

PORTLAND, Maine. — Following the posting of unilateral statements of policy in editorial and commercial departments of three Guy P. Gannett papers—the Express, News, and Press-Herald—the Portland Guild has temporarily suspended negotiations which had been carried on for several months. The Guild did not approve of the policy statement, which was posted during the course of the bargaining.

The statement was the first of the kind to cover commercial as well as editorial department workers.

Management's Scales

Besides the 5-day, 40-hour week, the statements provided equal time off or cash for overtime, vacations up to two weeks, sick leave up to five weeks for each year, group insurance benefits and minimum pay. The minimums posted were: Six-year reporters, photographers, etc., \$40; for copy readers, \$43; six-year proof readers, \$24; telephone operators, \$18 to \$23; clerks, all departments, \$15 to \$20; circulation auditors, \$20 to \$30; carrier superintendents, \$25 to \$30; circulation, desk men, utility men and collectors, \$18 to \$25; classified solicitors, \$15 to \$27.50; telephone solicitors, \$15 to \$22; elevator operators, \$15 to \$20; janitors and utility men, \$15 to \$20. (Continued on page 7)

CASH & CARRY NEWS ON THE N. Y. MIRROR

*Editorial and Ad
Departments Are
All Mixed Up*

Revelations of the real community of interest between editorial and commercial department employees of a newspaper were graphically stated on the record of National Labor Board hearings held last week on a Guild petition to certify the Guild as bargaining agent for Hearst's New York Mirror. The management seeks to split the Guild into five bargaining units.

The hearings disclosed that the Mirror's news columns are used consistently to boost advertisers' products and that news stories are used as bait to lure prospective advertisers into the paper. Witness after witness testified to the use of news columns to increase advertising linage and the interchangeability of (Continued on page 2)

Guild's Position On 4th Birthday

Four years ago on Dec. 15 a handful of newspaper editorial workers gathered in Washington and laid the foundation for the American Newspaper Guild.

This is a good time to look back and see how far we have come, and also the state we are in today.

Vice President Eddy has analyzed the publishers' present tactics in his column. (Page 1). Despite the intensity of their drive the Guild has made great strides since the Convention and is in a fair way to make even greater ones, as Secretary-Treasurer Pasche shows in an article summing up this period. (Page 5).

The broad, solid base on which the whole ANG rests is seen in the achievements of all the locals in these four years. It is an amazing record, summed up in thumb-nail sketches on pages 5 and 6.

4 Nominated To IEB Posts

*Lists Will Be Closed
On Dec. 15*

Four nominations have been made for the election this month of two vice-presidents-at-large. The nominations will close on Dec. 15 at ANG headquarters.

Nominees thus far are: Robert Camozzi, circulation division, Post-Intelligencer, Seattle, nominated by Seattle; Ralph Novak, business office division, Times unit, Detroit, nominated by Detroit; R. S. Gilfillan, editorial division, Evening Tribune unit, Minneapolis, nominated by Twin Cities, and Robert M. Buck, editorial division, Daily News unit, Washington, nominated by Twin Cities.

The election was ordered in accordance with 1937 Convention action aimed to provide IEB representation from the new commercial department membership. The election notice to locals on Nov. 30 stated:

"The IEB believes that it will be sound organization policy and in accordance with the Convention (Continued on page 7)

Picket Rights Under Attack

*Drive Unites Papers,
Court and Jurors*

Operating with remarkable unison, newspapers, courts, and a grand jury in New York in the last fortnight beat the drums, handed down decisions, and gave up presentations in an organized drive to restrict picketing. The campaign was outstanding as a demonstration of the power organized interests are able to muster.

Even a slight scratch beneath the (Continued on page 4)

BUILDING: Our Position Analyzed As Fifth Year Begins

By JONATHAN EDDY

FOUR years ago as this is written I had the duty of broadcasting a call to a meeting to establish a nation-wide organization for newspaper men and women, which turned out to be the American Newspaper Guild, headed by Heywood Brown, a great organization which has been an inspiration to hundreds of millions even outside its own membership.

It has been our habit in the past to look at the present, with a view to the future, rather than to contemplate the past, and so I write on this anniversary of things as they confront us now.

The main drive of publisher opposition today appears to be against the Guild shop, but this is a case of deceptive appearance. The main objective of the labor-busting contingent of the publishers' associations is to prevent organization of the unorganized in the industry.

The stock-in-trade of union-busting committees and bureaus maintained by employers' associations is deception and confusion of the employees, so that they will follow union policies that are to the interest of the employers and, usually, detrimental to own own.

These statements are voluminously illustrated in the current Guild situation. For instance, in reference to the Guild shop:

The publishers are not nearly so opposed to the Guild shop as a good many people think. That may seem a surprising statement, but I think I am correct in asserting that the furor organized by the publishers' associations about the Guild shop is directed mainly at obstructing organization of the unorganized. The conscious distortion of the meaning of the Guild shop (which is a more or less inevitable arrangement) as in order to divide the workers.

It is for this reason that the publishers stressed their opposition to the Guild shop in the editorial department, leaving it to be assumed by the uninformed that if the business office workers (Continued on page 4)

Advertisers Force Bayonne Publisher Into Guild Parley

*Merchants Threaten to Start Shopping
Sheet Unless Employer Settles;
ITU Chief Aids Paper*

BAYONNE, N. J.—More than twenty leading merchants continued to boycott the struck Bayonne Times last week in spite of the fact that Joseph W. Farley, president of the Jersey City Typographical Union, pleaded with them to support the newspaper during the Guild strike.

Assembled at the call of the publisher, the merchants were addressed by Farley, by the police captain who smashed the Guild picket line and by the attorney for the paper, who is under Federal indictment in connection with a road building scandal.

Bellingham Strike Is Won

*Renewed Fight Ends
In Quick Victory*

BELLINGHAM, Wash.—Timberworkers, coal miners and longshoremen came 400 strong from the hills and waterfront on Dec. 4 and last Monday to fight with the Guild against reopening of the strike-closed Bellingham News. The result was a quick victory.

The paper, closed on June 3 by a strike of editorial workers, signed a contract Monday recognizing the right of editorial, business office and circulation workers to join a union of their own choosing, and granting them a blanket wage increase of ten percent. The agreement affects eight (Continued on page 3)

Ads Are Cancelled

Lazarus is alarmed by the absence of the tremendous holiday advertising campaign which annually coincides with the mailing of Christmas Savings club checks by local banks. A vast majority of local merchants and many national-accounts have been cancelled for the duration of the strike.

The merchants replied by calling upon the publisher to meet the Guild and settle the strike. On the spot, Lazarus agreed to meet the Guild and discuss only the issue of the Guild shop. In the ensuing conference with a committee of strikers and ANG Representative Morgan Hull, Lazarus adamantly refused to negotiate until the International Executive Board of the Guild signed a Guild shop clause waiver.

The Guild refused and the merchants, who attended the conference at the request of the Guild, agreed that the strikers were right in refusing the request. One of them accused Lazarus of being "obstinate" and declared he was reckless in dealing with the welfare of the community and the merchants.

Backs Down a Bit

The merchants then threatened to organize a shopping publication in which to advertise and Lazarus, after four weeks of constant defiance of the Guild shop issue, was forced to yield on his demand for the waiver.

Then, however, in what he said was an "ultimatum," Lazarus demanded that all strike activities cease for three days before negotiations began. Again the Guild refused. The merchants then declared they were through attempting to argue with the publisher; they assured the Guild that in their reports to other merchants they would say nothing to injure the strikers.

With the exception of Farley and a few other labor officials involved in the notorious Hague political machine, all Bayonne unions, both CIO and AF of L, have pledged their support to the strike.

Third Chain Paper Signs Contract in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH. — Guild President Jones last week signed a contract with the Sun-Telegraph, a Hearst paper, bringing under Guild agreement the three chain papers in the field here. The others are the Scripps-Howard Press and the Paul Block Post-Gazette.

The Sun-Telegraph contract makes uniform in the city the wage minima going to \$53 for five-year men, the 5-day, 40-hour week, and severance pay up to 24 weeks for 15 years' service. The pay increases, benefiting many members of the staff, will be retroactive five weeks prior to Dec. 2. The wage clause may be rejected between March 15 and May 15, during which time the contracts on the other two papers will expire. An improvement in the Sun-Tele-

graph agreement is noted in that it designates the Guild as bargaining agent for the entire editorial department, while the others recognize it for members only. A "re-employment preference" clause is inserted in which the paper agrees to rehire employees dismissed for economy, to fill the first openings for which they are qualified.

Night workers on the paper will benefit from a five per cent differential above the minimum pay for them.

The Sun-Telegraph unit last Spring rejected a contract because it did not include a Guild shop clause. The rejection was followed by a lapse of several months as the unit marked time during the Convention, Hearst chain meetings, and the referendum.

MIRROR'S CASH NEWS

Testimony Reveals Free Mixture

(Continued from page 1)

advertising solicitors and editorial men. They said that not only were reporters assigned by advertising executives to write blurbs for advertisers, but that advertising solicitors acted as columnists and regularly plugged their accounts.

Julian Seaman, music critic who works without salary, said his income was derived from a ten percent commission he is paid for the music and concert advertising he solicits.

William Maslow, Labor Board attorney, asked whether his critiques were influenced by the advertising. "Somewhat," testified Seaman.

