

The GUILD REPORTER

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N.J. Court Upholds Guild in Ouster

NEWARK, N. J.—The expulsion of Jacob Moglever, city editor of the Newark Ledger, by the Newark Newspaper Guild, was upheld by the Court of Errors and Appeals, highest court in the state, in Trenton on May 11, in an opinion confirming the fairness of the ANG's trial procedure and its fundamental policy of excluding from membership persons whose interests are held by the Guild to lie with the employer as against the employees.

The decision has an important bearing on trade union disciplinary methods, in view of the fact that this is the first case in New Jersey where an expulsion from a union has been upheld in the courts.

Moglever, who was one of the Ledger strikers, was ordered by the local executive committee to resign his membership in 1936. He had become city editor of the Ledger, and the committee found that his interests lay with the employer, as evidenced by Moglever's conduct in a long series of meetings during negotiations with Publisher S. I. Newhouse on behalf of the Ledger unit. Moglever refused to resign and was expelled by a Guild trial board which, after long hearings, confirmed the finding that his interests lay with the publisher. After appealing unsuccessfully to the general membership, Moglever skipped the remaining appeal processes in the Guild Constitution and took his case to the courts.

Fahy Sidelight
A sidelight to the case came in the firing of Agnes Fahy, local Guild president, from the Ledger, the day following the signing of a Chancery Court decree upholding the Guild. Miss Fahy was one of the prime movers for Moglever's expulsion. Her Labor Board complaint is pending.

A. I. Isserman, Guild attorney, said that his work on the litigation revealed that the Moglever case was the first in which the expulsion of a member by a union was upheld in New Jersey courts. There have been many such appeals, but in each the appellant was ordered reinstated by the courts on the ground that the unions' trial and appeal procedure was "futile, illusory and vain."

Moglever's attorney seized upon (Continued on Page Four)

A.N.P.A. SEEKS \$50,000 TO FIGHT GUILD

Stahlman Appeals For 'War Chest' At Duluth

James G. Stahlman, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, has wired leading newspaper publishers of the country appeals for contributions to a \$50,000 fund to aid the Ridder brothers beat the Guild strike in Duluth, it was learned last week on reliable authority.

Stahlman sent out long, two-page telegrams, reporting that the Duluth Herald and News-Tribune, closed by the strike since April 8, were at the end of their financial rope and sure to lose unless quickly aided. He warned that if the Guild won the Duluth strike,

Publisher's Veto Halts Duluth Talks

DULUTH, Minn.—Weeks of conferences seeking to settle the Duluth Herald and News-Tribune strike were broken off last week as J. H. Jordan, local publisher for the Ridder brothers, turned down a compromise proposal made by United States Labor Conciliator Frank Wenig.

Wenig's proposal, which had not been submitted to the Guild before its presentation to the publisher, suggested arbitration of wage minimums, and contained a compromise job security clause, 5-day 40-hour week, unqualified dismissal indemnity, and Guild shop in editorial and all commercial departments except advertising, where the present membership would be "frozen."

Reported efforts of the ANPA to raise a defense fund for the strike were broken off last week as the Ridder brothers believed to have decided Jordan's attitude. He now refuses to consider salary increases beyond a few adjustments, or proposals for a modified form of Guild shop, adequate job or wage protection for the returning strikers, a general 5-day 40-hour week, or unqualified dismissal indemnity. A week earlier Jordan reneged on a series of offers he had made in conferences with a state mediation board.

The printing trades unions were to confer with teamster union officers late last week to consider (Continued on Page Four)

LET TORONTO KNOW YOU ARE COMING

Guilds sending delegates to the ANG Convention at Toronto are asked to notify the Convention Committee of the number of delegates who will be present. Early reports sent to the Newspaper Guild of Toronto, King Edward Hotel or 314 Manning Chambers, will be appreciated.

It would be strengthened over a wide area, and that "the next move would be to gobble up St. Paul."

While the telegram was said to have solicited contributions, it was also reported that a proposal was made to raise the money by a special assessment upon the ANPA membership.

A. P. Units Ask End To Stalling

Resolutions by the Philadelphia and New York units, demanding management action in the bargaining, last week marked the Associated Press negotiations. In addition to Philadelphia and New York, the bargaining is with Washington, Boston, and Kansas City bureaus. Conferences in New York were resumed after almost a year of struggle to get the AP back into negotiations which were broken off last summer when the AP Board of Directors adopted a resolution declaring the parleys "futile and therefore ended."

PHILADELPHIA ACTION

PHILADELPHIA—A resolution unanimously adopted by the AP unit here May 8 demanded that management stalling cease and that Bureau Chief Miller be replaced by another management representative, if necessary. The unit declared Miller was "obviously lacking in understanding" (Continued on Page Four)

Two Papers Sign Industrial Pacts; Others Ready

Contracts Extend Old Benefits to New Members and Provide Protection For All Against Wage Cuts

Two industrial contracts were signed last week and two more were ready for signature. All represent renewals extending the old benefits to a large body of recently-enrolled commercial department members and protecting the entire membership from wage cuts and other encroachments.

The Cleveland Guild signed with the Scripps-Howard Press management, the contract providing raises for 63 commercial employees, among other improvements. Salem, Mass., signed with the Evening News an agreement which is outstanding for a small city. In Philadelphia, the Record unit has approved a Guild-shop contract with the J. David Stern management covering advertising and editorial employees, in place of the old Guild-shop editorial contract. This represented the culmination of six months of negotiation. In Toledo, the News-Bee (Scripps-Howard) unit was ready to vote on its industrial agreement, which was reported ready for signature except for minor revisions. (Philadelphia and Toledo stories on page 2.)

SALEM AGREEMENT RAISES PAY FOR ALL

SALEM, Mass.—An industrial contract providing wage increases for all 34 members of the unit, a shorter work-week, a "no dismissal" clause and setting other high working standards for a small-city daily, was signed May 7 by the Salem Guild with the Evening News.

The contract renewed and improved the editorial pact negotiated a year ago and extended its benefits, with new ones, to employees of the commercial departments and to press room helpers. Raises range to \$3 a week. Editorial beginners are limited to two. Pay cuts are prohibited, and the employees will not be required to handle struck work. Outstanding is the job security clause, which covers workers of at least six months' service on the paper. It reads: (Continued on Page Two)

63 WAGE INCREASES IN CLEVELAND PACT

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The contract with the Scripps-Howard Press, covering all employees of the editorial, business and commercial departments not included in other unions, was signed last week.

The contract runs for one year and includes a specific guarantee against wage cuts for that period. Although editorial department minimums remain the same as they were in last year's editorial contract, minimums in the commercial departments represent substantial increases for employees in those divisions. Sixty-three employees in those divisions are granted increases ranging as high as \$5.

Early in negotiations the management sought to establish a lower standard of dismissal pay schedules for commercial employees than those in the editorial, but the contract guarantees standard dismissal, without qualification, for all employees on the basis of one week's pay for each eight months of service. It also provides that in case of death, the equivalent of the dismissal pay will be paid to his designated beneficiary.

The 5-day 40-hour week is in effect, except that the managing editor is excluded, and certain em- (Continued on Page Two)

Orange Gets AFL-CIO Aid; Strikers Spurn 'Scab Deal'

ORANGE, N. J.—Strongly backed by both AF of L and CIO unions, the strike of eleven Guildsmen on the Daily Courier for reinstatement of five members and for regular, cash weekly pay, was in its second week with frequent but futile conferences being held with Publisher Hirsch at the request of various intermediaries.

Picket line activity and the refusal of union teamsters to roll newsprint into the shop has delayed the paper several times, for as much as four hours. The AF of L teamsters, members of the ITU and Mailers Union picket with the Guildsmen and carry their own union placards. CIO aid comes from electrical and laundry workers.

The Daily Courier contains a nest of strikebreakers furnished during an ITU strike several years ago by H. W. Flagg, ANPA open shop superintendent. These men, themselves the victims of Hirsch's poor pay, delayed pay and pay-by-

sometimes - bad - check practices, approached President Agnes Fahy for an offer "better than Hirsch's." One complained that he was accustomed to getting \$125 a week for going through picket lines. Miss Fahy declined to place them on the Guild payroll. Three printers, not Flagg men, have not reported for work since the strike started May 6. One man, still in the shop, denied that he was a Flagg man. "Flagg wouldn't have me," he complained.

The strikers, aided by other members of the Newark Guild, have cut off important advertising sources from the paper. They are picketing Muir's Department Store in East Orange and other firms that still advertise.

Conferences with Publisher Hirsch bog down over his offer to reinstate the fired strikers "if they will go along with me." His proposal is that they work without pay for an unspecified period.

Unfair Scale Is Boosted For L.A. Circulation Men

LOS ANGELES—A walkout on the Daily & Evening News was narrowly averted when Publisher Manchester Boddy agreed to make rate adjustments to the circulation men during the summer "slack" season at Guild insistence.

The matter came to a head at a Guild meeting when circulators reported they were ready to strike unless the Boddy management "called off the dogs."

Ever since they joined the Guild under its industrial setup, the circulators have been the victims of

a campaign of intimidation and coercion.

Heretofore, the Boddy management has made adjustments during the summer season whereby the price of the newspaper and the number circulators are required to sell have been reduced.

This year, however, there was no reduction in price. Circulators were required to pay for papers that went unsold. The result was that some of the district men were paying for the privilege of working for Boddy.

