

The GUILD REPORTER

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

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CHICAGO WINS HEARST PACTS

NLRB Okays Guild Commercial Unit

Threats of Strike on Firings Get Action

Teachers Plan Body To Work With ANG

A committee on relationship with the American Newspaper Guild will be appointed shortly by the American Association of Schools of Journalism as the result of a vigorous forum discussion of the relative merits of newspaper organizations conducted at the recent convention of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, at Columbus, Ohio.

The committee will be appointed by Kenneth Olsen, director of the School of Journalism at Northwestern University and newly elected president of the AASDJ.

A resolution endorsing the principles of the Guild was adopted at a meeting of teachers of journalism in Chicago in 1933 and a committee was appointed to establish relationship with the newly formed organization. Representatives of the committee attended the ANG Convention at St. Paul but since that time there has been little contact between the two organizations.

Dean Presents Guild Case

Steps toward formation of a new committee began at a discussion on "Organizations of Newspaper Workers" at the Columbus meeting. The session was presided over by Chilton Bush, professor of journalism at Stanford. Grant M. Hyde of the University of Wisconsin presented the case of the American Press Society; Ralph Peters, president of Sigma Delta Chi, explained reorganization plans of the fraternity, and Dean J. L. O'Sullivan of the Marquette University College of Journalism told of the history and accomplishments of the ANG.

In a discussion of the three organizations, Charles Rogers of Kansas State University strongly urged the need of setting up machinery for exchange of ideas between the ANG and AASDJ.

"The American Newspaper Guild in four years has become one of the most important forces in the field of journalism," Dean O'Sullivan declared. After telling of the history of the ANG and explaining

Your Guild's News Is Important

GUILDS: Don't wait till the contract is signed before sending your news to the REPORTER.

The news of HOW you win improvements is as interesting and important as news of WHAT you win. Too, it is a constructive factor in the Guild's development; and it may prove the anchor to windward in a crisis needing the backing of your fellow Guildsmen elsewhere.

Each Guild is responsible for sending its news. Be sure yours is reaching headquarters—before deadline!

N.Y. News' Full Staff of 522 Certified

The New York Guild was designated as the exclusive bargaining agent for commercial department employees of the New York Daily News, including advertising solicitors, in a decision handed down on Jan. 19 by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington.

The certification answered the question whether one group in a department can remain apart, a question raised by the action of 47 out of 51 advertising salesmen in the commercial department in declaring that "they did not desire to be represented" by the Guild or any other organization. Formal hearing on the case was held in New York on Nov. 26 and 27.

This was the first decision on such a question by the Board in a case concerning newspaper workers.

The Board's decision confirmed the contention of the Guild that sub-groups within the commercial division are an integral part of the group as a whole and therefore should be included in the bargaining unit under majority rule.

Ruling on Editorial

The commercial group affected comprises 522 employees.

The decision does not affect the editorial department because this department on the News is already operating under a Guild contract. Taking cognizance of this fact the Board said:

"Although the union feels that editorial workers should ordinarily be included within the bargaining unit, it does not insist upon inclusion of such workers in the unit at this time in view of an existing contract between the company and the editorial workers. Under the

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N. E. A. PACT NEAR; FIRST ON SYNDICATE

CLEVELAND.—Early signature of the Guild's first contract in the syndicate field became a virtual certainty last week as a result of a strongly militant stand by the NEA unit here.

After seven months of negotiations, the NEA, a Scripps-Howard enterprise, has receded from its uncompromising stand in the face of an imminent strike threat. It conceded most of the major points at issue, and there remain to be negotiated only a few details.

A good deal of drama attended the turning point in the long fight.

Herbert W. Walker, vice-president and general manager of NEA, had sent to the Guild negotiating committee a long statement, in reply to a "round robin" petition given him by the committee. He defended the management's insistence on a compulsory arbitration clause, a broad qualification of dismissal indemnity, and other unacceptable propositions.

This was laid before the unit on Jan. 14. The unit voted to send the committee back with a demand for a fully satisfactory contract, and committed itself to take a strike vote at its next meeting if such a contract were not attainable.

The committee met with Walker on Jan. 17. A poll of the unit, taken just before the committee

went in, showed an 18 to 12 division in favor of a strike; and when the unit met at CIO headquarters at 6:15 that evening, five or six

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U. P. Makes New Wage Proposals

Negotiations with the United Press Associations adjourned for two weeks last Thursday with the management favorably disposed to putting into immediate effect wage minimums which the Guild negotiators agreed to submit to the United Press units.

Minimums for newsmen in cities over 500,000, including Washington, start at \$25 and increase \$5 yearly until they reach \$50 after five years' experience.

In cities under 500,000 population the minimums start at \$22.50, go to \$25 after one year and increase \$5 yearly until they reach \$45 after five years' experience.

The adjournment was requested by the management in order that Clem J. Randau, general business manager, might make a business trip.

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Strikers 'Guilty' of Contempt

BAYONNE, N.J.—Six of the eight striking Bayonne Times Guildsmen were held guilty last week of contempt of court for violating the notorious injunction issued No. 13 by Vice Chancellor Egan.

Vice Chancellor Fielder, before whom the six were tried, held in his decision that the strikers had abused their right of free speech through sound-truck announcements and had thus violated the provision of the Egan injunction which prohibited use of the truck "for the purpose of announcing the existence of the strike" at the Times. Fielder deferred sentence, which may be imposed without limit under the law.

At almost the same hour that Fielder's decision was announced, Publisher Herman Lazarus brusquely broke off negotiations with the

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What Publishers Hear Behind the Door

A Union Buster Reports to the Pennsylvania Association

A Guild member who is a reporter for the Daily Worker, New York Communist labor paper, gives the GUILD REPORTER some notes he took on what he overheard of a Guild-busting report during the star-chamber session of the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association convention Jan. 14 and 15, at Harrisburg.

These notes reveal to us, probably for the first time, what the publishers say when they lock themselves in. The PNPA report takes on added interest because for weeks in advance it was touted in association bulletins with such words as "secret," "sensational," and "confidential" (Guild Reporter, Jan. 10).

The report was made by H. R. Corwin, the PNPA's union buster who, apparently, has built a job for himself. He was the man who took hold of things in Wilkes-Barre when the Guild and local publishers' association were bargaining. The ne-

gotiations thereafter headed straight into a strike—which ended in Guild shop contracts. Here are the notes on his speech, exactly as given to us. They are necessarily fragmentary in spots because the reporter is not a stenographer and Corwin evidently is not a smooth speaker.

CORWIN'S REPORT

I have handled over 1,000 cases and have traveled 5,000 miles during the past year. One of the most intensive organization of units in many of our papers has been the organization of the ITU and press department. We find them growing and extending into the smaller communities. The demands of the labor unit at present are not quite so insistent because of the recession.

There is something which is not healthy in the ITU. In too many elections we find the conservatives

losing ground. We find the more pink—I don't like to use that word—I should say the more vigorous elements gaining ground. They are usually the younger members of these organizations.

Our Industrial Relations Division has devised a new contract during the past year. The ANPA has come into our office and helped us formulate our contracts. This is a three-year contract with an anti-strike provision. It says there shall be no strikes, no violence, and all labor questions shall be adjusted by arbitration. We have 14 of these in effect. They are valuable because they are precious. Do you realize what three years without labor trouble can mean?

You can turn to an ITU representative, point to these contracts, and say: "We want a contract like that. Why can't we have it?"

The open-shop publisher who fails

(Continued on Page Two)

CHICAGO.—A major victory in the Guild's fight against ruthless retrenchment and insecurity of employment was won last week from the Hearst management of the Chicago American and Herald-Examiner under the determined threat of a strike in the editorial and commercial departments.

Heated night-long negotiations, backed by a wildly enthusiastic mass meeting of hundreds of Hearst men a few blocks away, marked the climax of a situation precipitated by mass firings. Emanuel Levi, just become publisher of both papers, had slashed 139 employees in a few days to add to his record of a similar slash of some 150 on the Herald and Examiner last July.

Police Cover Sessions

After every attempt through rump staff meetings and "loyalty" petitions had failed to stampede the employees into betrayal of their organization, and after police had surrounded both the Hearst and Guild meeting place, President Harry Wohl of the Chicago Newspaper Guild held together a shouting, singing throng of employees all night until Levi's signature was on the dotted line Friday morning. At dawn editorial department contracts and commitments to the other departments of both papers were signed guaranteeing no dismissals "for reason of economy, merger, or department or sub-departmental elimination, or dis-

CONGRATULATIONS

Executive Vice-President Eddy sent the following telegram to ANG Representatives Hull and Stevens and President Wohl at Chicago, following signing of the Hearst contract:

"Heartiest congratulations to you personally and the Chicago Newspaper Guild, on courageous, able and most successful handling of situation of extreme gravity not only for the Chicago Newspaper Guild but the entire ANG. Again the Guild has demonstrated its ability to improve wages and conditions and protect the security of newspaper people. The Hearst victory in Chicago should pave the way for speedy completion of Chicago organization and boost the labor movement throughout the Middle West."

tinuance" for a period of ninety days.

