

The GUILD REPORTER

Official Organ of the American Newspaper Guild, an Affiliate of the C. I. O.

Published Monday of each week at Guild headquarters, 1560 Broadway, New York.

Vol. V. No. 5

Entered as second-class matter August 18, 1937, at the Post Office at New York

NEW YORK, JANUARY 10, 1938

Single Copy 10c; Yearly \$3.50

Boston Unit Balloting On 'Vertical' Bargaining

BOSTON.—Nearly 200 employees of the Boston Herald-Traveler's administrative, commercial, and building maintenance departments, and helpers and boys in the composing, press and stereotype rooms, were voting as this issue of the GUILD REPORTER went to press in an election to determine whether they want the Boston Guild to represent them in collective bargaining.

The Herald-Traveler management conceded that the Guild represents members of the editorial staff. An overwhelming majority of editorial department employees have been Guild members more than a year.

The election for members of the non-editorial departments began at 7 a.m. Friday and was to continue until midnight. Professor Calvert Magruder of Harvard University supervised the balloting, with the aid of students in his law classes, in the Hotel Touraine.

Expect Victory

President Donald M. Sullivan of the Boston Guild made an appointment with representatives of the Herald-Traveler management to begin negotiation of a contract on Jan. 10, for all employees who choose the Guild to represent them. Guild officers expect a resounding victory.

Representatives of the Herald-Traveler management, with the advice of the New England Publishers Association, originally demanded that the H-T unit divide itself into seven "crafts" for the purpose of an election and for contract making.

The Guild Executive Committee promptly filed a petition with the National Labor Board for certification of the Guild as representative of all employees within its claimed jurisdiction. Two days after the NLRB announced that it had set Jan. 6 for a hearing, the Guild and paper agreed upon a "consent" election.

Election Division

For election purposes only, the non-editorial departments were defined as (a) the administrative and commercial department, (b) the building department, and (c) the display advertising and advertising dispatch desks. Each department was to choose as a unit whether it wished to be represented by the Guild.

The Guild has a strong membership. (Continued on page 6)

E&P Gives Us Free Ads

Editor & Publisher's repeated blasts against the Guild bear fruit. A group of circulation employees in the New York area, writing to ANG asking that they be organized, paid tribute to E & P's value as Guild advertising medium in this postscript:

"We have noted with satisfaction your accomplishments for other newspaper employees through Editor & Publisher."

Members of the group, according to the letter, are required to work as much as 72 hours a week.

CAMOZZI, FARSON ELECTED TO I.E.B.



ROBERT CAMOZZI



WILLIAM J. FARSON

Seattle, Philadelphia Commercial Men Named ANG Vice Presidents

Robert Camozzi, of the Seattle Post Intelligencer circulation department, and William J. Farson, of the Philadelphia Inquirer advertising department, have been elected to the International Executive Board as vice-president at large of the ANG, according to an unofficial tabulation at headquarters of ballots cast by local governing bodies in an International Council vote.

The election, conducted under a special Constitutional provision adopted by the St. Louis Convention with the aim of providing representation of the commercial departments on the IEB, closed at headquarters New Year's Eve. An official count was held up because of the necessity of posting last-minute returns of membership

payments from Guilds in computing the number of votes to be credited each local. The IEB at its next meeting also will be called upon, as a matter of record, to rule on the legality of some of the votes cast, including four ballots which arrived over the week-end immediately following the closing of the vote. However, the unofficial tabulation showed a conclusive result, which could not be altered by minor changes in the number of votes or by rulings on doubtful points.

Ralph Novak, of the Detroit Times business office, ran third, and R. S. Gilfillan, of the Minneapolis Evening Tribune editorial department, fourth.

The unofficial tabulation, with (Continued on page 4)

Bayonne Times Advertising Goes Down 90%

BAYONNE, N. J. — The Bayonne Times having been stripped of 90 per cent of its display advertising, labor unions last week joined in demands that the City Commission withhold legal advertisements from the struck paper.

The demands were made as desultory conferences between the Guild and Publisher Herman Lazarus ran into their second week. Complaining that his paper was a "wreck" and that it will "never regain its business," Lazarus has made unsatisfactory proposals which the strikers rejected.

The City Commissioners were scheduled to act late last week on the union requests that the legal ads be withheld from the paper. There was a strong likelihood that the board would act favorably to the strikers.

The unions based their demands on the fact that the Times has hired strikebreakers to replace striking reporters, maintaining that money raised among taxpayers of the city should not support "imported scabs."

Portland Local Fights To Stop 3-Paper Layoff

PORTLAND, Maine. — The Portland Guild last week opened a fight against a series of "economy" lay-offs threatened by Fred Lord, business manager of the news-paper chain owned by Guy P. Gannett. The three Portland papers of the chain have posted bulletin board policy statements providing raises and other benefits for editorial, commercial and other workers, as the result of Guild negotiations (GUILD REPORTER, Dec. 13).

As a result of the threatened action, the Portland units have directed the negotiating committee to reopen its efforts to get a full Guild contract, and empowered the executive committee to take any steps it deems advisable to forestall the impending discharges. The Guild had dropped its negotiations following the posting of the bulletin board statements.

Lord told a committee headed by ANG Representative Fred Myers that the "current business recession" made economies necessary, despite the fact that Gannett

(Continued on page 4)

About-Face by AP Hinted by Cooper; Open to Guild Shop

Asking National Instead of Local Parleys, General Manager Ready To "Come To Contractual Basis"

A frank desire to negotiate a national contract with the American Newspaper Guild if the employees so express themselves through the National Labor Relations Board machinery was voiced before the Regional Board in New York City last week by General Manager Kent Cooper of the Associated Press.

NLRB Asks Court Writ Against Star

SEATTLE.—The National Labor Relations Board has petitioned the Federal District Court for a writ to compel the Seattle Star to comply with a board order reinstating 20 circulation department employees whose dismissal July 3 precipitated the Guild strike.

As this action was taken and as the Committee for Enforcement of the Wagner Act swung into action, the Star's claim that it suffered no losses as result of the strike was exploded last week by a Media Records report showing a drop of 41 per cent in advertising. The paper's total linage in November, 1937, was 167,335 lower than the linage for the same month a year ago.

Assurance that the Star's defiance of the Labor Board order was making new friends for the strikers was seen during the week, with the receipt of copies of hundreds of letters and resolutions protesting the paper's attitude. Some of them came from points as distant as New Jersey. Locally, advertisers who had continued their patronage of the paper for six months of the strike voluntarily notified the Guild that they had now decided to discontinue their business in the Star.

Formal organization of the Committee for Enforcement of the Wagner Act has been completed.

Cooper appeared as the AP's only witness to oppose petitions for certification and representation which had been filed on behalf of the Washington, Philadelphia and Boston bureaus. The Labor Board must decide whether these bureaus constitute proper bargaining units. The only other witness in the two-day hearing conducted by Trial Examiner Frank Bloom was Vice-President Morris Watson of the Guild, once fired by Cooper and later reinstated on affirmation of the Supreme Court.

The testimony of Cooper represented the first public expression of his attitude on collective bargaining since the beginning of the historic Watson case, and indicated a possibly complete about-face.

Included in his testimony: "Thank God for the Wagner Act, for it relieves the employer"; "Watson and those who feel as he does are doing a swell job"; "it (the Guild) . . . is a young union . . . I think they have made strides."

Open Minded on Guild Shop

He testified that he refused, though invited, to participate in the publishers' Chicago anti-Guild and anti-Guild-shop convention, and said:

"I have no feeling about the closed shop, whether it should be or not. I would assume, if there is a closed shop, it would be the Guild shop to begin with, which I think is a far better closed shop for newsmen, and the Guild would not undertake to say that we had to employ men who were members of the Guild even though they didn't have good men; and that, if it is a Guild shop and the em-

(Continued on page 2)

AF of L Attempt to 'Kidnap' Worcester Guild Proves Flop

WORCESTER, Mass.—An AF of L organizer with a remarkably poor sense of timing chose last week, when members of the Worcester Guild were jingling in their pockets the pay raises resulting from a brand new Guild contract (GUILD REPORTER, Dec. 27), to attempt to "take over" the Worcester Guild. The contract, with the Post, was signed Jan. 5.

To Robert Sibley, Guild President, the AF of L organizer, whose name is Murphy, announced that "I'm going to organize your members into the AF of L—we've declared war on you."

substance, to do what he liked, and posted a brief notice on the bulletin board of the Post, informing Guild members they would probably be solicited. Less than two hours later a messenger delivered a missive to Sibley at his police headquarters seat. It began, "Dear Bob," and continued: "We, the undersigned, wish to tell you that, while we respect your own two-fisted ability to deal with the local agitator, we are sticking by the Guild and you 100 per cent and you can call upon any of us for any help you need."

It was signed by every member of the Post staff. Murphy hasn't been heard from since.

Highlights of Kent Cooper's Testimony

Below are parts of testimony by Kent Cooper, AP general manager.

DIRECT TESTIMONY

THE WITNESS (Kent Cooper): The forty-hour week was given to everybody in both departments (traffic and editorial) all over this country as the expense to the Associated Press of over a half million dollars a year. . . . Now this, for instance, is a brief resume of just what that has meant, the additional number of employees and the increase in the payroll. This document is dated March 2 last, which I showed to the President of the United States. On June 17, 1933 there were 1,532 employees; the payroll was \$270,000 a month. . . . On Dec. 31, 1937 there were 2,187, with a payroll of \$407,198.23—an average which I have not figured here, but which I think is about \$185.00 a month. You will bear in mind that office boys at \$15 or \$18 a week are included and executives and officers of the corporation excluded. . . .