8 Fired Guildsmen Win NLRB Cases

Reinstatement of eight discharged Guild members is recommended in two intermediate reports to the National Labor Board.

Examiner George Bokst recommended that the Board order Gannett's Knickerbocker News in Albany, N. Y., to reinstate with pay John Wanhope, Austin J. Scannell and Henry E. Christman, discharged nearly a year ago.

Examiner Robert Kennedy recommended reinstatement of five by the San Diego (Calif.) Union-Tribune Publishing Co. The five were discharged last Sept. 15.

Stern Unit Approves Contract

PHILADELPHIA—After nearly six months of negotiations, the Record unit last week approved a new contract with the J. David Stern management, which covers advertising as well as editorial departments, abolishes dismissal notice in favor of severance pay running up to 25 weeks for ten and one-half years' service, and eliminates a clause in the old contract under which employees were docked a heavy percentage of pay when ill. Hereafter employees will receive sick pay up to the limit of their severance pay.

The new contract leaves unchanged editorial minimums on the management's plan that business conditions do not allow increases. All major Philadelphia newspapers raised their price from two to three cents the day after the Record unit meeting, and although the meeting knew the increase was to be put into effect, the contract was accepted because of the long duration of the negotiations.

Huge Revenue Gain

New groups of commercial employees recently have been enrolled in the Guild, and it is expected that at least they will benefit from the paper's new revenue. Although newboys and carriers, who put up a strong fight for rate increases, will benefit by the new revenue, Guildmen have figured out that there will be at least \$650,000 a year remaining from the income of the extra circulation cent. Negotiations are planned shortly for the new Guildmen.

Minimums for advertising employees are as follows: classified solicitors, \$45 after five years' experience; local and national display solicitors, \$45 after three years; merchandising assistants, \$25 after three years; classified phone solicitors and clerks, \$25 after four years; stenographers, \$25 after five years; detail department clerks, \$22 after five years; office boys and messenger boys, \$17.50 after two years.

The standard Guild clauses are included in the contract.

COLLEGE DELEGATE

The Metropolitan College Newspaper Association, with a membership of nineteen college papers in the New York area, is sending a fraternal delegate to the ANG's fifth annual Convention at Toronto.

Salem Agreement Boosts Small City Conditions

(Continued from Page One)
"No employee shall be discharged except for misconduct or neglect of duty."

Hours have been reduced from the 6-day 40-hour week to the 5-day 40-hour week, except for press room helpers, who will work 40 hours in five and one-half days. Overtime is time and one-half off or equal pay.

In a year of employer attack upon wage levels, the contract increased editorial department pay from \$40 after four years' experience to \$43 for reporters, photographers, etc., and from \$50 to \$52.50 for copy desk men. Upward revisions were made in other brackets. Dismissal indemnity in all departments ranges to 26 weeks pay for ten years' service.

Salem has a population of 43,000. The News circulation is 20,000.

Commercial wage minimums are as follows:
Display advertising solicitors: Beginners, \$20; after 1 year's experience, \$20; after 2 years, \$40. Circulation solicitors and suburban advertising solicitors: Beginners, \$18; after 2 years, \$21; after 3 years, \$25; after 4 years, \$35.

Office boys: Beginners, \$14; after 1 year, \$16.
Stenographers, accounting machine operators, bookkeepers and other office help: Beginners, \$18; after 6 months, \$21; after 2 years, \$24.
Press room helpers: Beginners, \$18, and \$21, \$24, \$27 and \$30 after 1, 2, 3, and 4 years.

Industrial Pact Drawn At Toledo

TOLEDO, Ohio—The News-Bee (Scripps-Howard) unit was scheduled to vote last week on an industrial contract draft which has been worked out, with the exception of one or two clauses, in bargaining with the management. Upon signature, the renewed editorial contract will become a joint contract with the commercial department supplement signed last February.

Extension of the 5-day week to the commercial department employees was one of the major gains in the new agreement. Wage minimums in the supplement will continue in effect until 1939.

Editor Carlton K. Matson and Business Manager Worth C. Courtney had sought to change the dismissal severance indemnity provisions from the present one week's pay for every eight months' service or fraction thereof to read "pro rata" for the fraction over eight months. The management sought also to be relieved of paying indemnity if the discharge was for proven dishonesty, repeated drunkenness after warning (including confirmation to the Guild) or gross neglect of duty. The committee succeeded in eliminating the "pro rata" suggestion and all but the proven dishonesty qualification.

In answer to the Guild's demand that overtime be paid for working on six holiday evenings when the paper publishes a morning edition,

Chicago Firings Due for Showdown

CHICAGO—Following the firing of 4 employees from the Hearst Herald & Examiner and the American since the April 20 expiration of the 90-day staff "freeze," the Representative Council voted a \$1 strike assessment in preparation for a showdown with the papers.

The Guild won a no-firing-for-90-days agreement in Guild settlements in January under a strike threat. About half those fired are Guild members. The management has refused to make commitments against further firings and is threatening to threaten more.

The management offered a clause stating that no employee shall work more than three of the six without accumulating overtime.

Higher salary minimums for the editorial department were rejected by the management, except for office boys who, under the proposed contract, would receive \$18 after the first year and \$17.50 after the second year instead of the present flat \$15 minimum.

Guild President Richard P. Overmyer is chairman of the negotiating committee, which includes Lester Heins, editorial, and Grace Otteson, commercial.

Locals Comment On Chain Action

The Denver Guild has allowed its contract with the Scripps-Howard Rock Mountain News to renew itself. Negotiations for a circulation department contract will be resumed soon.

The Rocky Mountain News unit adopted a resolution in disapproval of the action of the Scripps-Howard Chain Advisory Committee, as regards Denver, in condemning the management's apparent policy of taking advantage of isolation of certain units, including Denver, El Paso and Oklahoma City. The News unit's resolution declares the advisory committee's resolution was adopted by the committee without information or charges from the Rocky Mountain News unit, and that the resolution is, in fact, without basis and the contract now in effect for the editorial department of the News compares favorably with those in force for other Scripps-Howard papers.

Letters of thanks have been sent by the El Paso (Tex.) Guild to the AVO and the Akron (Ohio) local for aid to the El Paso Scripps-Howard unit in the local fight against management attempts to force a substandard contract on the Guild.

The letter to ANG said: "The El Paso Guild desires to express its gratitude to the ANG and the Scripps-Howard Advisory Committee for its resolution in behalf of this Guild. . . . We hope that other Scripps-Howard units or Guilds will take the action recommended in the resolution and request that we be notified of any such action taken. . . ."

63 Wage Raises in Cleveland

(Continued from Page One)

employees in the national, local display and classified departments are to be given a six-day forty-hour week.

Overtime payment is to be on the basis of equal time off or cash at the regular rate; employees, any part of whose regular work is between the hours of 6 p. m. and 6 a. m. are to receive 5 per cent above their regular salary; automobile mileage is to be paid at the rate of seven cents a mile, and the management will pay one-half of the premiums on five and ten thousand dollar liability insurance policies to be carried on cars having the service of The Press. The usual vacation and sick leave clauses are in the contract.

Salary Schedules
Salary schedules in the editorial department go to \$45 a week for reporters, rewrite men, special writers, copy readers, editors, artists, make-up men, and photographers with three years' experience.

Following are the commercial department minimums, each successive step in each classification representing one year's step-up in experience:

Local and national display salesmen, \$25, \$30, \$35, \$45.
Classified advertising solicitors, \$25, \$27.50, \$30, \$35.

Inside salesmen in classified advertising, including telephone solicitors and those on voluntary board, \$18, \$20, \$22.50, \$25 (existing bonus arrangement stands).

Merchandising men, \$18, \$20, \$22.50, \$25.
Supervisors in classified advertising, \$27.50.

Telephone operators, \$18, \$20, \$22, \$25.
Clerks and stenographers, \$18, \$20, \$22.50, \$25.

Artists, \$25, \$27.50, \$30, \$40. (One apprentice at \$20 a week permitted on classified advertising and display advertising staffs for one year.)

Addressograph operators, \$20, \$22.50, \$25.
Contract collectors, \$20, \$25, \$30, \$35.

Transient collectors, \$18, \$20, \$22.50.
Bookkeepers, \$25, \$30, \$35.

Office boys, \$15, \$17.50.

The contract was signed by A. T. Burch, executive editor, and S. S. Wallace, business manager, for the Scripps Publishing Co., and by James J. Kirby, president of the Cleveland Guild.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID?

MOTION PICTURES

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LET THEM SEE IT!
BOMBS FOR BABIES!
TORTURE FOR WOMEN!
NATIONS GONE MAD!
It tells of the mightiest heart of humanity—it makes you gasp at the daring realism—the emotion—al impact will shock the world!

HENDRIK WILLEN VAN LOON'S
"THE FIGHT FOR PEACE"
Criterion 415L 25¢
Opens 10 p. m. Midnite Shows, 12 to 1 p. m.

THE "OLD END" KID
and HUMPHREY BOGART
CRIME SCHOOL
Dances Open 9:30 A.M. 25¢
9:30 A.M. 25¢

Robert Montgomery • Virginia
Montgomery • Bruce
FIRST 100 YEARS
APOLLO

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and HUMPHREY BOGART
CRIME SCHOOL
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Montgomery • Bruce
FIRST 100 YEARS
APOLLO

THEATRES
Julius Caesar
Heartbreak House
A GEORGE ABBOTT PRODUCTION
ROOM SERVICE
A Comedy by John Murray & Allen Burvill
CORT THEATRE W. 45 St.
Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:45, 5:15 to 12.