ANG Representative Morgan Hull was sent to Chicago when the crisis became acute. Participating in the negotiations, besides Hull, were Vice-President Gunnar Mickelsen and ANG Representative Don Stevens and Chicago Guild leaders.

The contracts and commitments also provide that for the period of a year "no present employed person in any of the above departments will receive a reduction in his or her present rate of pay."

Preferential Rehiring

Provisions are also made for the preferential rehiring of those whose

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N.Y. News' All Guilds: NLRB's Full Staff Is Certified

(Continued from Page One)

The National Labor Relations Board again needs help in obtaining an adequate appropriation from Congress. An attempt is being made in the Senate to cut the appropriation below minimum needs. President Roosevelt last week sent the following telegram to the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee:

On behalf of the American Newspaper Guild, representing 15,000 newspaper workers, I protest emphatically against any proposal to cut the appropriation for the National Labor Relations Board. Reduction will not mean economy but promotion of waste and industrial strife by law-violating employers seeking to defeat basic American right of collective bargaining.

Last year's appropriation was \$2,570,000. For this year, the Board asked \$3,385,000. The Director of the Budget cut the figure to \$3,035,000 and the House Committee further pared it to \$2,955,000. The Board is willing to stand on the House figure. But now the Senate Committee is attempting to bring it back down to last year's appropriation.

The Guild, like most unions, knows the Board needs not merely a small increase in its facilities but a large increase. We have some 30 cases of our own caught in the Board's mountain of work—despite the exemplary faithfulness of the Board's officials.

This proposed cut in the Senate is not economy; it is another attempt to hamstring the Board.

A similar attempt was made last year, and was defeated. The maneuver can be defeated again.

All Guilds are urged to ask their Congressmen not to let another penny be cut below this year's House figure.

tion department with respect to advertising orders, future advertising schedules, and the position of advertising copy. Circulation figures furnished by the employees in the promotion department are interpreted by the advertising salesmen. "Notwithstanding certain differences between the advertising salesmen and other commercial employees of the company, we feel that the interests of the advertising salesmen are closely related to those of such other employees, and that advertising salesmen should be included within the bargaining unit."

"We find that all the employees within the commercial departments of the company, including editorial employees, mechanical employees, major executives, garage employees, except clerks, building guards, firemen (Brooklyn plant), rotogravure inkmens, rotogravure engraving helpers, traffic manager and machinist helpers."

At Men's Aim

"The only issue with respect to the bargaining unit which was raised at the hearing concerned the advertising salesmen," the decision said. "Such employees of the company, numbering 51, are of three types: those soliciting national advertising; those soliciting local advertising; and those soliciting classified display advertising."

"Forty-seven of such employees have objected to their inclusion within the bargaining unit. They contend that because of a number of considerations, their interests differ from those of other employees. They point out that the duties of advertising salesmen are specialized and require such a knowledge of advertising and salesmanship that other employees could not perform their work."

"The advertising salesmen place emphasis upon the fact that due to the peculiarity of the make-up, the size of the paper, and the large circulation of 'The News,' the advertising salesmen of the company must have greater technical knowledge than advertising salesmen working on most other newspapers. The advertising salesmen also point out that they differ from the other employees in that they spend a considerable period of time each day away from the office of the company. They normally spend about two or three hours each morning at the office then go out to solicit business, and return to the office late in the afternoon. The average weekly pay of the advertising salesmen is higher than that of most of the other employees and in addition they receive a bonus based at present upon the collective gain in the advertising revenue of all salesmen."

Inter-Relation Stressed

"The union seeks inclusion of the advertising salesmen within the bargaining unit. It emphasizes particularly the inter-relationship of the work of the advertising salesmen and that of the other employees in the advertising department and the employees in the commercial departments of the company."

"The company employs in the advertising department, in addition to the advertising salesmen, approximately 43 office workers, 13 merchandising men and 13 workers in the publicity section, including a number of research employees, production employees and copywriters."

"The merchandising men communicate with retail stores and outline details with respect to advertising campaigns. The research employees compile statistical data required in selling advertising space, spot retail outlets on maps, and answer requests of advertisers for statistical information about advertising. The copywriters at times edit letters of the advertising salesmen and assist the salesmen with their selling problems. The advertising salesmen check their work with the other employees in the advertising department."

What Publishers Hear Behind the Door

(Continued from Page One)

to see the changes that are taking place in his staff is a backward one. The publisher writing his hands and then say, "We're one happy family." When they say, "We're one happy family," the men are not happy with what the men are thinking about, with what they are doing.

And Then, Wilkes-Barre

Unless they replenish their staffs, particularly in the typographical departments, they will find a shortage in skilled craftsmen. The shortage will become more acute. There were two major disturbances in the past year. First we had Pittsburgh, and then we had Wilkes-Barre.

Why Wilkes-Barre? This is the primary question. The Guild had been taking some severe beatings, not exactly beatings, but not victories. They would prefer a place to be highly successful. They wanted a spot where they could put in a four-star show, with all CIO support. Eighty-five per cent of the population in the valley is organized. There is a United Mine Workers Union, a Silk Workers Union. But the publishers of Wilkes-Barre made a swell fight.

I think the publishers of Pennsylvania owe a debt of gratitude to Wilkes-Barre. When the going was tough, when the fight was hardest, they didn't let anybody down. They came out for it with everything they could. The Wilkes-Barre situation turned from a one-paper fight to a city-wide fight. If one paper could organize, all would. There was no competition in this problem. Their salvation was in unity and that's what was the saving factor.

These Guild Fellows

Four of them sat together and helped out their brother publisher. If the Guild sets up a unit, they didn't have that New York influence of boys who stood ready to roll down the river. (New York has the reputation of being a place where they called the New York City Police Department and they were sure they could get away with anything.)

Pact Nears With N.E.A. Syndicate

(Continued from Page One)

more members had swung over into the pro-strike column.

The committee meeting lasted for three hours. The unit waited, tense and expectant, until 7 o'clock—the members wondering whether they were going back to their desks the next morning or were going to be carrying banners on the sidewalk.

Concessions Lifted

At last, when the suspense had grown almost unendurable, the negotiating committee arrived, and the chairman—President I. L. Kenen of the Cleveland Guild—announced the result.

Faced by the certainty of a strike, the management had dropped its compulsory arbitration clause. It had rescinded its demand for qualification on the dismissal policy. It had agreed to give such employees as had worked on other Scripps-Howard papers or services full credit for that earlier service in computing dismissal indemnities. It was ready to grant the five-day, 40-hour week, and to accept the minimum pay scales of the existing Cleveland Press contract.

The unit decided unanimously to accept no qualification whatever of the dismissal indemnity clause, and to ask a minimum pay scale extending to \$50 instead of the \$45 the management offered.

Further conferences with the management are scheduled for this week, with every prospect that complete agreement will be had by the immediate future. The negotiating committee is headed by Kenen and includes James P. Kirby of the Press and Bill Braucher of Central Press Association. NEA observers are Bruce Catton and Willis Thornton.

Teachers To Work With ANG

(Continued from Page One)

some of the important actions taken at the various national conventions, he said:

Unorganized Benefited

"Newspapermen through affiliation with the Guild have traded away some of the alleged glamour of their work. A member now is not entitled to work long hours for low pay, or to put in overtime without pay. In contracts negotiated with publishers, assurance has been obtained of reasonable dismissal indemnity in accordance with years of service; adequate vacations guaranteed; a five-day week established and sufficiently high pay level established to assure competent employees instead of unreliable slovens."

Dean O'Sullivan pointed out that the contracts which have been negotiated not only meant shorter hours and higher pay for employees of papers on which agreements have been reached, but that other publications have been forced to meet the ANG standard and even have gone beyond it in an effort to escape dealing with the Guild.

"The fight of the Guild has been bitter all of the way," he continued. "It has battled the prejudice of individualistic journalists against cooperative effort as well as the organized newspaper publishers. But at every important point the Guild appears to have made material advances if not actually winning decisive victories."

Free Press View

In discussing the claim of the publishers that the ANG was a threat to freedom of the press, O'Sullivan declared:

"We might express the hope that publishers would show as much concern over other more serious threats to freedom of the press, such as threats of propaganda and of financial domination, as they demonstrate against the Guild."

"Too many publishers regard freedom of the press to mean freedom from any restriction except the internal and external orders of the press. Unless they fully realize that freedom of the press is a right of the people and not of the newspaper owners, we face the loss of this great heritage."

Peters reiterated the statement made by James Kiper, secretary of the fraternity, in a recent message to ANG Executive Vice-President Eddy that Sigma Delta Chi had no intention of entering into competition with the Guild.

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Star, AP Cases Argued

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Argument on the Guild's plea for an order from the National Labor Relations Board directing reinstatement of the striking Seattle Guildsmen to their places on the Star was heard by the Board here last week. Only the Guild was represented, the Star's attorneys failing to appear, despite the fact that the paper itself had asked for the oral argument.

In a separate hearing the Board also received arguments from the Guild and the Associated Press in the ANG's plea for certification of the Philadelphia, Boston and Washington offices of the Associated Press as bargaining units.