Case Register made. "You try to be conscientious and disregard the financial considerations."

"Yes," answered Seaman. Seaman also referred to the fact that the music column must appear on the drama page Mondays because that is when the announcements of the casts of the forthcoming Metropolitan Opera Company's productions are announced. Asked why he replied that it was "in exchange we get two ads a week from this account."

Thomas Warnock, solicitor of bus, railroad, steamship and travel advertising, testified that a column appearing under his byline in the Sunday Mirror was composed of publicity from the steamship and rail-

road lines announcing excursions and tours. He said that the lead was written by Jim Lanhardt, ship news reporter for the Hearst Journal-American. He said that he did not write any of this column but just edited the releases from advertisers.

Maslow asked, "Do you use your column in soliciting advertising?"

"Yes, I do," he was then asked, "Do you include releases from non-advertisers?"

"Yes," Warnock answered, "to bring them into line."

Julian Seaman, music critic, asked Warnock whether a non-advertiser's name is mentioned in the column "always with the ulterior motive of getting advertising." Warnock's answer was "yes."

Who Is His Boss?

Showing the intermingling of editorial and advertising departments the witness stated in reply to Maslow's question that he turned his copy into the city desk.

Moe Abrams, advertising solicitor stated that he had on many occasions requested the fashion editor to have special stories written plugging some advertiser or potential advertiser.

On one of these occasions, in efforts to get a contract from Kitty Kelly Shoe Stores, he arranged for Jane Worth, the fashion editor to have some models of Kitty Kelly Shoes sketched. This was done and the illustrations appeared in the Mirror. There was much laughter when Abrams reported that despite these efforts he did not get the business. The salesman of Kitty Kelly was on strike at the time.

Abrams also told how the Mirror

IEB Policy on Bargaining Points

A statement of Guild policy on various points in Guild contracts has been issued by the IEB Employee Relations Committee on instructions from the IEB, which studied the matters and adopted the positions set forth. The statements follow:

OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES

1. The attention of all locals is called to the fact that the Convention opposed contract clauses restricting outside activities of employees on their own time. The only limitation on such outside activities which the Board believes any publisher is entitled to ask for is that these activities be not in the interests of a direct competitor, and that they be conducted on the employee's own time. Any further limitation is simply an unwarranted interference in a person's personal business.

SUB-STANDARD HOURS

2. A few occasions have arisen where publishers have sought to insert in contracts provisions that certain employees or groups of employees be classed as working a shortened work week, such as a thirty or thirty-two-hour or a twenty-four-hour week, minimums for these groups to be proportionately reduced. Cases reported to date, at least, indicate in this proposed practice nothing but an attempt to discriminate against certain employees and chisel on salary minimums, rather than any real reason for a shorter work week, and it is the feeling of the Board that all locals should oppose the practice and have all employees treated as full-time employees.

replaced the front and back pages for distribution among the employees of Namm's Department Store. Over 2,000 copies of the Mirror were replaced with a new talk to Namm's employees and distributed to them by Mirror circulation men.

Sam Boal, rewrite man, testified that he was often called upon to write blurbs for department stores. He named R. H. Macy & Company, Gimbel Brothers, Namm's and Hearn's. He told the Trial Examiner that he had never seen the things he described in these stories. He also described a contract that he was assigned to work on in co-operation with an advertiser. The material had to be deleted from the mail editions because it was a violation of the postal regulations.

How to Pick Winners

Amos Landman, rewrite man, related his part in a contest run by the Mirror in connection with the EKO theatres. He said that he was directed to see the circulation manager about distribution of the prizes and was told by his secretary to pick the winners on a "geographic basis."

Ted Friend, conductor of the amusement column called "After Dark," testified that he was on the advertising department payroll, and solicits advertising.

Mildred Forebach, who edits the Gladys Glad Beauty column, told how certain products are plugged in this column at the request of the advertising solicitors.

Florence Richardson, food editor, who writes under the name of Prudence Penny, said that she was on the payroll of the advertising department. She also writes real estate news when there is "enough real estate advertising to warrant running news." She also stated that it was common practice for the real estate advertising solicitors to cover real estate news. She added, however, that "they do not dictate to me on my food column."

"Whiskey" Dollars

Mrs. Charlie Davenport (Jane Worth), fashion editor, testified that she visited advertisers with the solicitors. "Where everything else is equal I must give preference to advertisers," she said.

Practically all the witnesses testified that they recently received a silver dollar in their pay envelope with a handbill describing the virtues of "Silver Dollar Whiskey."

The management in bringing in its stipulation on the average wage

ARBITRATION

3. Arbitration under contract Point 11 of the Collective Bargaining Program adopted by the St. Louis Convention reads: "No contract to provide for compulsory arbitration." There has apparently been misunderstanding by some locals as to exactly what this clause meant. In the light of established Guild practice which this program crystallized, and of the discussion of the program points on the floor, the Board reiterates that point 11 of the Collective Bargaining Program opposes ANY contract clause providing for arbitration of questions or differences arising under the contract itself. ANY arbitration clause in the contract is at all.

OVERTIME PAY

4. Point 3 of the Collective Bargaining Program provides for overtime to be compensated on the basis of time and a half in cash, or equal time off. Many contracts actually provide for overtime at the rate of equal time off or pay at the regular rate. In some cases, and there is some indication that this practice is increasing, this form of compensation has resulted in publishers actually working employees a six-day week, paying them for the sixth day at the overtime rate, this being the same rate as the other days. The device sometimes takes the place of bona fide pay raises. It defeats one of the main aims of the five-day week, that of spreading employment. The Board feels that if there is to be cash compensation of any kind for overtime clauses, such compensation should be at a rate higher than the regular rate. If the best that can be obtained is overtime compensation

IN EQUAL TIME, THEN COMPENSATION SHOULD BE IN TIME OFF ONLY, NOT CASH.

SENIORITY CLAUSES

5. The Board believes that the general principle of seniority obviously has its merits as an established trade union practice in many industries and crafts; further, that as a principle, at least, it has its place in the "white collar" departments of the industry as well as in the mechanical departments.

At the same time, application or attempted application of the principle in many, if not all, of these departments is fraught with involved, intricate and complex considerations which do not obtain in the mechanical departments.

Further, elaboration of seniority and priority provisions in contracts virtually invites the publishers to displace on the ground of economy and neglect the Guild position that there shall be no wage cuts and no dismissals because of putting the Guild contract into effect.

Therefore, at least until there has been opportunity for further study of the problem and of the possible operation of seniority clauses with respect to Guild members, the Board is opposed to the inclusion of any such clauses in Guild contracts. For similar reasons, the Board is also opposed to any provision for priority rehiring and other forms of preferential rehiring, except, of course, that this is not intended to oppose a specific agreement for preferential hiring of any specific group of employees in specific cases of dismissals (such as the recent New York Journal-American merger).

New York Objected

The New York unit previously denounced the whole tentative contract offered by the management.

This included a \$40 a week minimum for experienced reporters in cities over 500,000 population on the six-day week basis.

The Washington unit resolved that since the UP is "the only major press association still operating on the archaic six-day week, with a work week of 60 hours or more being the rule rather than the exception," Guild negotiators be instructed to "insist that the 40-hour, five-day week be instituted generally throughout the entire United Press system."

Los Angeles telegraphed "appreciate your fight" and asserted that it "strongly opposed exclusion from the five-day week unless granted cash compensation which is not to apply as wage increase."

The Boston and Pittsburgh resolutions were in similar vein.

New Wage Scale

The office last Monday offered the Guild a "new" wage scale. The only change made was to increase the minimum for veteran newsmen in Washington and New York from \$40 to \$42.50.

The wage for librarians, however, was cut from \$50 to \$42.50 (the UP has only one, strongly anti-Guild) because of the feeling aroused over the relative merits of a librarian as compared with a reporter, the management said.

The negotiators scoffed at the entire wage scale, which dipped to \$10 for copy boys in cities under 100,000.

created by increasing reports that the Herald & Examiner might be sold or suspended. It was reliably reported that the Hearst general management in New York that day were discussing propositions of suspending or selling the paper, merging it with the American, or turning it into a tabloid. Another indication of possible change was in the arrival of William Randolph Hearst in Chicago on Wednesday.

Kelly Switches

On that day Kelly reversed his position completely, declaring that the management would consider nothing but a one-year, or longer term, contract. He admitted having failed to discuss with the management working condition clauses on which he had repeatedly promised to get necessary information. He refused to say whether he had recommended the short term contract to the management, as he had promised to do. Further, Kelly attempted to maneuver the Guild into the position of making "concessions" on points which were clearly rejected in a one-year contract. These were clauses acceptable to the Guild only on a short term agreement.

NEW TURN IN UPTALKS

5-Day, 40-Hour Week Up After Dodging By Management

The United Press and Guild negotiators meet tomorrow (Tuesday) to discuss the five-day, 40-hour week after the management's policy of stalling during three meetings last week brought swift reaction from major UP bureaus.

The office consented to consider a five-day program in light of studies made in each of the 68 UP bureaus, including complete working schedules which local Guild units rushed to the negotiators during the week-end.

The negotiators will enter the conference room armed with four strong resolutions adopted by the Washington, Boston, Pittsburgh and Los Angeles units attacking the management's previous "tentative suggestions" that the five-day plan might be considered for only six major division bureaus.