1938 Pulitzer Prize Play
OUR TOWN
by Thornton Wilder
with FRANK CRAVEN
MOROSCO THEATRE W. 45 St.
Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:45 to 12.

The most hilarious play to rock 'n' roll this season—Columbian Theatre
WHAT A LIFE
A Comedy by Clifford Odets
Biltmore
Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:45 to 12.

Victor Payne-Jennings presents
ETHEL BARRYMORE
"WHITEOAKS"
HUDSON THEATRE, 41 B.R. of Broadway
Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:45 to 12.

The Best Show in Town, "Fanny"
"Upstrokes . . . teaching drama."
GOOD HEATS FOR ALL PERFORMANCES
ON BORROWED TIME
THE PULITZER PRIZE PLAY
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JOHN GOLDEN presents
Gertrude Lawrence
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4 Comedy Plays
PLYMOUTH THEATRE W. 45 St. W. 45 St.
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"Not to be missed"
The GROUP THEATRE presents
GOLDEN BOY
by CLIFFORD ODTS
BELASCO THEATRE, 40th St. B. of W. 45 St. W. 45 St.
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:45 to 12.

"One of the best musical shows of the year . . . witty, fresh"—Admission, Free
"PINS and NEEDLES"
HIT REVUE OF THE SEASON
NEW YORK, Labor Stage—Exp. 1:30 to 1:45
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CHICAGO, Cohan's Grand—May 10 to 12.

SAM H. HARRIS presents
THE PULITZER PRIZE PLAY
YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU
by MORRIS HART & GEO. KAUFMAN
BOOTH THEATRE, 4th St. W. 45 St.
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MOTION PICTURES
ON SCREEN
Gene Raymond
Olympia Brudna
"STOLEN HEAVEN"
BERNARD
A Paramount Picture
PARAMOUNT SQUARE

8th ST. PLAYHOUSE
Monday, May 16th
Charles Rogers-Daniel Defrere
"MAYERLING"
Tues. & Wed. May 17-18
"Adventures of Tom Sawyer"
Thurs. & Fri. May 19-20
"THE FIGHT FOR PEACE"
Sat. May 21st
Midnight Show Saturday

Printing Council To Quiz N.Y. Guild

Kelly's Jurisdiction 'Dispute' Causes Proceeding

The New York Guild has been requested to appear before the Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York to explain its "organize the unorganized" policy on jurisdiction and negotiations.

The Council last week, in a meeting which is another result of the letter campaign of Harvey J. Kelly, labor advisor for the Hearst general management, protested to the National Labor Relations Board in Washington the certification of the Guild on the Daily Mirror. The Mirror decision, as sought by the Guild, excluded all employees eligible for membership in any of the existing craft unions.

New Organization
The New York Guild, in accordance with ANG policy, has adhered strictly to the rule that no one eligible for membership in any of the existing AF of L unions, shall be represented by the Guild.

This has been followed on the Daily News, Mirror, Post, Journal-American and World-Telegram.

As against alleged jurisdictional claims made by the craft unions, the regional office of the American Federation of Labor has announced the formation of the American Advertising Associates Union, which is seeking members in the advertising and business departments of the Journal-American. The organization claims to be a personal representative of William Green. He is entering a jurisdiction which is clearly the Guild's and where the AF of L has never sought organization. The support of the Allied Printing Trades Council is also claimed.

MIRROR REJECTS OFFER

The New York Daily Mirror unit Monday flatly rejected the latest "firm offer" of Harvey J. Kelly, chief Hearst negotiator, and the Guild met in conference Thursday night in an effort to raise the minimum wage offer to a decent level.

The Mirror unit's action was taken in accordance with recommendation of a four-unit committee set up upon the recommendation of the World-Telegram unit.

The World-Telegram unit was scheduled to meet Friday to act on the latest offer of the management.

Howard Asks Eddy About 3 Workers

President Charles P. Howard of the International Typographical Union has taken up with Executive Vice-President Eddy the matter of whether three addressograph workers in the commercial department of the Detroit Times should belong to the Guild or the ITU.

The three girls concerned are now members of the Guild, and the matters officials are claiming jurisdiction and have taken the matter to the Allied Printing Trades Council.

Howard telegraphed Eddy: "Most embarrassing situation has been created by Detroit Guild claiming addressograph workers Detroit Times which work recognized as mailing Allied Printing Trades have entered vigorous protest. Please advise me Henry Grady Hotel action you will take to relieve situation."

Eddy replied: "Re telegram. Our representative advises that mailers contract excludes benefits to addressograph workers for next three years, that these workers do not work in the mail room but in another part of the building and do not do mailers work. Will do anything I can to relieve situation. Do you expect to be in New York in near future?"

THEY PLAN CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS

Big Convention Is Toronto Goal

Hosts for Session Preparing on Grand Scale

TORONTO—Plans to make the ANG's fifth annual Convention from June 13 to 17 the largest and most successful in the organization's history are under way by a committee of the Newspaper Guild of Toronto, Fred M. Payne, Convention committee chairman, reports.

The gathering of Guild members in the capital of Ontario that week will have added significance because it will be the first convention of a CIO international union to be held in Canada. Toronto Guild officers anticipate a considerably larger representation from Guilds this year in view of the increased membership through broadening of the union base. Concurrently with the Convention planning, a local organization drive is being launched this week which, Toronto officers are confident, will bring Local 87's membership to an all-time peak by the time the delegates arrive.

Entertainment Planned
Committees are working full speed on arrangements to entertain delegates, wives and visitors during the Convention despite the reputation of Guildsmen for sticking assiduously to business.

Convention sessions will be held at the King Edward Hotel. The hotel offers a convention rate starting at \$2.50 for single rooms and \$4 for double. Delegates are advised to reserve their rooms in advance to obtain the rate. The King Edward has furnished rooms for Guild meetings gratis for some time.

Luncheons and dinners are obtainable in the hotel and there are numerous restaurants in the area where dinners may be obtained for as low as 50 cents.

Delegates will find innumerable attractions for entertainment. There is the Royal Ontario Museum, housing what is considered the largest collection of Chinese relics in the world. The Prom Symphony concert, a musical event of recent years in Toronto, will be staged several nights during the Convention. Concerts will be heard from the modern bandstand in the Canadian National Exhibition's spacious grounds overlooking the lakefront.

Sports Available

Delegates who like sports can enjoy horse-racing within 30 minutes' drive of the hotel. The province's racing season will be in full swing when the Convention opens. The Toronto International League baseball team will be playing home games for several days that week. Golf is available at many fine courses on the outskirts of the city.

A dinner-dance is planned for delegates to celebrate Guild progress since the last Convention. Open house, with free beer, among other things, will be held on other nights.

Delegates are reminded that registration fees of \$5 for each delegate and \$3 for each alternate must be paid by Guilds before the Convention, as provided by the Constitution.

Since there isn't any regular plane service from Buffalo to Toronto because the latter's new airports are under construction, delegates flying part of the way are advised to notify the Toronto Guild at as early a date as possible in case special arrangements can be made.

The Canadian National Railways, with which the Toronto Guild is negotiating for a trip to the Dionne quintuplets in Calander, operates from Chicago to Toronto. Delegates coming by way of Chicago are requested to change at Chicago to Grand Trunk-Canadian National trains. The Guild is attempting to strike a special rate with the line.

ANG Convention To Hear Olson

Dean Kenneth Olson, director of the School of Journalism of Northwestern University, will speak before the ANG Convention in June.

Dean Olson is president of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, which authorized formation of a committee on relationship with the ANG at its convention in Columbus, Ohio, in January.

Chattanooga Guild Named As Agent

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—George Fort Milton, publisher of the Chattanooga News, has recognized the Guild as bargaining agent for the display advertising, classified advertising, circulation and business departments upon certification of Thomas Nebellett, NLRB examiner.

The Guild immediately proposed that the present editorial department contract be supplemented to include the new departments. In addition the following clauses were proposed to apply to the commercial departments alone: Guild shop; six cents a mile auto expense; no transfers from one department to another because of the five-day week among employees handling money and accounts; two 15-minute rest periods for women employees.

Milton replied that he would put the rest periods into effect and answered "no" to the other points. He refused to amend the contract to include the new departments, explaining "the printers have never asked us to amend their contract to include the pressmen or stereotypers." Nor was he willing to grant to the new departments the benefits provided in the editorial contract.

The commercial employees instructed the negotiating committee to inform Milton that their original proposals were the minimum required.

Scheduled to meet Milton again late last week, the committee also was to reopen negotiations for a contract covering the editorial department of the Chattanooga Times, little sister of the New York Times.

of such resistance is a common attribute of the strong union.

Maybe we can arrive closer at what, fundamentally, makes a union strong, by listing some of the other attributes of strong unions.

THE strong union does have reliable business organization of finances, collection of dues and assessments—sometimes despite constant interference by the employer, and sometimes through collaboration with the employer—sometimes despite prohibition of dues collections on "company time," sometimes through the "check-off."

The strong union not infrequently has more statistical information on labor and material costs in an industry than the industry itself.

The strong union often has a near monopoly of employment in the industry—sometimes despite the employer, sometimes by agreement with him.