The Seattle case is that of the Guildmen who went on strike in support of the right of the Star circulation staff to choose the Guild as their bargaining agency. The Labor Board recently ordered the reinstatement of the circulation men, who were locked out when the paper made a deal with Dave Beck, Teamster Union official and labor czar of Seattle, and the Board has just gone to court to enforce its order. The other strikers were locked out when the publisher refused to take them back as a group.

Orders Interlock

A. J. Isserman, counsel for the Guild in both the Seattle and AP cases, argued that an order reinstating the second group was a necessary corollary to the first reinstatement order. The Guild members were obliged to defend their union against the Star's wholesale discrimination, and on the other hand, the circulation group whose reinstatement has been ordered could not go back to work through the picket lines of their fellow Guildsmen.

In the AP case, Isserman contended that the units wishing bargaining should not have to wait on the organization of employees elsewhere, particularly as this organization had been deterred by the management's previous actions. He recognized the more favorable attitude manifested recently by General Manager Kent Cooper, but urged that in the meantime, to the extent they fully realize that freedom of the press is a right of the people and not of the newspaper owners, we face the loss of this great heritage."

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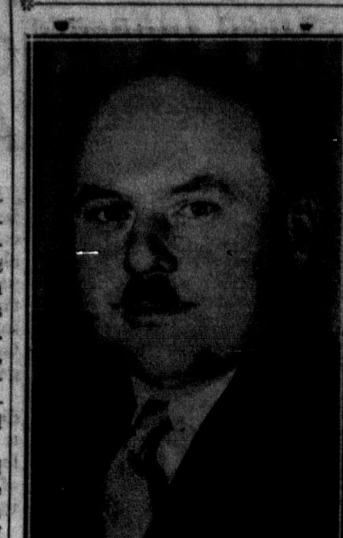
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GETS POST



DON WILEY, charter member of the Northern California Guild last week.

become better acquainted with the AP and learn its structure."

Edwin S. Smith, board member, asked: "You don't seriously claim that the AP couldn't bargain with these separate units?"

"No," Stratton replied. "We just don't want to interrupt the rhythm of the organization."

Smith pointed out that the AP could legally bargain with the ANG on a national scale even though the ANG had a minority of the members. Stratton said it was interesting and that he hadn't known it.

It was Stratton's contention that "very employee should have equal opportunities. If there are any advantages from collective bargaining it should be given to all."

Smith remarked: "You speak of collective bargaining as something to be given to the employees. That isn't the way I see it at all."

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Strikers Aid Seattle Expose

SEATTLE—Guild strikers fighting the prolonged battle against the Scripps League Star last week took time out from the strike against the paper to join the Sunday News staff in compiling an edition exposing the Beck-inspired "protective associations" which suited hundreds of thousands of dollars from the city's small business men.

The News, a liberal weekly, detailed how the "associations" have set up price-fixing combines affecting cleaning and dyeing, gasoline, laundries, and the sale of macaroni and even bread and milk. The paper said that the business men were coerced into joining the groups under threats that their deliveries would be halted by the teamsters controlled by Dave Beck, Teamster Union and political czar. Beck is the Star's chief ally against the Guild.

Five Seals Fined

Meanwhile, reports from the Star plant told of desperate methods now being used by the management to stop the loss of money. Five more Teamster Union circulation district managers (who were given the jobs of locked-out Guildsmen) were fired last week, leaving only nine men where there were 24 before.

Frank Ely, new general manager of the Scripps League in the Northwest, who took charge of the struck paper in a recent shakeup, met with a Guild committee last week. His only answer to the demand that the paper comply with the Labor Board order reinstating locked-out Guildsmen was that the management would fight it out in the courts.

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BUILDING: The Implications of Democratic Machinery

By JONATHAN EDDY

NOTHING contributes more to the strength of a union than unity. The two words have the same root, and their practical meanings for us in the labor movement are parallel. A union is a means by which many persons act as one. The degree of unity within a union is a constant measure of the effectiveness of the union.

Unity in a progressive union is maintained not by a dictatorial control from the top, but by democratic decision on the basis of thorough discussion. Therefore, the hope of those who would fracture the union's strength lies in destroying the confidence of the membership in their democratic machinery.

I know of one prominent newspaperman who complained over a long period that the Guild was being "run" by certain individuals. He agreed completely with many publishers, moreover, that the Guild was being run to the dogs. This man was elected to an executive body in the Guild. Many members anticipated that the brother in question would advance his views and become a force in the union. Instead he failed to attend meetings of the body to which he was elected.

I know of another member who is prominent as a newspaperman and whose views on the Guild happen to coincide at many points with the views expected of publishers. This individual spends a considerable amount of time attacking the Guild. Instead of carrying his views forward within the democratic machinery of the Guild he goes in for letter writing, and is not partial as to where his letters appear. To those who have not given much thought to how democracy functions, his letters seem quite important, and representative of more than the views of a disgruntled individual.

However, both of these persons—the one who got elected but failed to attend and the one who possibly doesn't care to hold Guild office but writes letters—create a feeling of disunity and weakness while dodging responsibility for their conduct, or so it strikes me. Unity-based on absence of discussion would be worthless, but neither of these types wants to enter into discussion of Guild matters on an equal basis with his fellows, as he would have to do in unit, local or national meetings. When one gets up in a meeting and voices an opinion, one is confronted by those whose welfare is at stake, and that is a different matter from shooting from ambush.

SOMEHOW it seems easier to respect those who attempt to employ the machinery of the Guild for purposes not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution, than to respect the sheet grippers who will not employ it at all. I feel, for instance, that Convention decisions should carry a considerable weight even with those members who are most fundamentally opposed to them. It seems to me that the best interests of the membership are not served by permitting minorities to throw Convention decisions into doubt unless those minorities are prepared to show that the Convention was undemocratic or that an entirely new situation has arisen in the meantime. If the question of democracy in the union is raised, it may transcend all other considerations, and even a minority of one individual would be morally justified in throwing the decisions of the Convention into question. However, the membership must guard against protection against irresponsible minorities who raise this question without substantiation and only for partisan objective.

In my opinion, the protection afforded by our present Constitution has been demonstrated to be inadequate by developments since the last Convention. I think that adequate protection would be afforded if such minorities were required to show that they represented twenty-five per cent of the membership before being in a Convention position to reopen questions resolved by Conventions. Of course, regardless of their representation they have every right and opportunity to raise ANY question IN the next Convention, where the various branches are represented, and where the dissenters can hear all the facts and arguments, form their opinion and reach the best decision.

ATTEMPTS to split unions are the main stock in trade of employer associations, for obvious practical reasons. Unions learn how to protect themselves more or less. The employers use the times of crisis in union affairs in order to enhance their chances of success. That is what is going on now in respect to the AFL-CIO situation. In editorial, special feature, and angled news story everything possible is being done to split the progressive forces represented by the CIO. The objective is to split the CIO itself, and to split the individual unions—to split them organizationally if possible, and, anyway, internally. It does not always follow, but it is often true that a consistent campaign is made to build up those within the labor movement whom the employers' associations find most servicable and to destroy those who first of all represent the militant, democratic, progressive rank and file. It is an old method, familiar to the Guild from its earliest days, and not disfigureable by new forms.

In the meantime, we continue to go forward.

Fealty a la Western

That Old 'Petition' Crops Up Again

PORTLAND, Ore.—The typographical strike on the Portland Oregonian, Journal, and News-Telegram last week produced a new type of publisher pressure in the form of a "petition" by editorial department workers of the papers calling publicly upon the printers to go back to work and arbitrate their differences. The strike shut the papers down from Jan. 15 to Jan. 20, when it was settled, the printers accepting scales of \$9 a day for day work and \$9.50 for night work.

International Secretary-Treasurer Pasche announced that the ANG had no local in Portland, and pointed out that "the Guild has had enough experience with management pressure to recognize the petition as nothing but the result of such pressure on an unorganized group."

The strike involved 250 printers who demand wage increases. The Associated Press, in a story Jan. 18, telling how the local citizenry groused for lack of a newspaper, at the same time reported the telephone operators at the newspaper plants as saying that "telephone calls were lighter than expected and mostly concerned the time of the next news broadcast and what was playing at the theatres."

Orders Interlock

A. J. Isserman, counsel for the Guild in both the Seattle and AP cases, argued that an order reinstating the second group was a necessary corollary to the first reinstatement order. The Guild members were obliged to defend their union against the Star's wholesale discrimination, and on the other hand, the circulation group whose reinstatement has been ordered could not go back to work through the picket lines of their fellow Guildsmen.

In the AP case, Isserman contended that the units wishing bargaining should not have to wait on the organization of employees elsewhere, particularly as this organization had been deterred by the management's previous actions. He recognized the more favorable attitude manifested recently by General Manager Kent Cooper, but urged that in the meantime, to the extent they fully realize that freedom of the press is a right of the people and not of the newspaper owners, we face the loss of this great heritage."

Peters reiterated the statement made by James Kiper, secretary of the fraternity, in a recent message to ANG Executive Vice-President Eddy that Sigma Delta Chi had no intention of entering into competition with the Guild.

