

The GUILD REPORTER

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

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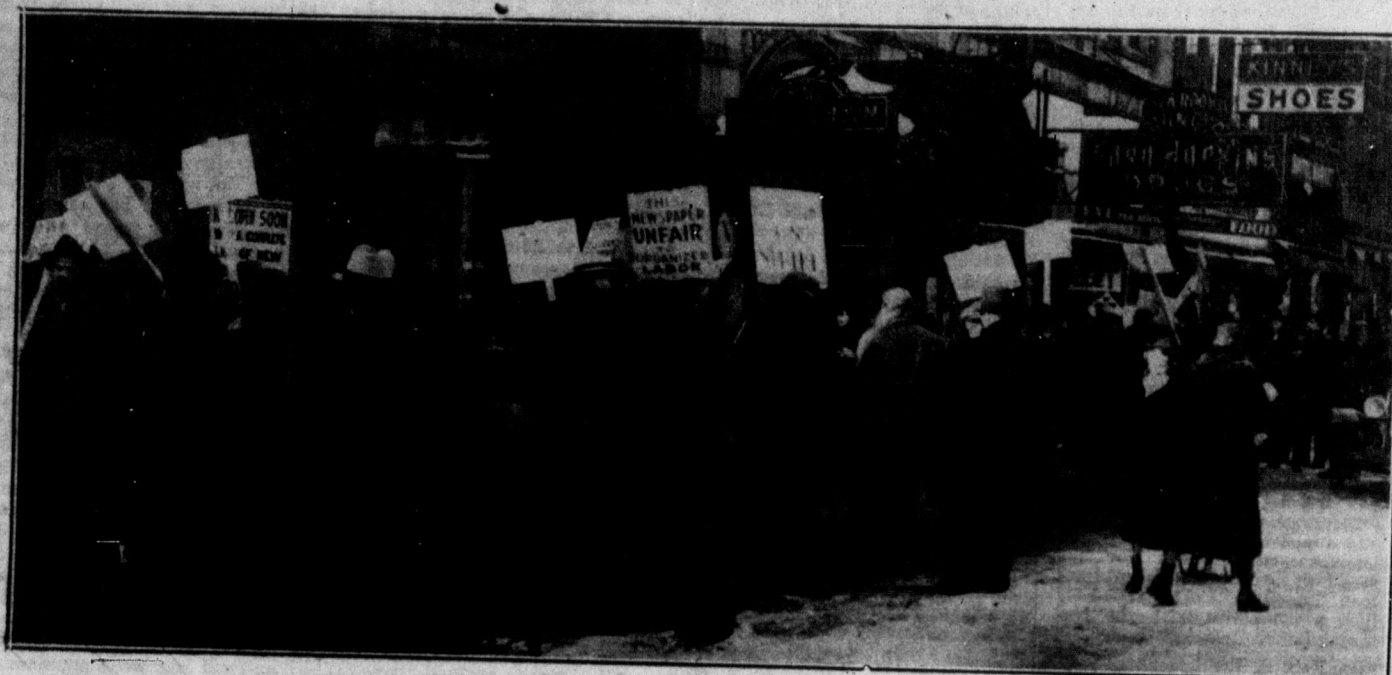
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GUILD-SHOP PACT IN SUPERIOR



What Labor Support Means: Great Lakes sailors turn out to picket with the seven striking Superior Guildsmen.

Backing of All Labor Won Unit's Demands

SUPERIOR, Wis.—Backed by a local AFofL rank and file leadership which refused to split labor's ranks, and by strong CIO picket lines, the Lake Superior Guild last Monday won a smashing victory after a five-day strike against the Evening Telegram. The strikers gained a Guild shop contract that gave them absolute protection against economy or merger dismissals, wage increases of more than 35 per cent, the 5-day 40-hour week, unqualified dismissal and resignation pay of one week's salary for every 40 weeks of service, and "no-struck-work" limitation of apprentices, and other model Guild contract clauses.

Rebelling against pay that ranged from \$14 to \$26 a week, long hours, and the refusal of General Manager Clough Gates to recognize the Guild, seven of the eight members of the editorial staff walked out on Feb. 16. The eighth walked out later. On Monday, all were back at work, with full pay for the period of the strike.

AFofL Tactics

The strike threw agents of the AFofL bureaucracy into action. Gates published a telegram from Joseph Padway, attorney for the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, who has just been appointed counsel for the American Federation of Labor, encouraging the paper to fight the Guild. Pressure was brought upon the Superior central AFofL body to take a similar stand, but Gates' request to this group for a statement of "attitude" brought a curt reply from President William Craddock stating that the federation "refuses to assist the Evening Telegram in dividing labor forces."

David Sigmund, an AFofL general organizer, rushed into town, but didn't dare appear at the meeting of the local AFofL body when he learned its temper. Elsewhere, ANG Vice-President Gun- (Continued on Page Three)

Bayonne Strikers Get Ads

BAYONNE, N. J.—New blows against Times advertising were scored by the eight striking Guildsmen last week when merchants flooded strike headquarters with requests for ad space in the weekly strike paper. The Guildsmen were unable to accept all the advertisements because of the lack of mechanical facilities.

The Feb. 24 issue of the paper was doubled in size and it appears as if the next week's would have to be doubled again.

Despite its stubborn front, the Times is running far behind last year's lineage. A loss of 210 columns of display advertising in the first two weeks of February, in comparison to the same period last year, showed the strike continues to make heavy inroads. The paper lost 33 columns of classified advertising in the same period.

The Guildsmen are now publishing the Strike Reporter once a week and a circulation of 20,000 brings it into virtually every home in the city. Although the strikers have not solicited any advertising, merchants recognized the Reporter as a good medium.

Mirror Ruling Upholds Single Unit Principle

Order Eliminates Need for Guild To Obtain Majority in Each Group

The National Labor Relations Board decision of Feb. 17 in the case of the New York Daily Mirror established a broad precedent applicable to newspapers that white-collar employees and those not eligible for membership in established craft unions constitute a single bargaining unit. The need is thus eliminated for the Guild to show a majority in each of the departments.

The Hearst general management had taken the position that the employees in each department constitute a bargaining unit, and therefore requested that the Guild show a majority in each of the editorial, business, circulation and advertising departments, and a majority in the clerical groups employed in the mechanical departments. The Guild fought this on principle, despite the fact that it could have shown a majority in each of these groups. The Guild held, on the contrary, that employees in all the departments sought should be regarded as one unit, and that a majority of all should be sufficient.

The Labor Board decision upholds every contention advanced by the Guild. It also furnishes legal sanction to the demand of the Guild in all parts of the country that wherever possible all members or eligible members of the Guild should be covered by one contract and not by separate departmental agreements.

Major Points

The three major contentions of the Guild upheld by the board were:

1. That all employees in the commercial, editorial and allied departments do properly constitute a single collective bargaining unit.
2. That of the group of 486 employees in the commercial, editorial

(Continued on Page Four)

New Pact Rules Shop 80% Guild

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—An "80 per cent" Guild shop contract, providing raises for the entire staff, the 5-day 40-hour week, and other benefits, has been won by the Guild with the Jacksonville Journal. The agreement was negotiated by a committee composed of the Rev. Albert J. Kissling, a Presbyterian clergyman, Vice-President Harry E. Gelatt of the local typographical union, and Fuller Warren, attorney.

Requiring that four out of every five employees be Guild members, the Guild shop clause was a compromise on the unit's firm demand for a full Guild shop. Minimum salaries range to \$40 for four years' experience. Those not benefiting by the wage clause get 10 per cent increases. Five-year employees get three weeks' vacation.

BUILDING: The Guild Earns Right To Pat Itself on Back

By JONATHAN EDDY

ALTHOUGH pride goeth before a fall, it seems to me that the newspaper men and women are entitled to pat themselves mildly on the back in the "family of labor" today. In this time of economic recession and organized employer opposition to the union movement, the Guild has been the object of the most concerted attacks—and what other union is ploughing ahead quite as we are despite all obstacles?



The weaknesses of our great organization are known here at international headquarters. We are still reminded day by day of what a wobbly treasury can do at the heart of a union. Continual demands for services do not permit us to forget that our staff of organizers was practically decimated, and at a time when so many "experienced labor men" thought the Guild was licked anyway, in Brooklyn and Seattle. The complications attendant upon the tremendous undertaking of making our organization representative of the majority of all employees in the industry are with us day in and day out, and at night too.

But Brooklyn was won and it was a good victory. Seattle followed upon Brooklyn, a tremendous victory against odds so great that one still marvels. And in a cascade have come the Hearst contracts in Chicago, the advance of collective bargaining rights on the major wire services, contracts in Boston, the Mirror and News de- (Continued on Page Four)

Eddy Sees NLRB on Delays; Says Managements Reap Benefit

At the request of a number of locals, the American Newspaper Guild took up last week with the National Labor Relations Board delays that have occurred recently in Guild cases in various parts of the country. The protest was carried to Washington by Executive Vice-President Eddy, who was accompanied by A. J. Isserman, attorney in various Guild cases, and Ben Myers, Chicago attorney directly concerned with the Labor Board case on the Chicago Times.

The meeting took place at the headquarters of the Labor Board in Washington, and the entire board participated, including J.