The strong union usually has political influence, sometimes through its demonstrated ability to influence votes within our democratic political system, sometimes by intrigue on the part of a corrupt union leadership benefiting the employers more than the workers.

The strong union maintains a strong treasury.

The strong union has a bona fide leadership of decisive authority amongst the membership, based on centralized democracy. (Achievement of a good and effective centralized democracy is not altogether inseparable from the question of the maturity of the union as such, and the "union understanding" of its membership.)

A strong union is the voice of the overwhelming majority of its members and firmly enforces discipline on all matters affecting the welfare of the union as a whole.

The strong union is a tremendous factor in the lives of its members and their families, since it protects their living standards and security, and this is true even of the highest paid men and women in the best run plants.

What makes a union strong? What makes the Guild as a whole one of the stronger national unions on the American scene? What causes some smaller Guilds in unfavorable circumstances to make better gains than larger Guilds in more favorable circumstances?

I believe that both in its formative stages and in its maturity, a union is strong according to the attitude towards it of its members. Men and women who consider union membership a great responsibility, who place the interest of the union second to none in their daily lives, will always have a strong union capable of performing the great deeds expected of it.

I hope that members who disagree with me on these views or see need for amplification will write in and stimulate a discussion.



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HOTEL ASTOR TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK
F. A. MUECHTERBACH, President • R. B. CRISTOFERSON, General Manager

'Poverty' Plec Flops In Fight at Detroit

Guild's Pamphlet Campaign and Old Hearst Trick of Involving AF of L Unions Prove High Spots in Closing Days of NLB Hearing Against the Times.

DETROIT—A pamphlet campaign by the Guild and the familiar Hearst trick of involving AF of L unions were high spots in the closing days of the Labor Board hearing against the Times before Examiner Mapes Davidson. The hearing ended last week. The Guild seeks reinstatement of Leon Everts, Times artist, and certification as an exclusive bargaining agent for all white collar workers in the Times plant.

Each morning bulletins on the hearing, ignored by the Detroit papers, were passed out to Times employees and the public at the doors of the Times plant. The bulletins, written by local Guildmen and International Representative Morgan Hull, were embellished by a series of cartoons.

Assisting in preparing and presenting the Guild's case on the firing of Everts, commercial department employee discharged last fall for Guild activity, A. J. Isserman, Guild counsel, left no doubt at the end of the hearing that Everts was a victim of discrimination. The management's case of "economic" collapse completely when it was forced to produce the supposedly "missing" payroll stop order which separated Everts from the payroll. This order gave as a reason for discharge "termination of service" and stated that Everts' position was being filled by another artist who had been hired some 10 days before Everts' discharge.

Immediately following the Everts case, the same manager heard the Guild's petition for certification as industrial bargaining agent for the full Guild unit as defined in the New York Mirror decision. The Times halfhearted attempt to fight this unit and split the plant up into a number of departments was frustrated by placing on the record the company's written admission made prior to the hearing that it

5-DAY WEEK GAIN

GREATER FALLS, Mont.—Virtually all editorial and business office employees of the Tribune and Leader are working under a five-day week schedule. Shortly before May 1, when the shorter week was to be inaugurated under the editorial contract, the publisher made a written request for a postponement until October 1. The Guild membership rejected the request, and the five-day week went into effect May 1.

LABOR'S ENTRY IN PENNSYLVANIA FIGHT HAS NATIONAL PORTENT

By BEN H. PEARSE

WASHINGTON. The Democratic primary of May 17 in Pennsylvania is sometimes billed as an intra-party fight between Senator Guffy and the old-line crowd fronted by Charles A. Jones of Pittsburgh and backed by Matthew H. McCloskey, Jr., Philadelphia contractor. By papers sent on knifing John L. Lewis it is also often touted as a bid on his part for a third party, or at least for political power.

Neither description conveys the primary's significance. Actually labor's entry into the Pennsylvania campaign, through Labor's Non-Partisan League and the gubernatorial candidacy of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, will be a major demonstration of strength, important in itself.

Labor in politics differs from the old-line parties, particularly at the present stage of organization. A demonstration of notable strength in a state election will give impetus to its general growth; it will be impressive not only to the unorganized workers but also to employers. While the present campaign in Philadelphia is on a very broad basis, it will enhance labor's stature as a factor in future political calculations.

Other Effects

Another long-time effect is the development of labor's political organization as such. This is one of the major objectives of Labor's Non-Partisan League this year. It is building up its organization through unions in the industrial centers and through progressive farm groups in the agricultural areas. In some states such as

Mogelever Ouster Is Sustained

(Continued from Page One)

this language in explaining why his client failed to carry the appeal through the International Executive Board and the ANG Convention, as provided in the Constitution. Chancery Court, to which Mogelever first took his case, ruled that not only were the constitutional provisions regulating expulsion valid, but that Mogelever had received a fair trial as well.

The management's attempt to involve eight or nine AF of L unions in a dispute with the Guild bogged down when only the mailers remained to claim three addresses. Graph operators who were all Guild members (one being a Guild officer) and who had been excluded from the mailers' contract which was negotiated in 1937 for a three-year period. The last attempt to confuse the issues were motions made by the two Hearst attorneys on the form of ballot to be used in the event of an election. The attorneys did not agree on the form and demanded a combination of both. Isserman declared that this complicated ballot was intended only to confuse the employees and that it was a combination of an acrostic with a Chinese crossword puzzle.

Opinion Text

The opinion, written by Supreme Court Justice Harry Heher, follows:

We are of opinion that, in the circumstances, appellant is not at liberty to invoke the jurisdiction of equity until he has exhausted the appellate remedies destroyed by the Constitution and laws of the respondent Guild and of the parent society. We find no justification for the flouting of the tribunals set up within the society for the adjudication of a controversy such as this, and we find no justification for the flouting of the tribunals set up within the society for the adjudication of a controversy such as this, and we find no justification for the flouting of the tribunals set up within the society for the adjudication of a controversy such as this.

Parleys Stalled In Duluth Fight

(Continued from Page One)

steps to aid the Guild. Conciliator Wenig has left town, throwing up his hands at the "unreasoning" management. Fred Smith, teamster union head, has reiterated his pledge that no driver would go through the picket line "anytime in the next year."

Police have appeared for the first time with the tin hats, riot sticks, and riot guns purchased for use in the Guild strike. The police activity thus far, however, is at the Steel Workers strike at four scrap iron yards. The newspaper plant has remained closed since April 8.

The management's claim that the purpose of the internal remedy provided was to "futile, illusory and vain." The case is within none of the exceptions to the general rule. We therefore deem it unnecessary to pass upon the questions relating to the validity of the proceedings already had within the union. The dispute is dismissed. The bill is accordingly affirmed.

He Must Pay Mogelever is required by court order to pay the Newark Guild's legal fees and expenses. Isserman's fee was set by Chancery Court at \$500. Disbursements of more than \$100 for printing must also be paid by Mogelever, in addition to his own counsel's fees and disbursements.

The Mogelever case goes back to 1935, when Mogelever, then a reporter, went back to work with the other victorious Lumber strikers. When control of the paper was obtained by S. I. Newhouse, Mogelever was made city editor. His withdrawal from the Guild was ordered by the local executive committee in January, 1936, and the Guild trial and court procedure had been dragging on since. According to Mogelever, another member, in whose case the trial board found that the evidence was insufficient.

International Secretary-Treasurer Pasche, then secretary-treasurer of the Newark Guild, prosecuted the case before the local trial board, which George Lewin was chairman.

A. P. Units Ask End To Stalling

(Continued from Page One)

of collective bargaining." The resolution said in part:

Whereas negotiations in the Philadelphia Associated Press Bureau have not progressed beyond the statement by the management that it is willing to sign a contract, and

Whereas the management has made not one single intelligent counter offer to the Guild's demands and is obviously lacking in understanding in the objective of collective bargaining...

Therefore, be it resolved that the management be called upon to negotiate such a contract in good faith, through some representative of the employees, and who understands collective bargaining.

NEW YORK PROPOSALS

Handling the management a unit resolution demanding assurance that this time the bargaining will be in good faith, conferences were reopened at the AP's New York headquarters by a committee composed of Morris Watson, Martin Kane and Morris Lushwitz. The management committee, headed by General News Editor Byron Price, received 22 demands from the Guild negotiators and promised to make counter offers and replies on May 24.

The resolution said in part: In view of the delay of almost one year in collective bargaining in New York occasioned by the management's obvious lack of authority to conclude an agreement with the Guild, it is resolved that negotiators be urged to demand assurance:

1. That the management will not again arbitrarily declare negotiations "futile" and "ended";
2. That the management negotiators are acting in good faith and with authority to conclude a contract with the Guild;
3. That the Guild will enjoy its legal privilege of having unit observers present without intimidation by the management;

Convention Time...

Stages of ANG Growth Marked in Gatherings

THE ANG is getting ready for its fifth annual convention, to be held in Toronto—the first time in Canada—for four or five days, starting on June 13.

Four and one-half years have passed since that day in Washington, Dec. 15, 1933, when 40 or 50 delegates from a dozen or more organizations met to organize the American Newspaper Guild.

The Washington conference was a one-day session and there was much to be done. But there was the impetus of common desire, and matters moved swiftly. In the short day, a Constitution was written and adopted clause by clause, officers were elected, an assessment of \$2 was levied as a price of national dues to keep the American Newspaper Guild going until the following June, and other details were attended to.