A SWEET PLACE TO EAT
HARTWILL'S
119 BARCLAY STREET
(Next door to World-Telegram)
For deliveries call BARCLAY 7-5779
Prop.: W.M. BOLDY

Greenwich Tavern
Best Food—"The Taste Tells"
222-24 Greenwich St., N. Y. C.
around corner from World-Telegram
Tel.: WORTH 2-9237

THE DINER
"NO FOOD FINE"
224 EAST 41st STREET
Opposite NEWS Building Entrance
VANDERBILT 2-9232

Mail your broken pipes to
JOE'S PIPE SHOP
316 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Full line of Pipes, Casts and Cast-irons. Hand-made Casts to order.

PROLLE now at 111 W. 49th
—Famous for French specialties.
Lunch \$54. Parlor dinner \$1.
Wines and Liquors. Tel. BRy. 9-6816.

GATHERING PLACE OF GUILD MEMBERS
GUS & ANDY'S SOMERSET
"A Bar and Restaurant of Distinction"
146 WEST 47th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
Around Corner from ANG Headquarters

Local Acts On Firing Of Twenty

INDIANAPOLIS.—The Indianapolis Guild was holding a series of emergency meetings this week to determine a course of action over the discharge of 20 commercial department employees from the Scripps-Howard Times during the week that the Guild had planned to open negotiations for the commercial workers.

Twenty circulation and maintenance men were discharged and five news room men were expected to get the axe. The Guild, which has had an editorial department contract since last April, was planning to open negotiations for workers in the circulation, maintenance, PBX, paper handling and transportation department.

Editorial department is being sought on the status of the editorial contract. It expires April 12 and contains an automatic continuation clause calling for 90 days notice to modify or terminate. Promptly on Jan. 12, Editor Ludwell Denny sent the Guild "continued friendly relations" contract "having been automatically continued."

The Guild may try to reopen the contract and negotiate a new one to cover all departments.

U. P. Increases Wage Proposals

(Continued from Page One)
The management increased its offer on severance pay for the second time, coming finally to a week's pay for each year of service, plus a week's pay, with a limitation of \$1 week's pay.

Following agreement by the Guild negotiators, headed by Vice-President Morris Watson, to submit the wage minimums, the management immediately addressed inquiries to bureau managers in order properly to classify employees.

Financial department clerks were rated at \$22.50 in cities over 500,000 and \$17.50 in cities under 500,000.

Still under discussion are hours, overtime provisions, sick leave and vacations.

I.N.S.-I.N.P. GRANTS 3 WEEKS VACATIONS

Negotiations with International News Service and International News Photos advanced last week with the management committing itself to three weeks' vacation for men of 5 years' or more employment and to an unstated increase in its severance pay policy.

Guild negotiators, headed by Vice-President Watson, also found the management favorably disposed to ironing out some inequalities in minimum pay in the old policy statement, which is to be superseded by a contract.

The policy statement provided the highest minimums for New York, Washington and Chicago, ignoring some large cities which have high living costs. The Guild seeks to eliminate this inequality by stating classifications occur only in the larger cities.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS!

Bayonne Times Ads Are Listed

BAYONNE, N. J.—Drives against national advertisers patronizing struck papers have been effective in several Guild fights. The following products, which are advertised in the unfair Bayonne Times, are listed here with the request that the local Guilds bring pressure against the advertisers:

Camel cigarettes.
Chesterfield cigarettes.
Richfield gasoline.
Bell-Ans (a medicine).
666 (a medicine).
Rub-Mi-Tism (a medicine).

Strikers 'Guilty' of Contempt

(Continued from Page One)
Guild. It was the fourth day the strikers had been in conference with the publisher, with ANG Representative Morgan Hull as spokesman.

It was apparent to the strikers that Ladarus visualized the contempt decision as another straw at which to grasp in an attempt to smash the nine weeks strike, but this hope was quickly dashed. The Bayonne Labor Committee in support of the strikers, consisting of representatives of AFofL and CIO unions, immediately went into action, calling advertisers' attention to the fact that it was embarking on a new campaign in behalf of the strikers.

The publishers, at the contempt hearing on Dec. 12, charged that the truck had been employed to cover advertisements. They produced several friendly merchants who testified in their behalf but two of their own witnesses, on cross-examination by Guild Counsel A. J. Iserman, admitted they had retracted their advertising from the truck newspaper because of their desire to retain the friendship of Bayonne Labor.

Half a dozen seats and business department employees of the paper also testified against the strikers at the contempt hearing.

The strikers facing sentence are Warren Morgan, Howard Kay, Ellis Shapiro, Samuel Kaufman, Elizabeth Preston, and Strike Chair Daniel Keleher. Under New Jersey chancery procedure, the vice-chancellor trying contempt cases does not concern himself with the validity or merits of an injunction, but merely with the charges of violation.

Mirror Lay-Offs Are Fought in N.Y.

Bargaining on two new fronts was scheduled to open in the New York Guild this week, as negotiations continued for a commercial department contract with the World-Telegram and an editorial department contract with the weekly news magazine Time.

The new bargaining is to open with the Bronx Home News and the Long Island Daily Star.

The executive committee is taking up with the Daily Mirror (Hearst) management the Mirror unit's protests over the dismissal of 19 staff members, allegedly for economy. Two circulation department employees among the 19 were given only two weeks' severance pay. The lay-off wave which last week struck the Mirror and the Times—where two members of the bookkeeping department were released—has been felt on the North Shore Daily Journal. Two space writers have been laid off and the management is planning more in other departments.

'Expert' At Hearing Is a Flop

ALBANY, N. Y.—Defending itself before the National Labor Board against Guild charges of discriminatory firing of Guildmen in the merger of the Knickerbocker Press and Albany Evening News last summer, the Press Company last week called as witnesses Guild members and suspended former members.

The Press Company carried the fight into the news columns of its paper, in a story purporting to cover the hearing, written by B. J. Lewis, editorial director and chief target of the Guild's attack. Lewis trotted out the phrase, "with compelling gentility" to describe the witness-stand pose of Allen Craigie, one of the paper's witnesses.

The Expert Confesses
Publisher Gannett produced as an "expert witness," Louis Sebring, night city editor of the New York Herald Tribune. Sebring landed as a dud, however, when he was forced to testify under cross-examination that he had once said, "in an unofficial capacity," that "membership in the American Newspaper Guild should be sufficient grounds for dismissal."

In the parade of Guildsmen called as witnesses by the management, comparatively little of value to the defense was adduced. The Gannett purpose appeared to be to attempt an array of Guildsmen against Guildsmen for the purpose of reporting to the paper's readers that many members testified "for the company."

ROCHESTER BACKS CASE
ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Fellow members of the Guild on the Gannett chain last week backed the Tri-City Guild's efforts in pressing the case against the Gannett Knickerbocker News before the National Labor Relations Board.

Stressing the "far-reaching importance not only to the Albany Guildsmen but to all Guildsmen and particularly those on Gannett newspapers," a resolution adopted by the Guild on behalf of both the Knickerbocker and Albany Guilds urged the Albany Guildsmen to keep behind the case until a final decision is reached.

Dorothy Dayton, A Guild Member

The Guild lost a friend in the recent sudden death of Dorothy Dayton, one of New York's outstanding newspaper women.

Miss Dayton, who died at the age of 39 following an operation, had been a member of the New York Sun staff for 12 years.

She was a charter member of the small Guild unit formed on the Sun newspaper, and for the past two years had been the only holder of a Guild card on the city staff. When an editorial company union was formed last summer she refused to join.

Miss Dayton covered many of the biggest news stories of the past decade. She was particularly known for the touch of humor and for the insight into personalities which characterized her features. Before she came to New York, Miss Dayton worked for the San Antonio Express, the Fort Worth Record, the Wichita Falls Record-News and the Oklahoma City Times. She did a notable series of articles for the last named paper, which resulted in a legislative inquiry and the construction of a new women's jail.

The material was gathered while she spent two weeks in the jail in the guise of a convicted shoplifter.

During the last months of her life, Miss Dayton wrote a book which will be published next March.

Bliven Sees Guild As Good Influence



Bruce Bliven

Ten-to-one your favorite paper faithfully informed you last week that Bruce Bliven, editor of the New Republic, regards American journalism as the best the world has to offer, but left out what Bliven thinks is the most hopeful development in our journalism in a generation.

This development is the coming of the Guild.

Bliven made these comments in delivering the Bronson Cutting Memorial Lecture on "Democracy and Public Opinion" in Washington on Monday. Distinguished box-holders for the lecture were Justice Black, Stanley Reed, Jesse Jones, Marriner Eccles, Eugene Meyer, publisher of the Washington Post, and others.

"I believe," Bliven said in answer to a question, "that the Guild tends to promote higher professional standards among newspaper men and offers a measure of freedom to reporters who in the past may have been subjected to pressure to misrepresent the news. In my opinion nothing in our generation has held out so much hope for the future of the newspaper profession as the coming of the Guild."

One of the Reporter's Washington experts on press habits detected a hot potato and checked the handwritten notes there. Here they are: "Bliven Holds Press of U. S. Best in World," etc., no mention of the Guild, Herald and Times (except, on leave to Mrs. Patterson) skipped the whole thing. Retiring Chairman Frank B. Noyes' Star (under Guild contract) gave the quote above as point four in the lead, and the Scripps-Howard News (also under Guild contract) used the gist of that point at the end of a short feature. Two out of five.