National Rhythm

I am referring to that solely to call attention to the fact that the present basis of administration of the Associated Press on a national basis with no divisions, or autonomous division, has brought rhythm in the work of the organization and an efficiency that its founders never dreamed could exist.

If we have to go back to the day when the Boston office decided its own affairs and segregated from all of New England, or segregate all of New England from the rest of us in this effort of news collection, we have got a situation in the Associated Press that this method of administration will not fit. . . .

Our average age in the Associated Press in the editorial department is 32 years. That, however, excludes almost one hundred who are getting allowances and are ages 45 to 55 or 60. . . . The average salary of the editorial men is \$72 and some old cots a week, the country throughout, with a minimum for news men of \$40 to \$45. I think this minimum, unless the world gets terribly upset for news men, should be \$50 a week, no matter where they work, if they have had some experience. . . .

Watson's Ideal

The greatest contribution, in my opinion—I think the facts prove it—would be if the Guild and its members would address themselves to the ideal which I think Mr. Watson holds, a national unit for a national organization, consistent with the decision of the Supreme Court and the decisions of the Labor Board, consistent with the attitude of the Guild or the unions that have anything to do with the United Press, or with press associations. The United Press has a national contract now with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America.

I say, I see no reason in the world why the Associated Press can't have one. It is consistent in every way, and I have hopes of that. But to ask the Associated Press to undertake this impossible task on the present basis is just something I think won't work. . . .

Remember, I have got to bring 1400 publishers along to say that this is O.K. and no management—and I said this once to Morris Watson—no management can remain in charge of the Associated Press that does not have the confidence of the men who pay its bills. . . .

Q. (By Mr. Stratton): Mr. Cooper, is it true that you feel that every employee in the Associated Press if they want a bargaining agent should have the right to express or to vote his choice or agency?

A. Definitely, if I was forced by such competent authority as an arm of the United States Government to impose a bargaining agent on the employees in any one office—well, that is why I am here, I

AP IS OPEN TO GUILD SHOP

(Continued from page 1)

play by a majority vote said they wanted it, we could then go from there and build our future on a national basis and continue as we have been. We would be no worse off—because I believe the men will be honest and do the best they can—if we could consummate, if we could come to a contractual basis which the Associated Press can afford financially. . . .

In cross-examination of Cooper and in rebuttal evidence the Guild's attorney, A. J. Isserman, brought out that the AP itself had been responsible for deterring national organization which would have made national negotiations possible long ago. Isserman also sought to show that it was only long after an organized office to win better conditions than an unorganized office, even from the same employer.

Cooper believed the benefits of unionization should go to all at the same time. He cited the fact that Associated Press employees are transferred from office to office and implied that transfer of men from organized offices of better

condition to unorganized offices of worse condition would have a bad effect upon morale. On motion of Isserman another case involving refusal of the AP to bargain in good faith for the New York office was separated from the Washington, Boston and

suppose. But on the basis that a few selected offices can have that advantage, since it is at advantage, I would have to oppose that because I feel that all should be treated alike and everybody should have a voice in a matter that is as important as this.

Trial Examiner Bloom: Before you get into the question of the other appropriate unit, you were present, I think, when Mr. Watson stated why the Guild wanted to bargain at this time on behalf of the three offices, on the ground that they were organized and that others were not. This is the substance of his testimony on that point, is it not?

The Witness: Yes. **Trial Examiner Bloom:** Well, what do you say to that point, Mr. Cooper?

The Witness: Well, I would say that is not the proper point that is not the proper point. You have up to this point given more or less the point of view of the management of course.

Trial Examiner Bloom: Now let me have it from the point of view of the employees, as represented by the Guild, and the point of view stated by Mr. Watson. What do you think of that?

Did a 'Swell' Job **The Witness:** Well, I say I don't think it will work, it will be the very thing that will disintegrate our efforts. If we go ahead and select the ones in which they have done valiant work and produced, and not have them asked to do it for all of them, and then get the vote, why I think—

I think Watson and the men who feel as he does in the organization have been doing a swell job but it hasn't been able to join in one way or the other. I can't. I have been shot from it and I have given explicit instructions that every office in the organization must read the Wagner Labor Act, so I can't say anything further than that. But there is no opposition and there cannot be any opposition. Considering that it is a young union, compared to the Commercial Telegraphers', I think they have made strides and if that is what the employees want, it won't take anything other than an order of the employees, as far as I am concerned, although it would have to be given to me through the Labor Board, as I have no means of taking the poll myself.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

(By A. J. Isserman)

Q. Do you conceive it within your



KENT COOPER

Philadelphia representation cases. This case will be heard later.

Lloyd Stratton, assistant general manager of the AP, acted as attorney for that organization. The Labor Board was represented by John McCann.

Watson testified that the basic policy of the Guild was to request bargaining only when it has been initiated by the unit affected. He said the International Executive Board had requests from the three offices mentioned, but not from the whole AP unit. He affirmed an eventual desire to bargain on a national basis as soon as AP employees indicate such desire on a national scale.

Further indication of the AP's apparent change of approach came with a stipulation settling, at least in part, its fight with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union. The stipulation was signed on the day the Guild hearing opened. It provided for disestablishment of the alleged company union, the Independent Employees Guild, Inc., and for reinstatement of six operators to the regular rolls with differences in pay made up.

you. The point is this, Mr. Isserman, the Associated Press is a unit in itself. . . . For me to select a part of these offices and arrive at some decision as to these offices and always have to have in mind, in respect to all the other offices, everything, it would be a task that I would not want to undertake.

Q. Of course, there would be nothing to prevent you from putting into effect for all of your offices that which you agreed to do before, isn't that so?

A. There is nothing which would prevent me from doing anything, no.

Q. And isn't it also true that at the present time there is inequality of wage scales?

A. Inequality?

Q. From office to office, for like work?

A. Inequality?

Q. For like work?

A. Yes.

A. Yes, but not for like ability.

Q. I believe you testified yesterday that in smaller offices the rate of pay was not necessarily equal to the rate of pay in larger offices for like work.

A. Everything of the kind is necessary so.

Q. Well, have you any fixed scale of wages for reporters, let us say?

A. No.

Q. Have you any fixed scale of wages for reporters in any particular unit in the AP?

A. It is all on ability, I would call it.

Q. In other words, to date there is absolutely no uniformity, not only as between offices, but neither as between individual employees?

A. That is correct.

Q. And to date you have no difficulty in fixing these miscellaneous rates from time to time?

A. No.

A.P. Board's View **Q.** Isn't it true that in the conferences held in relation to the New York unit, that the Guild offered to put a clause in a proposed contract that it might be superseded at some time in the future by—

A. Yes.

A. —national contract?

A. Yes.

Q. And isn't it true that the management refused the inclusion of any such clause?

A. I think they did.

Q. As I understand your position now, you are desirous of bargaining with the Guild on a national basis?

A. If the employees, by a majority

vote, express that request, certainly.

Q. And, I believe you stated that you had no objection to the employees becoming members of the Guild if they so choose?

A. Certainly not.

Q. You do not object to collective bargaining in principle, do you?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Isn't it true that previously, say from early 1937 and before, that you had been opposed to collective bargaining?

A. Opposed to it?

A. Well, I guess my education wasn't complete—probably never will be.

Q. And don't you think that that expressed attitude had an effect upon the state of organization of Guild members?

A. No, because I never expressed any antagonism to collective bargaining.

Q. Of course, it was known to employees of the AP through certain proceedings which had been had, isn't that so?

A. I suppose they got the idea that there was that, although that was not involved in this matter at all.

Q. And, don't you think that that extended period of negotiations in the New York situation had some effect upon deterring the AP employees from joining the Guild?

A. I wouldn't express judgment on that, I don't know what the employees would think. . . .

Q. Does your present attitude in respect to collective bargaining include any views on the question of a closed or preferential shop among any of your employees?

A. I have no view on that now, no.

Q. In other words, your mind is open on that?

A. Yes. I would say to that, there has been no change, my mind has always been open.

Q. But, is it open in view of the resolution of Oct. 7, 1937, adopted by the Board of Directors of the AP saying that—

A. That is the Board's business. Q.—saying they would not approve any such contract?

A. That is the Board's business.

Asks National Action **Q.** Before, Mr. Cooper, you stated that the time involved in bargaining simultaneously for four offices would be excessive, is that correct?

A. It would be a task that I wouldn't want to undertake.

Q. Now, you expressed yesterday the fact, or your opinion, rather, that the AP would be injured by bargaining on behalf of specific local units. Was that reference to injury directed to the time element which you just mentioned?

A. Why, I think it is injurious to the morale to pick out certain elements. If there is great advantage, it must exist in the matter of unionization. To pick out a few selective places, give time to those, associate with them, give them all the preferences, it would certainly injure the morale. On the other hand, since these offices represent a minority of the entire personnel—and the great majority having not expressed any request—just make sheep and goats out of the employees, why, I wouldn't undertake to do it.

Q. Don't you believe that if it were demonstrated in the case of one or two offices or four offices, that there were benefits from unionization, that all the employees would seek it?

A. I would express no opinion on that.

Q. And, isn't it your opinion that the reason why they haven't sought it is because they were not so much in hope of benefits as perhaps in fear of reprisal for joining such?