Warren Madden, chairman; Edwin S. Smith and Donald Wakefield Smith, members; Nathan Witt, secretary, and Charles Fahy, general counsel.

Managements Benefit

Eddy told the Labor Board that in cases involving discrimination, delays were inevitably to the advantage of the management and that they tended to defeat purposes for which the Board was established. When discrimination cases involve dismissals, especially when such occur during attempted collective bargaining, the effect, he said, was disruptive of negotia- (Continued on Page Two)

Strike Action Wins Demands

LOS ANGELES—Acting as the Guild formed its picket line, the Glendale News-Press last Thursday posted a unilateral statement meeting most of the unit's demands. The executive committee immediately referred the strike action back to the unit for reconsideration.

The statement raised individual wages from 10 to 35 per cent in the editorial and commercial departments, and established minimums of \$45 for five-year reporters, \$43 for display ad salesmen, and other comparable scales. The statement was not acceptable as a contract because the dismissal indemnity provisions were qualified. Picketing was scheduled to begin in an hour, and a strike paper was printed, when the statement was posted.

'Big Six' Strike Accord Sought

N. Y. GUILD ASKS CLARIFICATION OF UNIT'S POSITION IN ATLAS CO. DISPUTE; PROTECTION IS ASKED AND JOINT ACTION PROPOSED BY LOCAL.

Clarification of the Typographical Union's stand in regard to joint action with the Guild in the strike at the Atlas Publishing Company in New York was sought last week by the New York Guild in a letter to the executive committee of the Typographical Union No. 6. The Guild has 22 members on the 12 trade publications handled by the company. The Typographical Union called the strike on Feb. 2.

The Guild's letter reviewed the efforts of the Guild to reach an agreement with the printers which would protect Guildsmen from walking down picket lines against the possibility of being left out on the street when the printers settled their strike. It was pointed out that the situation "was intolerable for Guild members," and that the Guild was offering support to "Big Six," and not seeking help.

The letter said: On Feb. 2 the Guild made a formal proposal to Typographical Union No. 6 to the effect that your union give assurances to the Guild that the Typographical Union would not settle its strike against the Atlas Publishing Company until our members, who refrain from going through your picket line, are returned to work.

Reply Pending: On Feb. 9 the Executive Committee of Typographical Union No. 6, through a telephone message from Mr. Ralph Wright, organizer, responded as follows:

The Executive Committee of Big Six takes the position that it will instruct the union to attend any conference the Guild may call of all the unions interested. The Executive Committee of the Guild, in studying this reply, notes that its proposal is neither accepted nor rejected. Instead, it finds the Typographical Union suggesting that the Guild initiate a conference of seven unions in a strike which it has not called. We are frankly puzzled.

The strike against the job shop of the Atlas Publishing Company is a strike of Typographical Union No. 6. It involves eight compositors and in addition two pressmen, a mailer and three proofreaders. The strike was called by Typographical Union No. 6. The Typographical Union is in charge of the strike and in this situation. It was the Guild's policy to support the strike in the North Shore Daily Journal strike. In that case the other mechanical unions entered into a joint agreement with the Guild with Big Six leading the way.

Disclaimed Knowledge: In the current Atlas situation, the Guild sought similar assurances from Typographical Union No. 6, even prior to the actual calling of the strike. A review of the circumstances will make this plain.

The editorial department has been organized for six months, and the Guild learning of the efforts of Typographical Union No. 6 to bring Atlas into the fold of union shops, conferred in September of last year with Mr. Wright in an effort to map out a joint program.

Pay Cut Threat Unites Unions

SAN DIEGO, Cal.—A request from the Union-Tribune Publishing Company to all unions to consider plans to accept pay cuts for their members, has drawn them all, including the Guild, into a united front to deal with the move. Guild negotiations on behalf of accounting and building maintenance department employees are about to start. When the management was given a contract draft, its representatives declared that pay increases and the Guild shop would not be granted. Last July a bulletin board notice resulting from bargaining granted editorial workers wage increases, severance pay, the 5-day 40-hour week and other benefits.

Akron and Kansas City Present Guild Contracts

AKRON—The Akron Guild negotiating committee held its first bargaining session of the year with Ralph Burkholder, editor of the Times-Press (Scripps-Howard) last week.

A new contract proposed to replace the present one expiring April 1 was presented to Burkholder and was discussed briefly. Most of the talk centered on Burkholder's proposal that a supplemental section should be drafted to cover the business office. The Guild submitted one contract covering its members in both divisions. In reply to a question on his authority concerning granting the

Protest Delays Of Labor Board

(Continued from Page One)

delays and designedly demoralizing to the union. Various local Guilds, he said, had reported unnecessary delays by regional directors and arbitrary dismissal of cases. The fact that in some cases negotiations were under way between local Guild and management should not be permitted to hold up Labor Board proceedings, except where both interested parties were in accord with this procedure, he held.

Isserman and Myers went into various Guild cases in detail. Chairman Madden and his associates asked many questions, the conference lasting about an hour.

They undertook to make specific inquiries into various matters raised by the Guild representatives.

On Feb. 8, the letter recited, a Guild committee appeared before the executive committee of Big Six, empowered by a New York Representative Assembly resolution to seek a common program with the printers, similar to that effected during the North Shore Daily Journal strike. The Big Six group did not answer directly. Instead, Organ Wright telephoned the message already mentioned on the next day. Continued on the letter:

The Guild is not pleading for the support of Big Six. On the contrary, the Guild is asking a minimum protection in its support of a group of striking printers. The Guild is opposed in practice, as well as in principle, to a union crossing another union's picket line. The Guild believes that this is true American labor movement as it is in this respect that we seek an understanding with the Typographical Union.

It is plain, in our opinion, that Typographical Union No. 6 is responsible for the conduct of the Atlas strike. Thus we believe it inappropriate if not presumptuous for the Guild to ask for a conference of seven unions and to be involved in a strike not of its calling. Indeed we feel it would be idle to hold such a conference until the position of Typographical Union No. 6 with respect to the conduct of the Guild offers, is made known. We trust that the attitude of Typographical Union No. 6 may be clarified.

Guilds Demand Bridges Be Permitted To Testify Before Senate Group

SAN FRANCISCO—A resolution demanding that Harry Bridges, West Coast director of the CIO, be permitted to testify before the Senate Commerce Committee and charges that he is a Communist and should be deported was adopted by the Northern California Guild at its last meeting.

The same meeting heard an address by Harold Christie, secretary of the San Francisco Allied Printing Trades Council, who declared that "the Guild shop is the best thing that has happened to the Guild since the war." Another speaker was Professor Bush of the Stanford Department of Journalism, who reported that the journalism faculty and students recognized the Guild as an organization with which they could cooperate for mutual benefit.

The action on Bridges was taken in line with similar stands by the San Francisco and Alameda County Industrial Councils, numerous local unions, as well as professional groups. Bridges, who was born in Australia, has applied for naturalization papers. He has made several efforts to obtain a hearing before the Commerce committee, but Senator Royal S. Copeland, chairman, who denounced him as a "dangerous alien," refused to allow him to testify in his own behalf. Other resolutions adopted by the Guild included: protests to Montgomery Ward and Company over contracting for printing in the struck Bayonne (N. J.) Times; urging Congressmen to oppose changes in the Wagner Act and reduction of the NLRB apportionment; thanking the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 2-10, for financial assistance to the Seattle Star strikers; congratulating the Seattle and Milwaukee locals. The Guild also demanded that bridges be given opportunity to appear before the Copeland committee. The Milwaukee Guild also adopted resolutions opposing attempts to emasculate the National Labor Relations Act and reduce appropriations of the NLRB.

Statement Is Posted In Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS—A policy statement posted by The Star will govern working conditions during a suspension of negotiations, which bogged down in a deadlock here last week after nine months of struggle to attain a Guild shop contract.

In the new unilateral statement The Star recognizes the Guild as sole bargaining agent for editorial employees, stipulates that the statement is posted as the result of collective bargaining, and that it will remain in effect until an agreement is reached between The Star and the local.

The statement fixes minimums at generally \$2 higher than the Scripps-Howard Times contract, contains severance payments to 12 weeks (week for year) and protects the editorial staff against pay cuts until such time as a signed agreement is reached. It is believed to be the only policy statement in which overtime is compensated in time-and-a-half in cash with no provision for time off.

Complaints Withdrawn: As a result an NLRB complaint in which The Star has been charged with failure to bargain in good faith will be withdrawn. A second complaint claiming illegal discharge of a sports writer, financial assistant and photographer also will be withdrawn should The Star place these men upon a preferential list for re-employment.

The local last week unanimously had refused The Star manager's offer to sign a contract similar to that now held with The Times, deciding it would rather operate temporarily without a contract it regards as substandard.

The Star management had taken the stand that the Guild's contract with the Times constituted a "standard" contract for the city and that the local should hope for nothing better until it decided, on expiration of the Times agreement, to negotiate with publishers of all three dailies at once.

Contract Guaranteed: The policy statement is believed unique in that with the following phrase it guarantees a Guild contract in the future:

"The following statement of policy... shall remain in effect until collective bargaining between The Star and the Guild shall have resulted in an agreement."