Pay Raised in N.Y. Guild Shop Pact

The Amsterdam News, New York Negro weekly, signed a new one-year Guild contract on Jan. 17, continuing the Guild shop and other standard clauses and allowing a flat 10 per cent increase in pay for all regular editorial department employees. An arbitration feature of the old agreement was eliminated.

Under terms of the editorial contracts, after expiration of the 90-day "staff-freezing" clause, and for the balance of the contract term, no employee shall be discharged on account of any consolidation or merger of departments or sub-department within either paper or between them.

Wage Increases Provided
If "for any other reason" the management contemplates a staff reduction during the last nine months of the contract, it shall notify the executive board of the Chicago Newspaper Guild at least two weeks before such reduction is to be made and discuss the reduction and consider any proposal to alleviate the extent of such reduction.

Without any form of arbitration, the contract provides for unequal severance indemnity to a maximum of 28 weeks pay and improvements in wage schedules.

CANADA BUSINESS GAINS

OTTAWA, Ont., Canada (FP)—Dividends of Canadian corporations for the first 11 months of 1937 were 25.7 per cent greater than for the same period the previous year.

Maine Guild NLRB Action Set

PORTLAND, Maine.—The Portland Guild executive committee decided unanimously last week to charge the Guy P. Gannett newspaper of Portland, before the National Labor Board, with discriminatory discharges of Guild members and with refusal to bargain in good faith.

The action was provoked by the discharge this month of three Guild members, all of them members of leading Guild committees and all of them men with unimpeachable records of efficient work.

Six Months Attack
The discharges climaxed a six-months-old and usually vicious fight by the Gannett Publishing Co., first to prevent organization of the Guild in Portland and then to avoid any commitment as the result of collective bargaining.

Guild pressure, made possible by almost 100 per cent organization of the editorial, commercial and building departments, as well as proofreaders and mailers, has won pay raises, the five-day week and other benefits for most of the Gannett employees (GUILD REPORTER, Dec. 13), but the management has attempted in many ways to avoid living up to promises.

Record Shows Paper Up
Discharged were Carroll C. Oakes, classified advertising salesman; and Charles D. Quinby and Leo F. Boucher, maintenance men. Both Oakes and Boucher are members of the Portland Guild executive committee. Quinby is a member of the Guild grievance committee.

Oakes' discharge proved with particular clarity the hypocrisy of the statement that the discharges were dictated by a necessity for "economic" reasons. Company records show that Oakes, who has been employed by the Gannett papers four and one-half years (and is not the junior man in his department), is the most productive salesman of classified advertising the company has had.

ANG Representative Fred Myers sat with the executive committee at the meeting at which it made its decision to seek NLRB action, and urged the Guild in prosecuting the action.

Hearst Pacts Won in Chicago

(Continued from Page One)
dismissal precipitated an overwhelming strike vote. Severance indemnity provisions of the contracts are also extended to cover editorial employees dismissed and the management agrees that retroactive severance pay will be a subject of negotiations for the commercial departments following a consent election to determine the Guild's representation.

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ARE YOUR DUES PAID? ARE YOU BUILDING THE GUILD?

The Growing Gap Between Press and People

Brant Sees National Danger in Absence of Voice for the Popular Will

By IRVING BRANT

THE newspapers which took part in the campaign against Justice Black are convinced that they performed a noble service to the country. They do not yet observe that they met defeat in their primary, or at least their ostensible objective, which was to force Justice Black off the court, and it will be some years, probably, before the truth dawns on them that the campaign against Justice Black, in spite of being a statesman-like effort to protect the Supreme Court against preju-

The accompanying article is from an address by Irving Brant, editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis Star-Times, before the National Council for Social Studies at St. Louis.

dice and bigotry, was in itself a prejudiced and bigoted misuse of the channels of publicity. I say this as one who abhors to the utmost the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan, and as one who despises the political opportunism which makes ambitious men cater not only to this organization but to any other ignoble force, temporary or permanent, that gets in a position to aid or block political performance.

I believe that the attitude of the press toward Justice Black will be stamped in time as the most discreditable tour de force of the present journalistic epoch, not because the newspapers were opposed to the Black appointment, not because they produced evidence that he had been a member of the Klan, not because they expressed alarm over the possible effect of this Klan affiliation, not because they called for Justice Black's resignation or removal. The campaign will be stamped as discreditable because from first to last it was a presentation of news colored to produce a desired effect, and to prevent unbiased judgment by the people. Some day, undoubtedly, there will be a careful analysis of this campaign. I merely wish to suggest, by two or three details, how it departed from the standard of uncolored presentation of the news which is rightly called the foundation of freedom of the press.

The most convincing defense of Justice Black that I have read is a letter written by a Jewish rabbi in Birmingham, Ala., a man who has been a rabbi more than forty years and has known Mr. Black for twenty-five years. This letter has been read aloud in public addresses, it has been sent to various people over the country. It is a short letter. It is available for publication. But so far as I know it has never been published in any newspaper in the United States.

INTERPRETATIONS PRINTED AS FACT

The New York Times and other newspapers sent their ace reporters to Birmingham to inquire about the reputation of Mr. Black as to racial and religious prejudice. They found nothing against him, but what they reported in his favor lost force because it came from political sources, the Birmingham postmaster and the governor of Alabama. Not one of these brilliant reporters, apparently, thought of asking the Jewish rabbi whether Justice Black was prejudiced against Jews. And when the rabbi, on his own initiative, came to the defense of Justice Black, told how Black had fought against the Ku Klux Klan and defeated the Klan in its effort to drive a Jewish school principal out of the schools of Birmingham, that was not classed as news fit to print.

The newspapers departed still further from journalistic principles in presenting their chief accusation against Justice Black, that he had accepted a life membership in the Klan. This charge was published in advance of the evidence on which it was based.

The evidence proved to be an admission card, or pass, to Klan lodges, with no mention on it or anywhere else of a life membership. Whether this card was or was not a life membership was a matter of opinion, of interpretation. Under the rule of uncolored presentation of the news, it would have been legitimate journalism to publish the fact that Mr. Black received



"The campaign against Justice Black . . . was in itself a prejudiced and bigoted misuse of the channels of publicity." The cartoon at the left, printed by the Miami Daily News, was typical of the campaign that was carried on without too much effort by whose cartoons is shown on the right, also joined in the attack without making vigorous attempts to discover all the truth. It is now known that even during the debate in Congress, Senator Borah knew that Black had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

This admission card, and relate the circumstances under which he received it. It would have been equally legitimate to make the claim, editorially, that this admission card was in truth a life membership, or that it was a membership lasting until the card was thrown away, or that it was no membership at all. But the newspapers did not present the uncolored fact and then interpret it. They presented the interpretation as a fact, thus fixing it as a fact in the public mind before disclosing that it was an interpretation. That was not presentation of news. It was propaganda in the news columns.

WHY WAS BORAH'S ADMISSION IGNORED?

The final count against Justice Black, and the one that seems to have most weight today, is that he deceived the Senate, either by silence about his Klan membership while it was under discussion, or by denying that he had been a member. Immediately after Mr. Black made his radio speech, admitting his former membership in the Klan, Senator Borah made the comment that Justice Black had stated the situation as he—Borah—understood it when the Senate voted for confirmation. Here was what appeared to be the material for a journalistic sensation. Senator Borah, during the debate on confirmation, had challenged anybody to prove that Black was connected with the Klan. It was Borah's speech, more than anything else, that seemed to convict Black of deceiving his colleagues in the Senate. And then Borah admitted that he knew it all the time. How did he know it? From whom did he learn it, and when? You would think that every newspaper in America would be clamoring for an explanation from Senator Borah. How was his admission received? It was ignored.

The New York Times wrote a little pipsqueak editorial, pointing to the conflict between Borah's two statements, but failed to draw the obvious conclusion. Did the great news machine of the American press unlimber itself to get the facts? It did not. Why not? Because the evidence would have shown that Justice Black did not deceive the Senate. There was no way on earth by which Senator Borah could reasonably have foreknown the facts set forth by Justice Black in his radio speech, except directly or indirectly, from Black himself.

I have described this campaign of propaganda, not for the sake of defending Justice Black, who will make his own reputation, good or bad, on the Supreme Court, but because it shows more clearly than anything else in recent years what is the matter with the American press. Fundamentally, the campaign was not directed against Justice Black as a member or former member of the Ku Klux Klan, but against him as a man whose record in the Senate created fear that he would be prejudiced against big business. The anti-Black campaign, owing to the racial and religious issues involved, produced an alignment in the public at large far different from the ordinary lines of political and economic cleavage, but the core of it was hostility to Black's economic and social radicalism.

That was what set the forces in motion against him. The public response to this campaign was creditable to the instincts of those who thought civil liberties were in danger and to the discernment of those who thought they were not in danger, but the campaign itself, in its genesis and management, has a far more fundamental importance. It was a controlled departure from the accepted standards of journalism, and it was a departure resulting from economic determinism in the field of newspaper publishing. This economic determinism is what is destroying the power of the press by undermining the confidence of the people in it.