A. I would express no opinion on that.

Q. I take it, however, that whatever the case may have been—

(Continued on page 6)

City-Wide Pact Up In San Francisco

Publishers' Association Meets Guild Group For Five-Paper Parley; Commercial Division Being Organized, Contracts Are Submitted For Some

SAN FRANCISCO.—Negotiations for nearly 700 editorial and commercial division members were in full swing here last week on a city-wide basis. Following receipt of a counter proposal from the San Francisco

Oakland Publishers Association, through which negotiations are being carried on for editorial division members of the Call-Bulletin, News, Examiner and Chronicle, and the Oakland Post-Enquirer, and the Oakland Post-Enquirer, the Northern California Guild's negotiating committee met with the publishers. Organization of the commercial divisions is proceeding rapidly but bargaining for them will have to be done paper by paper this time.

Former ANG International Representative Charles L. Irvine has been retained on a part-time basis during the negotiations.

The Guild committee came to the meeting on the editorial contract armed with a resolution from the NCGC executive council condemning the publishers' terms and instructing the negotiating committee to carry on bargaining from the standpoint of the Guild's original demands.

Would Narrow Rights The publishers' counter proposal, the resolution pointed out, not only rejected all of the improvements in working conditions asked for by the Guild, but took away privileges now enjoyed.

Besides offering no improvements the publishers' proposal asked that during the life of the agreement no member or members of the Northern California Newspaper Guild engage in any strike or boycott against the publisher.

The publishers proposed a number of exceptions to the 5-day, 40-hour week among classifications now enjoying it. Minimum salaries offered were the same as those now in effect; severance pay up to a total of only six weeks was offered.

Skip the 'Free Press' The major subject under discussion at the meeting was the Guild's demand for a "free press" clause. The publishers insisted that they did not wish to force employees to join the Guild against their choice. The Guild committee pointed out that they had long ago recognized the principle of the closed shop in all the mechanical departments. The "freedom of the press" was not raised in this connection by the publishers.

More than 300 commercial department members enrolled within the past three months, and the Guild has submitted contracts covering demands of employees in the following departments:

Examiner, business office; Chronicle, business office, classified advertising department; News, classified advertising department; Call-Bulletin, business office and classified advertising department.

It is planned to conduct these negotiations simultaneously with those for the editorial departments, so that both contracts can be terminated at the same time.

With the approval of the unions in the newly formed joint committee the Guild negotiating committee has written a pamphlet describing Guild progress and the current negotiations in particular and is circulating it among all of the various chapels and unions.

The following represented the Guild at the meeting with the publishers: James Landy, Pacific Coast Labor Bureau; Irvine; David E. Young, NCGC president; Call-Bulletin; News, Examiner, Chronicle; Post-Enquirer unit; Robert de Roos, News; Bill Losh and John Lee, Examiner; Jack Kane and Harry Houle, Chronicle.

CIO Orders Jobless Aid

John Brophy, director of the CIO, last week reiterated in a memorandum to regional directors and field representatives, that "the responsibility of seeing that the unemployed are properly cared for this winter is one of the most important duties of the CIO."

He instructed functionaries to cooperate with the Workers Alliance and other organizations of unemployed to see that unemployed members get WPA jobs and relief. Brophy pointed out that the WPA rolls "should be open to all able-bodied workers who need a job." He instructed directors and organizers to inform national CIO headquarters of any difficulty in placing the workers. Such cases will be taken up immediately with the WPA national administration.

GROUP ASKS FDR TO QUIT APS

CAMDEN, N. J.—The South Jersey Industrial Council, CIO central body, showed its solidarity with the American Newspaper Guild last week when it adopted a resolution calling upon President Roosevelt to resign from the American Press Society.

The resolution pointed out that the same reactionary press which Roosevelt recently accused of "fostering a psychology of fear" is behind the "stooge outfit" and concluded that any overt act against the Guild can be considered "warfare against organized labor in general."

POSTAL-RAISE DUE IN APRIL

Frank B. Powers, international president of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, AF of L affiliate, has protested against unqualified statements that the American Communications Association (CWA) won a contract from the Postal Telegraph Company providing \$580,000 a year in pay increases for 17,000 workers.

Pointing out that the pay increase becomes effective on April 1 if the company is not in liquidation at that time, Powers expressed the fear that the union victory "is going to mean liquidation or merger in the near future, and consequent loss of 17,000 jobs."

The CWA, which has protested the signing of the CIO contract, issued a statement charging that "CIO-Communist tactics" may drive the firm into liquidation. The contract, however, makes Postal the only union telegraph company.

Seattle Played Leading Part In Success of Relief Council

SEATTLE.—The Seattle Guild, acting in advance of the International Executive Board's establishment urging the establishment of local Guild relief committees, has been a major factor in the establishment and success of the Seattle Joint Union Relief Council.

Representing the majority of all unions, both CIO and AF of L, the council has already won the right to certify for emergency aid needy unemployed union members.

Handfuls of Seattle unemployed have obtained relief through the council's ability to cut through the red tape set up by the State Department of Social Security.

Roberto Camozzi, successful candidate for Guild international vice-president and the newsmen's best representative on the council, is vice-president of the group.

CIO Lists Demands For Unemployed

IEB Urges Locals to Follow Course of Action Set by Committee At Atlantic City Conference; Broad Legislative Reforms Are In Suggestions

Below is the legislative program of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which the ANG International Executive Board at its recent meeting recommended that Guilds carry out for the protection of workers laid off in the current "recession." Adopted by the CIO at the Atlantic City conference, the program is as follows:

The most important factor for every worker is his security of employment. Such security must also yield to each worker a sufficient income to permit him to maintain his family on a decent standard of living. For the workers who are now being discharged or laid off, federal funds must be appropriated sufficient to continue the WPA and PWA for the purpose of assuring every worker a job if he is in need of the same. Federal funds should also be appropriated sufficient to afford opportunities for work and education of the youth of this country, which now finds itself, in terms of millions, unable to find a place in industry with sufficient funds to obtain an education.

The CIO now announces that the basic feature of its legislative and economic program is: "Each worker has a right to a job and must be guaranteed security of employment."

Labor Bears Brunt Unemployment is becoming increasingly evident in the major industries producing durable goods, as well as among those industries supplying consumer goods. This increasing unemployment is based upon an evident sense of mass purchasing power, thereby decreasing demand, as well as due to technological improvements, the introduction of machinery and other labor saving devices. At the present time, at the first signs of decreasing orders, corporations are immediately engaging in the decrease of employment, making labor bear the entire brunt of the decline in business conditions.

The CIO therefore proposes the following legislative program to protect and further the organization of labor and also to assure each worker in his right to a job:

1. Federal legislation be enacted licensing all business enterprises engaged in interstate commerce. Each business unit, to retain its license, will have to comply with a code protecting the rights of labor guaranteed under the laws of the United States. Such type of federal regulation is the most effective method to compel employers to observe the rights of labor.

2. Federal wage and hour legislation should be enacted which will establish the cardinal principle of increasing employment among the workers in the several industries, as well as enacting the basic minimum wage to eliminate the severe abuses now prevalent in many industries. The policy of such legislation must be regard to maximum hours and minimum wages to assure absorption by particular industries of the worker in such industries and the guaranteeing of a minimum wage sufficient to afford a decent standard of living.

3. The federal government must recognize the right of every

worker to have a job which will permit him to maintain himself and his family on a decent standard of living. For the workers who are now being discharged or laid off, federal funds must be appropriated sufficient to continue the WPA and PWA for the purpose of assuring every worker a job if he is in need of the same. Federal funds should also be appropriated sufficient to afford opportunities for work and education of the youth of this country, which now finds itself, in terms of millions, unable to find a place in industry with sufficient funds to obtain an education.

4. The federal social security legislation should be amended in several respects, in order to extend its operation and also to increase the benefits guaranteed thereunder. Such amendments may be summarized as follows:

(a) The old age insurance system should be accelerated and broadened into an old age, permanent disability and survivor's insurance system. This might include:

I. Monthly benefit payments should start in 1939 instead of 1942. The monthly benefits payable during the earlier years should be liberalized.

II. Benefits should be provided for surviving widows and orphans, regardless of the age of the deceased.

III. Benefits should be provided for permanent total disability.

(b) Unemployment compensation should be extended so as to include compensation for workers who are unemployed for any legitimate reason.

(c) A complete health program should be incorporated which will grant adequate cash and medical benefits.

The Right to Work Federal wage and hour legislation should be enacted which will establish the cardinal principle of increasing employment among the workers in the several industries, as well as enacting the basic minimum wage to eliminate the severe abuses now prevalent in many industries. The policy of such legislation must be regard to maximum hours and minimum wages to assure absorption by particular industries of the worker in such industries and the guaranteeing of a minimum wage sufficient to afford a decent standard of living.

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Interim Pact Is Signed In Wilkes-Barre

WILKES BARRE, Pa.—A prolonged deadlock in contract negotiations between the Wilkes-Barre Guild and the city's four publishers was ended last week when the Guild accepted an interim agreement providing wage increases ranging from 5 to 20 per cent. They cover editorial, advertising, business and circulation department employees.

Fifty per cent of the pay raises were made retroactive to Nov. 1, when the six-day strike which ended in a Guild shop victory was effective Feb. 1.

The interim agreement to be signed will embody the Guild shop clause. It stipulates that on Sept. 30, 1938, the publishers' association and Guild will open "a full discussion of minimum wages, based upon years of experience, maximum hours of work, vacation schedules, sick leave allowances, severance pay, traveling expenses and all other conditions of employment."