Although refusing to recognize the policy statement officially, the Guild approved the setting of the negotiating committee by authorizing withdrawal of the NLRB complaint.

Uncle Sam Busy On Security Data

In about six months, the Social Security Board expects to be able to tell you the amount of wages counted so far toward benefits for you under the old-age insurance provisions of the Social Security Act.

It is the world's biggest book-keeping job and it takes time to set up thirty million ledger accounts. What must happen between the time you receive your social security number and the time you can find out how your account stands is this:

Your wages are reported to the collector of internal revenue by your employer together with the amount of taxes he turns over both for himself and for you. The Internal Revenue Bureau then checks these figures against the amount of taxes turned in. Every three months the wage figures are entered into the ledger accounts by the bureau of old-age insurance.

This posting is now under way for the records that have been turned in for nine states, and being pushed as fast as the book-keeping machines can do the work.

Senate Bill Seeks To Bolster NLRA

CIO Opens Widespread Drive for Act to Compel Firms Benefiting from Government Contracts or Loans to Comply With Provisions of National Labor Law.

WASHINGTON—Legislation to force the corporations benefiting from government contracts and government loans to comply with the labor laws of the United States has at last been introduced in Congress. The CIO has opened a widespread drive to obtain support for the measure and gather evidence to prove its need, and at the same time is preparing to defend the National Labor Relations Act against empty by reactionary employers and the AF of L to undermine it by means of weakening amendments.

The legislation embodied in Senate Bill 3590, introduced by Senator Wagner, would compel firms getting government contracts or loans to comply with the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act and orders of the NLRB.

All Locals Asked to Help: Lee Pressman, general counsel of the CIO, has asked all CIO bodies, local or international, to report the names of firms receiving government funds or contracts, with descriptions of their collective bargaining practices. At the same time, unions are urged to communicate to representatives in Congress the fact that labor considers enactment of the measure imperative.

The bill was recommended at the Atlantic City conference of the CIO, and at UMW and SWOC conventions.

Pressman points out that steel corporations, such as Bethlehem, Republic, Weirton and Youngstown Sheet & Tube, have received profitable contracts from the United States while they were violating the National Labor Relations Act. "Certain other corporations have obtained federal funds from the RFC, and then violated the laws of the United States requiring collective bargaining," he added.

Protest These Bills: Determined efforts are being made to bring the Walsh Bill out of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and its companion piece in the House, the Dies bill, out of the House Labor Committee.

Both measures would compel the NLRB to hold separate craft elections in plants organized on an industrial basis where one employee so requests. Craft unions would then use the board to chip away sections of established industrial bargaining units by calling for separate votes of minority groups.

Once adopted, these amendments will open the gates for a flood of similar amendments. Dr. Brophy asks all who would be affected to now getting ready for.

PLAN FROLIC: SAN FRANCISCO—April 28 has been chosen for this year's annual Front Page Frolic by the Northern California Guild.

USED CAR BARGAINS? JUST A \$1,000,000 PUBLICITY GAG!

The drive to set in operation the nation's motor factories is evidenced by destruction of used cars in several huge bonfires in sections of the middle west and by a publicity and advertising campaign to put over National Used Car Exchange Week, March 5-12.

"Bargains" in used cars purchased in that week will be no bargains at all for back of the campaign is an attempt by car manufacturers to clear the market of a stifling load of used cars before sharp price reductions in new cars go into effect the following week, according to Space & Time, a weekly advertising news-letter published by David A. Munro.

As part of the campaign, says Munro, advertising agencies are doing their share "because they keep their finger on the press through publicity departments."

Here is Space & Time's report on the campaign: "When a merchant shouts 'We got bargains' either too loud or too long, the thrifty, cynical housewife walks right by. She decides it's just another one of those going-out-of-business rags. And it's just such a gag, costing \$1,000,000, that advertising is

THEY WERE SUPERIOR STRATEGISTS

These were the men who mapped the victorious Lake Superior Guild strike. Left to right, Ralph Bondy of the Duluth Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union local; Don Stevens, representing the ANG; Carl E. Johnson, local Guild president, and Goldsman.



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Contract in Superior Boosted the Salaries 35%

SUPERIOR, Wis.—The strike won Evening Telegram contract provides an immediate boost of \$2,522 a year in the total salaries for the staff of eight. Ranging from \$14 to \$26, the wages had totaled \$7,124 before the contract was signed, and only one man, a combination city editor-courtroom reporter got tops.

Two of the employees gained 68 per cent increases, and the others were about 15 per cent. There will be additional raises later in the year, as the workers reach new years-of-experience ratings. Superior has a population of 36,000 and the Telegram a circulation of 19,228. The new minimums go from \$16.50 for less than one year's experience to \$37 after the fifth year.

The Guild shop clause provides that new employees become Guild members within thirty days after their employment, and further, that the Guild be given five days in which to satisfactorily fill staff vacancies, after which the publisher may select any applicant. Other important clauses are:

"Upon dismissal, an employee shall receive a written notice from the employer stating the cause for

Guild Shop Pact Won in Superior

Strike Settled in 5 Days As All Labor in AF of L Town Backs Guild Unit.

(Continued from Page One) nar Mickelsen, who is the Wisconsin State CIO director, was told by Jack Handley, the State AF of L secretary, that it is "our policy to fight the Guild in every case."

On the strike front, CIO assistance appeared in the form of scores of Great Lakes sailors, members of the National Maritime Union, under the leadership of Organizer Eero Strand, who threw a mass picket line in front of the plant. Business Agent Fred Smith of the AF of L, teamsters' local ordered drivers not to cross picket lines, despite a telegram from Padway directing him to aid the paper. Smith's action threatened the paper's newspaper supply and forced the management to use unorganized advertising department employees to deliver the bundled papers. Printers crossed the picket line, under orders of their international president, Charles P. Howard.

Yields to Pressure: Under the combined pressure, the management met with the Guild over the week-end under the conciliatory supervision of Acting Regional NLRB Director Robert J. Wiener. The Guild was represented by Don Stevens for the ANG; Local President Carl

Anyone who keeps score on Editor & Publisher's misrepresentation in Guild matters, might add this one from the Feb. 19 issue of E&P: ON JURISDICTION

That was the headline on the story of the Superior strike. The story quoted General Manager Gates as saying that he had conferred with the Guild about a contract, "but the situation had been complicated by a request from AFL counsel to withhold recognition until the AFL be given a hearing."

E. Johnson, a former member of the IEB, and Ralph Bondy of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The local was backed up in the negotiations also by Smith of the Teamsters, Duluth's of the Motion Picture Operators, and Mattison of the Retail Clerks, all AF of L unions. The contract was signed Sunday after eight hours of bargaining.

Those on strike were Jack and Robert McBride, Louise Shaw North, Betty Bowser, George Flowers, Silento Wassman and Orville Lomoe.

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Vote as Single Unit Upheld by NLRB

NATIONWIDE PRECEDENT IS SET IN MIRROR RULING THAT ALL BUT THOSE ELIGIBLE FOR MECHANICAL UNIONS CONSTITUTE GROUP.

(Continued from Page One)

The basis for the board's decision was that all departments constitute one bargaining unit is interested.

The metropolitan newspaper business is such that promptness in the collection of news and production and distribution of newspapers is vital. "Dead-lines" for the various departments are timed so that all operations synchronize in order that each edition may contain the latest news possible. Each department is administratively separate but economically dependent on the others. A shut-down in any department, resulting from a labor dispute, would in all likelihood cause a suspension of publication and would at least curtail the operation of the other departments and eventually render the whole enterprise unprofitable.

These conclusions were based on voluminous evidence produced by Guild witnesses, who showed that while employed in one department, their work tied up closely with the other departments.

Previous Facts No Bar

The Hearst management, in contesting this, cited the fact that even subsequent to the ANO Convention which extended jurisdiction, and the referendum, the Guild had continued to negotiate contracts on some papers for only the editorial department. On this point, the board stated:

It was established at the hearing that various locals of the American Newspaper Guild have entered into contracts with publishers (among them some members of the Hearst organization)

overthrow the world of journalism." He said he forced the Montreal Gazette to fire Ballantyne last June.

Duplessis made his declarations in answer to the assertion of T. D. Bouchard, liberal opposition leader, that there had been complaints about the wide powers given Duplessis under legislation pointing out that a "Montreal journalist" was unable to bring suit against his employer because the attorney general (who is also Duplessis) had refused to authorize the suit. Duplessis replied:

"It was a Communist who complained. He is affiliated to the CIO and wished to completely overthrow journalism. It was he who refused him the right to sue and I told his employers I was going to sue them if they continue to retain him in their employ."

"Communists, disguised or not, we will not tolerate. We say the right of association is a free right and none can be forced to join a union against his will."

N. Y. RESTAURANTS

THE DINER

"NO FOOD FINER"

234 EAST 41st STREET

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Yanderbilt 2-9292

Gathering Place of Guild Members

GUS & ANDY'S SOMERSET

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Greenwich Tavern

Best Food—"The Taste Tells"

232-24 Greenwich St., N. Y. C.

around corner from Guild-Telegram

Tel.: WOrth 2-9237

QUEENS UNITS TO DANCE

The three Queens County units of the New York Guild are sponsoring a dance for the benefit of the New York Emergency Fund. The dance will be held on April 22 at the Flushing Armory. Ernest W. Kremer is general chairman. Tickets are \$1.