The metropolitan newspaper is coming to be recognized as a part of American big business. It represents an investment of millions of dollars. Dependence on advertising ties it more closely to the business world. The typical large-city publisher lives and thinks in terms of million-dollar finance. In nearly all the relationships that affect his political and economic opinions, he stands in the same position as the steel manufacturer, the bank president, the mine operator, the public utility manager, or the department store owner. The newspaper publisher has an interest identical with that of any other big business man in matters affecting stability of investments, the weight purposes of taxation, relations with labor, redistribution of wealth.

LIBERALISM WASHED OUT BY PROSPERITY

The owner of a newspaper is under a terrific compulsion toward political conservatism, which to him means saving the country, and offers a mighty field for editorial patriotism. Out of such materials the fundamental policy of the American press has been built up. This trend toward conservatism is all the more impressive if you recognize that there are many liberal newspaper publishers in the country, and that great newspaper properties are built up through the popular appeal of liberal policies. The trouble with journalistic liberalism is that it seldom can withstand the strain of great prosperity, and it is not hereditary. Call the roll of the conservative newspapers of America and you will find an amazing number that were built up through militant liberalism, but which through changes of ownership, through changes in family ideals from one generation to the next, or through the sheer pressure of reinvested profits, have become bulwarks of American capitalism in its most reactionary aspects.

Look at the amazing phenomenon we have in the United States today—a political philosophy which we call the New Deal, completely triumphant in national policy as expressed in a presidential election, yet practically unrepresented in that upper stratum of the American press which dignifies itself by the title of the fourth estate. If journalism were quickly responsive to political trends, there would have sprung up long before this a mushroom growth of liberal newspapers, all of them devoted to the New Deal and appealing for the blessings of its followers.

Why has there been no such develop-

ment? For two reasons. First, the cost of establishing a daily newspaper in a large city runs so far into the millions that it can be undertaken only by men of great wealth. The same is true of the purchase of an existing newspaper. Man wealthy enough to buy or establish newspapers are not usually interested in an extension of liberalism. In the second place, the established conservative newspapers protect themselves against public disfavor in a very creditable way. They put out newspapers which satisfy the main necessities and desires of liberal readers, to an extent at least sufficient to discourage the entry of new competition. What are these necessities and desires? To know the news of the world, and to be entertained. A newspaper which presents the news fairly and comprehensively, and which has appealing comic strips, can weather an astounding amount of opposition to its editorial policies.

If I may repeat, here is what makes it possible to have a metropolitan press fundamentally out of sympathy with the prevailing thought of the nation. First, a community of interest between newspaper publishers, who are either wealthy or dependent on wealth, and the great business interests with which a majority of the people are in conflict. Second, the tremendous cost of establishing competing liberal newspapers. Third, a defense mechanism by which conservative newspapers offer extensive and comparatively unbiased news reports as recompense for editorial hostility to liberalism.

I doubt whether this is a permanent alignment. I do not believe it possible for any political philosophy to remain dominant in the United States over a period of years without forging an instrument for its expression in journalism. However, the inescapable fact is that we have no press today representing the dominant political thought of the country, and there is no immediate prospect of such a press being established on a national scale. I look upon that fact as the most dangerous single factor in American politics . . .

THE COERCIVE FORCE OF PRESS SILENCE

The collective weight of American newspapers lies like a mountain of woodpile upon Congress and state legislatures. The coercive force of a newspaper, directed against specific legislation, bears lightly upon the President, but heavily upon a local congressman. By mere silence, the press exposes senators and congressmen to the savage attacks of a business lobby, and, when the President's position is weakened by a business recession, the total lack of a public press supporting his objectives permits a sweep of power to the forces in opposition.

The almost solid alignment of metropolitan newspapers against the Roosevelt administration is the entrenching force behind a disharmony that may wreck our government at any great increase of economic strain. The newspapers of America furnish no driving force for social reform that touches the economic system. They are a positive handicap in economic reform.

He Presents NEED UNITY TO FIGHT LAY-OFF Publishers Their Due

CLEVELAND.
Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

Apropos of the recent outburst of Editor & Publisher concerning settlement of the Brooklyn Eagle strike, it has occurred to me that perhaps we have been too busy ourselves in giving publishers generally the credit due them for the progress the Guild has made.

True enough, in every situation in which the Guild has been forced to go to bat, it was the tactics of the publishers individually and collectively, through ANPA, that finally has resolved matters in our favor. But impending events cast their shadows before them. And the publishers themselves easily might have foretold "the shape of things to come."

What James Said

In "The Will to Believe," published as far back as 1897, William James wrote:

"Even the dogged resistance of the reactionary conservative to changes which he cannot hope entirely to defeat is justified and shown to be effective. He retards the movement; deflects it a little by the concessions he extracts; gives it a resultant momentum, compounded of his inertia and his adversaries' speed; and keeps up in short, a constant lateral pressure which, to be sure, never heads it round about, but brings it up at last at a goal far to the right of that to which it would have drifted had he allowed it to drift alone."

Who knows where the Guild would be today if it were not for the publishers' antagonism?

JAMES P. KIRBY.

Position on Ad Changed by H.T.

Advertising for "America's Sixty Families," by Ferdinand Lundberg, will be accepted now by the Herald Tribune, James Hinkle, president of Vanguard Press which published the book, has been assured by Mrs. Ogden Reid, wife of the newspaper publisher. Formerly the Hudson Advertising Company which handles the Vanguard account had received a letter from the book advertising department of the paper advising that "the Censorship Department of the Herald Tribune has decided that they will accept no more advertising copy on the book."

No further copy, after the initial advertisement, could be carried by the newspaper, according to Mrs. Reid's letter to Hinkle, "because of a possible legal situation which had arisen as a result of the original advertisement."

Office in Chicago Due for Contest

CHICAGO.—With but one office contested in five, the following four general officers of the Chicago Guild were certain of election for this year's term, beginning January 24:

President, Harry Wahl, incumbent, American unit; First Vice-President, Charles Johnson, incumbent, City News Bureau; Secretary, Graham Dolan, incumbent, Tribune; Treasurer, Earl Auld, Herald-Examiner, in place of Paul Puschel, formerly Abendpost, resigned.

A mail ballot was necessary on the second vice-presidency to take the place of Gordon Sessions, Herald-Examiner, not a candidate for reelection. Contending were David Camelon, Herald-Examiner, and Jerry Cook, Daily Times.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID? THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

That Ghostly Voice from Moscow

SOUTH BEND, WASH.
Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

In regard to the communication of Brother Reuben Maury (Dec. 27) I heartily concur in his observation that an organization four years old should be able to stand "self-analysis" and "self-criticism." Am equally in favor of "calm and factual discussions," but for the life of me I cannot see what the strictures of one Arthur Mefford contribute toward that laudable end.

In reading and re-reading his rather stinging reply to an assault on his purse I find these points:

1. Guild officers are lousy.

2. The Guild is the "voice of Moscow."

3. Guild members are incompetent workmen or are traitors.

Vague Charges
Does Brother Maury consider these vague bellyaches as material for a discussion? If so, I plunge in.

First, I definitely remember that at the St. Louis Convention the present officers were elected by democratic methods. Some had no opposition while in no instance was there anything approximating a close race. If indeed these officers are "lousy" the Constitution provides an effective method of correcting the evil.

Second: This "voice of Moscow" is the criticism leveled at every militant union. To avoid this deplorable hearing, the Guild would have to stop any activity designed to help its membership. It would then cease having a sinister tinge to such patriots as Ex-Brother Mefford.

Third: If Guild members are "incompetent workmen" the critic has only the publishers to blame. They hired every blamed one of them. In regard to being "traitors," that has me, pal. Mr. Mefford failed to say in what way they had betrayed what.

I shall not call Mr. Mefford either a "scab" or a "Bnk." These words are used to describe persons who do something—even if the activity is harmful to their fellows. Out here the loggers have a word for the guy who says he's "a union man at heart" but who does not carry a card. That word is Scissors-bill. Mr. Mefford is welcome to it.

TERRY PETTUS.

Maury Disavows Brown Statements

Reuben Maury, chief editorial writer of the New York Daily News and member of that Guild unit, last week wrote letters to John L. Lewis and Vice-President Garner, giving his views on Guild positions. Herwood Brown had stated on behalf of the A.N.G. Maury sent carbon copies of his letters to Brown, Editor & Publisher, and the GUILD REPORTER in line with an earlier practice when he used to send his protesting letters to Editor & Publisher and carbons to the GUILD REPORTER.

In the letter to Lewis, Maury said that Brown's affirmation of faith in the CIO chairman's leadership "was not authorized by a unanimous vote of the American Newspaper Guild membership, or by any vote so far as I know."

The letter to Garner said that "Mr. Brown overstates his influence and his power to wield Guild influence when he professes to speak for the entire organization without having first polled the organization."

Brown had urged adoption of the Schwelb-Bachman Joint Resolution which seeks to provide government relief work for all the unemployed.

CONTRACT SIGNED
The United Distillery Workers (CIO), has signed an agreement with the National Distillers, manufacturers of Crab Orchard and related brands of liquor.

Marquis Childs of the Washington Post, correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, recently wrote a piece for the Nation on "Public Housing Today."