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DEADLOCK NEARS IN WILKES-BARRE

Local Takes 'Final' Stand, Willing To Accept Wage Plan for Short Term

WILKES-BARRE — Negotiations with the Wilkes-Barre Publishers' Association have reached the point where the Guild has submitted its final proposition. Negotiations have dragged for weeks, since Guild shop contracts were signed with four papers after a brief strike on one. Wages and working conditions were left open at the time.

In order to smooth the path for negotiation of working conditions, the Guild negotiators have agreed to the publishers' proposal for a blanket increase in wages ranging up to 20 per cent, but only in an interim wage clause. The publishers have insisted embodying the wage clause in a one-year contract.

The four units have turned down the publishers' counter-proposal, asserting that their proposition was "final." United Mine Workers Union officials who have been aiding the Guild in the negotiations are standing behind the local in its demands, declaring that the Guild has "gone as far as possible."

A session late last week was expected to reduce the negotiations to ultimatum form. The Guild meanwhile prepared for any eventuality.

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THEIR ADS PROLONG OUR STRIKES

A nationwide drive against national advertisers in struck papers has already done good work. Every Guild should continue the pressure against companies advertising in the Seattle Star and the Brooklyn Eagle. The lists follow:

SEATTLE STAR

Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.
American Tobacco Co.
Lorillard Tobacco Co.
Chesterfield Cigarettes
J. C. Penney Department Stores
Lovers Cigars
Lydia Pinkham
Schenley Distributors, Inc.
Atlantic & Pacific Groceries
Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Co.
Procter & Gamble
General Foods

BROOKLYN EAGLE

Sears, Roebuck & Co.
Kellogg's Cereals
Camel's Cigarettes
Chesterfield Cigarettes
Bayuk Phillips Cigars
Dexter and 7-20-4 Cigars
Oakite Cleaner
L. C. Smith-Corona Typewriters

Bellingham

Brooklyn

Renewed Strike Ends Eagle "Recognizes" In Quick Victory

(Continued from page 1)

strikes, who gave up temporary work elsewhere to return to the picket line when the paper attempted to reopen. Publisher S. N. Harrison had announced several days before the attempt that he would "never recognize the Guild."

A skeleton crew of strikebreakers put out the paper on Dec. 4, after police escorted compositors and pressmen through the picket lines. The pressmen and typographers were ordered through the lines by union officials to "keep a contract" which, they admitted, had been signed the day before the reopening.

Last Monday, however, the printers refused to walk through the line, despite the orders of E. J. Pelkey, general representative of the ITU. Pelkey had said that he would lead his men through, and "fight my way, if necessary."

Media Records, Inc., reported the loss on Wednesday at 30,880 total ad sales of 63,925 in 1936. On Thursday for the first time the lineage loss was estimated at more than 50 per cent when the total fell from 34,000 to 16,000.

Arrests Solicited

That Publisher M. Preston Goodfellow was not abandoning his ties with the police in finally coming into the open in his fight was shown in the arrest of strikers being solicited by a patrolman on picket duty. Patrolman Benjamin M. Busche urged Scab Dorcas, Glensman to lodge complaints Tuesday against strikers who called her a scab. She pointed out Nat Einhorn, New York Guild treasurer, in addition to Anthony Marcel, circulation branch manager, whom the cop pulled off the line in a demand for an apology.

Irving Cohen, striking reporter, was arrested twice, once on complaint of scab Josephine Johnston and once on complaint of scab Katherine Crook.

Stahlman Has Quit His Fight With ITU

ANPA's President James G. Stahlman, whose last previous dealings with the International Typographical Union were when he broke the union on his own paper, the Nashville Banner, has just announced the signing of a new contract with it.

His announcement coincided with the further announcement that his paper and Publisher Silliman Evans' Nashville Tennessean, would hereafter use the same plant, operating under the Newspaper Printing Corporation, recently formed by both publishers.

Stahlman's peace with the ITU, it is believed, was necessary to help the ANPA campaign to keep industrial unionism from developing in the newspaper industry—to further the policy of contractual relations with the established mechanical unions and opposition to the Guild.

The ITU was organized on the Tennessee.

The joint announcement of the two papers about their Newspaper Printing Corporation emphasized strongly that the two papers would maintain separate identities and corporate sets and separate editorial policies. The Sunday edition of the Banner is abandoned, however, as is the afternoon edition of the Tennessee.

Houston Affiliates With State CIO Unit

HOUSTON—Affiliation with the State CIO Federation of Texas was voted at a recent general meeting of the Houston Newspaper Guild. The federation already embraces the powerful oil workers, seamen and unionists. The vote to affiliate was unanimous.

Following CIO bulletin and letters prompting local unions to establish committees to aid unemployed members in obtaining employment and relief from local and Federal government agencies, John L. Lewis on Dec. 7 addressed a letter to all CIO organizations and representatives calling upon labor to "face with courage and realism the fact that America is threatened today with unemployment more bitter than ever before in our history."

"A citizen of the United States has a right to live," he continued. "He has a right to work. If the corporations which control American industry in their management of industry's affairs fail to provide that work, then there must be some power somewhere on this land of ours, that will go over and above and beyond those corporations and their inadequate policies, and provide the job and insure the workers the right to live."

The bulletins to local organizations pointed out that it was their duty to aid and guide unemployed members in the getting of relief, relief employment, and unemployment compensation in the 23 states where such insurance will be established on Jan. 1.

Lewis' letter pointed out that even in the supposed prosperity of last year, "millions of our people were out of work. And now in the past three months the great basic industries of our country have closed down their production, in some cases with greater rapidity than ever before."

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GUILDS GET ORGANIZERS

Plans Speeded as CIO Drops 3; IEB Meets Dec. 18

Four large local Guilds are working out plans to engage full-time organizers with the assistance of the ANG. Detroit has already engaged one for a 30-day period, during which time an effort will be made to solve the financial problem of maintaining one permanently; and Chicago is arranging to provide \$50 a week for the purpose.

Detroit has engaged Mrs. Honore Armstrong, ANG Representative, who was working in the area, for the 30-day period, and Representative Don Stevens is remaining in Chicago for the present. The other two Guilds working on the plans are Philadelphia and Boston.

Negotiations looking toward such a step as a means of further strengthening the whole ANG were undertaken by Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy in trips to all four locals, and have been speeded up following receipt of word from the Committee for Industrial Organization that its allotment of representatives for the Guild was now being put to two.

Word of this latter development came to President Heywood Brown from Walter Smethurst, executive assistant to Chairman John L. Lewis. The CIO, as Smethurst had previously explained, is building up regional staffs to assist the organizational activities of its affiliates.

Eddy's negotiations were undertaken in accordance with the International Executive Board plan whereby it is sought to bring as many locals as possible to engage badly needed full-time organizers.

Attack On Picketing Reveals Strange Unity of Action by Papers, Grand Jury

Unions Join to Fight Efforts to Restrict Strike Actions

(Continued from page 1)

surface of the activities brought to light a series of odorous circumstances not the least of which was the fact that the struck Brooklyn Eagle had a grand jury presentment against picketing in type the night before it was handed up.

The powerful New York unions and the American Labor Party early recognized the nature of the attack and took steps to fight it. Allan S. Haywood, CIO regional director, speeded up plans to organize a city-wide industrial council, meanwhile calling a special meeting to consider the attack on picketing.

Of most moment to the New York Newspaper Publishers' Association, which played an obvious part in the drive, was a restrictive injunction issued against the picketing by Guild strikers of a beauty shop which advertised in the struck Brooklyn Eagle.

Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink, who signed that injunction, has a brother, Jacob, who is vice president of a chain of installment specialty furniture and clothing stores in the Brooklyn area against which more than 100 locked out workers have been on strike for seven months.

Again, the press took up the drive in a systematic order, following this chronology:

Dec. 2—The nominally liberal New York Post and World-Telegram and Sun both published editorials on secondary picketing, or, in their words, the picketing of persons or institutions who are "neutral" parties to a labor dispute.

Dec. 3—The editorial rank spread to the other papers, developing into a chorus of expressions of pity for newspaper advertisers "caught in the middle" of the Guild's strike on the Eagle. The scab Bayonne (N. J.) Times reprinted the liberal New York Times' offering.

Dec. 4—Steinbrink issued his injunction prohibiting Guild strikers from publicly declaring that Mile. Reif's beauty shop was an Eagle advertiser, or that she was unfair. He was careful to allow "peaceful" picketing, however.

On the same day, the King's county grand jury in Brooklyn, handed up its presentment on picketing in which it spoke—like the Post—as a "friend of labor." It asked the New York City council to enact an ordinance to limit picketing to the frontage of struck establishments by "bona fide employees."

The presentment was in type in the struck Brooklyn Eagle composing the night before it was handed up. Moreover, reporters at the Kings County Court House were called by their office hours before they knew of the presentment, and told to be on the lookout for it.

The makeup of the grand jury veered far away from the tradition, custom and supposed practice requiring that grand juries be representative cross sections of the community. This jury was composed of Chester Parish, operator of a large New York advertising agency; a bank president, three real estate operators, a broker, seven retired business men, a buyer, and other similar executives. The nearest approach to possible workers' classification was in the listing of a musician and a teacher.