AFL Body Expels Guild; 'Labor Editor' Led Move

PATERSON, N. J.—Singing out the Guild of all the CIO unions which hold their membership in the AFL's Central Labor Union here, the body last week, resurrected William Green's Sept. 22 edict and expelled the Passaic Valley Guild delegates.

The expulsion was accomplished at a meeting packed by reactionary building trades leaders, and it came at a time when the Guild was engaged in a fight with local publishers to end discrimination and obtain reinstatement for a Guildsman dismissed from the Morning Call. The move was led by Sam Moskowitz, business agent of the AFOEL Electrical Workers' Union, who conducts a "labor page" for the anti-labor Paterson Evening News in the face of formal expressions of displeasure by the Central Labor Union.

Although the CIO delegates represent three-fourths of the local labor movement, they were outvoted by the packed meeting. None of the other CIO officials was included in the motion to expel. Jack Rosner, local Guild president, pleaded for unity despite the action. Unseated with him were Eddie Cohen and Robert Ball.

The matter of a contract covering editorial employees of the Company was discussed. Union representatives submitted in memorandum form a series of demands which they wished to have incorporated in a contract. The Company countered with a document which included some of the demands of the Union, but omitted others, and omitted still others. The notice recited that it embodied an agreement between the Company and "members of the Daily Mirror News Department and their representatives" but omitted any reference to the Union or any affiliated body and in form required the signature of only the Company. Company officials and Union representatives discussed the notice at length and the Company altered some of the provisions of the original draft of the notice to meet Union demands but still omitted others. The Company finally on January 28, 1937, posted the notice, which in its final form recited that it would be in effect for a year from that date.

There is no need to express any opinion as to what effect, if any, an actual agreement covering only editorial employees would have on the question of what unit might be appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining, as we are convinced upon all the evidence that the dealings between the Company and the Union with respect to the notice did not result in the formation of a contract. The promulgation of the notice was a unilateral act on the part of the Company. It did not call for assent on the part of the Union and none was in fact given. In any event the "Notice" was to be in effect only until January 28, 1938.

In addition to excluding employees within the jurisdiction of craft unions in the field, the board excluded executives, advertising department employees employed outside of New York, space-writers located outside of New York and temporary employees.

Almost four months elapsed between the time the Guild sought to open negotiations with the Mirror management and the date on which the labor board decision was rendered. The Guild met with the management on Oct. 25, 1937, but the management refused to recognize the Guild as representing the commercial departments, stating at the same time that in any event it would not deal jointly with both departments.

WINS JOB BACK

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Reinstatement with full back pay was won last week for Frederick S. Gram, editor of the Racine Day, weekly labor paper, after three months off the job. Gram, a member of the Milwaukee Guild, had been replaced by a non-union editor. Restoration of his job followed the Day association's annual meeting Feb. 8, when three directors responsible for the grievance were replaced by Gilbert Czarniecki, who took Gram's position, now is seeking a hearing on his elimination from the job.

LOCAL A. F. OF L. SUPPORTS GUILDSMEN

American Federation of Labor refused to carry out the official splitting tactics of the parent body; and, equally important, because the CIO was ready with public support and a mass picket line. The local leaders of the AFOEL were close enough to their rank and file to place the interests of organized labor above the interests of the corrupt AFOEL officialdom. The local leaders knew that a Guild victory on the Evening Telegram would strengthen the base for better wages and conditions for all organized workers in that area. They thought this was more to the interest of labor than to play politics with the parasitic job-holders of the AFOEL, the knife-in-the-back boys who counsel union men to fight union men.

We struck for seven and a half months in Seattle and the public had to get wise to the whole caboodle of labor racketeers and crooked politicians before we could win. But in Superior, Wis., labor stood together and in four days all of labor was benefited by the outcome. Whether or not they face the imminent possibility of strikes, it is to the benefit of the labor movement and the country as a whole to fight constantly for unity in the labor movement, on the basis of union principles.

Joint Talks on Telegram

The first conference on joint negotiations between the New York Guild and the World-Telegram, covering both editorial and commercial department employees was held Thursday.

The renewed negotiations on the World-Telegram represents a resumption of commercial department conferences, and the start of negotiations for changes in the editorial department contract.

Conferences on the New York Daily News covering commercial department employees are continuing. At the last conference, held Wednesday, the management offered its first written draft of the contract, which would be joined with the editorial department contract upon expiration of the latter.

With receipt of the Labor Board decision in the Mirror case, the New York Guild has renewed its request to the general Hearst management for coincidental negotiations for the Mirror and Journal-American.

disputed any doubt Fris may have had about its spirit. So many observers volunteered for the next session that Fris ordered his secretary to close his office door "because they have an army in here now."

His proposal provided for a lowering of the minimum salaries wage scale which at present sets \$40 a week for reporters, rewrite men, photographers, copy desk and sports writers, of three years' experience. He suggested \$30 during the fourth year, \$35 during the fifth year, and \$40 during the sixth year. He also wanted to establish \$10 instead of the present \$15 minimum for copy boys and to set a \$20 minimum for society editors. Numerous "jokers" were discovered in the counter-proposal.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

After one glance at the company's counter-proposal, the unit

BUILDING: The Guild Earns Right To Put Itself on Back

By JONATHAN EDDY

(Continued from Page One)

cisions in which the national government substantially places formal approval upon the industrial form of organization established at the Brooklyn and Seattle.

GUILD NOT A BIG CITY PROPOSITION

AND now comes the Superior Evening Telegram showdown. Severely stated together under the banner of the Guild in a comparatively small community remote from the rest of us and win living wages, security, new self-confidence and self-respect. Again it is shown that the Guild is not a big city proposition any more than a small city proposition, that its strength and its victories are not peculiar to one section of the country more than to another, that the Guild's program as determined upon in our international Conventions, carried out temperately but firmly and persistently, achieves RESULTS.

We may still be unable at times to avoid strikes. We may still have long drawn out, anguishing battles on the picket line. But so long as our demands are reasonable and so long as we go out for them in "the Guild way," we can be assured of success.

However, the greatest lesson for this organization to be gleaned in Superior is that the Guild cannot afford to ignore for one minute what goes on in the labor movement as a whole.

LOCAL A. F. OF L. SUPPORTS GUILDSMEN

WE were promptly in Superior because the local affiliates of the American Federation of Labor refused to carry out the official splitting tactics of the parent body; and, equally important, because the CIO was ready with public support and a mass picket line. The local leaders of the AFOEL were close enough to their rank and file to place the interests of organized labor above the interests of the corrupt AFOEL officialdom. The local leaders knew that a Guild victory on the Evening Telegram would strengthen the base for better wages and conditions for all organized workers in that area. They thought this was more to the interest of labor than to play politics with the parasitic job-holders of the AFOEL, the knife-in-the-back boys who counsel union men to fight union men.

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The Guilds Are Going Places --- Here's How

Our Bargaining Policy Aims to Focus Unit's Maximum Strength In Parleys

BY NATHAN L. GOLDBERG

At a time when many a union leader advises his followers to pull in their horns, the Guild forges ahead. This issue of the GUILD REPORTER records a new strike victory in Superior, a contract in Jacksonville, Fla., that represents important progress in the South, and big improvements won under threat of a strike in Glendale, Cal. From week to week such reports have been flowing in, with a regularity that is almost monotonous. It is not immodest to say that Guild accomplishments have been remarkable. To what can they be attributed?

Externally, of course, there is the labor movement and the pressure latent in public support. Internally, the strength comes from sound basic policies and principles of bargaining which, on the one hand, enable a unit to exert its maximum pressure in obtaining improvements to benefit by, and in turn build up the standards of the whole American Newspaper Guild, and these will be discussed here.

THE UNIT'S PILLARS IN NEGOTIATIONS

Since the ultimate union achievement is the contract that guarantees and makes permanent the fruits of organization, a union's rules governing the negotiation of contracts may easily be the test of the organization's strength and soundness of structure.

Important as they are, the rules can be reduced to a few basic principles, as they are in the Constitution of the ANG. Their cardinal requirements are:

To establish a collective bargaining procedure which will protect the unit involved from employer retaliation for its members' firmness and aggressiveness.

To make available to the local engaged in bargaining the full strength of the international.

To provide a check upon weaker locals which will prevent employers from forcing upon them contracts that grant little or nothing, and, at the same time, set destructive precedents for other locals.

To make available to the unit involved ready access to the strike power, to be exercised through democratic process and upon consultation with the International headquarters.

The first principle in collective bargaining is the avoidance of any type of "company union" procedure, in fact or in spirit. The bargaining committee must be composed of "outsiders," of union members who are not employed by the man they will face across the conference table. Secondly, the unit members must understand that they are asking for improved wages and working conditions through their union because they were not able to get them in any other way. What they get, they will win only through the exercise of their collective economic strength which is inherent in the union. The benefits of and in a contract will not come to them on a silver platter. If their demands mean an increase in the employer's budget, the employer almost invariably will resist them, in one form or another. If better salaries and working hours were to come for the mere asking, it is logical to expect that not even the asking would be necessary; nor would the union be needed to do the asking.