Much water has flowed under the bridge since that Dec. 15, 1933.

During those intervening four and one-half years a volume of experience and accomplishment has been piled up which will do much to make the job of the Convention delegates less harrowing than it has been in past conventions. It might even leave them a day of the vacation time they sacrifice for a sail on the lake or a trip to Callender to visit the Dionne quintuplets, as the Toronto Convention Committee is planning. It may be safe to predict that not a single delegate will have to hitch-hike to the Convention city, as some had to do to reach the early conventions.

Delegates to the eventual session in Washington will long remember the arrival of Brother Burks from Tulsa.

Brother Burks burst into the room as the delegates were going through the election of officers, the last order of business. "I have walked, biked, thumbed, bummed, and crawled my way up here," he said. "Am I too late?"

"No," replied Brother Brown, "what is your name and where are you from?" Brother Burks identified himself, whereupon Brother Brown said, "I nominate Brother Burks for vice-president for the southeast region." And that is how Edward Burks came to be numbered among the ANG's first vice-presidents.

HOTELMEN SAY THEY LIKE US

Such things don't happen any more. Guild conventions are still meetings of intense seriousness and work—to the amazement of hotel operators who think that they know their newspapermen—but there are the credential committees and other orderly processes of registering, identifying and labelling the delegates. Once they are recorded and tagged, it's to work! Washington, St. Paul, Cleveland, New York and St. Louis to the veteran delegates are memories of 16- and 18-hour days of grind with brief interludes for meals.

Hotelmen react with delight to such a state of affairs. A work-minded convention means a minimum of the tomfoolery, rowdiness and destruction which veterans' organizations and business associations have made synonymous with the word convention.

There is more to a Convention than the regular sessions. There are delegation and regional caucuses no end, committee meetings and when the work of the day and evening is done, the delegates carry on the discussions in their rooms. A hotel information service reported on this penchant of Guild delegates to a hotel engaged by the ANG for a Convention. The hotel was making a check to determine whether the wooden furniture should be removed in favor of heavy iron pieces, and whether things should be generally battened down in anticipation of rough days.

No such thing, reported the information service in effect: "The Guild people are very nice people to deal with and they are nice to have around, but they do fight among themselves a lot."

What the information service characterized as fights are the discussions from which spring the policies that bring the ANG new vigor from Convention to Convention.

Looking back to Washington in 1933, we find that the discussion centered on coordination of scattered efforts, and this was accomplished with success, as the following Convention in St. Paul proved. In moving toward their main aim the delegates did not even stop to learn what the new American Newspaper Guild had in members. The principal task was accomplished. Jonathan Eddy, a New York Times reporter, was named executive secretary to centralize the efforts, and the

delegates were sent back home to build and consolidate for six months.

The June, 1934, Convention was the ANG's first real function as a national union, and the conventions begin to be numbered with that one. It was here that the eyes of the membership were turned away from the heavens of hope created by the NRA, and the road marked out for a year of unionism. But the delegates at that time shied away from direct alignment with the main stream of the labor movement, deferring for a year action on a proposal to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

Local organization was still in flux and it was difficult to ascertain the exact number of members represented by the delegates. But the task of stabilization and systematization was begun. A per capita tax of 50 cents monthly was set for the support of the national organization; a program for employer relation was worked out. For the first time the Guild spoke out on public issues, where heretofore it had confined its actions to problems arising from the maladministration of National Recovery Act. The Convention recommended that the Guild Reporter, a sporadically issued sheet put out by volunteers,

be issued semi-monthly and a paid editor be engaged.

To the second Convention, in Cleveland a year later, came 192 delegates from 41 local Guilds. The ANG had 5,250 members. The locals had a full year of experience in unionism behind them. They looked back at a year in which the publishers had recognized in full measure the menace to their pocket books in Guild organization. It was a year in which the organization had gone through its first major struggle—the Newark Ledger strike.

There was no question now of the Guild's line. The Guild had learned it was a union. The old Constitution was accordingly scrapped and a new one adopted, based on trade union models, which is still basically the ANG's governing document. Into it was written the principle of industrial unionism. The proponents of industrial unionism did not press the issue, preferring to wait for natural development of the idea. This time too the question of affiliation with the AF of L was becoming pressing. The Convention ordered a referendum on it and the proposal failed to carry that year for lack of 1 per cent of the votes necessary to make a two-thirds majority.

Affiliation with the AF of L awaited the third Convention, in June, 1936, in New York, where most delegates came instructed and voted with little debate to apply for the charter in the Federation.

The 1936 Convention, coming after one of the worst of the depression years, was a milestone that marked small gain in the membership—the increase was from 5,250 to 5,830. Bargaining and strike experiences of the past year loomed large and the Convention took steps to correct tactics and the general position of the locals for the coming year. The serious financial difficulties of the year were met by the raising of the per capita tax to 75 cents. Here we became an international union, in preparation for an entrance into the AF of L, extending our jurisdiction to include Canada.

1936-37 WAS YEAR OF GREAT ADVANCE

The year that followed produced the greatest advance the Guild had yet made up to that time. One hundred and twenty-one delegates who met in St. Louis in 1937, for the fourth Convention, found themselves mapping policies of an organization whose membership had reached 11,115, double the preceding years. For the first time in the Guild's history the general fund was in sound condition. Bargaining during the year had progressed by leaps and bounds. There were 100 active locals. To keep pace with the progress, a second executive officer was elected in Victor Pasche as secretary-treasurer. Executive Secretary Eddy was advanced to executive vice-president.

This time we were squarely confronted with the question of applying our commitment to the principle of industrial unionism. The CIO had established itself and was making great strides. Our own successes in bargaining for the editorial departments had aroused the other departments and organization was spreading rapidly. Would we remain a small craft union, leaving the other unorganized departments to be divided into many small bodies or would we broaden our jurisdiction to organize all the unorganized and give impetus to the industrial movement? We decided. The publishers chose to intensify their fight and a year of hard struggle on the new basis followed.

And now, on to Toronto. This time fewer large issues are discernible this far in advance than have confronted any other ANG Convention. What issues will develop will depend mainly on what problems the delegates bring. As soon as the Convention will have to review the progress made in the application of the policies decided on in 1937 and study ways of further consolidating the still new position. Again the Convention will have before it the record of a year of great activity and experience on which to base its plans for another year of development.

A Newspaper Is Boss...



The following letter from a small-town publisher in the west, reprinted from the May issue of the trade journal, Advertising & Selling, was received by that publication in response to a questionnaire on liquor advertising. Advertising & Selling, which published it anonymously under the head "The Power of the Press," assures us that the piece is the real McCoy.

Gentlemen: Regarding your inquiry regarding liquor advertising—we damn well are going to accept same for this man's town is going to have a dry fight on its hands that will be remembered.

My advent to Liger is rather recent; I came out here to repay a fancied moral obligation to teach these buns that a newspaper is boss. The young fellow who ostensibly owns the sheet was a protégé of mine years ago and these tight-fisted gully-jumpers were making a fool of him by getting his space for nothing in news and publicity.

Our circulation is well above 1,000—98 per cent coverage in this city (fourth class) and about 96 on four rural routes. The difference is represented in a few WPA workers.

I am carrying no liquor advertising specifically now as I have not had time—yet—to really go after the dumb clucks holding licenses. There are, I believe, three liquor dispensing saloons and the drug store in town selling on and off. I have a group of temperance white-ribboners lined up in the Twin Cities which is willing to come in here and solicit outside of the business area to pay me around \$45 a page for Dry advertising if—and when—I say go. Also have lined up the Methodist minister to come out strong on the Dry question if I find that my policies are Dry.

It's solely a matter of business. I'm not soliciting advertising from these punks around here. If they "see the light" and start advertising of their own free will within a few weeks, then this is a Wet paper. If they don't kick in then I'll give 'em a fight to Dry this county up that they'll remember to their dying days.

To back up my attitude I give the sub-

scribers a newspaper. Broadly my policy is that half the readers buy it hoping to see their names in print—the other half hoping they won't.

How do I get that way? A reasonable question. I happen to have dough enough of my own so that I can spend a few months here having what virtually amounts to a vacation.

I line up the power lobbies to an iron-bound contract that is sweet to read and whose checks are sweet music to a newspaper cash register. Always have a minister on my staff to play ball and bankers like my style.

Therefore, I can tell any local advertiser in any place I operate to either dance to my tune or go straight to hell. My advertising is backed up all the way down the line with a genuine service in news and editorial policies.

For instance, a sermon will be preached here next week on "Can Liger Stand the Light?" Innocuous—but it will arouse a certain degree of light consciousness. The following week there will be a sermon on "Let There Be Light" that will be a dire threat to the sanctity of Liger virgins through the fact that the city council is not having street lights—to save the taxpayers money.

The virginity of one of Liger's fair daughters is a priceless pearl which only God could duplicate—and yet our city council sets itself above God Almighty to save a dollar and serve Mammon rather than light the evening pathways of our high school lazes—our daughters! I dedicate the sermons so I know what the story will be in advance.

Frankly, I doubt if there is a 14-year-old virgin in town. But that's beside the question—we want street lights for a good supporter of this paper.