On the same day as the presentment and the Steinbrink decision appeared the Brooklyn Eagle decided to break its silence on the Eagle strike. The space it devoted to these two documents however, did not exceed that given them in the Manhattan papers. The Times, the Post, and the others, printed the opinion and presentment in full, throwing in

CIRCULATION BOOSTING

The Publishers Show the Iron Fist

Refusal last week of New York publishers or their distribution agencies to serve New York papers to Bayonne (N. J.) news dealers who reject the struck Bayonne Times serves to bring into the open the iron-fisted methods employed by publishers in the operation of their circulation systems.

In New York several recent incidents provide further cases in point. The victim of one will be called Frank Schwartz because it may not be politic for a metropolitan news dealer to challenge openly the publishers' rule.

Frank, one of the thousands of war veterans who got a city license to work 15 hours a day at a subway station newsstand, has some strong views, particularly on this question of "freedom of the press."

When publishers talk of "freedom of the press," Frank says, they mean only at best "freedom to print."

How do they do it? It's all very simple. The dealer, whose income usually amounts to a little more than he would receive on home relief, gets his papers at the will of the publishers' association. If he receives no papers, he has no income.

Frank cites examples which shed some light on the "control" publishers have established.

There is a big hole in the roadway near Frank's stand. On rainy days this is full of water. The delivery men sometimes miss the sidewalk as they hurl bundles of late editions from the trucks and the papers land in the water.

Frank complained to one of the newsstand inspectors. In one week 30 papers were ruined by water, he told the inspector.

That can't be done with papers that can't be read!" he pleaded.

Frank's complaint was made known to the publishers' association.

The publisher's association decided just what to do. They decided to let Frank know that they were not going to serve him with papers until he agreed to accept their "control" over his circulation.

Frank refused. He said he would not accept their "control" over his circulation.

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BUILDING: Our Position Analyzed As Fifth Year Begins

By JONATHAN EDDY

(Continued from page 1)

would organize and bargain separately, no objection would be raised to the Guild shop.

In Wilkes-Barre we had an indication of the actual attitude. The publishers accepted the Guild shop in the editorial end with considerable equanimity, but concentrated their fire against recognition of the Guild as the bargaining agency for the other departments and against adequate economic provisions.

These two things, identity of the bargaining agency and wages and hours, are, of course, inextricably linked in actual practice. If a publisher can set two groups of employees to thinking that their struggle is against each other rather than against him, he can run his plant a lot cheaper, for he has to deal with relatively weak forces, part of whose energies are directed against each other.

Under such circumstances, if he can sell his employees the idea that there is only a limited amount of wages over which they will have to fight amongst themselves, he is riding high. He likes this a lot better than a single, united Guild representing many different departments which insists upon the revision of the entire financial structure so as to provide an adequate wage and security for all.

And he will hold that such a revision is preposterous, impossible, calculated to drive him out of business—until he convinces him that it is economically sound, or simply that he has got to make it in order to continue his enterprise.

For stemming organization of the unorganized, the publishers' associations have a definite formula. I have not seen its text, but I have seen it in practice enough to describe it. It starts with "loyalty petitions" aimed at completely preventing organization, which is, of course, the complete form of disunity amongst the workers and the one most desired by the employer.

The object of this is to convince the editorial workers that they could get a lot of improvements if only they were not encumbered by the other departments, and to convince the other departments that the editorial folk are "doing nothing for you."

The publishers are banking largely on the National Labor Relations Board to keep us divided. They insist on departmental elections. When one department is known to be organized, they seek to lump that particular department in with some larger group as yet unawakened to what the Guild means for them, so that the large group will outvote the smaller Guild group. Where the Guild has a majority in two or three departments the publishers seek to arrange the voting so that these majorities are cancelled out.

The situation has all sorts of twists and turns, and there is no course of procedure that we can apply mechanically to all local circumstances. In the main, we will remember that it took us a little while to establish the right of the editorial department folk to bargain collectively; that although the opposition is now more thorough and relentlessly organized than ever before, we on our part are not only a lot stronger than in the past but have within our grasp the weapon of industrial unionism.

Indeed, that is what is involved in this question of our refusing to be split any longer; that is what all the fuss is about. We may occasionally have to dodge a layman, we may compromise on tactics now and then, but nothing can stop us from turning that bare grasp into a firm grip on decent living, security, and professional self-respect for the working newspaper people of this continent.

The publisher and AP of L campaign is far from over. Undoubtedly, it will be years before the publishers give up their attempt to disrupt Guild organization. Even the Guild crisis is not over yet, and the need for improved routine operation is still with us. But from all sides come evidence that the main publisher attack has spent itself and that the ANG has proved its staying power. This evidence, as repeatedly in the past, takes the form of benefits to the membership following upon every demonstration of Guild resilience.

Conflicts Listed

Considering the conflict first, we find our biggest strike to date, that on the Brooklyn Eagle, moving along at a high pitch to a conclusion which may not yet be near enough to suit us, but will obviously and evidently be successful. The same is true in Seattle, where the opposition consisted of close team work between the publisher and one of the most unscrupulous of AP of L racketeers.

In Wilkes-Barre, Pa., a major success was scored, with the help of the CIO, when a short strike on one of the four papers in that city exposed the publishers' hypocrisy in their supposed opposition to the Guild Shop, and achieved agreement to the Guild Shop, although important differences remain on other contract terms.

In Waterbury, Conn., a town with a weak labor movement, the Guild won a strike in one week, gaining improvements for every striker.

Consider next the AP of L company union drive, started with a fanfare by William Green and freely publicized all over the country by

the Society for Curriculum Study, with the assistance of the Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University.

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The ANG's Gains, and Attacks It Survived

On Our Fourth Anniversary Pasche Sees Evidence That the Present Main Publisher Onslaught Is Spent

By VICTOR PASCHE
Secretary-Treasurer

Just as the American Newspaper Guild, when it proceeded to organize the editorial offices all over the country, had to weather a terrific campaign of attacks by publishers using illegal means, so, as soon as the Guild decided at the Convention in June to proceed with the organization of the newspaper commercial departments, it was faced with a madly intensified publisher campaign.

The campaign was disguised as opposition to the Guild shop, but was quite obviously aimed at the likelihood of greater Guild strength through organization of the commercial departments and at the probable increased cost to publishers of having to grant benefits to unorganized groups.

This campaign, extending through the past six months, exceeded in viciousness anything in the whole previous history of the ANG. It was expressed in every conceivable form of anti-union activity, principally dismissals of Guild leaders, sniping at individual Guild leaders all over the country and wholesale dismissals such as in Chicago and Atlanta. Company-union moves were frequent. Loyalty petitions were forced on prospective Guild members, particularly in the commercial departments. In the campaign, the publishers received the open alliance of the American Federation of Labor, seeking to welcome company union groups into a so-called union of news writers.

Since the St. Louis Convention, the ANG has achieved 15 new signed contracts, three renewals, and a sharp contrast with its attitude little more than a year ago, the Hearst management has resigned itself to the inevitable and is proceeding to negotiate full union contracts on various papers in the chain, all the papers where the Guild units have actively pressed for negotiations.

The contract signed on the Los Angeles Herald-Express, is one of the best ever signed in the Guild, provides a \$50 minimum for newspapermen, huge benefits along other lines, and generally tremendous improvements for the long underpaid.

The achievements on the Hearst chain are particularly significant. In

number of bulletin board statements of conditions. All including the renewals represent very large benefits to the membership. Virtually all established the five-day, forty-hour week. They covered a wide range of cities, from Portland, Maine, to Houston, Texas, and New York to Los Angeles, and included big established Guilds like Philadelphia and New York, as well as Guilds in small towns like Norwalk, Conn., and Waterbury, Conn.

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"... let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."
—Matt. 6:3. Reprinted from the first Guild Reporter, published as a "National Edition" by the New York Guild, on Nov. 23, 1933.

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Activity and Success Are Nearing a New High

newspapermen of the Coast city. It has just been followed by an agreement with the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, providing a \$55 minimum for copy readers and \$50 for reporters. Negotiations on both Hearst papers in Chicago are reaching a head. They will begin shortly on the New York Daily Mirror, where the New York Guild plans to bargain at once for the commercial as well as the editorial departments. Negotiations on the San Antonio Light, another Hearst paper, are also certain to bring material benefits there.

Delayed while the membership concentrated on the referendum, drives to organize the commercial departments and negotiations for all organized groups are rapidly taking shape all over the country. The first Guild benefits for the new departments came in Portland, Me., in a bulletin board announcement, and were of a very substantial nature.

More than a dozen Guilds have already submitted contract proposals for the new departments, and many others are preparing such proposals. In the Northern California Guild, negotiations are under way on a city-wide basis for all departments eligible for Guild membership. Wire service organization and negotiation is at its highest stage, following the overwhelming victory of the Guild in the NLRB election on the United Press, and negotiations are actively under way in both United Press and International News Service. In short, there is every indication that Guild activity and success are about to reach a new high.

since December, 1934 and with Scripps-Howard Press since February, 1936, providing for almost all major Guild objectives except Guild shop. Five-day week in effect in all units. All pay cuts required early in Guild's formation. Salary gains won by negotiation total about \$100,000 a year. Business office workers organized in Cleveland Press, and preparing negotiations. President I. L. Kenen.

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Local Guilds List Four Years of Progress

(Continued from page 5)

ty up to 15 weeks' pay; minimum of \$20 for beginners in editorial department, \$40 after three years. Negotiations being conducted with Post. Circulation department of News being organized. President, George V. Burns.