WHY 'OUTSIDERS' DO THE TALKING

The ANG avoids anything smacking of company unionism in bargaining by requiring in its Constitution that the bargaining committee—which must number not less than three persons—shall not be members of the unit involved. The continued demands of employers for a law to protect them from "outsiders" in their dealings with their employees should be sufficient proof of the importance of this fundamental rule.

Obviously, the practice of having outside representatives protects the unit members from the retaliation that would result from aggressive bargaining; it shields them from the employer who tries to draw union members into private "conference," and from the other subtle forms of intimidation and intrigue that many employers try to bring into play to breed



Collective Bargaining: The improved way of asking the boss for a raise.

suspicion and discontent during the course of bargaining.

John D. Moore, a member of the New York State Labor Relations Board, gives emphatic expression to the desirability of "outsiders" in collective bargaining, in a chapter of the book, "Collective Bargaining for Today and Tomorrow," just published by Harper & Brothers:

"One great boon of collective bargaining is that the men have somebody to talk for them who cannot be fired by the boss. . . . In the same way, the union leader can come into the plant and say what he thinks without the fear of losing his job. That is why the men want representation from the outside and that is why the law gives it to them."

MASS OBSERVATION—A NEW PRACTICE

In Guild practice, the negotiating group is supplemented by a committee of observers chosen by the unit from its own membership. In recent months, too, collective bargaining has been carried out in a theatre of operations open to the entire membership of the unit. This innovation can be most effective, especially if the groups are so placed that the employer literally must face his own employees. It gives the unreasonable publisher—the kind who makes ridiculous proposals and then passes word around that he was "misquoted by the agitators"—in a spot where he must talk sense or admit the truth, that he does not want to bargain in good faith. It destroys his chances of dragging on futile discussions for months and wearing down the unit to the point of dropping the whole business.

In one-paper towns, distant from other Guilds, where the local Guild is composed of only one unit, the problem of obtaining outsiders for bargaining has been met by drawing upon the local labor movement. Able, experienced men are available from local central bodies and from the regional and field offices of the Committee for Industrial Organization. It does not follow, however, that a Guild may walk into the nearest labor union headquarters and pick up on sight the first leader there.

Generally speaking, it is true that the process of negotiating a union contract is the same in any industry. The Guild follows broad lines in its bargaining; its membership asks what it considers should be the minimum in salaries and working conditions, and such a request allows no room for prolonged discussions on "special conditions" that prevail in the newspaper publishing industry. Thus, while it may seem that any experienced union leader will do, care must be exercised in the choice of a negotiator from among the local labor leadership. He should be a man who has not been stewed too long in the juice of the old AFOEL unionism—that kind that allows a business agent to take a draft contract, bargain for the "best" he thinks can be had, sign it, and bring it back to the membership with the word, "here it is, ratify it." The Guild local seeking such help should be certain that its mentor thoroughly understands the Guild's strict adherence to democratic procedure in bargaining. Also, it is essential that he understands Guild policy, particularly as regards the differences between this policy and the practices of some unions. The Guild's major objection to arbitration provisions in contracts, for instance, is not clearly understood by some leaders of unions which have accepted arbitration clauses after their industries were completely organized and signed up.

NEGOTIATORS KEEP THE UNIT INFORMED

While it is important that the actual bargaining across the table be done for the unit by "outsiders," it is equally important, and a standard part of Guild practice that the unit be kept constantly informed. This is done by means of frequent reports to unit meetings and, for large units, by the publication of shop papers. In this way all the members know what the publisher is doing and the negotiators know exactly how far to go in pressing for improvements.

The contract proposals themselves, put forward by some locals in the course of their first negotiations, have sometimes led to regrets. Such proposals are the ones born of inexperience and based on the belief that the Guild should demonstrate its give-and-take spirit to the boss, who long ago learned to look out for his own interests. To protect such locals against their own weaknesses, as well as

to maintain the bargaining position of Guilds elsewhere, the International Constitution rules that all draft contracts must be examined by the International Executive Board 15 days in advance of their submission to the employer, and that final drafts must be submitted for approval at least ten days before they are signed.

Any negotiator who has seen a publisher pull a contract signed by the Podunk Guild from his desk drawer and say, "Well, the ANPA sends me this copy and it says that Podunk was willing to go along without overtime and sick leave," will know the value of an IEB checkrein upon local contracts.

BARGAINING RULES ARE A PROTECTION

Moreover, this check has a two-fold effect. It not only provides a wall of protection for all ANG locals against bad precedent, but it is an additional protection to the unit directly involved, in preventing a publisher from forcing it to accept a bad contract. A bargaining committee can effectively stop such a maneuver by merely saying that it cannot legally sign a contract that does not have the full approval of the international union.

All of the rules and checks are for the protection of the membership. If followed, they make it possible for the unit and the bargaining committee to maintain a sound tactical position throughout the negotiations campaign. If matters do not go their way, they can withdraw from the bargaining without loss of strength or prestige, and await a more propitious time for resumption.

If, however, the unit or local is in imminent danger of destruction as the result of an arbitrary refusal to bargain or through wholesale firing, it has resort to the strike for its immediate protection. To this weapon the unit, through the local Guild governing body, has free access. The ANG Constitution provides merely that the IEB be kept fully informed of the events leading up to the strike. The strike action itself needs no "sanction" from any International officer and has no strings beyond the reasonable requirement that the local consult fully with the International before calling the strike. Thus the unit's strategic position remains unimpaired throughout the bargaining. The employer knows at all times that if his employees call a strike it will stick.

MAXIMUM POWER IS THE GOAL

The only restrictions placed upon the local, it can be seen, are those which seek to impel it to get the best possible contract. To do this, the local is left free to use, by exercise of democratic processes, every economic power at its command. And its economic power is great, sometimes far greater than the unit members themselves know.

Intelligently aware of this power, the bargaining committee can go ahead with its job without any mistaken notions over the need for clever maneuvering in negotiations. The committee has a set of demands it knows to be fair, and it has a strong group of people backing them up. The only need is to properly gauge the unit's strength and proceed with the simple task of telling the publisher what's wanted. The rest is up to the unit and, ultimately, to the power it draws from its own organization and the labor movement of which it is part.

Labor Might Have Balked Slump -- F. D. R.

WASHINGTON (FP)—In an hour-long press conference believed designed to reassure business as to the monetary policies of his administration, President Roosevelt declared that his program seeks a "balanced system of prices such as will promote a balanced expansion in production."

Inferentially the President said that had trade unions pressed for wage increases in 1935 and the first half of 1936 industry would have been more stable and the slump might not have been as sharp. As it was, he said, wages took a sudden spurt between October, 1936, and July, 1937, and industry was compelled to absorb increased costs all at once.

The President's statement, prepared by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, Secretary of Labor Perkins and Federal Reserve Board chairman Eccles, was read to newsmen shortly after the Treasury announced that some of the gold which had been "sterilized" by the government was to be released to provide credit facilities.

Reiterated was the President's stand against wage cuts. He declared that increased production rather than wage reductions is the way to lower costs. Supporting his contention he cited figures showing that industrial labor earned 24% more on an hourly basis in 1936 than in 1932 but that labor costs in 1936 were only 4% higher per unit of production due to increased labor efficiency.

Asked whether he thought wages rose too fast in 1937 the President replied that the earnings of industrial workers rose from 57 cents an hour to 65 cents an hour between October, 1936, and July, 1937. This, he commented, was due to the failure of industry to give wage increases as production and profits increased and that too often industry waits until the last possible moment before granting such increases.

The President did not specify what the "last possible moment" is but it was assumed that he meant until industry felt that it could no longer stall off the demands of the unions for better wages.

Locals Get Draft of By-Laws

A tentative draft of a set of local by-laws, designed to carry out the decisions of the St. Louis Convention in respect to operating local by-laws, has been mailed to all locals by ANG headquarters.

A covering letter from Secretary-Treasurer Pasche pointed out that the IEB meeting in March would consider adoption of model by-laws, and asked locals to send in promptly their criticisms and suggestions in respect to the draft.

Under the convention decision, local by-laws are designed to supplement the application of the ANG constitution, and an effort has been made to avoid duplicating provisions of that constitution, and to limit the by-laws to setting up local machinery under the constitution. Provisions of local by-laws are regulated by the ANG constitution, the mandatory requirements set up by the convention, and an IEB statement of policy on unit structure in respect to new departments, formulated July 25, 1937, on instructions of the convention.

The machinery set up by the draft by-laws aims at the average of the problems faced by Guilds of varying sizes, and the covering letter points out that details and figures on quorums, representation, etc., will have to be varied by individual locals.

Sets Up Governing Body
In line with the practice in the great majority of locals, the proposed by-laws set up a single governing body, the executive committee, consisting of officers elected at large and of unit delegates. Article I specifies that the membership meeting is the supreme authority of the local, but gives the executive committee authority to act on behalf of the membership between meetings "except that the executive committee shall make no decision permanently establishing or affecting the general policies of the local."

Under the proposed draft all nominations for local office would be made in membership meetings.

2 Guilds Donate \$75 for Bayonne

Seventy-five dollars has been added to the sums voluntarily contributed by local Guilds to aid the Bayonne strikers. A donation of \$50 was made by the Bayonne Guild. The Detroit Guild, which has a long record of generous strike contributions, has sent in \$25.