One inch of paid advertising in this paper rates a one-half inch of publicity—it creates that much news—but I write and edit the publicity or news. I'll send you this week's paper when I roll it. Last week I was under high pressure for the first paper of the month. These Bohemians do have money though and spend in other cities, too. I'm ethical enough, however, to hold pretty well to a 40-news, 60-advertising percentage ratio—and usually give the news a little the break on it.

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The Free Press

Brake Put on Columnists; Anti-Hague Congressmen In Press Propaganda Web

The Scripps-Howard columnists are having a tough time these days. Both Westbrook Pegler and General Johnson have found themselves in the company of those accused of being "press propaganda" in the New York World-Telegram and elsewhere.

Johnson wrote a column favorable to John L. Lewis. That was out. Pegler wrote a column about Catholics in Spain. That was out. Last week the New Republic printed the Spain column. It began:

"I cannot see why the working-class Catholics are expected to be judged against the government aid in Spain. I think their indignation should be directed against those members of the Spanish clergy and the well-born Spaniards of the Catholic faith who neglected a duty that was placed upon them. To them, originally, rather than to the mobs which raged in the early days of the war, I would charge the blame for the slaughter of the priests and nuns."

"The only admission that I have seen from an influential Catholic that the poor Spaniards had reason to hate the Church was written in the early days of the war by the Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J. Father Parsons wrote in *Columbia Magazine*: 'The great tragedy of Spain was that in the nineteenth century the working masses apostatized from the Church, as Pope Pius X once remarked. And it is to remember, it was poverty, destitution and injustice which made them apostatize.'"

"They got to hate the Church because they hated the friends of the Church who exploited them and whom the Church did nothing to rebuke or correct. . . . Now the Church is reaping the sad fruits of that neglect in the loss of so many souls and the destruction of its shrines."

Pegler's columns received a cold shoulder from Hearst's *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* while he was doing an investigation of the West Coast labor movement in March. And the chill was not completely confined to the P-I; other notes of the column did some ignoring. Pegler's piece on "Pacifism in America," describing Dave Beck's co-operation with employers and his manipulation of the laboring industry was ignored completely by the P-I. Another column, entitled "Beck's Back," was drastically edited. Beck's statement, "You can't fight war without hurting non-combatants," the description of his rule as "police-labor boss of the Northwest, regulating prices and curtailing competition by a system based on Al Capone's Chicago racket"; his connections with former Mayor Dore of Seattle; the description of his elegant hotel suite and the amount of his salary—\$25,000 a year, and expenses—were cut out by the P-I.

Phrases like "arm-and-leg breaking," Mr. Beck "bawled," "I have operated every brewery up here for three years," likewise were eliminated in parts of the column that appeared.

The P-I ran the paragraph that stated, "Beck hates Bridges and Tom Rooney, Communism and Communists, and wants nothing to do with the revolutionary labor movement," but the New York World-Telegram and the Washington Post cut it out.

Pegler's "Pitchfork and Wagon Spoke" column, dealing with the differences between the farmer and the hired man and the descriptions of the migratory agricultural workers, was run as was with the exception of the last paragraph. That one showed the unfriendly attitude of Beck's teamsters toward the small farmer.

The P-I skipped without explanation a lecture to young reporters, etc., not to ridicule per-

PUBLISHERS SEEING GHOSTS, IS COLUMNIST'S IMPRESSION

At least one well-informed newspaperman was able to get into print in his paper a newspaperman's reaction to the recent convention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. Herbert Agar, writing in his column, "First and Last," in the *Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal*, sets the American newspaper publisher as a "fearful, timid, nervous, and a little afraid of almost everything but the danger that someone will laugh at him. Agar continues:

To judge by the words of the speakers at the convention of the Publishers' Association in New York, the publishers are afraid of almost everything. According to their own statements, they are afraid of the New Deal, afraid of Mr. Roosevelt, afraid of the recession, they are afraid that the freedom of the press is about to be stolen.

They are afraid the radio may be used as a device for undermining the American character, for erasing that simple love of beauty and truth which the daily papers teach.

They are afraid of the Newspaper Guild. They are afraid of child labor laws. They are afraid of Harry Hopkins.

They are afraid of labor. They are afraid of bureaucrats. They are afraid of the brain trust. They are afraid of a growing tendency toward "selfishness" on the part of the poor.

"The only thing they don't seem to be afraid of is that someone will laugh at them. And this is their one serious worry."

They are not likely to be assassinated, or to be impoverished, or even to be inconvenienced. But they are very likely to receive a loud Bronx cheer.

NOTE CLENCHED FISTS

Whether Congressman O'Connell and Bernard, the anti-Hague horrors, belong to one of the "radical" (minority, to you) parties is not known to this column, but, as far as a large body of newspaper readers is concerned, they might as well. Now, if the newspapers are to be well-run, they must be able to tell the truth. And this is their one serious worry."

Now, did Bernard's become clenched? The New York Times explained. It said the Congressmen clenched them "at the request of photographers."

IN FRANCO MANNER

The American Society of Newspaper Editors (which incidentally, Editor & Publisher revealed as having a little over 200 members),

gave them the label that Saturday when they arrived in New York on the expedition to James City.

Newspapers showed a crowd greeting them with clenched fists, symbol of the left-wing parties, and Bernard responding with his own fist clenched and his arm half raised.

Acme saw the sales opportunity. Its caption said, "Note the clenched fists."

Now, did Bernard's become clenched? The New York Times explained. It said the Congressmen clenched them "at the request of photographers."

AS LABOR TAKES UP THE MARCH

Levinson's Book an Important Addition to History

LABOR ON THE MARCH, by Edward Levinson. Harper & Brothers, New York. \$3.

Reviewed by COLSTON E. WARNE (President, Consumers' Union, associate professor of Economics, Amherst College)

Whatever its ill-effects, the CIO-APOL split has for the first time in post-war labor history brought forth a deluge of important books on the labor movement. The most recent of these, *Labor on the March* by Edward Levinson, is a first-rate job, built on the reporting experience of a member of the Newspaper Guild.

Up to 1934, the usual work on "labor problems" was a stilted tome which, though sympathetic with organized labor, shied away from questions of leadership, organization, and politics. The authors, like most reporters, were well aware of the stilted shirts in many union offices. They knew the shortcomings of the "American Separation of Labor." Yet the existing labor organizations were so weak and on ill-prepared to meet the open-shop movement, that a critical appraisal of Mr. William Green and his cohorts seemed apt to lessen even the slight remaining vitality of the movement. Truth telling during the twenties was to be engaged in only by William Z. Foster, Robert Dunn, and other left-wingers.

In the present series of revelations, Levinson's book excels in its description of labor leadership in action. You see the stalwarts of the APOL on the boardwalks of Atlantic City and in the taverns of Tampa, as well as in the convention

halls. The rise of the CIO is portrayed with a wealth of surrounding detail by one who knows his labor movement. The style is excellent.

The author's conclusion is that the CIO represents the newest, and the greatest, effort of American labor to teach and practice the lesson of solidarity. It is not loaded down with the Knights (of Labor) excess baggage and lack of direction. . . . The growth of machine production and the erasing of demarcations of skill and craft have given millions of mass-produced workers one hopeful thing in common—the necessity and possibility of solidarity. The groping of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers need not be a movement apart. The CIO harbored no ill-will toward the craftsmen; on the contrary, the millions of new unionists asked only for assistance so that in their new-found strength they might take their place beside the remaining craft unions in a unified labor front. . . . Complete with its challenge to the division, the CIO also espoused a new concept of government's responsibility toward labor. It did not accept the primitive "voluntarism" of the APOL, which held that although government in a hundred and one ways, labor must stand in proud, if ragged, aloofness. The "voluntarism" of the Federation has received several jolts, even within its own ranks since 1933, but there were indications of reaction back to the purity of Samuel Gompers' day. Lewis and the CIO, on the other hand, not only saw government as a legitimate instrument for labor's emancipation from poverty and unemployment; they envisaged the possibility of labor, together with liberal and progressive fellow travelers, tak-

ing a hand in government.

The book has, however, its shortcomings. In tracing the "triumph of the CIO," inadequate attention is given to the remarkable resilience of the APOL. The vigor and success of the CIO drives in basic industry served to augment both the CIO and the APOL membership and the APOL possesses nearly as many members as the CIO. The APOL's policies may be largely outmoded but it is there, an important force to be reckoned with.

Another factor which hampers Mr. Levinson's work is his forced effort to prove the purity of the CIO; the Communists being pictured as vacillating individuals who jumped on the CIO bandwagons in 1937, generally as rather unwelcome guests. This portrayal will be comforting to the editors of the New York Post but the description scarcely fits the facts. Mr. Levinson is too good a reporter to have failed to note that the Communists have by no means been as unimportant as he suggests, even though the change in their "party line" has made them less conspicuous.

NEW YORK.

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

Would you give me a few lines to express my apology to Morris Watson, Louis Burgess and Dean Jennings for my confusion of their labor board cases in my book, "Labor on the March"? In the haste of meeting a publication deadline I have done their memorable cases and set in motion its own building program in 66 cities in 19 states totaling more than a quarter of a billion dollars.

EDWARD LEVINSON.

On the same day that the editors were viewing the proposed information service with such alarm, news services brought reports of his new press law for the part of Spain he controls. Under it, his ministers have a tight grip on journalism and all its functions. Details are available in the Manchester (England) Guardian's report, which said:

Complete control of all newspaper activities, the constitution of Spain is provided for the long-awaited press law, which was promulgated in Burgos on Sunday. It is signed by General Franco and his Minister of the Interior and of Press Propaganda.