Totals \$20,000

The increases were estimated to total at least \$20,000 for the employees. The papers announced them in double-column statements on their front pages. Before they were made public, the publishers had announced a boost in their circulation rates of 15 cents a week. Advertising rates were increased as of Jan. 1.

Paying minimums of \$20 a week in the editorial department and \$15 a week in the commercial, except for boys and part-time employees, the agreement provided increases of 20 per cent for those receiving \$20 a week or less; 15 per cent between \$20 and \$30; 10 per cent between \$30 and \$40, and 5 per cent over \$40.

The agreement set maximum working hours at 44 a week.

The agreement brings to an end, until September, protracted negotiations which had been in progress since the strike was settled by the Guild shop contract. The negotiations were conducted with the aid of officials of the United Mine Workers Union. The four papers involved are the Record, Times Leader, Evening News, and Sunday Independent.

PORTLAND GUILD FIGHTS LAYOFF

(Continued from page 1)

net, now wintering in the South, had previously told the Portland staffs that he contemplated no dismissals to nullify the pay raises. At the same conference, Lord refused to live up to all the terms of the bulletin board policy notice. The Guild committee, nevertheless, persuaded him to place two sports writers now working a six-day week upon a five-day schedule, and to pay them retroactively for the sixth day they have been working since the five-day week became effective throughout the Gannett plant. One of them, in addition, received a pay increase this week to bring him to the minimum negotiated for his classification.

New York's Income

One-half of the native white families in New York City had incomes of less than \$1,814 in 1935, reports Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics. Families with incomes of less than \$1,000 formed about 24.2 per cent of the city's population, he said, the total including families which received relief at some time during the period.

How A Strong Union Negotiates

Scranton Local Gets \$63.50 Scale

SCRANTON, Pa.—When the union is strong, there is nothing to worry about, is the tenor of this story about the renewal of the current contract between the Newsworkers Union No. 3, an affiliate of the International Typographical Union, and the Scranton publishers.

The union, which has had contractual relations with the Scranton newspapers since its organization in 1907, just increased its wage scale for reporters with four years' experience in Scranton or another city of its importance and population, from \$58.50 to \$63.50 morning papers and from \$65.50 to \$69 on afternoon papers. Copy readers on morning papers will receive a minimum of \$65.50 and on the afternoon papers \$62.

An indication of the relationship between the union and pub-

lishers, is in the following report of the latest negotiations, furnished by a member of the union: "Back in September, one month before the expiration of our contract, our union requested a conference. Publishers answered they would be glad to meet us within a short time after they had completed negotiations with other unions."

"Our agreement expired October 1, but that date and the whole month passed without any word coming from the publishers. Yet there was no worry on the part of any member. We know that the fact that the agreement had died would make no difference in our position and we also knew, without it being even hinted, that any increase in wages would be dated back to Oct. 1."

"Three weeks of November

passed. Yet, no word. And yet, no worry—not the least. Then came the word that the publishers would meet our committee Nov. 29. On that date our demands for a 15 per cent wage advance and some changes in working conditions were presented. 'We intend giving you an increase but we do not believe it will amount to 15 per cent,' the chairman of the publishers' committee said at almost the opening of the session."

"Two days later another conference was held and the publishers offered an increase of \$4.50 a week all around and a few changes in working conditions. 'The new rates will date back to Oct. 1, of course,' said the chairman. Two days later the publishers' offer came up at a general meeting and was accepted by unanimous vote. On the next day the contract was signed."

Two Lose Jobs In Waterbury; Pact Violated

WATERBURY, Conn.—In open violation of the contract signed following the settlement of last fall's strike, John A. Hayden, business manager of the Waterbury Democrat, has fired two Guild members.

The unit, at an emergency meeting on New Year's Eve, took a conditional strike vote and planned to build a local defense fund with contributions amounting to 2 1/2 per cent of their salaries. Meanwhile, Morgan R. Mooney, deputy state labor commissioner who served on the mediating body which wrote the Democrat contract, notified Guild President Arthur S. Meyer and insisted upon fulfillment of the contract with respect to Henry McGrath, a reporter, one of the dismissed men. The other victim was Harold Dillon, assistant circulation manager, who is not covered by the editorial department contract.

Pact Barred Firings

The contract specifically barred dismissals aimed to recover any increased payroll costs. Yet both McGrath and Dillon were told that they were fired because of "business conditions." Dillon had been employed by the Democrat for 24 years.

Hayden at the same time notified two non-Guild members that they were being dismissed. This smoke screen was blown away, however, when it was learned from one of these men that the management promised to "see what we can do for you later." Dillon was fired after receiving notice from the Guild that it wished to bargain on his behalf. Labor Board complaints are being prepared by the Guild on behalf of Dillon and McGrath.

Policy Stated

The management of the morning Republican and evening American papers posted a unilateral statement of policy covering the editorial departments, as the result of Guild negotiations (GUILD REPORTER, Jan. 3).

The Guild declined to sign the agreement because it was substandard. It establishes minimums ranging to \$40 for reporters and desk men of more than four years' experience, the alternating five-day week on the morning paper and overtime pay in time or cash for work in excess of 44 hours a week.

UNIONISM HIKES MICHIGAN PAY

DETROIT (FP).—Trade unionism was more than a good bet for Michigan workers in the past year. It paid off to the tune of \$90,000,000 in wage increases, according to figures released by State Labor Commissioner Kroghstad.

Registered mainly in seven industries, the increases in six of them were attributed to trade union organization, Kroghstad declared.

"Increases in wages in the industries that have shown the largest gains are due mainly to the fact that they are organized," he told reporters. Included are workers in autos, steel, furniture, paper, chemicals and food.

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The Trend Towards Newspaper Monopoly

Dr. Alfred McClung Lee Finds That Tight Control Has Made the Industry 'Depression Proof'—He Discusses Its Effect on Freedom of the Press

A GROWING trend towards local monopoly in the newspaper field has made this industry almost depression-proof, while the liberty of the press increasingly becomes the liberty of monopolists to support their own interests, says Alfred McClung Lee in the current issue of Public Opinion Quarterly. Dr. Lee is a member of the research staff of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University, and is the author of "The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument." The Quarterly is published by the School of Public Affairs at Princeton University.

After analyzing the most recent statistical data available, Dr. Lee concludes that the trend toward economically stable local monopolies in the daily newspaper industry is a concern to those who think that relative press freedom is worth preserving. In publishers' noisy discussions of freedom of the press this trend is looked upon as a safeguard against the invasion of their freedom to control their own newspapers which they call freedom of the press. The publishers forget or do not wish to know that a differentiation between publishers' freedom of the press and popular press freedom occurs to many people. The publishers like to assume that no one could furnish a "free" newspaper except an economic monopolist or near monopolist.

Revenues Rose Sharply

Members of negotiating committees, as well as the units that elected them, will be glad to learn that the latest statistics reveal that, despite the depression, the industry demonstrated "an amazing stability of income," one found "in few other private enterprises of a comparable sort." For example, the value of newspaper products in 1937, when compared with the products of all American industry, was 1.3 per cent, while in 1933 it had grown to 2.1 per cent of industry's total products. Further, the total value of newspaper products was \$667,820,000 in 1933 and \$760,247,000 in 1935. Revenue from advertising was \$428,673,000 in 1933 and \$500,023,000 in 1935.

The spread of monopoly has increased

to such an extent that newspaper competition in the larger sense is almost a thing of the past, Dr. Lee finds. In addition, increasing unified control has standard-

advertising standpoint, to a somewhat lower figure.

No effort will be made to develop here a picture of the vast multiplicity of factors making for local newspaper monopolies. They include finance, labor union, personnel, wire franchises, feature rights, national and local advertising, distribution and other considerations. Suffice it to say that this monopolistic tendency had not increased the stature of the daily press as an opinion forming agency.

More Syndicate Stuff

A growing policy of papers to use syndicated and feature material with no controversial or economic aspects makes it easier for editor-publishers, Dr. Lee finds, to advance their own interests politically and economically without offending their readers. He says:

Circulation built on such politico-economic essentials is then not alienated very readily, especially in monopolistic fields, by the insistence of editor-publishers that politico-economic views and news serve the objectives of their own special-interest groups.

Another trend, Dr. Lee finds, is the increasing failure of metropolitan newspapers to hold out-of-town circulation, and this has to do, he says, with the growth of local monopolies. For example, the evening newspapers of 50 leading cities controlled 47.9 per cent of national evening newspaper circulation in 1919 but only 40.1 per cent in 1936. To a lesser extent the same trend is apparent in the morning newspaper field, as well as the Sunday field. In 1932, for example, the morning newspapers of the 50 leading cities controlled 65.4 per cent of the national circulation in that field, but only 61.1 per cent in 1936, while Sunday paper coverage, on the same basis, decreased from 64.4 to 63.7.

With regard to the number and size of the country's dailies then (Dr. Lee continues) it seems apparent that the tendency is toward more local monopolies by newspapers with more concentrated circulation. At the present



ALFRED M. LEE

ized the news to a degree where often the only viewpoint given is that of a limited and wealthy class. Huge segments of the population, it is indicated, have no means of expression as far as the press is concerned. Frequently a small group of men have it in their power to decide exactly what a large population will read. While there were only 686 cities in 1919 with but a single daily, the number had increased to approximately 1,070 cities in 1937, partly through mergers and combines, Dr. Lee writes:

The spread of unified control over the morning and evening dailies in a single field has taken the movement toward local monopolies even further. At least 100 towns now have only dailies of this sort. This means that English-language newspapers of general circulation compete in no more than 280 towns. Data on interlocking directorates and local non-competition or combined selling agreements would diminish this list, at least from an

AN EDITOR VIEWS THE 'FREE PRESS' SHIBBOLETH

THE public suspects that the American Newspaper Publishers' Association is using the shibboleth "freedom of the press" as a red herring to protect publishers' profits, writes Virginia Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times Dispatch, in the Public Opinion Quarterly. The Quarterly, which emphasizes an objective and scientific approach, is published at Princeton University.