Look Who's a Striker

Girdler Agent 'Sits Down' in Taproom

WASHINGTON (FP)—Staid and conservative Washingtonians were virtually certain that the revolution about which they love to talk is practically around the corner when they witnessed the spectacle of San Jones, who has been publicity man for Tom Girdler and the Republican National Committee, sitting down and leading a sitdown strike here.

The strike took place in the bar of the more or less exclusive National Press Club and concerned a bartender who was suspended for a week for continuing to issue free drinks after having been warned by the president of the club. Sitdowners, consisting in the main of high priced attorneys for reactionary organizations, lobbyists for big corporations, and publicity men, installed themselves in the taproom, fortified with alien liquor, and proceeded to mail anyone attempting to obtain a drink at the bar.

Illustrating the depth to which the "alien propaganda of the sit-down" saturated is the history of Sam Jones, the leader and instigator of the taproom strike. Jones first came to public attention

Who's Loony Now?... '38 Version

Guildsman Bernard Explains Asylum Stunt

By ALLEN BERNARD
There's a heavy adage that all newspapermen are nuts.

Maybe that's why I didn't have any trouble breaking into an insane asylum for a story—and maybe that's why I had such a hell of a time getting out.

City Editor Amster Spiro first got the idea some months ago. *Guildsman Bernard's expose of conditions at the Rockland Hospital began running in the Journal and American on Feb. 14. He began writing the series after regaining—in a sanitarium where folks rest—some of the eight pounds he lost during his 15 days at Rockland.*

When he had received numerous complaints from former patients about conditions at Rockland State Hospital at Orangeburg, N. Y., one of the "model" institutions in the country.

It sounded like a good assignment to me. Before I left I took the precaution of being examined by two psychiatrists, both of whom pronounced me sane. (One was a friend.)

I went up to Rockland with a young lady who introduced herself as my "sister" Mary. I was Allen Carlin, unemployed shipping clerk, depressed because I had no job. I had also (said Mary) attempted

suicide. I sat around with my chin in my hands and looked as depressed as possible throughout the interview with the admitting physician. Punch line, as reported elsewhere, was when he asked me if I heard voices. I looked up very sadly and said: "Mary speaks to me—sometimes."

There was no doubt about my being admitted after that. After I got in I had no trouble persuading two other doctors who examined me that I was fit for (no pun) for the Rockland hearth. As a matter of fact, after the second day I stopped acting—and nobody knew the difference.

Not only that, but ten days later, when I sent in the required notice asking for permission to leave, I found that they had me down as a "dangerous man" with a "persecution mania" and "schizoid (dementia praecox) features." For the last they were going to give me the insulin or the metrazol treatment. The first brings on unconsciousness through shock, the second brings about convulsions.

I got out first, and they got the shock when Leonard (What big ears you have, granddaddy) Lyons of a rival (New York Post) paper, "Time magazine" (see footnote) and a few other papers got wind

of the story, and called Dr. Blaisdell, superintendent, to verify it. Nyah, nyah, nyah, who's loony now?

Oh, yes. The "persecution" stuff was because I complained about the food, which was lousy. I escaped only because Rockland threatened to have me committed if I didn't withdraw my notice, and I guess the Journal and American was afraid of repercussions.

After Spiro got through laughing when he found out they wanted to keep me, he sent Bob Levitt, perennial congregate of the staff, up to Rockland with a neurologist, and they "sprang" me, to use a colloquialism.

Went to Find Out
I went up to find out: (1) How easy it is to take insanity in a State institution; (2) How are conditions there; (3) How hard is it to get out. I guess you can guess the answers from the above. And that's about all, I guess, except that I got back just in time, when lunacy commissions and insanity in general was being spread all over the front pages. I guess everyone, especially myself, has been surprised at the interest that this stunt (first pulled by Nellie Bly in the '80s, I think) aroused.

(Note to editor: Don't put Leonard Lyons' name too close to Time—they're feeding right now.)

Frisco Talks in Full Swing

SAN FRANCISCO—Negotiations were in full swing last week here for editorial and commercial department employees of all papers.

After holding ten meetings with the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Publishers' Association, on behalf of editorial employees, the Guild negotiating committee insisted that subsequent meetings be devoted to negotiations for commercial employees, so that bargaining for this group could be conducted concurrently with that for the editorial department.

The committee's demand followed adoption, at a general membership meeting preceding the meeting with the publishers, of a resolution criticizing the publishers for delaying commercial department negotiations and insisting that the next meeting be for this group. The resolution said in part:

"Resolved, that the entire membership of the Northern California Newspaper Guild stand solidly together in its demand for genuine collective bargaining for all members, the bargaining to be carried on simultaneously, speedily and in good faith."

Business Office Demands
Since this action, meetings with the publishers have been confined to bargaining for business office and classified departments. Two meetings have been held on business office demands and one on those of the classified departments. Another meeting for each department has been scheduled. It is hoped that by then negotiations for these departments will have been brought up to the point reached for the editorial departments. From then on meetings for the various departments will be held concurrently.

Discussions for the commercial departments thus far have centered on general clauses of the contract. Particular emphasis is being placed by the Guild on the application of all general clauses to all members of the Guild, regardless of the department in which they work. In their counter-proposal to both business office and classified advertising demands, the publishers have sought to discriminate against commercial workers as far as the 5-day 40-hour week and dismissal pay provisions are concerned. Having already agreed to the 5-day 40-hour week for editorial department employees, they are seeking a 6-day 40-hour week for business office and inside classified employees. In the case of outside classified employees, the publishers ask for a 6-day 48-hour week. While the publishers have offered editorial department employees severance pay up to a total of 26 weeks' pay, they are offering only two weeks' pay to the other departments.

DETROIT IN DETROIT
DETROIT—Paul Weber, Times unit chairman, was elected president here. Other officers are Leonard Gozard, Times business office division, vice-president; Edwin Scott, Times secretary; and William Fanning, Free Press, treasurer.

Pittsburgh Press
Protests Growing
PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Three more unions in this area have adopted resolutions calling upon the Pittsburgh Press to dissolve its Association of Editorial Writers, an alleged company union, and restore to the Guild, without double dealing and rumpus. The others attacking the Pittsburgh Press are the Leechburg Lodge, SWOC, and the Kiski Allegheny Valley Labor Union.

HERE ARE THE ANSWERS
The answers to employer arguments for regulation of labor unions contained in a speech by Edwin S. Smith, member of the NLRB, and printed in part in the GUILD REPORTER of Jan. 31, may be obtained in pamphlet form from the International Juridical Association, 100 Fifth Ave., New York City, for ten cents a copy. There is a reduced rate for large quantities. The title is "The Demand for Regulation of Labor Unions" by Edwin S. Smith. This, an exceptionally fine analysis which many will want, shows the loopholes in the plans of employer groups against signed contracts and for union incorporation and amendment in the National Labor Relations Act.

Wire Men Score Union 'Busting'

WASHINGTON—The decision of the National Labor Relations Board on the appeal for an election among Postal Telegraph Company employees was denounced as "union busting" in a statement by Mervyn Rathbone, president of the American Radio Telegraphists' Association, CIO affiliate.

The decision excluded from the vote four states and four cities in which AFOFL unions have agreements with the Postal Telegraph Company.

In effect, the Board barred from the election those cities in which the union had an opportunity to win nation-wide representation.

The union notified the Board that it would not participate in any election held under such terms.

Rathbone's protest stated that the union was wholly in favor of the National Labor Relations Act but that it was opposed to "maladministration of this type."

Labor's Split Beclouded Primary in Seattle

Real Test Will Come in March Elections

SEATTLE—Conscious of the fact that the entire nation was looking on with deep interest, Seattle voters in their municipal primary last week gave the Beck-Dore machine the thumping of its career. At the same time, the vote demonstrated the damaging effect of the current split in labor.

Mayor John F. Dore, who openly boasted that he submitted to the rule of Dave Beck, boss of the Teamsters' Union and the AFOFL's generalissimo in the war against the CIO, was eliminated from the contest for mayor. He received 21,869 votes. Arthur B. Langlie, open shop advocate and candidate of Seattle big business, was top man with 59,598 votes. Lieutenant-Governor Victor Meyers, who had the support of the CIO and progressive AFOFL unions, will oppose Langlie in the election March 8. Meyers received 27,203 votes.

Their Relative Strength
The labor split beclouds estimates of the relative strength of Langlie and Meyers. The actual showing between the progressive and Beck votes came in the councilmanic race, where James T. Sullivan and Michael B. Smith, progressive candidates with labor support, were nominated, running high on the ticket with 29,978 and 27,098, respectively, in a field of eight. Basil Gray, Beck's candidate, lost out with 19,448 votes. Other Beck candidates ran far down the list.

Mrs. F. F. Powell, who had the unasked support of the progressive Washington Commonwealth Federation, led the field. The progressive forces are now fighting for a coalition to defeat the efforts of Beck to place his waning labor support behind Langlie.

Meanwhile, Beck's fading dictatorship is suffering new blows. Three men, identified as AFOFL agents in the fight against the CIO in the Northwest, have pleaded guilty at Dallas, Ore., to arson charges arising from the firing of a box factory and lumber yard with a loss of \$130,000. They are Ernest Carson, John Newlands and Cecil Moore. Al Rosser, the Portland, Oregon, teamster boss, is also being held on arson charges, awaiting grand jury action.