The preamble declares that the duty of the press is to let the State know the wishes of the nation and to communicate to the nation the orders of the State. "Therefore," it says, "since the press is the decisive organ in forming popular culture, and especially in creating a collective conscience, journalism cannot continue on the fringes of the State."

The law sets up national and provincial registers in which all working journalists are entitled to enter their names. Newcomers to the profession must undergo two years' probation, and the Minister of the Interior can refuse responsibility for offenses. The Minister is empowered to impose fines, dismiss editors, remove names from the register, and even confiscate a newspaper and its offices. No editor can be appointed without the approval of the Minister, by whom all existing appointments must be reviewed within 15 days.

The Minister is also empowered to regulate the number of newspapers and to suppress them for a "reasonable cause"—redundancy, for example. In such cases the owners would be compensated.

Behind the punishment for offenses against the regime, any public or private person can demand the punishment of any newspaper publishing news which is "offensive, insidious, or merely untrue."

GRIEVANCES SETTLED ON SEATTLE P-I

SEATTLE—Publisher John Dostinger of Hearst's *Post-Intelligencer*, has acceded to the Guild's requests for back vacation and dismissal pay for two members in the circulation department.

The Guild requested that Kelo Luke be given two weeks' vacation that he failed to get last year, plus the two weeks to which he is entitled this year. He will be given his vacation in four consecutive weeks.

Violet Patterson, who was fired after five months' employment, will be given one week's dismissal pay, as requested by the Guild.

Representing the Guild in the conferences were Robert T. Casanova, international vice-president; Claude M. Smith, executive secretary; Nat Honig, chairman of the free lance unit, and Birtle McCarty, of the International Woodworkers Association.

HOUSING PROGRESS

WASHINGTON (FP)—In five months the United States Housing Authority has practically completed the FWA housing program and has set in motion its own building program in 66 cities in 19 states totaling more than a quarter of a billion dollars.

On Other Labor Events

Bulwark Against Chaos, Says Hillman of CIO

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—(FP)—Predicting ultimate peace between the CIO and the AFOL, President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, before 800 delegates attending the union's 7th biennial convention here, claimed credit for the CIO for the maintenance of wage scales despite the recession.

"Take the CIO out of the picture and labor and the country will quickly face the catastrophe of the early thirties without the reserves which this country had at that time," he asserted.

Delegates, representing over 200,000 workers, a gain of 75,000 over two years ago, cheered Hillman's assertion that the union would stick with the CIO. Continued cooperation with Labor's Non-Partisan League, which he termed "a flexible political instrument," was also pledged by the Amalgamated workers, who is a vice-president of the league.

Label Output Doubled

The report of the union's executive board attributed the failure of the December peace conference between the AFOL and CIO to representatives of the federation who "sought to evade the issue of industrial unionism."

A national collective bargaining agreement has been concluded in the men's clothing industry, the board reported. The union has aided in organization of textile workers, it added, as well as in the organization of the American Labor Party in New York state. The board pointed with pride to the organization of 20,000 laundry workers, now receiving the benefits of collective bargaining for the first time in the history of the industry. The board reported the sale of over 3,000,000 union labels per month last year, as against a 1,500,000 average the year before.

N.M.U. ACHIEVEMENTS

NEW YORK (FP)—The first birthday of the National Maritime Union found it reporting "a 3-year record of achievement hardly paralleled in trade union history."

Already established as the bargaining agent for a majority of the 65,000 deep-sea seamen on the Atlantic and gulf coasts, it has won closed shop contracts with 60% of the industry and another 20% is expected to sign in four or six weeks. Substantial wage increases have been won and hiring bills have been established by it as a functioning factor for most of the industry.

The union has issued a nationwide call for a trade union march on Washington to back President Roosevelt's recovery program.

Letters to 120 international unions, CIO and AFOL, union councils and independent workers' organizations containing invitations to a conference within two weeks to arrange the details of the march have been sent out.

"Every union in the country," the N.M.U. declared, "is the victim of a general offensive by big business against the New Deal. The only groups that can halt this offensive are the trade unions. The recovery program means extension of relief, expansion of credit and

A CORRECTION

The GUILD REPORTER in a recent issue erroneously reported that Hyman Polinsky, Milwaukee Guild member, was winner of the first prize in the Hearst Contest for Photographers. Polinsky was a winner of one of the third prizes, which carried an award of \$25 each.

NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL

WORCESTER, Mass.—The Worcester Guild membership has voted unanimously to join the New England District Council now in process of organization, the sentiment of the meeting being that the step was necessary to keep Fred Myers, New England organizer, in the field, and that he was indispensable to the locals in the region.

More than a quarter of a century actively engaged in promoting trade unionism. Until recently, for eighteen months, was out in the field for CIO. The recession got me.

MASSILLON, OHIO.

Dear Sir and Brother:

It is only to get started that I told you I have been a much expected member of the working class since June, 1930.

At the age of 94 years the system got me. March 25, 1935, matriculated in or by iron industry. Am a member of Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Union. Leaving due to discrimination on part of Republic Steel Corp. At 57, still physically fit to perform most arduous tasks in connection with my trade.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BUCK'S STATEMENT

WASHINGTON.

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

This is in reply to the letter signed by three Washington news vendors and published in your April 25 issue.

The Reporter of July 15, 1937, quoted in full Jonathan Eddy's letter to John L. Lewis and John Brophy, of the CIO, asserting ANG jurisdiction over news vendors.

Beginning in June I took personal charge of this organization of these men in Washington, enrolling 118 out of 160, nearly 50 of whom paid \$1 initiation fees and 75-cent monthly dues, every penny of which was forwarded to ANG headquarters in New York. The Washington Guild obtained no revenue from them, but paid all their bills.

The Washington Guild urged the ANG to reduce their per capita so that their dues could be reduced, their average income being less than \$12 a week; some earning as little as \$3. When, in September, two 50-cent ANG assessments were levied the newsman expressed dismay. Their union chairman, Ben Goldberg, and their secretary-organizer, Roy Fowler, attended our September 29 meeting and addressed the Guild on their inability to pay the assessments. (Of course, I never told them their assessments would equal \$1 a month or any other figure.)

Letter Forwarded

On October 3 their own meeting instructed their chairman to write me a letter asking if they could not be directly affiliated to the CIO in order to escape Guild dues and assessments. I forwarded the letter to the IEB.

In September our Guild had drafted a contract for the vendors and obtained its approval by ANG headquarters. The publishers refused to negotiate on the ground that the vendors were not employees and the Washington Guild asked ANG sanction to petition the National Labor Relations Board for certification as their bargaining agent.

Thereupon ANG headquarters undertook elaborate investigation. International Organizer Doug Jacobs came to Washington and interviewed me and editor A. J. Isersman, counsel for ANG, sent me a questionnaire. I argued that the newsman were employees, and I still do. Only on that basis could we state before the NLRB.

On Nov. 24, ANG Secretary Pasche wrote me that Attorney Isersman had ruled they were not employees.

On Nov. 3, Jonathan Eddy wrote me that he had arranged for their admission directly to the CIO as a local union.

However, the Washington Guild had \$20,775 of news vendor dues and from this sum handed Mr. Anderson \$25 to pay for the newsman's CIO charter. Mr. Anderson reported early in January that Mr. Brophy refused to issue a charter to the newsman. He returned the \$25 and the newsman's records.

Called on Brophy

On Jan. 14, I called on Mr. Brophy, taking with me a letter to him of record what I had to say. I asked him to reconsider his decision. He denied that he had made an arrangement with Mr. Eddy to charter newsman and said that he must consult with Mr. Eddy. I had been told that Mr. Brophy refused a charter on the ground that the newsman were not employees. He did not so state to me. In the letter I left with him, I argued that the newsman were employees.

On Jan. 18, I wrote to John L. Lewis for a review of Mr. Brophy's decision. After these letters had been written I met with the news vendors, kept them fully informed and promised that I would carry through the effort to get them a CIO charter. In January they unanimously voted to change their name to Washington News Vendors Union. They unanimously elected me an "honorary member and

SYRACUSE DANCE

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—The local Guild boosted its treasury last week through the proceeds of a dance held at the Arion Singing Society Clubhouse.

CLAUDE R. KRAMER.

CLAUDE R. KRAMER.

will be more satisfactory to all concerned than direct membership in the Guild."

A few days after that, in Washington, Mr. Eddy told me orally that he had arranged with Mr. Brophy for direct affiliation of news vendors to the CIO as local international unions, that I would shortly receive official notice, but that I need not wait for that before beginning arrangements for the transfer.

On Nov. 24, Secretary Pasche sent to all local Guilds a statement by the IEB that "at least for the present local Guilds will not be well equipped to handle the problems of news vendors." Also "it advises the locals of its view that at least for the present street news vendors should not be enrolled in the Guild and should be encouraged and assisted in forming CIO industrial unions."

The Washington Guild immediately took steps to carry out the new policy. Our Guild authorized the transfer and the newsman's unit took similar action, directing its scale committee to co-operate with me in turning the unit over to the CIO as a local industrial union directly affiliated.

The committee and I met with Mr. John Anderson, president of the Washington Industrial Union Council, CIO, of which I am one of the vice presidents. Mr. Anderson was then charged with working out of the CIO regional office. He assumed charge of the unit and took from me its records.