Archibald MacLeish, one of the editors of Fortune and a member of the Time Inc. unit of the New York Guild, had an article in the January Stage. His new book, "Land of the Free," will be published in April by Harcourt, Brace.

Oland D. Russell, New York World-Telegram Guild member, wrote an account of the Jake Kilrain-John L. Sullivan fight of 1889 which appeared in the American Mercury on the day that Kilrain died at the age of 78.

Edward Levinson, reporter on the New York Post and member of the Executive Committee of the New York Guild, has written a book called "Labor on the March," which Harper will publish March 1.

Karl Schriftgiesser, formerly on the Boston Evening Transcript and the Washington Post, now on the staff of the New York Times, wrote a portrait of Mayor LaGuardia for the January issue of the Atlantic Monthly. In the same number, J. Donald Adams, editor of the New York Times Book Review, had a piece called "The Collapse of Congress."

H. B. Elliston, financial editor of the Christian Science Monitor, had a short article titled, "Mr. Hull Calling London," and John Holmes, poetry editor of the Boston Evening Transcript, had a poem, "Boy Reading."

Robert Fitzgerald, Guild member at Time Magazine, has three poems in New Directions for 1938.

Dorothy Dunbar Bromley of the New York World-Telegram unit is co-author with Florence Haxton Britton of a book called "Youth and Sex," which Harper will publish in April.

Marquis Childs of the Washington Post, correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, recently wrote a piece for the Nation on "Public Housing Today."

people of the country that the administration's policies are wrong. Then came Wallace, but with definite knowledge of the deepening poverty and suffering brought by the slump, of relief needs, and measures required to meet the emergency.

Wallace emphasized the shocking fact that vast numbers of destitute farm families, especially their children, are suffering from malnutrition and disease, because relief grants have been held up by the "red tape" of \$17 to \$20 a month, and they have had "barely enough food to sustain life."

Farm and Labor Income
When the Senators questioned Wallace on possible measures to

improve conditions, he answered frankly and definitely. "One-half the farm problem can be solved only in the cities," he said. "Production on farms depends on production in cities."

"Employment and incomes of industrial workers and the purchasing power of farmers always go up and down together."

"Then," remarked Senator Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico, "there is no real antagonism between the interests of farmers and wage earners."

"That cannot be repeated too often," Wallace replied. "The interests of the two cannot be separated."

SIDE LINES

By CAROLYN MARK

DORIS FLEESON

who, with her husband John O'Donnell, writes Capitol Staff, the Washington column of the New York Daily News, was a contributor of the Jan. 5 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Her article, "Missy—To Do This—P.D.R.," was about the President's private secretary, Marguerite Le Hand. Miss Fleeson and O'Donnell are Guild members.

The Nation's annual role cited three newspaper men this year: Paul Y. Anderson of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, a Washington member, and two correspondents in Spain, Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times and James M. Minifie of the New York Herald Tribune. Matthews has just published a book on Ethiopia and Spain, called "Two Wars and More to Come."

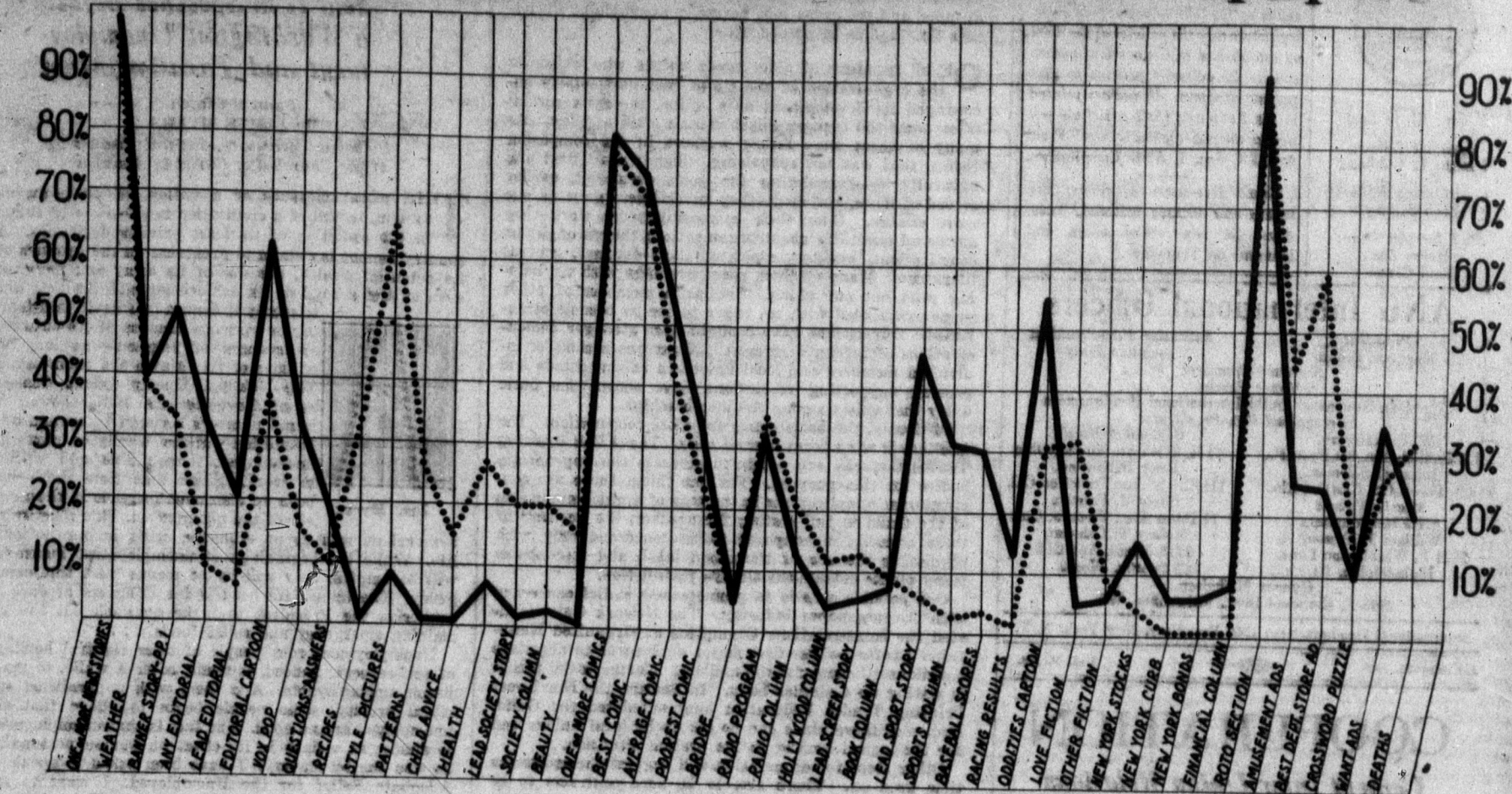
Kirk Earnshaw, assistant city editor of the Chicago Herald Examiner and chairman of that unit of the Guild, had an article in the December issue of the Beacon, new Chicago magazine. Another contributor to the same issue was Edwin A. Lehey, labor reporter for the Chicago Daily News, also a Guild member.

Ted Allen, former Federated Press correspondent in Spain and now on the staff of the Toronto Daily Clarion, had a short story in the New Masses' second Literary Supplement.

\$1,600 ESSAY CONTEST
To stimulate interest among college students in labor problems, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has announced a \$1,600 prize essay contest on the subject "Company, Craft and Industrial Unions and Their Legal Responsibilities." Undergraduates who are candidates for a bachelor's degree in 1938 or 1939 are eligible to compete.

News of the Industry

What the Readers Read in Newspapers



The Guild Reporter

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

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

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COOPERATION

Cement Inter-Union Relations

THE time has come to give a new impetus to one of the Guild's fundamental policies, that of close cooperation with the other organized crafts of the newspaper industry. Many Guilds have taken steps along these lines, usually with a fair degree of success; the Northern California Guild is the latest and is doing an unusually thorough job of making its objectives understood and putting its inter-union relations on an organized basis.

Heretofore we have in most cases had to go to the other unions in the position of asking something. While our request has been the accepted one of organizational assistance, and called for no more than any established union expects to give to the newly organized, it has none the less been a request and we have understood all it implied. Today the relationship has changed. The Brooklyn Eagle strike marked a turning point. We have now become actually or potentially the largest union in any plant; we have demonstrated more effectively than the same time both on the Eagle and in Bayonne we ever our ability to win a large strike independently. At have seen, under what must be accounted typical circumstances, the hardship wrought by a severe, prolonged strike on the memberships of the other unions. The direct concern of all newspaper unions in the strike of any one has thus been demonstrated more clearly than ever. It is therefore time for all the union to consider the problem, and it is appropriate for us to take the initiative in arranging for such consultation. This article is to discuss our position.

WE have the same interest as all other elements in the smooth functioning of the newspaper industry. We recognize that the livelihoods of hundreds, often thousands of workers are directly affected by what happens to a single paper.

We recognize that, apart from any moneymaking functions, newspapers serve a definite, needed purpose in everyday life, not only in supplying news but also in facilitating the distribution of goods.