Deputy District Attorney Potts said that Rosser and two others were named in confessions of the guilty trio. The three said they got \$105 for firing the plant, where employees had resisted efforts of the AFOFL to win them away from the CIO woodworkers' union.

HOW THE PAPERS SAW SEATTLE ISSUES

The Seattle municipal primary was indeed a center of interest for the nation, if editorials and news stories—carried throughout the country—were any indication. There was a certain amount of distortion before the primary, and a certain amount of chortling after the primary. Few noted that the combined Meyers-Dore vote came within about 500 of Langlie's.

The New York Herald Tribune, in a lead editorial on Feb. 24, characterized the corrupt Beck-Dore combine as a "labor administration," and said the Dore and Meyers received was a repudiation of "both labor factions."

Without a Blush
The feature writers went wild in the pre-election stories. The New York Times Sunday magazine section, for example pictured Lieutenant-Governor Meyers, a former band leader, as a low comedian who campaigned by strolling through the city clad as Mahatma Gandhi, etc. The Times' department of distortion, however, wasn't clicking, for page 22 of the news on one or two occasions.

PLANNING 'A HOME' ON \$1.97 WAGE

On Other Labor Fronts

Renewal of Big Steel Pact Spurs SWOC Drive

Labor Scores Victory in Battle Against Wage Cuts

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio (FP)—Steel organizers see two big gains from the renewal of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee's agreement with U. S. Steel. They are not worried about the so-called escape clause that lets either side reopen the wage question and force a showdown in 20 days at any time. Nor are they worried about the lack of a definite term for the agreement to run.

The big victory for union labor in general is that U. S. Steel did not join the procession of would-be wage cutters. Its willingness to stand pat prevented thousands of other employers from going ahead with wage slashing demands, the steel organizers maintain.

But for steel labor itself the real fruit of the agreement is the breathing spell it affords the SWOC to line up the remaining steel workers into the union and to train those already enrolled in the ways of unionism. Many thousands of steel workers, a SWOC higher-up says, had been hesitating to join because they didn't know what U. S. Steel was going to do when the agreement expired Feb. 28. If Big Steel was going to buck the new union it would be safer not to stick out your neck.

THEATRICAL MERGER?
Reports reaching New York that the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees in executive committee meeting in San Antonio, Texas, had moved to extend its jurisdiction over all theatrical employees from manager to porter were received by officials of the Associated Actors & Artists of America as merely confirmatory of rumors circulating in the industry for months.

Prevailing comment indicated that actors and entertainers' unions affiliated with the I.A.A.A. would fight any attempt toward a merger. Acting President Burgess Meredith of Actors Equity told the Federated Press: "There is no cause to become indignant at this time." Though disclaiming any prejudice in the matter, he declared: "We ought to listen to every proposition. What the organization will do, I don't know."

President George F. Browne of the I.A.T.S.E., with a membership of 60,000, is one of the most strongly entrenched unions in the country.

INSURANCE DRIVE
Lewis Merrill, President of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, urges the AFOFL to make common cause with the CIO and the nation's policyholders in the drive to establish collective bargaining rights in the giant insurance companies.

Appealing also to all policyholders to co-operate with labor, Merrill revealed that the major insurance companies are using policyholders' funds, largely made up of the nickels and dimes of wage earners, to fight workers' organization.

"As in the case of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York, workers' money is being used to finance company unions and to pay the printing bills for anti-union literature," Merrill said. "Yet, most insurance companies are mutual companies supposedly reflecting the views of the policyholders."

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS!

Chicago Unit Presses Demands

CHICAGO—Faced by Publisher S. E. Thomson's open refusal, "unless compelled," to sign any sort of contract with the Guild, coupled with his defiant challenge to fight if the Guild continued to attempt non-editorial organization, the Chicago Times unit has voted to push its contract demands.

In the largest meeting of the unit in almost a year, a move to establish a WPA project for unemployment negotiations and, in effect, to be content with the recent unilateral statement which raised wages some \$31,000 annually after official bargaining request, was voted down by a 29 to 25 vote to demand a full contract "at least as good as those on the Chicago Hearst papers."

LOCAL AIDS JOBLESS
SAN FRANCISCO—The Unemployment Committee of the Northern California Guild is helping to establish a WPA project for unemployed San Francisco newspapermen. The project, drawn up by members of the freelance unit, has received the approval of local WPA officials and is expected to employ several scores unemployed newspapermen. The Guild Unemployment Committee is also cooperating the Trade Unions Unemployed Relief Council in obtaining relief for needy union members.

PAY YOUR DUES THEY BUILD THE GUILD!
section of the same edition reported that:

"Meyers... won wide attention in 1932 when he put on a comedy campaign for mayor... The publicity made him lieutenant-governor two years later. Meyers acquitted himself creditably at the State Capitol and, dropping all clowning, has conducted his present campaign in bitter seriousness."

The magazine story, after describing Meyers' "clowning," added this tidbit:

"Yet Meyers is backed by wiry Harry Bridges, militant maritime labor strategist now under fire in Washington, who predicts the ultimate end of the employing class in America. It has been a mad campaign..."

In Seattle itself, where the red herring didn't work so well, and distortion was useless, the Seattle Times tried silence. The name of Meyers wasn't even included in the list of candidates for mayor printed the day after the filings closed. Throughout the campaign that paper boycotted Meyers' name. Commemorative candidates Smith and Sullivan were mentioned, but only on one or two occasions.

These Products Are UNFAIR

The following are unfair to the Bayonne strikers:
"Montgomery-Ward stores
Schenley's liquor
Bond bread
Camay soap
Camel cigarettes
Chesterfield cigarettes
Armo washing powder
Unfair to other unions:
Kohler Co., Kohler, Wis.
Curlee Clothing Co., St. Louis
Hop God Brewery, Vancouver, Wash.

"Montgomery-Ward placed a large job-printing order with the Bayonne Times despite the fact that the company knew a strike was in progress."

WHITE COLLAR PARTY
BOSTON—The Boston "Council of White-collar Unions," an alliance of clerical and professional unions of the CIO, will hold a "house-warming" party about April 1 to celebrate the housing of the Boston Guild and two other unions on "Newspaper Row."

The unions taking joint quarters with the Guild are the Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians, and the United Office and Professional Workers.

EX-GUILDSMAN GETS POST
HARRISBURG, Pa.—James J. Jennings, former newspaper columnist and a charter member of the Wilkes-Barre Newspaper Guild, has been appointed director of public information in Pennsylvania's Division of Unemployment Compensation and Employment Service.

His appointment was made on the basis of his rating in the state-wide civil service examinations.

For several years Jennings conducted the Morning Musings column and wrote politics for the Wilkes-Barre Record.

Most of Them Air News From Handouts
A study of publicity methods analyzing the relationships between radio editors and their news sources, mainly radio station publicity, has just been made public by The Billboard, periodical of the entertainment industry.

Opinions submitted by 149 radio editors throughout the country indicate that radio editors depend mainly upon publicity releases for their departments and, in particular, upon the press services of NBC and CBS chains, which are far superior, in their opinion, to that of the independent stations, advertising agency handouts which are adequate, and agents of the performers themselves.

An enormous amount of duplication is found in copy emanating from different sources, between 25 and 50 per cent of material submitted. Billboard finds that remarkably few radio-affiliated newspapers impose restrictions on other stations' copy. The chief complaint of the editors is the lateness of copy and of program listing.

Whereas 75 editors approved the publicity methods of the chains as against 35 disapprovals, 99 sug-

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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Bugs Are Out

LAST YEAR'S bargaining experiences are showing their effects in this year's efforts. Many Guilds have consolidated their organizations, and have strengthened their bargaining positions through the addition of the commercial department workers to the ranks of the Guild. They have had a year to study the operation of their first contracts and to bide the time for improvement.

Particularly notable are the contract renewals with the Toledo Blade, Toledo News-Bee and Boston Herald-Traveler. These show the progress possible with good bargaining and unit action. The Blade and Herald-Traveler contracts eliminate the "bugs" and insufficiencies of last year's contracts. The Herald-Traveler contract has notable advances in pay minimums.

Most of the renewals reaching international headquarters, too, have marked improvements in the clauses providing basic union protection.

These accomplishments demonstrate the justice behind the principle that "depressions" have no bearing on the right of workers to decent minimum pay and working conditions. The local Guilds can forge ahead—and should!

ASNE Seeks Justice

BEHIND closed doors on Friday, April 22, the American Society of Newspaper Editors is to hold an executive session "at which criticism directed against newspapers will be taken up and steps to combat unjust criticism will be considered." This is the part of our "learned society's" annual three-day junket to Washington that President A. H. Kirchhofer says, in the ASNE Bulletin of Feb. 15, "promises to be the high-light of the meeting."