Referring to the publishers' association, he writes:

My candid opinion is that its record in recent years has gone far to arouse the public against the newspapers. One does not have to go all the way with the Christian Century in its celebrated post-election blast against the American press—in which it charged that press with arrogance, tyranny, greed and scorn of fair play—to feel that the dailies of this nation are under strong suspicion, and their influence, in consequence, is on the wane. This, I believe, is due as much to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association as to the activities of individual papers.

The publishers' association has indulged in an unabashed campaign of self-laudation; it has over-emphasized the "freedom of the press" to a ludicrous extent, thereby incurring the suspicion that it is using this shibboleth as a red herring; and its members have banded together to defeat legislation, such as the Child Labor Amendment, and have thereby created the impression in many minds whether justly or not, that they put their own private profit above the general good.

What this country needs is a press which puts the general good first. With notable exceptions, American publishers are chiefly concerned with profits. They regard newspapers as "property" rather than as instruments for the performance of public service. The American press is easily

the freest in the world, but it is not free enough. It ought to be freed from the dominance of men concerned primarily with finances rather than ideas.

The reason why newspapers of independence, forthrightness and courage are such comparative rarities nowadays is, I believe, largely due to the shortcomings of the average newspaper proprietor. He is an honest individual enough, but with obvious exceptions, he is apt to be conservative and unimaginative, and to believe that the way to build a great newspaper is to avoid controversy, never to offend anyone, and to be as dull as possible, particularly on the editorial page. With such a formula for molding public opinion, is there any wonder if opinion refuses to be molded?

Now that journalism has been so largely transformed, in the words of Mr. William Allen White, from a noble profession into a 6 per cent investment, there is no reason for sur-

prise when publishers are found to be interested primarily in the returns on that investment. Publishers should not be surprised if their readers recognize them as business men, rather than as public servants, and act accordingly.

For once, the Guild's thanks are due Elisha Hanson, general counsel of the ANPA, who called Mr. Dabney's article to the Reporter's attention by attempting to rebut it. Mr. Dabney's findings were contained in the April, 1937, issue of the Quarterly, Mr. Hanson replying in the number of January, 1938. He says part of the Dabney indictment is "too silly to discuss" and then cites the ANPA's opposition to provisions of the newspaper code, its fight against the Huey Long newspaper tax, and against the Black Senate Committee subpoena of Hearst telegrams as proof of publishers' devotion to freedom of the press.

The current number of the Public Opinion Quarterly also contains an article on

PAPER SKIPS SPY YARN

INDIANAPOLIS.—Missing from the columns of the Indianapolis News of Dec. 21 was one of the most important stories of the year. Lost in the shuffle was the sensational report of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee's report on the universal practice of labor espionage in United States industry.

"Local interest" was without appeal. "Indianapolis," the committee had reported, "was selected as a typical concentration of some of these Pinkerton spies." Yet the News followed a policy of pass-it-up. The other Indianapolis papers were generous in their treatment of the story.

The Times, a Scripps-Howard publication and the afternoon competitor of the News, gave the report the lead position on page one with a two-column head. The story gave prominence to the fact that local and state firms had been clients of the labor spy agencies. The story was given a full column on page one and practically two columns inside.

Likewise, the story fared well in the Star, the morning paper.

ent "stage of the arts" of newspaper manufacture and distribution, the possibility seems quite remote of mergers in the morning and Sunday fields reaching a point where a few large sectional dailies will dominate national circulation. It looks, however, like the sort of thing which future mechanical changes will probably bring.

The recently published figures on the net operating profits of the Hearst newspapers suggest, says Dr. Lee, that "the lot of certain publishers of large newspapers is not altogether hopeless." The net operating profit of the newspapers held by Hearst Publications, Inc., and the American News Company, was \$3,522,000 in 1933 and \$4,886,000 in 1936.

While far from 1929 levels, the 1936 operating profit represents the equivalent of almost \$2 on every daily subscriber and almost \$1 each on every Sunday newspaper purchaser.

"The Editorial Treatment of Lynchings," in which Jessie Daniel Ames finds that lynchings decrease when editors oppose them instead of excusing the lynchings, as is ordinarily the case. She says in part: Editors from time to time refer to the "South's peculiar situation," which must be handled entirely by native Southern people, without interference from "outside agencies." When such interference can be claimed, outside agencies become the spectacular scapegoat for local crime, bearing off into the wilderness all the sins and shortcomings of the community, leaving it . . . well, if not as white as snow, at least as white as it was before the lynching. Could there be any finer defense offered to lynchings than this editorial from a great, liberal and influential daily paper?

"Their bodies (the Negroes) were riddled with bullets by headhunts who took the law in their own hands. . . . But the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League are stained with the blood of the three Negroes whose torn bodies this morning lie in newly turned graves."

The lynching community, to the last man, was quickly informed by its local paper that its citizens were cleared of crime by the press, the writer continues, and cites several similar expressions from Alabama papers following lynchings at Tuscaloosa. She continues:

All was peaceful again in Alabama. The country and the Alabama editors had accepted the lynchings as painful, regrettable, but excusable under the circumstances, something in the nature of a terrible carterization of a poisonous snakebite, necessary to the preservation of community life. This accomplished, the editors called on the citizens of Tuscaloosa to clean house. The answer Tuscaloosa made to this appeal was another lynching within six weeks.

Times Misrepresents, Says News

The tabloid New York Daily News last week editorially expressed its disgust with its august contemporary, the New York Times, in an editorial that tells its own story. Here it is:

"We're annoyed with the New York Times—which always asks us for advance proofs of our editorials on New Deal developments, then consistently fails to print the editorial or any part thereof. The Times, however, prints the Herald Tribune editorial or part of it on the same subject."

"Don't misunderstand us; we admire the Times greatly, and think it is one of the master newspapers of the world. But

in this small and annoying particular, it is misrepresenting on occasion the reaction of the New York morning press to phases of the New Deal.

"Maybe the Times feels that The News is not a newspaper. That doesn't bother us. We've been contemptified by experts. But after all, The News currently has three times the circulation of the Times and five times that of the Herald Tribune. If the Times pretends to collect cross sections of press opinion on important national affairs and print them for its readers' full information, it ought not to exclude The News opinion—or it ought not to telephone over to our newspaper shop for advance proofs."

30 Are Fired From 2 Papers In San Antonio

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—The San Antonio News and the Express, morning and evening papers owned by Frank Huntress, initiated a new year dismissal wave which threw thirty editorial, business office and advertising department employees out of jobs.

The employees said they were given one week's pay. Some reported that they were told that the increased price of newspaper made it necessary to reduce the staff, and that the dismissals were of "inevitable" nature. Seniority prevailed in the firing.

Among those fired were two members of the recently organized Guild unit on the papers.

Blow Was Severe

The San Antonio Guild which has been attempting to organize the News and Express for some time past expects a rapid increase in the number of enrollments in view of the obvious fact that Guild units on the papers could have materially curtailed the firings, or at least have secured severance pay for those who lost their jobs through no fault of their own. As it is, the majority of those discharged find themselves in straitened circumstances owing to the low wages paid them on the News and Express and the fact that the Christmas holidays entailed unusual expenses.

Negotiations for a contract on the San Antonio Light, a Hearst paper, continue, with W. M. McIntosh, local publisher, still delaying in the apparent hope that he can discourage the local Guild. The example of what has happened to unorganized workers on the Light's rivals is expected to give added incentive to the Light unit in its efforts to secure a contract.

200 IN BOSTON TAKE POLL ON PARLEY

(Continued from page 1)

ship in every department. Negotiations with the H-T management are of great importance to all New England Guildmen and, in fact, to all New England labor. The Herald-Traveler's corporate connections with the monopolistic United Shoe Machinery Corp. and the First National Bank of Boston, make the Guild temporarily the cynosure of New England labor organizations.

President Sullivan is acting as chairman of the Guild negotiating committee. Fred Myers, International Representative, is assisting him. Other negotiators are C. R. Owens, Globe rewrite-man, and Amasa Howe, also of the Globe rewrite staff.

Observers for the H-T Unit are Unit Chairman M. J. Rosenau, Ed Allen, John O'Brien, J. W. Farren, William McNeil and Joseph Rogers. The latter two are advertising department bookkeepers.

PAY YOUR DUES! THEY BUILD THE GUILD

New Labor Board Complaints Are Filed By New York Guild

The New York Guild filed a complaint with the Labor Board last week against the Bronx Home News, charging discriminatory discharges and formation of a company union in the circulation department. The Guild at the same time filed an amendment to its charges against the New York Times to include the discharge of

Postmaster Farley Gets a Break! Newspaper Subsidy Is Scored

Westbrook Pegler, Scripps-Howard's columnist, was spurred to comment the other day on the newspaper postal subsidy which, Postmaster Farley had said, was being ignored by the nation's press whenever the subject popped up. Farley had made a radio speech some time ago in which he said that the second class subsidy to newspapers results in a loss of more than \$90,000,000 a year that must be made up by higher postage rates on their mail, or taken from funds raised by general taxation.