Recognizing all these facts, it is obvious that apart from our own personal preference not to be forced into grueling struggles, our desire is to have as few strikes as possible, and, when they come, to have them settled as quickly as possible.

There has, naturally, been much misinterpretation of our motives, by those who are paid to misinterpret them or who do so as part of a strategy of weakening our position with the public. But any detached analysis of our interests quickly shows such an attitude toward strikes to be inescapable.

At the same time we recognize that no group either in our industry or in society has a right to expect another group to endure oppressive conditions. Again, the fact that we are relatively late comers into the circle of trade unionism does not limit our right to press for improvements in our status, just as our older fellow unionists pressed for their rights before us and still do today; and in the same way, we must assume that—speaking for the moment of the original body of editorial workers who formed the Guild—the successes of one group will inspire others yet unorganized to make the same bid for enhancing their own welfare.

A GUILD strike under present circumstances usually develops into an attack on all the paper's sources of revenue. From the beginning we have been able to do heavy damage; today our fighting technique, developed under severe necessity, has been enormously enhanced by the presence of members from the income-

producing departments. The effect of such a campaign against a paper, as Time said of the Eagle strike, is "terrific." The Eagle at the end was being characterized as a wreck.

Members of the other unions felt this attack directly. Typographical "situations" were dropped; it will probably be months before the paper's payroll returns to normal. In Bayonne, similarly, the situations have been dropped and the extra jobs normally available at Christmas time had to be passed up.

OF all members of older trade unions who welcomed the organization of the Guild, and particularly encouraged its development as a union, the most cordial often were the typographical union's rank and file. As many of them were fellow workers in the composing rooms, that was not surprising. Skeptical at first and naturally so—considering the poor, even bad, earlier record of newspapermen—they nevertheless gave us one more chance. Over their composing room work they answered questions about organization; they brought us constitutions, by-laws, copies of their Journal, general literature. Many of them spent evenings with us, helping work out our plans. Similarly, members of other unions counseled with us, eager to see us become established. Our strikes have brought even stronger demonstrations of fraternal interest. Numerous actions of individual members and local unions in raising funds and passing supporting resolutions have shown the basic unity that exists among the memberships.

Obviously, the basis exists for close cooperation. The question is what form it shall take. The Allied Printing Trades Councils are not in most cases the appropriate bodies for this purpose. For one thing, there are constitutional complications in the way of a quick admission of the Guild to full status; for another, the business of these councils is supposed to be concerned only with regulating the use of the union label, and it concerns many plants outside the Guild's jurisdiction.

One possible step is to promote new bodies concerned with the newspaper industry. The Newark Guild initiated the Inter-relations Committee of Organized Newspaper Crafts—whose first major action was to negotiate a strike settlement for the mailers. Northern California is setting up a similar body. In Seattle, the Northwest Printing Trades Federation long antedated the Guild. Bodies of these kinds can be set up by local unions and are the logical answer to the present situation.

Other steps for cooperation will suggest themselves as time goes on. There are, to be sure contracts to be respected in all the crafts, which in many cases have clauses impeding cooperation—inserted there by shrewd employers. The Guild, being a new union, has been able to keep its contracts notably free of such clauses. In other unions, the memberships are often insisting on having these clauses stricken out. The development of close cooperation between the unions along these and other lines, naturally, will take time.

WE repeat, it is to the interests of all elements to have strikes settled as quickly as possible. The labor movement cannot afford to have them lost, neither can it fail to help the unorganized to organize. The problem is to enable labor's growth to take place with as little interruption in the industry as possible, with as little hardships as possible on all concerned.

If close cooperation can be arranged, settlements will almost certainly be speeded up, to the advantage of all. Guilds will do a service to their own memberships and all other workers in the industry if they will take the steps toward this cooperation now.

Labor Man Stolberg

By HEYWOOD BROUN

From His Article in the New Republic

PRIVATEERS and pirates sailed under false flags, but before they actually opened fire it was customary to hoist the true insignia. Even Blackbeard would have scorned to storm a vessel without at least a moment's warning that here was the "Jolly Roger." I could wish that some such fine spirit extended to those who do single articles or a series under the introduction: "Mr. X deserves the attention of our readers and his remarks should carry weight because for years he has been known as a friend of labor."

Long ago I learned that trade-unionists should begin to guard the chin the moment the orator of the evening opened his address with some remark about his love for the laboring man. That is the tip-off that presently he will add "but" and swing a roundhouse right against the jaw of all those who believe in organization.

The strategy of sneaking up on your adversary is an ancient one and credit for this piece of tactics has quite generally been awarded to the Trojans. But even the cleverest device can be perfected through the course of years, and the enemies of the labor movement in our day have bettered and simplified the Trojan technique. They no longer find it necessary to use the entire horse. A portion of the animal is sufficient for the purposes of the reactionaries.

Mr. Benjamin Stolberg is writing articles for the Scripps-Howard press under the title of "Inside the CIO." I challenge his right to such a title, for, to the best of my knowledge and belief, Mr. Stolberg has never been a member of any union affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization. He has been, if you like, a free-lance writer on labor problems for many years. But he has supplemented his own knowledge with gossip and rumor which he could find by stooping. And Mr. Stolberg can stoop.

He is a burnt-cork radical who has sung for his supper on numerous occasions by showing up as the quaint revolutionist bidden to frighten and amuse the guests at Park Avenue parties. I want to be fair to Ben Stolberg. He is much more clever than many others in his skill in draping himself in sheep's clothing. Indeed I would almost pick him as a model for what the well dressed wolf should wear.

A Man's Right To HAVE Work

Leading Churchmen Uphold It in Speeches Before a Washington Unemployment and Taxation Meet

From a Speech

By JAMES MYERS

Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

THE moral measure of a nation, of an economic system, indeed of a civilization itself—is to be found in the condition of its least privileged citizens. A country cannot lay claim to greatness on the grounds of its potential wealth, the size of its army and navy, or even on the ground of its achievements in the arts and sciences; it cannot call itself God-fearing or virtuous because of its outward observances of religion—so long as millions of its citizens are unemployed.

The National Unemployment Census, as of November 20, 1937, showed in round numbers between 11 million and 16 million workers wholly or partially unemployed, though able and willing to work. Since that time there has been an enormous increase in the number of the unemployed. This constitutes a moral as well as an economic crisis in our national life. While the beginnings of unemployment insurance will be helpful, they will by no means meet this emergency. The immediate need is for Congress at once to authorize the President to make available all the remaining emergency and relief funds. . . .

Unemployment robs people of their rightful heritage of self-respect. Indeed, it tends, after a while, to make people unemployable. And then, with unparalleled spiritual cruelty, some people begin to allege that the unemployed are no good. The fact is that unemployment is almost as vicious in its effect on human personality as was chattel slavery. I have been asked to speak on Adequate Relief for the Unemployed. I want to say that no amount of relief is adequate. Unemployment is a moral evil, a shame and a sin against humanity.

THE STAKE IN 'HUMAN SOULS'

Some people are saying that work-relief costs too much and that government spending must be cut in order to "restore confidence" in business circles. It seems to me even more important to restore the confidence in themselves which can come to millions of unemployed only through work-relief and until they can again enter productive employment. Human souls are at stake. . . .

With all our emphasis on the desirability of public works and work-relief, we must not lose sight of the fact that large numbers of needy persons are, as a matter of fact, not now on WPA rolls because of lack of funds. Still others, because of disabilities of various kinds, could not be included on the work-programs and must be cared for by direct relief. The low allowances for families on direct relief, moreover, are startling and distressing. They range, according to official reports, from a maximum of \$93.45 per family per month in one state to \$6.09 per family per month in Region 3, comprising southern states.

From a Speech

By MONSIGNOR JOHN A. RYAN

Director, National Catholic Welfare Conference

LIKE every other ethical right, the right to work must be a right against somebody. Every human right implies a corresponding obligation. . . . life or liberty or property obliges me to refrain from attacking or depriving you of these goods. Against who has the unemployed a right to work? Obviously, he has no such right against employers in general. Has the dismissed worker a right to be re-employed by his last employer? Certainly not, if this would cause his last employer to suffer a monetary loss.

Suppose, however, that an employer could keep employees on his payroll without positive loss but without making any gains, either by way of profits or in the form of interest. In that case, it seems clear that the employer would be bound by the precept of social justice not to discharge these employees. Social justice obliges all citizens to promote the welfare of the community. . . .

What about the right to work as against the State? Evidently, there is no such right when all workers can find employment with private employers. As already pointed out, the right to work is primarily a claim against the masters of industry. Suppose, however, that the latter cannot, without unreasonable inconvenience, provide jobs for the unemployed. In that case, the State has a moral obligation to support those who are out of work. . . .

Have the unemployed a right to work relief or merely to maintenance in idleness? . . . While the unemployed cannot be said to have a strict right to employment under the WPA, they have a solid claim thereto in social justice. Their human dignity and the safeguarding of their morale demand that government relief should take this form. To be sure, work relief is more costly than straight relief or the dole. Nevertheless, the money for this purpose can be obtained through adequate taxation. Until the millions of unemployed are given the opportunity to work in private industry, they have a claim, according to both distributive and social justice, upon the government for decent maintenance.



Msgr. Ryan