On the remote chance that the Society may wish to discuss something other than impudent criticisms by the uninforming, we wish to offer the three following views, each that of an experienced newspaperman of some standing, the justice of which the ASNE may weigh:

William Allen White, Editor of the *Emporia* (Kansas) *Gazette*, has said on many occasions that the real threat to freedom of the press in the United States is offered by "the newspaper publishers themselves," that it consists of the "unconscious class-consciousness of the man who runs the paper." He elaborates this accusation:

Too often the publisher of an American newspaper has made his money in some other calling than journalism. He is a rich man seeking power and prestige. He has the country club complex. The business manager of this absentee owner quickly is afflicted with the country club point of view. Soon the managing editor's wife puts him in the country club, and then the city editor's wife nags him into it. And they all get the unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth. Therefore it is hard to get a modern American newspaper to go the distance necessary to print all the news about many topics.

Marco Morrow, Assistant Publisher of the *Capper Publications*, noted recently, according to *Editor & Publisher*, that publishers are now "honest enough not to call themselves journalists any more." And then he added, "Sometimes I wonder if, in the evolution of the newspaper from an organ of opinion to an organ of information, we are not going a little too far in making it an organ of entertainment." Entertainment, Mr. Mor-

row also might have added but was not quoted by *Editor & Publisher* as having said, is a cheaper way of selling newspapers than paying for adequate local news coverage and a safer way of maintaining circulation than representing readers' political and economic interests.

And, thirdly, William Randolph Hearst some fourteen years ago had something to say that is still pertinent in answer to the question, "Is the political influence of the American press, in general, declining or increasing, and why?" He replied, according to *Editor & Publisher*:

I rather think that the influence of the American press is on the whole declining. This, I believe, is because so many newspapers are owned or influenced by reactionary interests and predatory corporations, and are used selfishly, to promote the welfare of these reactionary interests, rather than the welfare of the public. This tends to weaken the confidence of the public in all newspapers more or less.

Perhaps Arthur Robb of *Editor & Publisher* will pave the way for ASNE by explaining away these belly blows by members of the craft. That would be more fun, after all, than blaming the present state of American journalism on the imperfection of our school system. He wound up such a rationalization in his Feb. 19 issue with the profound observation that the "big job of the press and the school is not to deplore big business as a foe of society; it is to make it society's friend."

The Labor Board

HONEST critics of the National Labor Relations Board are at great disadvantage and frequently hold their tongues lest it be thought that they have anything in common with William Green, Roy Howard, Tom Girdler, Senator Burke and others who misrepresent the Board's activities with the hope of discrediting it, rendering it ineffective, and ultimately destroying the Wagner Act itself.

Decisions by the national Board in Guild cases have been fair and equitable, though of some regional directors we must say less. We realize that the delays in the machinery which work to the advantage of employers and encourage intimidation are primarily chargeable to those irresponsible Congressmen who haven't the courage to attack either the law or the Board openly but who are trying to wreck it from within by sniping and chiseling on appropriations. We are well aware of the handicaps under which the Board is operating.

We furthermore applaud the Board for its courage in outlawing contracts made over the heads of workers and without reference to their wishes by employers and unscrupulous labor leaders. The Board is to be commended for its disregard of the pious bilge about "sanctity of contract" which was set up even in the "liberal" press over these decisions.

Nevertheless we are alarmed by the recent decision in which the Board virtually insisted upon the cancellation of provisions of a contract which it admits is valid and which was overwhelmingly ratified by thousands of Postal Telegraph employees in a referendum vote by their union, the American Radio Telegraphists Association. These provisions give preference to union members in economy dismissals and are of tremendous importance to these employees who are harassed by the ruthlessness of a bankrupt employer.

If this decision is to become a precedent, honest trade unionists will be forced to conclude that the Board can be pushed around successfully by a combination of employers and moss-backed misleaders of labor with titles but with no membership among the employees affected.

Of certain regional directors the most generous criticism to be made is that they are spineless and thoroughly intimidated by local newspaper management. In this category come such as Leonard C. Bajork of Chicago, who stalled for months in the face of clear proof of unfair labor practices by the Chicago Times and the Chicago Tribune instead of bringing them up on charges. Bajork finally had to be practically kicked into action by the Board in Washington after Guild complaints.

On Nov. 13, the Guild filed charges with Major Stanley Root, the regional director in Philadelphia, citing violations by a Wilkes-Barre publisher. Root has merely placed the charges "on file" and has made no investigation and no attempt to hold a conference so far as Guild inquiries disclose. He says now that he "thought things were being settled."

Dr. Towne Nylander in Los Angeles has shown a willingness to proceed in cases of newspapers not too influential and far enough away from his headquarters, but he has persistently refused to issue complaints against any of four Los Angeles daily papers. Appeals on these refusals are now pending before the national Board.

In any event we should clearly understand the pressure constantly being exerted against the Labor Board and its officers, whether through political channels or through the newspapers' silence or misrepresentation. Only the same pressure that was put on the Supreme Court to keep the Wagner Act on the books will prevent the enemies of the labor movement from driving the men who administer the Act either out of office or into collapse—either of which would suit their enemies.

So it is well to remember that we should avoid going to the Board for the defense of rights which can be protected more effectively on the picket line.

In the last analysis, nothing takes the place of our own strength, unity and determination.

Hague Sees Red

"As long as I am Mayor of this city the great industries of the city are secure. We hear about constitutional rights, free speech and the free press. Every time I hear these words I say to myself, 'that man is a Red, that man is a Communist.' You never heard a real American talk in that manner." Mayor Frank Hague, in an address before the Jersey City Chamber of Commerce, Jan. 12, 1938, as quoted by the *New York Post*.

Strikers ARE Employees

Court Rules That Workers Who Walk Out in Disputes Retain Their Full Rights

Recognition of the right of strikers to retain their status as employees is asserted in an important decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, upholding a National Labor Relations Board order for reinstatement with backpay of 35 members of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association.

The engineers struck against the Black Diamond Steamship Line in November, 1936.

The dispute went before the NLRB, which ordered the company to reinstate the engineers and bargain with the union. The company appealed to the U. S. Circuit Court for review. In upholding the NLRB, the court said: "Under the (Wagner) act, men who cease working because of a labor dispute or because of an unfair labor practice retain the status of employees." Here are the significant portions of the court's opinion:

THE dominant purpose of the National Labor Relations Act according to Section 1 is to safeguard the flow of interstate commerce by protecting the right of employees "to organize and bargain collectively" and by giving workers full freedom of association for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment.

The act is not calculated to force adjustments of disputes and each party to a labor controversy is left to use its own economic strength in all lawful ways to promote its advantage. The method devised by the act to prevent the interruption of the flow of interstate commerce by labor disputes is to insure collective bargaining through untrammelled representation of employees through representatives of their own choice.

RESTORING 'STATUS QUO'

The employees can only invoke the act to bring this about: (1) by electing their bargaining representatives under supervision of the Board if those who represent them are, as here found by the Board to be in doubt; (2) by restraining interference with their rights to bargain and by restraining other unfair or discriminatory labor practices, and (3) by obtaining reinstatement with or without backpay of employees who have been subjected to any unfair labor practice.

The act so far as reinstatement is concerned only applies after there has been an unfair labor practice. As we have said in the opinion in *National Labor Relations Board v. Remington Rand Co., Inc.*, to be filed herewith: "the powers granted the Board under P 10 (c) are only remedial; they are designed to enable it to restore the status quo as nearly as possible, had the wrong not been committed; further may it not go."

So long as the bargaining agency was doubtful and the election was being held by order of the Board the parties were left to their relative economic advantages and were without remedies under the act. After December 14, 1936, to refuse to bargain and to refuse to reinstate those engineers who were entitled to reinstatement were unfair labor practices under Section 8 (1) (3) and (5) of the Act.

Under the act men who cease working because of a labor dispute or because of an unfair labor practice retain the status of employees. How long this continues is not made clear. But it is not necessary to decide the point here. All engineers were employed under the act, having left work in consequence of labor disputes. But having done so before any labor practice, they were relying, and were only entitled to rely, upon a test of economic strength. They struck at a time when the Board was conducting an election. Since the act expressly leaves the right to strike unaffected, any remedies they had were unaffected by continuing on strike. When, on December 14, 1936, the Black Diamond refused to bargain with the certified bargaining agent of its employees, it violated the act and became subject to such orders of the Board "as will effectuate the policies of this Act." Section 10 (c).

VULNERABLE RIGHTS

From the date of the respondent's first unfair practice, its ordinary right to select its employees became vulnerable. Accordingly it was proper for the Board to order it to discharge all engineers hired for the first time since December 14, 1936, and to offer reinstatement first to those striking engineers whose former positions were open, and then to the other striking engineers if, for any reason, any man entitled to reinstatement refused to accept it. To those men so reinstated the company must also give backpay. This is the extent of the order.

Counsel for the Black Diamond argue that the order of the Board, as applied to this case, if justified by the act, would contravene the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution, because it requires reinstatement of men who left the company's employ voluntarily and the discharge of those hired to take their places. They say that in the Supreme Court's recent decisions sustaining the Wagner Act the persons reinstated had been discharged because of union membership or activities, whereas here the severance of relations was voluntary. But under Section 2 (3) of the act the striking engineers still remained employees, and to "effectuate the policies of this act" no more is done than to maintain the status quo which existed on December 14, 1936, as against unfair labor practices which occurred thereafter. The facts bring the case within the rule established in *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1, and the other Supreme Court decisions.