Pegler admitted the newspapers' evasion of the subject gave support to Farley's claim that the "papers silence copy which is inimical to their own interests." But, he added, "the second class postage subsidy of the press is such an old story that some editors may have hung it on the dead hook on the ground that its news value had long ago expired."

RANDAU HEADS N. Y. LOCAL FOR NEXT YEAR

With the election of 15 members of the Executive Committee and an additional member to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of James M. Kieran, first vice-president, the officers of the New York Guild for the coming year are:

Carl Randau, World-Telegram, president; Monroe Stern, Journal American, first vice-president; Tom Cassidy, Daily News, second vice-president; Jane Schwartz, New York Times commercial division, third vice-president; C. W. Hamman, Daily Mirror commercial division, treasurer; Milton Kaufman, executive secretary, and John F. Ryan, organizer.

The Executive Committee comprises: John Lindsey, Associated Press photographer; Jack Hohenberg, Journal American; Herman H. Dinmore, New York Times; Nat Einhorn, Brooklyn Daily Eagle; Clayton Knowles, Long Island Press; Cameron Mackenzie, Time-Fortune; Martin Kane, United Press; Lee Kaahin, Post commercial division; Edward Levinson, Post; Philip Biabe, World-Telegram commercial division; Bernard R. Mullady, City News Association; Herbert Drake, Herald-Tribune; Marvel Cooke, Amsterdam News and Gerald Gottlieb, Daily News commercial division.

Stern, as first vice-president, succeeds Kieran, one of the founders of the Guild, who resigned a week before to become secretary to Mayor LaGuardia. Dinmore was elected to Stern's place on the Executive Committee.

Child Labor Gaining

NEW YORK (FP).—Child labor is increasing. The National Child Labor Committee reports. It cites figures coming to the U. S. Children's Bureau from a wide area, showing that child labor increased 48 per cent in 1936 over 1935.

Fred Jaeger in addition to that of Leonard H. Goldsmith. The Guild also filed a petition for an election on News-Week, after the management declined to accept the majority claim in the editorial department.

The Labor Board is expected to hand down next week decisions in the case of the Daily News and the Daily Mirror.

While Pegler wobbled from side to side on the subject, his comments drew public attention to Farley's earlier speech, and several days later the New York Daily News printed an editorial joining whenever the subject popped up. Farley had made a radio speech some time ago in which he said that the second class subsidy to newspapers results in a loss of more than \$90,000,000 a year that must be made up by higher postage rates on their mail, or taken from funds raised by general taxation.

Pegler admitted the newspapers' evasion of the subject gave support to Farley's claim that the "papers silence copy which is inimical to their own interests." But, he added, "the second class postage subsidy of the press is such an old story that some editors may have hung it on the dead hook on the ground that its news value had long ago expired."

Herald Trib Bans Book Ad

The New York Herald Tribune advertising department has clamped down on Ferdinand Lundberg's latest book, "America's 60 Families." The book deals with the control sixty family groups have over American finance and industry. It was quoted by Secretary of the Interior Ickes in his recent speech denouncing American capitalism's "sidewalk strike."

A week before the book became the subject of page one newspaper comment was the result of speeches by Ickes and Assistant Attorney General Jackson, the Herald Tribune advertising department had written to the Hudson Advertising Agency:

"The Censorship Department of the Herald Tribune has decided that they will take no more advertising copy on the book, 'America's 60 Families.'"

James Henle, publisher of the book, said that he was "unable to obtain from the Herald Tribune any explanation of this ban, and indeed no explanation is possible." He pointed out that the book had been favorably reviewed in the daily and Sunday editions of the Herald Tribune.

BRIDGES MADE TARGET ANEW

WASHINGTON (FP).—Apparently unconvinced by their years of intensive effort, government officials are going to make another attempt to deport Harry Bridges, West Coast CIO director, on the grounds that he advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins has announced that the Labor Department will hold hearings on "new evidence" submitted by unnamed persons. The date for the hearings has not yet been revealed nor has the place of the hearings been announced.

The Labor Department started investigating Bridges in 1934 following the general strike in San Francisco. At that time it was charged he was an alien attempting to overthrow the government. Immigration officials checked and found no evidence to support the charge. Since then Pinkertons, G-men, and state and city police officials have attempted to get something on him.

Seattle Protest

CHICAGO.—A resolution protesting the refusal of the Seattle Star to comply with a Labor Board order to reinstate 20 Guild members, has been adopted by the Chicago Guild Representative Assembly.

but one-thirtieth of the total postage collected." The Daily News editorial said frankly that, "to the extent that the News mails papers, it participates in this subsidy—a subsidy which smells louder as time goes on."

On the same editorial page the News took a lusty wallop at the Saturday Evening Post's attitude on the matter. The News was annoyed, it said, about the Post's "smug superiority about government waste and extravagance, especially the abuse of franking privileges and other perquisites by Congressmen and Senators."

The editorial scored the Post's attacks on the franking expense, which amounts to \$600,000 a year, while the Post was "probably the largest cutter-in" on a canouflaged subsidy in favor of magazines which cost the government approximately \$24,000,000 a year.

PRO-CONVENTION SLATE SWEEPS CLEVELAND POLL

CLEVELAND.—Candidates for office in the Press unit, running on a platform supporting the St. Louis Convention policies, have been elected by an overwhelming majority.

Out of a field of 13 nominees for delegates to the executive committee, the six "Liberal Party" or pro-Convention candidates swept the field clean, James P. Kirby receiving 65 votes, Richard Peters and Paul Miller 63 each, Dan Ruthenberg 57, William Townes 54, and Frank Blodgett 52. Ruthenberg and Blodgett came from the business office division.

Standing for industrial as opposed to craft unionism, the Guild shop, endorsement of the strike as a weapon of last resort, and political as well as economic action, the members of the "party" doubled and in some cases tripled the pollings of candidates who ran as individuals.

Their votes showed that they had a majority in the editorial department and 100 per cent support in the business offices. Fifty-five members voted in the editorial division and 28 in the business.

The "Liberal Party" campaign had a very salutary effect, in the opinion of its sponsors, for it brought into the open and disposed of what had been rumored as a "split" between the editorial and business office divisions.

HOUSTON PACT ENDS PARLEY

HOUSTON, Tex.—Following the posting of an editorial bulletin board statement by the Houston Post management placing into effect a general five per cent pay increase for those making \$50 a week or less, and the 5-day week, the Post unit voted to suspend the protracted Guild negotiations.

Included in the statement of policy was a provision that where employees are called back to work on their days off, they shall be given a full day's overtime, regardless of the time worked. The management's announcement also promised no pay cuts.

Length of time the statement will be in effect was not announced. Neither did the unit set a time limit to its suspension of negotiations.

PAY YOUR ASSESSMENTS STABILITY IS STRENGTH!

Highlights Of Cooper's Testimony

(Continued from page 2)

for this time, no employee need have any fear of reprisal for becoming a member of the American Newspaper Guild?

A. I am quite sure no employee has.

Q. And no employee need have it, is that so?

A. Certainly none need have.

Q. Now, don't you think, Mr. Cooper, that a sincere desire as the part of the AP for national collective bargaining, would indicate the signing of a contract with one, two or three units in the first instance, with provisions in such a contract that it be extended or be reopened to cover the national organization upon completion both of organization of AP employees?

A. The contract that we offered the Guild certainly made that possible, but there was no inference in the contract, because I do not want to lead the employee to a destination that they may not want to go any more than I want to prevent them from going to a destination that they want to go. We offered a contract in New York that I said I would get the Board to approve, and I very much hoped that that would be the step, but the Guild turned that down.

'Practical' Issue

And—answering Mr. Isserman's question about the closed shop you referred to a while ago—obviously when I do not know that a majority of the employees want a closed shop, I cannot even negotiate a closed shop or consider a closed shop in any way, and I cannot pick one office and say that shall be a closed shop. A closed shop to me is a merely practical thing: to the Board it may be a principle—and I repeat the words of yesterday, that the Board delegated authority to me.

Q. And, when you say that a closed shop to you is a practical thing, meaning that there is no—

A. I didn't say it is a practical thing.

Q. What did you say?

A. I say the closed shop is not a practical thing for the Associated Press when the management didn't know whether the majority of the employees wanted to have a closed shop.

Q. But, didn't you say so far as you were concerned, there was no matter of principle involved?

A. The principle of the welfare of the employee and the morale is very important, yes.

Guild Shop 'Better'

Q. But, nothing beyond that?

A. I have no feeling about the closed shop, whether it should be or not. I would assume if there is a closed shop, it would be the Guild shop to begin with, which I think is a far better closed shop for news men, and the Guild would not undertake to say that we had to employ men who were members of the Guild even though they didn't have good men; and that the morale of the AP, if it is a Guild shop and the employees by a majority vote said they wanted it, that we could then go from there and build our future on a national basis and continue as we have been and we would be no worse off, because I believe the men will be honest and to the best they can if we could consummate—if we could come to a contractual basis which the Associated Press can afford financially. I do not want to consider the closed shop, and, as Mr. Watson said, now I am not going to consider a closed shop. I wouldn't consider it with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union until there has been a free expression to the Labor Board. They have a way of taking a poll and from that, I should think it would be very great guidance in management as to what to do.

On Other Labor Fronts

Jobs for Men Over 55 Won In NY Painters' Contract

In the settlement of a recent painters' strike in New York was a provision generally overlooked in newspaper and other reports. This required that of the journeymen employed by any contractor, one in ten must be at least 55 years of age.