DETROIT, Mich.—Formed March 20, 1934. Guild formed by Free Press, Herald Times. Both provide for 5-day, 40-hour week; pay or time off for overtime, raises under the agreement ranged from \$5 to \$30, and a majority of both staffs received them. Business office organization under way on the Times, where a majority of eligible employees have joined. President Jack Weeks.

EL PASO, Tex.—Guild formed March 20, 1934. Guild on Scripps—Howard Herald—Post. Signed May 1, 1937, with 5-day, 40-hour week, overtime, dismissal indemnity up to 18 weeks for 15 years. Unit on Times. President Al Hicken.

FARGO-MOOREHEAD, N. D.—Organized Aug. 8, 1936. Verbal agreement on Fargo Forum with wage increase of 10 to 25 per cent, vacations with pay increased from one to two weeks; liberal sick benefits. President Roy P. Johnson.

FORT WAYNE, Ind.—Organized in 1934, given a second charter June 11, 1937. President Arthur M. Paulson.

GREAT FALLS, Mont.—Organized Spring, 1936. Unilateral statement in March, 1937, obtained from Great Falls Tribune and Leader: overtime, dismissal bonus, pay increases adding to payroll about \$3,000 a year. Resumed negotiations November, 1937, for full Guild contract, assisted by Montana Industrial Council (CIO). All Guild members employed by one publisher, who owns both dailies. President J. K. Howard.

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Chartered Mar. 20, 1934. Unit on Patriot, News Telegraph. Members on We the People. President, Sidney Barcott.

HAWAII—Formed June 9, 1937. Organized on Honolulu Advertiser, AP, Star-Bulletin. President, John B. Peck.

HOUSTON, Tex.—Organized April, 1937. Contract: Scripps-Howard Press. Color, 5-day, 40-hour week; minimum of from \$20 to \$45 for five years, which gave raises to about half of staff; net increase of three jobs thus far; overtime provisions which decreased much night work, relieved pressure; job security. Organization brought shorter hours and some raises on non-Guild Chronicle and practically by general increases on Post. Guild now negotiating for contract with Post. President, Allison Sanders.

HUDSON COUNTY, N. J.—Chartered March 20, 1934. Unit on Hudson Dispatch, Jersey Journal, Bayonne Times. Guildsman struck on Nov. 11. Despite vicious anti-labor policy of Jersey City's Mayor Hague, boss of Hudson county, and sweeping injunctions, strike is exceptionally effective. Story in this issue. President, William A. Greenspoon.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Formed October, 1935. Contract: Scripps-Howard Times, unilateral policy on Star. Gains: 5-day, 40-hour week, severance pay, overtime schedule, automatic increase. Budget increases: Star, \$22,000; Times, \$10,000. News has raised pay slightly. Commercial department on Times ready for contract negotiations: Star and News organization going on. President, J. K. Shepard.

KANSAS CITY, Kan.—Guild formed April 29, 1934. Unit on AP, Journal-Post, Star Times, UP. Negotiating on Journal-Post. President, Dan T. Kallisher.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Chartered May, 1936. Contract with Scripps-Howard News-Sentinel. Notable gains: 5-day, 40-hour week, over-

time pay or time off; severance indemnity up to 24 weeks for dismissal regardless of cause; death benefit. Every member of editorial staff received increase. Organization in commercial departments in early stages. President, John T. Moutoux.

LAKE SUPERIOR (Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.).—Formed March 20, 1934. Organized on Duluth Herald and News-Tribune, on Superior Telegram and Tyonian Society (Hungarian). Duluth has established minimums ranging to \$185 after five years and severance indemnities up to 12 weeks' pay. President, Carl E. Johnson.

LANSING, Mich.—Formed February, 1934. Unit on the State Journal, one sole paper, and AP. President, Kenneth Park.

LEHIGH VALLEY, Pa.—Unit formed April 27, 1934. Guild on Allentown Chronicle & News, Morning Call. Negotiating on both papers. President, Fred Gruba.

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Formed September, 1936. Contract with Hearst's Evening Herald-Express; five day week, severance pay, \$30 minimum; budget increase \$30,000. Tentative agreement Boddy papers, Daily News and Evening News, effective November 20, improvement over Herald-Express contract, (far superior to Examiner-AFL contract). Herald-Express business departments contract ready, bargaining date pending. Negotiating now both editorial and business departments. Cleveland News-Press. President, Roger C. Johnson.

LOWELL, Mass.—Formed in April, 1937, by members of editorial staffs of Leader, Evening Courier-Citizen, Sun and Patriot (French). Bulletin board agreements with Leader, Citizen and Sun. Leader, Citizen (owned by one publisher) budget about \$2,500. Sun up to \$1,000. Several more on all three papers received increase up to \$11 a week. President Arthur J. Hogan.

LYNN, Mass.—Formed April 27, 1934. Guild shop contract with the Telegram-News, limiting apprentices on a staff of 20 to 27 having wage cuts. Unit on Evening Mirror. President Humphrey Owen.

MADISON, Wis.—Formed Sept. 11, 1934. Guild shop contracts with Capital Times and State Journal. Set minimums of \$27. Unit on UP. President Herman P. Lochner.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Organized Oct. 11, 1936. Contracts with Commercial Appeal and Press-Scimitar (both Scripps-Howard), each contract calling for a 5-day, 40-hour week—in contrast to the former six-day, unlimited-hour week; substantial increases in pay. President Harry Martin.

MIAMI, Fla.—Guild formed June 6, 1937. Members at large. President Steve Trumbull. Contract negotiations just ended by discontinuance of the Tribune.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Formed May 17, 1935. Contracts with Hearst Sentinel and Milwaukee News, bulletin board commitment on Journal. First agreement on News won after six months' strike. Gains include 5-day, 40-hour week, minimums up to \$35 a week, which have produced raises up to 300 per cent; time and a half for overtime, vacations to three weeks, dismissal indemnity to 24 weeks' pay. Membership applications now coming in from other departments. President, George Mann.

MINNEAPOLIS and ST. PAUL—Formed in February, 1934. Has city-wide agreement on all three Minneapolis dailies and agreement with St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press (both Ridder Brothers publications). Minneapolis wage minimums range up to \$200 monthly after four years; St. Paul minimums up to \$200.50 after five years. Wage increases estimated to total \$100,000 annually. Commercial organization on Evening Tribune (Minneapolis) and Daily

News (St. Paul). President A. J. Spear.

MONTREAL, Que.—Chartered April 20, 1937. Members on three English language dailies, four French language dailies and one French-language weekly. Pay increases on La Presse, La Patrie and Herald. Shorter work week on Gazette. Organization being pushed in commercial departments. The Guild survived firing of President R. A. C. Ballantyne by the Gazette June 23, and undisputed intimidation and discrimination against Guild members on other papers.

MUSKOGEE, Mich.—Formed June 20, 1934. Organized on the one paper, Chronicle. President Paul Elliot.

NEWARK, N. J.—Chartered Oct. 5, 1933, organized on three Newark papers and one Orange paper. Contracts have been signed this year with all three papers in Newark. Paid Block Star-Examiner, the Ledger, scene of the first major Guild strike, and the Sunday Call. All contracts provide for the 5-day, 40-hour week and salary minimums ranging up from \$25 for beginners to \$50 for reporters and photographers with five years' experience. Call contract provides for three weeks' vacation for employees with paper five years, stipulates that overtime shall begin accumulating at end of normal working day. Contracts increased editorial department payrolls by approximately \$750 weekly. Organization of commercial departments now going on rapidly. President, Agnes Foley.

NEW YORK—Organized in November, 1933. Guild shop contracts with Daily News, Post, News, News Agency, Nation, Amsterdam News, North Shore Journal and Long Island Press. The last three named won by strikes. Contract with Scripps-Howard World-Telegram and News, negotiated bulletin board commitments on Hearst Mirror and Journal-American, International News Service and International News Photos. Organized on all papers but one. Five-day, 40-hour week established universally except on United Press (where negotiations are being held). Pay increases directly or indirectly resulting from negotiations at least \$1,000,000 annually. Contract minimums in editorial departments go up to \$70 for desk men; highest severance indemnity is 24 weeks' pay after 10 years' service. In negotiations ready to negotiate for commercial divisions on five metropolitan dailies. President Carl Randau.

NORTH BAY, Cal.—Formed April 22, 1937. Organized on Chronicle, Times-Herald, News. President James P. Gardner.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—Formed April 22, 1936. Has agreements with all four San Francisco dailies and one in Oakland. Gains in the last year included pay increases amounting to \$75,000 annually; 5-day, 40-hour week, severance indemnities. Now bargaining for commercial departments of four papers and for editorial departments on city-wide basis. President David R. Young.

NORWALK, Conn.—Chartered July 6, 1937. Has contract with the Norwalk Hour giving them 100 per cent membership, big wage increases and better hours. Negotiations under way on the Sentinel. President Leonard Wood.

OMAHA, Neb.—Chartered March 20, 1934, later reorganized. President Kermit Small.

PASSAIC VALLEY, N. J.—Guild formed July 13, 1937. Members on Paterson Morning Call, Evening News. President Jack Rosner.

PEORIA, Ill.—Guild formed Aug. 4, 1936. President Leslie B. Ernst.