This advance may seem small but its importance in the field of social progress cannot be overestimated. It means that once again organized labor through direct action has taken a step and established a precedent in the correction of an abuse which long has been an outstanding source of frustration and puzzlement to government and social organizations.

For years government has been pleading with industry to give a break to the worker over 40 years of age. Secretary of Labor Perkins in a recent address said that the age limit in employment has been so restricted that it is now "a menace and terror to family breadwinners" going into the frontiers of their life span.

They're on WPA

Writing in the Journal of the Switchmen's Union, Charles M. Kelley tells of the survey which revealed that 91 per cent of the skilled workers on WPA payrolls are capable of doing work of a high calibre, both as to quality and quantity. The average had 21 years of experience at his trade, and only four per cent had less than five years of experience. Kelley asks:

Why, then, are these men forced to accept relief jobs to live? The answer is grim and tragic: "They are too old for industry. They are beyond the arbitrary age limit established by some employers. And that is a problem that transcends any temporary unemployment resulting from depression. 'The skilled labor force of the WPA,' the survey says, 'is heavily weighted with older men. The data show conclusively that these older men are capable of doing capable work. Because of the increasing prejudice against age, however, there is a considerable possibility that many of them will never again obtain a private job.'"

Union Men Older

And what is the age that is regarded as a bar sinister by industry? Believe it or not, the average of union workers was 48 years and that of non-union workers was 41 years—ages when men should be at their best mentally with very slight deterioration physically. And yet industry regards them as old enough to be tossed on the scrap pile.

That the gravity of the problem is recognized is indicated by the fact that Congress has named a committee to investigate the displacement of workers because of arbitrary and inhuman age restrictions.

Governor George H. Earle of Pennsylvania says he doesn't need that investigation to satisfy him that the time has come when action must replace theorizing. He is going to call a special session of the legislature to enact legislation making it illegal for industry to discriminate against older workers. How to write a law that will stand up is a question that has not yet been answered.

Such roles may not be anathema to many advertising practitioners, or to the money that supports them, but they are to millions of American citizens in our working class... not all of whom are hopelessly morose or busted cranks. They are the wage-earners of America, who with their families and their sympathizers make up a large bulk of the market for shoes, shirts, sweaters, wheat, shools, and shaving cream.

Publishers' 'Secret' Woes

HARRISBURG, Pa.—The Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association makes no secret of the fact that its "labor troubles"—which include the Guild—are "secret," "confidential," "sensational," and "not to be published."

Says the P.N.P.A. December Bulletin:

"... A number of confidential labor matters will be discussed at the 1938 Convention. . . . They will have to do with the I. T. U. and other unions, especially the Guild. The inside story of some labor developments in Pennsylvania will be revealed for the first time and it will not be possible to print them later. Come and hear the sensational story of newspaper troubles for yourself. . . ."

SCHOOLS LAUD GUILD AIDE'S THEATRE ART

A flood of inquiries about the rapid-fire technique developed by the Living Newspaper, WPA theatrical project, which was sponsored by the New York Guild and produced by ANG Vice-President Morris Watson, has poured into the offices of the National Service Bureau, clearing house for Federal Theatre Productions.

One result of the tide of interest will be a series of bulletins to colleges throughout the nation telling more about this dramatic style, the bureau says. Already, college faculties in 20 states have agreed to cooperate with the theatre in spreading the Living Newspaper idea.

At the University of Iowa, for example, Professor E.C. Mabie will soon offer regular courses built around the Living Newspaper technique and based on topics such as episodes in business, commerce, sports, housing, agriculture and socialized medicine. At the University of North Carolina and at National Park College, Maryland, dramatic groups are preparing Living Newspapers on the life of the sharecropper.

The college heads seem agreed that this technique offers stimulus to young playwrights. "As a play form, it makes almost no demand for conventional scenery; is based on a quick series of factual blackouts paced by exciting music and shaded by deft lighting, with the exposition spoken and amplified by an unseen announcer," the bureau announcement says. It is often described as the March of Time technique adapted to the stage.

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AD MAN CITES 'SCAB AD' PERIL

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Advertising is in bad enough odor already with the vast public of plain people without getting a reputation as a scab and a strike-breaker.

All of some 200 advertisements featured in recent labor trouble were 100 per cent antagonistic to the worker. I am certain that they never accomplished their purposes and (this is the burden of this piece) they all discredited advertising. They are for the most part appeals to that mysterious shadow figure, "The Public." . . . All were designed to break a strike, justify a lockout or a violent breaking of picket lines.

I do not say here that the contents of these ads were untrue or unjustified. Moreover, I would not argue that these purposes should be accomplished by "better" advertising, or by any other means. I maintain that the advertisements were directly untruthful, if nothing worse, that they delayed the final settlement, left many unhealed wounds, and that indirectly they did an untold harm to advertising as a business tool. . . .

Even if the arguments had been—shall we say—carefully presented (as they almost invariably were not) it would still be a fact that millions who read them have an argument which in their own minds at least is a hundred times superior. These millions of people, buyers of millions of dollars of merchandise, were antagonized, insulted and made distrustful by advertisements which had, from their particular viewpoint, attempted to deceive them. . . . not merely on a matter of merchandise but upon the matter of livelihood itself. . . .

Public Is Militant

No advertising man worth his spats is unaware of this growing public disrespect and distrust for

his craft. In his own trade journals scarcely an issue comes off the press without an article or editorial treating the tendency. The many fair trade bills that appear on the floor of the state and federal legislative forums indicate the public is not only awake but militant upon the subject. Consumers' education grows; several services are now offered the public, supplying confidential information that generally disproves advertising claims and the premium paid for many advertising products. . . .

The public resistance to advertising has grown to new heights. Anti-strike, anti-labor, anti-union advertising such as described here has, I am convinced, contributed no small share to building up this resistance, this distrust. This advertising simply doesn't tally with the truth such as millions understand it, therefore they ask, "Why should other advertising be any more true?"

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Questions and Answers Fake Negotiations Revealed as Unit-Busting Strategy

QUESTION: After many months of effort to break up the Guild unit, during which he tried every tactic in the book, Publisher A had finally agreed to negotiate a contract. He agreed only after the unit withstood every attempt to break it up, and made known its determination to strike if that was necessary to insure its existence and recognition.

Now, after several weeks of negotiations, we find the publisher pursuing a strange course of conduct. He has what seems to us to be copies of all contracts local Guilds everywhere have signed. From these he is picking the incidental clauses that provide for payment of reporters' expenses, etc., and insisting that we "come to agreement" formally on them before discussing at all matters such as salary minimums, hours, and dismissal indemnity.

Publisher Switches

We have followed the example of many locals in submitting to the publisher an outline of the contract the unit wants. We drew this up in brief, simplified form and numbered the items, asking the publisher to go down the line and discuss each in turn before we attempt to incorporate the items into contract clauses. But the publisher insists on jumping all over the board, without reference to our memorandum, and all our efforts thus far have been confined to nailing him down to orderly procedure. We have not been successful, and as it looks now, the negotiations may drag on indefinitely.

Unit Should Speak

2. Another fundamental is to let the unit, by formal statement or resolution handled through the negotiating committee, inform the publisher step by step that the members understand his tactics, and that they expect him to bargain in good faith and sign a union contract. The list of demands you mention could well be embodied in such a statement.

3. If you seem headed toward a complete breakdown in negotiations, notify not only the leaders, but the entire membership of the unit. Lay the groundwork now for this eventuality; you may have to counter a blast designed by the publisher to create the impression that the Guild walked out on the bargaining after he had made a series of "fair" offers. Any such circular should include a history of the publisher's attempt to break up the union before the negotiations began.

The steps outlined do not contemplate a complaint to the National Labor Relations Board. The Wagner Act, as you know, requires that employers bargain in good faith, and has machinery to determine whether bargaining is so conducted. A complaint to be Board, however, should be undertaken only after thorough consultation among yourselves and with labor leaders, and upon advice of and consultation with the TEB Employer Relations Committee.

Jockeying for Position

The publisher is either jockeying for a favorable public position he would need in the event the unit takes a strike vote, or he is hoping

ing to wear the negotiators and unit down to the point where the Guild will be forced to "break off" negotiations and give him more time to work out on the unit again. In the meantime, the publisher seems to be building up a record of "bargaining in good faith," to be available for publication if and when the time comes.

With a unit that stood up as yours did under the attacks prior to the negotiations, it should not be difficult to solidify your position and force the publisher into honest and real bargaining, looking to a contract. With variations to meet your local conditions, your basic procedure might take the following course:

1. We are assuming that you are following fundamental policy and trade union procedure in keeping the unit fully posted on the publisher's tactics, and, if possible, to turn out the entire unit membership for the bargaining sessions, so that all the members can observe for themselves, at first hand, the behavior of their employer.

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The Guild Reporter

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Editor: Clyde Beals
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 Nathan L. Goldberg
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 George Lewin

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

GUILD REPORTER deadlines:
 For letters and feature material, Tuesdays; for news, Wednesdays and bulletins on Thursdays.

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January 10, 1938

Vol. V, No. 5

The Better Unity

SCARCELY a union had greater cause to wish for the success of the CIO-AF of L peace conferences, initiated by the CIO, than had the American Newspaper Guild. In its numerous and successful struggles the ANG has relied heavily upon the virtually unanimous support of all shades of labor in the community where the struggle arose. It will continue to need and seek that unity.