PHILADELPHIA and CAMDEN—Chartered March 20, 1934. Guild shop contracts with the Stern

papers, Philadelphia Record and Camden Courier-Post; bulletin board agreements with Evening Ledger and Morning Inquirer. Obtained general five-day week at Inquirer, maintained five-day week at other papers; higher minimums established; wage increases gained through Guild range from 5 to 15 per cent. Estimated \$250,000 a year added to all Philadelphia editorial payrolls since organization. Commercial departments virtually 100 per cent organized on Record and Inquirer; negotiations now under way at both papers. President, Charles P. Poik.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Formed April 17, 1934. Contracts with all three papers, Scripps-Howard Press, Paul Block Post-Gazette, Hearst Sun-Telegraph. Minimums range up to \$55 on the three papers after fifth year. Five-day, 40-hour week. Dismissal indemnities range up to 24 weeks' pay. Organization progressing in commercial departments. President J. E. Jones.

PORTLAND, Me.—Formed June 13, 1937. First Guild to negotiate for all divisions in new jurisdiction. Bulletin board policy statement posted in midst of negotiations with Gannett Publishing Company for morning, evening and Sunday papers. Cuts six and seven-day week down to five. Pay increases range from \$2 to \$16. Estimated annual increase \$25,000. Negotiations continuing. Commercial departments enrolled 98 per cent, except in display advertising. Guild is also organized on independently owned Evening News. President, Laurence Paul Crowley.

READING, Pa.—Founded August 9, 1934. Has Guild shop contracts with Reading Times and Reading Labor Advocate, 5-day, 40-hour week, general pay increases for Reading Times resulting in \$7,500 increase in budget. President, R. M. Shofstall.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Organized in December, 1933. Represents approximately 90% of the eligible editorial staffs of city's two dailies, the Democrat and Chronicle and the Evening Bulletin. Both Gannett papers. Bulletin board agreements for minimum wage scale and a 5-day, 40-hour week negotiated in March, 1937, with both papers. A bulletin board agreement with the Hearst paper, which suspended publication June 30, 1937, secured dismissal bonuses for a large number of the editorial staff. President, Theodore W. Klee.

ROCKFORD, Ill.—Organized in December, 1933. Agreement with Register Republic and Morning Star. Notable gains: salary increases averaging 60% and ranging up to 100% since Guild was organized. Average salary of members in 1933-34 approximately \$25; average now approximately \$40. Now get overtime, two weeks' vacations. Estimated increase in budget for salaries during four years for editorial employees between \$25,000 and \$30,000. President, Rae Small.

SACRAMENTO VALLEY, Calif.—Formed Nov. 20, 1936. On Union and on Bee. President, Kirtley McBride.

SALEM, Mass.—Formed January 23, 1937. Has contract with Evening News; 40-hour week; dismissal indemnity up to six months' wages for 10-year employees. Contract provided wage increases from \$5.17 per week. Total increases, \$9,000 a year. President, J. Frank Reynolds.

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah—Organized Feb. 4, 1934. Bulletin board announcement of rules and minimums which brought pay raises posted January 1, 1937, after Guild announced reorganizing to seek contracts. President William McDougall.

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—Formed in February, 1934. Contract negotiations under way with Hearst Light. Unit just formed on Ex-

press and News. President Howard LeBaron.

SAN DIEGO, Cal.—Formed Jan. 9, 1937. Contract with Scripps-Howard Sun. Bulletin board agreement with Copley-owned Union-Tribune, morning and evening papers. Both agreements provide 5-day, 40-hour week, \$2 minimum after five years, desk and staff extra pay for night and lobster shifts up to \$5 a week. President Will Freeman.

SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA—Organized July 6, 1937. Members on San Mateo Times, Redwood City Tribune, South San Francisco Enterprise, Burlingame Advance. President Ernest W. Rapley.

SAN JOSE, Cal.—Formed March 26, 1937. Bulletin board agreement with Mercury-Herald including 5-day, 40-hour week, overtime pay, severance pay up to six weeks. Added \$1,000 monthly to payroll. President Erick Johnston.

SEATTLE—Formed May 12, 1936. Agreement with Hearst Post-Intelligencer, first Hearst agreement directly with Guild, won after three months' strike. Provided 5-day, 40-hour week. Guildsmen on Star in organizing circulation department ran up against Labor Boss Dave Beck recruiting mercenary workers for the Teamsters Union and when paper made deal with him Guild struck July 3. Negotiations under way for Post-Intelligencer commercial department. Members on Democratic Press, Commonwealth News, Sportsman Review. President H. Richard Sells.

SIOUX CITY, Iowa—Organized in June, 1937, with units on the Tribune and Journal. Gains: \$30 and \$35 minimum for editorial workers on the Journal, 40-hour week, increase of from 8 to 33 percent on the Tribune, raises for all three-year employees to \$30 weekly. Commercial departments being organized. Guild helped mailers organize 100 percent. President John L. Rose.

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—Formed March 11, 1937.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—Formed Feb. 9, 1935. Organized on Republican and Union. President Barker T. Hartshorn.

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio—Formed June 1, 1935. Negotiated policy with News-Sun, sole paper. President John T. Brown.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Formed March 20, 1934. Guild shop contract with Star-Times. Negotiated policy with Globe-Democrat. Obtained improvements in bargaining with Post-Dispatch. Has AP and East St. Louis Journal units. President Thomas B. Sherman.

STOCKTON, Calif.—Formed March 26, 1937. Organized on Independent, Record. Negotiations under way on Independent. President, Alvan S. Trivelpiece.

TACOMA, Washington—Formed Sept. 20, 1935. City-wide agreement, embracing News-Tribune, Ledger, Times. Pay minimums go up to \$40 after three years. Dismissal indemnities go up to 12 weeks' pay after five years. 40-hour week established. President, Paul Busselle.

TOLEDO—Formed March, 1934. Contracts with all three dailies, with 5-day week, severance indemnity, minimums, flat pay increases, overtime compensation. Payrolls of three newspapers increased more than \$50,000. Commercial department organization moving ahead rapidly with majority on two papers and substantial groups in several divisions of third. President, Richard Obermyer.

TOPEKA, Kansas—Formed June 6, 1937. Members on Capital negotiating for contract. President, H. E. Cook.

VERMONT, Canada—Chartered Sept. 12, 1937. Organization drive (Continued on page 7)

Guilds List Progress Waterbury Gets An 'Award'—And Example of Arbitration

(Continued from page 6)

In progress in preparation for presenting contracts to three papers. Minimum wages established on Globe and Mail morning and evening papers. Both agreements provide 5-day, 40-hour week, \$2 minimum after five years, desk and staff extra pay for night and lobster shifts up to \$5 a week. President Will Freeman.

TRI-CITY—(Albany, Troy, Schenectady, N. Y.).—Chartered March 20, 1934. Agreements with Gannett Press Company, Hearst Times-Union, Schenectady Gazette. President Zoe Fales.

TULSA, Okla.—Reorganized and granted charter June 11, 1937. Units on Tribune, World. President Joe Meyer, Jr.

UNIONTOWN, Pa.—Formed Aug. 6, 1937. Members on Fayette Democrat, Unionport Morning Herald and Evening Sentinel. President, George F. Sweetman.

UTICA, N. Y.—Formed July 15, 1937. Units on Observer-Dispatch, Press. President Elmer Cox.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Organized January 28, 1934. Has 15 units. All five daily newspapers are operating under some form of agreement with Guild, the Star and Scripps-Howard News by formal contract, the Post by unilateral signed settlement expiring this month, and the Herald and Times under bulletin board announcements. Negotiations pending for formal contracts on the Herald, Times and Post. Four contracts, in all, have been negotiated and negotiations are in progress for five units, including the three named. President, Robert M. Buck.

WATERBURY, Conn.—Organized July 14, 1934, has contract with Waterbury Democrat, obtained after brief strike giving pay increases to editorial staff of eight running up to \$624 per year; paper's payroll increased by \$4,000. Negotiating with Republican and American. President Harold E. Senior.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.—Organized in Spring of 1934. Unit on Mount Vernon Argus, New Ro-

chester Standard Star, Yonkers Herald Statesman. Now negotiating on Macy chain, which includes all papers in county. President, Harry J. Williams.

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—Organized May 8, 1937. Has signed agreement providing for Guild shop in editorial department of all four papers and other departments where Guild shows majority. Agreement came after six-day strike. Negotiations for rest of contract on all four papers now in progress. Guild holds majorities in circulation departments of two papers, has a good membership in the third, the fourth has no circulation department. Membership in the advertising and business offices show gains. Negotiations cover all departments. President, Stanley Kuptas.

WILMINGTON, Del.—Formed in April, 1934. Organized on News, Journal, (two of the three daily

papers in state). President William P. Frank.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—Formed in March, 1935. Units on Journal, Sentinel. President, Art King.

WORCESTER, Mass.—Formed March 1937. Evening Post contract almost ready for signing after several days of negotiations. Many concessions have been made by management since unit was organized, including two pay raises, an adjustment of working conditions, time off in complete days for overtime, severance indemnities, a company guarantee against dismissals not agreed to by a vote of the Guild. President, Robert B. Sibley.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Reorganized and granted charter Jan. 9, 1937. Agreement with Vindicator & Telegram, the one paper, establishes 5-day, 40-hour week, vacations, and sick leave. President, Stanley E. Wolfe.

board-mediation, the Guild finds itself practically where it started before the strike, except for the fact that the board members bargained with the publisher on wages and hours and gained substantial wage increases.

Strangers at the Board

When the Guild negotiators first sat down with the State Board members, they found themselves facing a board accustomed to dealing with issues arising out of medieval industrial practices. Seldom before had this board been asked to do more than rule upon a few cents an hour, shorten hours a bit, or order a few ventilators installed.

"Am I correct in understanding," asked Chairman Fisher at the first conference, "that one of your grievances concerns unsanitary toilet conditions?"

The chairman was wrong, of course. Apparently he had the Guild case confused with one of the multitude of sweat shops cases that come before the board.

The board had never heard of severance pay. It probably sounded outlandish to a group of men who outlasted to a group of men who sweat shop operators to install drinking fountains, toilets and windows.

4 Are Nominated For IEB Vacancies

(Continued from page 1)

cordance with the wishes of the Convention to insure the election of representatives of the new departments. The board members, while constitutionally any member in good standing may be nominated for the two posts, the IEB urges all locals to restrict their nominations to members in the newspaper departments which the Convention made eligible to Guild organization."

The voting will be by the International Council, made up of the governing bodies of local Guilds, within fifteen days after nominations have been closed. Nominators are asked to submit this week for publication in the GUNS ROLLER 300-word statements in support of their candidates.

SEEKS NEW CONTRACTS

(Continued from page 1)

These scales had been offered by the management in an early counter proposal to the Guild and were unacceptable. Their posting was without Guild approval, and Guild officers, after suspending negotiations, made plans for renewal of bargaining at a later date. The management said that the new conditions would remain in effect as long as "in the opinion of the management economic conditions justify."

Sessions Are Started

TOLEDO.—Negotiations for commercial department employees of the Toledo News-Bee, Scripps-Howard newspaper, began last Tuesday.

Guild negotiators were Richard P. Overmyer, local president, and Dwight Luddington, executive board member. Unit observers were Michael Behara, Annette Greenspoon, Basil Lowe, Helen Stocking, Vera Roth, Chalmers M. Roberts and Raleigh Hoover.

Representing the management was Worth Courtney, business manager of the News-Bee.

Supplemental Agreement

The Guild presented a supplemental agreement which included all benefits now enjoyed under the editorial department contract and asked a 15 per cent salary increase for all commercial department employees making more than \$30 a week and 20 per cent for all making \$30 or under.

The News-Bee unit and the commercial department division both voted for the flat increase in favor of a demand for classified minima at this time because they believed that it would be more strategic to postpone the asking of minima until the editorial contract expires in May.

The employer relations committee of the IEB concurred in this opinion.

Newark Meeting Set

NEWARK.—Business office employees of the Newark Sunday Call, after a brief but effective drive for a majority in their department, have asked the Guild to open negotiations with the management in their behalf. A conference has been tentatively set for next week. Terms covering the business office will be added to the contract with editorial employees at the Call signed less than two months ago.

Questionnaire

But why go on. There will be more of the same. There is currently being circulated a questionnaire to congressmen asking opinions on the Barclay case. It is 600 lines long and is being circulated out under the name of the General Press Association, which is the Washington correspondent for Mill and Factory, Editor and Publisher, etc., etc. Through this one card respondent, it was revealed only this week that Barclay has now become an authority on economic conditions. Listen to this:

"Mr. Barclay today (Dec. 6), authorized the following statement: 'Aside from the merits of my case in connection with the NLRB, and without intending to prejudice any one's attitude toward the board, I believe that immediate clarification of the Wagner Act by Congress, and definition of the board's powers, would unquestionably create a business boom unparalleled in the history of this country.'"

That "Other" Case

The case in point was heard last July at St. Mary's, Pa. Harry T. O'Brien, editor of the Daily Press, was put on the stand during the hearing of charges against the Stackpole Carbon Co. The board's attorney, seeking to show an attempt by the company to influence employees through the printed word, brought from O'Brien admissions that at least one director of the paper was also a director of the company, and that while the paper regularly ran news of labor disturbances outside of the state it was running none of the hearings at St. Mary's. This last on the ground that O'Brien had only one helper.

One questioning then got down to one of those letters to the editor signed, "A citizen who is not and

UNTOLD ANGLES OF "FREE PRESS" ROW ON THE N.L.R.B.

By BEN H. PEARSE

Washington.

No one man, since Tom Girdler left town, has so endeared himself to the publishers and hardshell senators as has Hartley W. Barclay, editor of Mill and Factory and other trade publications, whose refusal to heed a National Labor Relations Board subpoena in the Weirton Steel case, has given him notoriety he probably never dreamed of when he wrote it.

The Board, of course, is not particularly interested in criticism as such. What the Board is interested in is how the article in question, embellished by 12 cuts which had previously appeared in the Weirton plant's company union publication, attacked the writing or publishing of material critical of the Board. Its present action is not based upon this circumstance.

"When any such material is circulated among employees by an employer as an instrument of coercion against free organization, however, the action falls within the category of unfair labor practices."

"Mr. Barclay may print and publish anything he wants to in any way, but if the Weirton Steel Company uses such material as an instrument for discouraging unionization, that is an unfair labor practice. The article in question is a reprint of an October publication and

Wagner Act, and as such, material evidence in the Board's hearing now in progress at Steubenville, Ohio, on charges of Wagner Act violation brought against the Weirton company by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

Hansen's Advice

One may rest assured, of course, that the publishers have nothing but an academic interest in the whole affair. It is true that Barclay, in refusing to comply with the summons issued by the NLRB, acted on the advice of Elisha Hansen, his attorney and also attorney for the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

In the midst of all the noise about free press and violation of the Constitution the Board clarified its position as follows:

"The Board has never at any time attempted to take punitive action against the writing or publishing of material critical of the Board. Its present action is not based upon this circumstance."

"When any such material is circulated among employees by an employer as an instrument of coercion against free organization, however, the action falls within the category of unfair labor practices."

"Mr. Barclay may print and publish anything he wants to in any way, but if the Weirton Steel Company uses such material as an instrument for discouraging unionization, that is an unfair labor practice. The article in question is a reprint of an October publication and

is our belief that it has been circulated among employees of the Weirton company. In compiling our information in connection with the Weirton case, the board feels that the material requested in the subpoena is essential."

On the question of its authority to subpoena the material in question from Barclay, the board cited from the Wagner Act, Section 11, as follows:

"Any member of the board shall have power to issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of any evidence that relates to any matter under investigation or in question before the board, its members, agent or agency conducting the hearings or investigation."

A spokesman for the board pointed to an article in the Saturday Evening Post of Dec. 4 by Garret Garrett on the Weirton Steel Company and the trials and long suffering of its founder, Ernest T. Weir, who was portrayed as a paragon of industrial virtue and certainly more than a molecule of business egoism. The title, "The Crime of Economic Royalism," will give a general idea of what the author thinks of the NLRB. Moreover, the Post has a general circulation in Weirton and is probably read by many company employees. Yet the board has not interested itself in Garrett.

"Confusion"

Representative Maverick, of Texas, has this comment to make:

"If the board is trying to intimi-

diate the publishers, of course it is wrong. But if it is only trying to find out whether employers are using publishers to coerce labor, it is in the right."

"Publishers often confuse freedom of the press with freedom of the publishers."

"Another labor 'scop' was resurrected by the Scripps-Howard papers. It had a Pittsburgh date line."

"The denial by the NLRB that it has any intention of infringing on freedom of the press was countered today by the revelation that a small-town Pennsylvania editor had been grilled for hours about the policies and content of his newspapers."

That "Other" Case

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Washington Press Corps Under the X-Ray

By Asking Frank Questions of Correspondents, Leo C. Rosten Brings to Light Facts That Constitute Strong Indictment Of American Journalism as Servant of Special Privilege

THE WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS.
By Leo C. Rosten. Harcourt & Co., New York,
1937. 436 pages. \$3.00.

Review by FERDINAND LUNDBERG
(Author of "America's Sixty Families" and "Imperial Hearst")

IN "The Washington Correspondents" Leo C. Rosten passes an X-ray through the Washington press corps and, incidentally, through American newspaper publishers as a homogeneous group. Although focussed directly upon the correspondents in Washington, Mr. Rosten's two-year inquiry, which was made under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, is most significant in what it brings to light about the publishers and the journalistic enterprise of the United States as a whole.

Of "The Washington Correspondents" one can truthfully say that whoever has not read it does not understand contemporary journalism in America. The book has been accorded what seems to this writer tepid praise by most reviewers, and this will be readily understandable to all who read it. It has not been possible, however, to accuse the author of not being objective, for he employed the sociological method of the Lynds "Middletown" and "Middletown in Transition" to elicit the facts. He also circulated several questionnaires among the Washington correspondents, to which they responded anonymously and illuminatingly. Although quiet in tone, "The Washington Correspondents" constitutes a thorough indictment of the American press.

Political, Financial Censorship Viewed

This is not to say that the book does not contain some debatable material, although this review will concentrate upon its positive aspects (for example, the fundamental assumption of Mr. Rosten that a newspaper is a business enterprise selling a commodity is open to debate. In its historical aspect the newspaper has not been primarily a profit-making enterprise and it is not primarily a profit-making enterprise today. It is an instrument of social and political control. It has been purely an accident that the development of modern advertising has made some newspapers highly profitable businesses as well as instruments of social control).