But the failure—on which heavy debate began last week—is less unfortunate than would have been a peace along the lines proposed by the representatives of the AF of L Executive Council. The ANG can take pride and satisfaction in the fact that the organization of which it is a member refused to surrender its basic principles of industrial unionism and militant trades union democracy, or to sell a huge part of its membership down the river for the sake of a nominal peace at any price.

The reason for the failure of the conferences is the basic one that the underlying philosophies guiding the CIO and the top leadership of the AF of L were contrary; on the one hand was a concern for unionism according to the wishes and welfare of the members; on the other hand, a concern for division of dues and power in line with the interests and jurisdictional craft views of a narrow clique.

This basic difference was brought out in the principal point of contention in the conferences. The CIO negotiators proposed that all its member unions be chartered by the AF of L and jurisdictional disputes adjusted later. The representatives of the AF of L were willing to admit only the original ten member unions which formed the CIO, and negotiate later for admission of the 22 international unions chartered by the CIO, subject to satisfying first the jurisdictional claims of all international unions in the AF of L.

This would have meant in fact keeping out large bodies of progressive union men because they insisted on their own democratic and industrial form of union and refused to be parceled out among dues-hungry craft leaders. It would have given to such outstanding progressive unions as the Woodworkers and the Electrical and Radio Workers the pleasant alternatives of becoming "Class B" contributors to the treasuries of Brother Hutcheson and the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, or being placed outside the pale of the American labor movement. The AF of L leadership proposed nothing but a return to old forms and methods, with no concessions to popular will or realities.

Acceptance of the AF of L stand would not have meant unity at all. It would simply have shifted the lines of battle. It would have meant on the part of the CIO unions a surrender of the principles which have accounted for the unparalleled wave of organization among the millions of workers which the AF of L leadership had failed to organize.

Despite the actions of a small group of men who have succeeded in saddling themselves on the AF of L unions, we obtain every day fresh evidence, in the support given us by the membership of AF of L unions in our struggles, that the great bulk of the latter want peace on the same basis as we do, namely real unity and trades union democracy. For this reason, there will continue to be a basic unity of all those who are union men, regardless of affiliation. And as the example furnished by the CIO develops, the membership of the AF of L affiliates will find means of enforcing their will.

Whether its enforcement brings a fade-out of the AF of L or its return to democracy is not too important. Eventually it will compel real peace in the labor movement.

'Responsible' Reports

NEWSPAPERS in the New York metropolitan area recently published the annual financial report of a large international union, indicating that the union had released the report for publication. Whether the union handed the report out to the newspapers, or whether the papers asked for it, is of no matter at the moment. The main fact is that the report was printed by the papers at a time when the publishers were gyrating through one of their periodical editorial demands upon labor unions to prove their worth and dignity by becoming "responsible."

Through the news stories and editorials ran the implication that all unions conceal or suppress their fiscal reports; and for the papers it was a case in point in the argument for incorporation, restrictive legislation and other devices to hamstring labor.

The argument, of course, was based on dishonest insinuation. Every union member knows that his organization's financial reports are matters of important business at open sessions of annual conventions, and that the reports are available to newspapers at such times—if not at all times at union headquarters. Union members know also that their organization owes them the same responsibility which any corporation owes its stockholders; namely, the issuance of financial reports to the membership at stated periods.

Aside from this comparison, it is a known fact that unions make their general financial condition known to the public, which is more than many corporations do. However, it is more equitable to compare the affairs of labor unions with those of the employers' unions, their chambers of commerce and associations of manufacturers. Do these organizations ever publish their financial reports? Do they report on the huge sums they spend upon unlawful attempts to destroy unions and disclose the sources of these funds? Did the newspapers which made the to-do over publication of the union's financial report ever try to get financial reports from the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers?

It is no more than proper to add a question for the labor-baiting newspapers which claim that they are custodians of a public trust: Have they ever proved their responsibility and right to a self-claimed heritage by publicly revealing their financial affairs and the interlocking directorates which subject them to the influence of bankers, large manufacturers and merchants?

That Certain Smell

TO those who believe that public opinion reacts proportionately to the expenditure of money on publicity, the story in the Jan. 3 GUILD REPORTER about the National Association of Manufacturers' \$500,000 radio, newspaper and film campaign must have been particularly impressive. In fact, when one considers the millions spent annually by anti-union owners' associations to inform the American worker that he owns a neat little house, drives a new car and has money in the bank, we think it must be a pretty stubbornly unimaginative man who can't make these things materialize before his eyes. He's just the sort of guy who would watch a famous magician do the Hindu rope trick and walk away muttering "Nuts!" He's the kind of hombre who would join a union in spite of the assurances of William Cameron that the interests of the employer and the employee are identical.

Think of it—hundreds of skilled publicity men constantly battling out the message that unions are no good; with newspapers, films, radio, billboards, preachers and lecturers continually dinnning the variously garbed text into the consciousness of 130,000,000 people! You would think that in the face of this barrage the last union man would by this time have descended into the catacombs and plugged up the entrance. On the contrary, the drive of unionization sweeps on. Reason staggers on her throne.

Every newspaper man who has written a "business office must" knows the answer. The story invariably smells. We need not labor this point for radio listeners, who take a special delight in shutting off the advertising blurb. Industrialists may shower money unlimited on endless batteries of Ivy Lees, but all the perfumes of Arabia will not overcome the persistent odor.

For a while each man may be kept feeling isolated, as though his ideas were somehow apart from other people's. But sooner or later he begins to get together with his fellows. Sooner or later you have a crash, as Big Steel, or Rubber, or Motors falls.

The eloquent harangues of the kept orator dissolve in the widening sound waves; the tons of printed releases flutter into the wastebaskets of oblivion. One awkward, stammered word of truth takes root and lives.

Bargaining Essence

A GUILD negotiating committee recently called on a prominent publisher in a large Eastern city. The publisher, a former Hearst executive, has a reputation for knowing his way around union conference tables. He greeted the committee and then, according to the observers, spoke as follows:

"Now, boys, we're not going to discuss the Guild shop. I know all the arguments, and you know all the arguments, so we won't waste any time. When you're strong enough to force me to give it to you, then I'll give it to you."

No "freedom of the press," no interminable repetition of Editor & Publisher editorials, no nonsense—just a plain, honest statement of what is the essence of collective bargaining.

WAR'S FOG

A Correspondent
 In Spain
 Discusses the
 Difficulty
 Of Getting Truth
 Across
 To His Readers



HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

Under the caption "To Be Believed Is the Problem" the Independent Journal of Columbia University printed the letter below from Herbert L. Matthews, New York Times correspondent in Spain. The letter, written to Frank A. Patterson, professor of English at the University, is reprinted in part.

MADRID

IT was nice to get your letter, and I should have answered it long ago, but it waited a few weeks in Madrid while I was in Valencia, and then on my return I sat me down and threw a book together. There is no other word for it. . . . To be sure the first part was already written. The book is on both wars, and I have tentatively entitled it "Two Wars and More to Come." . . .

The link between them is Italy, of course, and I have emphasized (perhaps even distorted) that aspect of the two wars, but I think it is sound enough on the whole. There is very little comprehension abroad of the importance of the Italian intervention here—I mean the importance to Italy as well as to Spain. To me it is the key of the whole situation. . . .

I imagine Columbia is all het up about Spain. It ought to be. I get discouraged sometimes in writing about it, which is why it is so nice to get letters like yours now and then. The longer I do newspaper work, the more I realize how very few people know how to read newspapers intelligently.

Correcting Impressions

Why, for instance, should it be so difficult to make people understand the military strength of the Government? Why should everyone have expected that the fall of Bilbao would be followed by a quick collapse of the Loyalists with Franco marching into Madrid? Why should this big offensive just ended have come as such a surprise that a magazine like Time has to find weird reasons to explain it? It seems to me that I have done nothing else in the past eight months but try to correct the false impressions about this side.

The whole problem is one of recognizing the truth. I don't know any formula for it myself, but it annoys me as a newspaperman, because I feel that journalism, as a profession, is apparently not doing its job properly. I may be blaming journalism for a defect in the reading public, but it seems to me that a proper coverage and editing of this war would have made it easier for the public to get at the truth.

The same thing happened in the Ethiopian war. Despite all the facts presented, people and even His Majesty's Government, went on believing to the bitter end that Italy could not win. . . .

This is a long and dull disquisition, but as a newspaperman, I have thought long and painfully about the subject. You ought to get your confreres in the School of Journalism to study the thing.

'To Be Believed'

It is a problem in education, even more than in journalism. The news has to be analyzed. The facts have to be extracted and valued after taking all sorts of things into consideration—the standing of the newspaper and its correspondent, the source of the news, whether previous stories on the same subject have held up, whether the news fits the situation politically, socially, internationally, etc. Above all, the facts have to be considered impartially. . . .

From the journalist's point of view the problem is to be believed, so that the reader can say, "This is a presentation of the truth insofar as the correspondent was able to ascertain it and send it in full." That is all that a newspaperman can do, I suppose. If the reader does not want to believe him, that is his funeral. In the Ethiopian war, I was accused of being a fascist in the pay of Rome; in this war, I am accused of being a Red, presumably in the pay of Moscow. . . .

Of course, in these ideological times, there is supposed to be no such thing as objectivity. If you aren't pro-Communist, you are, ipso facto, a fascist, and if you aren't pro-fascist, the latter gentry call you a Red. You don't feel that atmosphere so much in those United States, but here in Europe, and particularly in the midst of a struggle like this, it is very real. To have given a sympathetic presentation of the Government's case inevitably branded me as a Red, just as by a similar process of thought I was branded a fascist in Africa.