But there is very little assumption in the book, which examines the Washington press corps from the historical, the political, the sociological, the geographical, the psychological, and the functional points of view. There is a great deal about political and financial censorship and propaganda, and at the moment this theme is perhaps of most general interest.

Mr. Rosten brings out very clearly the fact that there has been a rather serious trend toward political censorship of the press since the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. The publishers, however, made little protest about this until the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, when they took it upon themselves to protest against the issuance of "handouts" by government departments, these handouts making it more difficult for newspapers to falsify the news of the day about the national government.

T. R. Was the First To 'Use' the Press

Theodore Roosevelt, as Mr. Rosten shows, was the first President to "use" the press in devious ways:

He was conscious of the use to which newspapermen might be put, and he enjoyed and encouraged the propagation of news calculated to emphasize his virility and glorify his person. He made friends with a few correspondents, with whom he would gossip freely at breakfast or while being shaved, and favored them with exclusive news stories. He did not see the press corps en masse, preferring to play favorites. The glamour of Theodore Roosevelt's personality and the animal magnetism which he exuded robbed many of the correspondents of their detachment and anaesthetized their powers of discrimination. He was probably the first President to use newspapermen deliberately for the publication of trial-balloon statements for which he accepted no responsibility. He barred one correspondent from the White House and all executive departments by a formal executive order, because of an innocent story the man had published. When he did not like a correspondent, or when he resented the tenor of a newspaperman's dispatches, the President would demand that the man be replaced. He often accused reporters of falsification—generally newspapermen who had resisted emotional affiliation with what was tantamount to a Roosevelt cult. He damned many an honest correspondent by consigning him to the famous "Ananias Club." He repudiated well-founded dispatches blithely.

Mr. Rosten unfortunately does not include the case wherein President Roosevelt, according to Federal court decision, "prostituted" his power to bring two unfounded suits for libel against the New York World. In the course of this perverted litigation the President flooded the World Building with Secret Service men a la European dictatorships and tried by every means to ruin Pulitzer, who had to expend more than \$1,000,000 in his own defense.

Taft was a blunderer in his press relations, to which may be attributed much of his unpopularity, just as much of Roosevelt's undeserved reputation as a liberal and a progressive may be attributed to the duped Washington correspondents of the day. "Taft openly favored Gus J. Karger, correspondent for the Cincinnati Times-Star, which was owned by Charles O. Taft, the President's half-brother. Karger had access to the White House at all times, and often advised the President. He was given much inside informa-

tion and many exclusive stories, and the newspapermen received a good deal of their information about executive affairs from him."

Woodrow Wilson was very suspicious of newspapermen, as all politicians or persons of economic power fundamentally are where newspapermen are relatively free. "He regarded newspapermen as intellectual inferiors, and, at bottom, probably feared them." In his second term, during America's participation in the war, the American press was, of course, locked in as tight a censorship as one can find in Europe today. Henry Watterson alone among publishers protested against this censorship.

Because Harding made grievous mistakes in his talks with the press he was obliged to institute the stultifying rule that all questions be submitted first in writing. But, probably because they felt sorry for him, the Washington newspapermen gave him a relatively good press.

Hoover's Difficulties With the Reporters

Coolidge was a complete cipher, and Rosten penetratingly examines the professional, purely technical compulsions, that induced the press corps to create silent Cal, the mastermind of the boom period. "The Washington correspondents developed imagination and versatility under the Coolidge regime." Nearly everything written by the press corps about Coolidge was false. He was represented as being taciturn; he actually was garrulous, and dull. His most trivial remarks were inflated to the magnitude of statesman-like strokes by the Washington newspapermen, who could not, apparently, tell the country that a fool sat in the White House.

Practically every important newspaper in the country printed encomia about Mr. Coolidge for another reason. The Mellon tax-reduction plan played a significant role in eliciting choruses of praise from the publishers.

Herbert Hoover, who is now going around making hypocritical speeches in defense of freedom of the press, tried to impose a formal censorship in Washington. On his South American trip the dispatches of the correspondents were revised, and "the correspondents submitted to this censorship without a murmur." Mr. Rosten tells much about Hoover's encounters with the press that brought the press corps finally to loggerheads with him. "Latent hostility turned to open war. Hoover's friends maintained that the day-by-day dispatches of the Washington correspondents did as much to defeat him in 1932 as all the efforts of Charles Michelson and the Democratic Party."

Although from Theodore Roosevelt to Herbert Hoover the publishers as a group had little to say about the perversion of the press by the Presidents of the United States (probably because all these Presidents were more or less acceptable to Wall Street) they had much to say, most of it false, as soon as Franklin D. Roosevelt took office. Correspondents that felt the second Roosevelt was doing a good job were admonished by publishers to "be more objective."

Publishers interfere a great deal with the writing of news from Washington, as "The Washington Correspondents" demonstrates conclusively. They usually demand that news be slanted so as to favor social reaction and the status quo as well as personal financial interests.

Newspapermen become expert in estimating the pleasure with which their home offices will welcome stories with a particular political emphasis or with particular political implications. One correspondent

may be working for a newspaper which is violently anti-administration and has been running a series of articles describing the iniquities of the government's attack on, say, holding companies. If he runs across a story which exposes the undetectable practices of holding companies he may think twice before sending it—especially if his paper has not printed previous stories of a similar nature.

No less than 55.5 per cent of the Washington correspondents testified that "In my experience I've had stories played down, cut or killed for 'policy' reasons."

During the 1928 Presidential campaign one Washington correspondent was ordered to tour several Eastern states and write a series of dispatches analyzing public opinion. His editor's telegram ended with the popular phrase: "And don't forget we are backing Al Smith."

During the fight for the repeal of the Pink Slip law on income taxes, a fight in which newspaper publishers took an active part, several Washington bureaus were informed, by telephone, letters or in conversation that: "Mr. X (the publisher) is very anxious to have the Pink Slip law repealed." Stories with implications favorable to the Pink Slip law were not welcomed.

The Tugwell Pure Food and Drug Bill was treated with extraordinary delicacy by the press, and eight separate Washington correspondents have told the writer that "they wrote around the story" or ignored it, because of the intense opposition of their publishers to the measure.

Straining to Get Some Strained Facts Across

When the Veterans' Bonus Bill was under discussion a correspondent sent a dispatch for a Sunday feature story analyzing the measure. He reviewed the history of bonuses after previous wars in which the United States had taken part. He pointed out that history showed that the payment of a bonus was by no means the end of veterans' pressure, that a demand for a pension law generally followed. He cited the number of widows and orphans still receiving pensions from the government for the War of 1812. His article was supported by facts, figures, dates and historical evidence. And it was returned with this laconic comment: "You seem to forget that we are supporting the payment of the Bonus." The correspondent re-wrote the article, changing it to this slight extent; the argument concluded that a study of history showed that a veterans' bonus was "clearly in the American tradition." This triumph of casuistry was printed.

A correspondent was telephoned by his home office and told to find out whether certain facts in regard to a Senate bill "are true." He said that so far as he knew they were not true, but he would investigate. Investigation confirmed his opinion. The next day he told his office of his findings. He was asked if he was sure the facts were not what the home office implied. This process was repeated for several days until the correspondent concluded that the home office "was damned eager to get the story the way they wanted it—so I strained the facts and wrote it."

One correspondent was warned "not to crusade" after he had written a story with pro-labor implications, his managing editor said that the story was not "spot news." Some time later, the correspondent was told to interview a certain Senator (whose record indicated that his comments would support the newspaper's stand on another matter). Although the subsequent story was not "spot news" it was printed. This was not considered "crusading."

The writer has seen a long letter to a Washington correspondent from his home office explaining why a certain dispatch had been killed. There was no complaint that the story was either untimely, untrue, or unimportant. There was no effort to deny that it was a good story, well written and supported by ample evidence. The explanation merely stated that according to the newspaper's policy on the matter, it was "unwise" to print it. "It would just make unnecessary trouble."

History Wasn't Made To Mid-West Order

The most amusing reason advanced for not printing a correspondent's dispatch occurred in the following case: While covering Europe, a newspaperman for a large newspaper in the Middle West wrote an account for the Hungarian crisis and the role which Communism played in it. His dispatch was carefully worded and well documented. It was a judicious and thoughtful analysis. He received the following reply from his office: "Your story was great. However, we do not think it advisable to print it because it does not reflect mid-western opinion on this point." He did not forget these delectable words when he was assigned to cover Washington.

Several correspondents wrote up a report of the Consumers' Division of NRA on the properties and value of ethyl gasoline, in which the Standard Oil Company was named. The dispatches were killed by two papers and printed by a third, but the name of Standard Oil was deleted.

The American press, as a whole, emerges from this quietly-toned book as a putrefying mess, but Rosten correctly does not blame the publishers uniquely for this. He says:

The ills with which contemporary journalism is afflicted are an integral aspect of our society rather than a disease with an etiology of its own. One may question whether newspapers are any more derelict in their duty to democratic society than the schools, the church, or the bar. . . . A free press can exist only in a free society. . . . Insofar as publishers are indifferent to, or overly apologetic for, the excesses of contemporary society, and insofar as they fail to expose its weakness and its problems simply by the untrammelled publication of the facts, they function to undermine the very political structure with which their own welfare is inextricably identified.

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