On Dec. 4, I notified Secretary Pasche of this action.

Met With Anderson

On Dec. 5, the newsman met with Mr. Anderson in charge. I was present. Throughout this period I am performing all kinds of tasks for the newsman, including reporting the minutes of their meetings for their secretary. At that meeting the newsman voted unanimously to leave the Guild, changed their name to News Vendors Industrial Union, elected Mr. Anderson their treasurer and, at his suggestion, elected three delegates to the Washington Industrial Union Council.

The Washington Guild asked the ANG to return to the newsman for their new treasury the \$189 they had paid in dues and initiation fees. The IEB refused and the Guild reported in so stating (issue of Jan. 3) said:

"It (the adverse ruling) followed a unanimous decision by the board that the relationship between the vendors and the papers did not make them eligible for the Guild. This decision was formally made after the ANG had agreed to their admission directly to the CIO as a local union."

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honorary chairman. They asked me to serve temporarily as their disbursing officer. On their unanimous authorization I obtained for them membership cards in their new name.

Then someone else seemed to start working with them.

Lawyers Step In

On Feb. 2, Ben Goldberg, their chairman, sent me a letter asking me to turn their records over to their new secretary, L. E. Clement. I did so promptly. Mr. Goldberg later denied having written the letter. On Feb. 23, Mr. Brophy sent me a letter saying that he could issue a charter if the newsman were not in our Guild, but arguing that they still were members of the WNG. On March 7, a firm of lawyers wrote me asking how much the newsman owed in dues—so arrangements could be made to pay up.

On March 13, the vendors held a meeting attended by 15 newsman. I attended by their invitation. They heard their notice with the name Washington News Vendors Union. Mr. Sidney C. Schlesinger, of the law firm Levine & Schlesinger, was there. He made a speech telling them they still were members of the Washington Guild and should demand their rights. He said he had talked in Washington with Mr. Eddy and Mr. Isersman.

My correspondence with Mr. Brophy ended with a letter dated March 17 in which I recited the foregoing history in more detail. I sent a copy to every member of the IEB.

The efforts of those who are trying to stir up the newsman to hostility against me reached a climax at the Washington Guild meeting of April 27 when I ruled out of order Mr. Ben Pearce's motion to reinstate the newsman because the IEB had ruled them ineligible for membership. I was sustained on his appeal by a vote of 60 to 25. At that meeting no criticism was offered of the handling of the March 29 meeting of our Guild had been adjourned.

ROBERT M. BUCK.

PULITZER AWARD

NEW YORK.

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

Whether Ray Sprigle deserved the Pulitzer Prize is obviously a matter of judgment. I think he did, but have no quarrel with those who differ on technical grounds.

But to ridicule the choice of a story which created an international furor as being unworthy even of consideration is quite another matter. Here was the unmaking of a Supreme Court justice and so-called "liberal" who what he really was: a backwoods politician who worshipped at the foot of the Great God Expediency and whose political credo was, Get the Vote.

And that story isn't worthy of a Pulitzer Prize!

BERTRAM JAY GUMPERT (Bronx House News Unit)

MILWAUKEE PAPER COMPLAINT ASKED

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—International Executive Board authority to file a National Labor Board complaint against the Milwaukee Journal is asked by the Milwaukee Guild on the basis of three years' intimidation and union opposition from the management.

Lack of minority Guild representation, slashed by the Journal's long campaign, has been the basis of repeated management refusal to deal with the Guild, even as a grievance agent designated by employees, Local President George A. Mann reported.

A major grievance is sex discrimination, now used to terminate the employment of Mrs. Mary Wales, veteran Guild secretary. The paper has minimums which provides \$5 less salary for women than men, and fires women as they marry.

CLAUDE R. KRAMER.

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The Guild Reporter

Copyright, 1938, by the American Newspaper Guild



Editor: Clyde Beals
 Assistant Editor: Nathan L. Goldberg
 Contributing Editor: Leon Svirsky
 Staff for this issue: George Edson, Frank T. Kelley, Ben H. Pearce, Ajay Hull (art)

"... 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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May 16, 1938

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POISONED NEWS

An inordinate amount of space has been given by the newspapers lately to the Labor Board's action in seeking to withdraw from the various circuit courts, for further proceedings, the Ford, Republic Steel, Inland Steel and several other cases. The inverted mountain of newspaper propaganda we are witnessing against the Board in these cases is based on an inconceivably small platform of fact.

What are the facts? Have Labor Board procedures denied employers full and fair hearing on all charges filed? Obviously, a short resume of the procedure of the Labor Board is in order.

Proceedings before the Labor Board are initiated by the filing of sworn charges. After these charges are filed, as a rule, a series of informal conferences are held, at which the employer is at once "informed of the nature of the accusation against him." The Labor Board rules provide that the employer's appearance at these conferences and his subsequent participation in any Labor Board proceedings do not deprive him of any right of objection to the proceedings that he may have, founded on legal or constitutional grounds.

Failing settlement, no formal complaint may issue against an employer until the Labor Board at Washington receives a copy of the charges and a summary of the evidence upon which they are based. When this evidence tends to support the charges a formal complaint is issued against the employer. Many weeks elapse before the complaint is issued and before a formal hearing is held. The employer is served with a copy of the complaint to which is annexed a copy of the original charges; and he is given time before hearing in which to file an answer.

At the hearing, he is given full opportunity to raise objections, to cross-examine witnesses, and to present such evidence in his defense as he desires. These hearings are usually held before trial examiners specially designated by the Board to serve in that capacity. The trial examiner renders an "intermediate report." To this report the employer may file exceptions and argue them orally or file briefs with the Board at Washington, as he sees fit. Finally, the Labor Board issues its decision which may order the employer to cease and desist from unfair labor practices, "disestablish" company unions, reinstate employees and in proper cases compensate them for time lost.

At this point the employer may appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals to prevent enforcement. If the employer does not take this appeal, the only method that the Labor Board has to obtain compliance with its order is to initiate an enforcement proceeding in the same court. In each case the employer obtains a full court review of the Labor Board's order. Ultimately he may appeal to the United States Supreme Court. The entire Labor Board procedure is only preliminary to the issuance of an injunction against an employer by a court.

Lack of fair hearing, indeed!

The safeguards for labor, even under anti-injunction laws are far less than those provided for employers in the Labor Act. Injunctions overnight, injunctions without hearings, injunctions on trumped up affidavits, sweeping injunctions to break strikes by curtailing legal strike activity have been the rule in labor cases and

not the exception! No preliminary charges, no informal conferences, no full and complete hearings, no oral arguments, no right to object, except, or to appeal, has been given to labor, except rarely, before injunctions against labor have been issued. Nor has there been any great outcry by the newspapers that labor has time and again been denied its rights without "a fair hearing and a reasonable opportunity to be heard."

THE newspapers notwithstanding, the Labor Board has an enviable record of scrupulous attention to fair dealing and law. Over thirty cases in the Circuit Courts of Appeals and in the United States Supreme Court upholding Labor Board action bear witness to this.

It was only because of the desire of the Labor Board to maintain its high standards and to remove a technicality which employers were using to attack the propriety of its procedures that it sought to withdraw the Ford and other cases for further action. Because of the importance of these cases, the Board decided to give special scrutiny to the evidence and to make its own findings instead of following the usual procedure in which the findings are made by a trial examiner and embodied in his intermediate report. This action was taken under an existing rule of the Labor Board and had hitherto been unchallenged in the courts.

The United States Supreme Court decision which gave rise to this action by the Board, the case of Morgan vs. the United States, involved the fixing of rates by the Secretary of Agriculture. The Court held that before those rates were finally fixed they should have been presented to the packers involved so that on their oral argument before the secretary they would have known exactly what they were arguing against. The procedure in the Department of Agriculture was dissimilar from the procedure before the Labor Board. It does not at all follow that the Supreme Court would reach a decision that some elements of fair trial were lacking in a Labor Board case in which no intermediate report had been filed. In the Consolidated Edison case now before the United States Supreme Court, the Labor Board argued in support of its procedure. That case is still undecided.

However, the Labor Board in the Ford and other cases mentioned, while still contending that its procedure was sound stated that it decided to cancel its own orders so that it could give further protection to the employer's rights by giving him an additional opportunity to argue on the findings of the Board before final decision.

Strong corroboration of the propriety of the Board's conclusion is found in the frantic efforts of the employers themselves—with court aid—to prevent the Board from giving them the additional hearing which they insist they are entitled to. They apparently seek to reverse the Board on a mere technicality. They are unwilling to face the courts in a test on the underlying merits of their cases.

WHY these maneuvers by the employers? Why this mountain of publicity in the newspapers?

That employers, generally speaking, have been opposed to the Wagner Act since its inception and that this opposition arose out of self-interest has long been known to the public. The Liberty League, the manufacturers' associations and chambers of commerce, local and national, have made this plain with the millions of dollars that they have spent on ill disguised propaganda.

The newspapers of the country, themselves large corporate enterprises, opened their pages wide to this uninterrupted stream of employer propaganda. Under the guise of high ideals and "freedom of the press," their self-interest has heretofore largely been concealed from public understanding. Claiming a special immunity under the First Amendment, they ruthlessly and persistently resisted the efforts of their own employees to organize, and showed no hesitation in resorting to all the unscrupulous methods of labor suppression carried on by other employers, outdoing them on many occasions. When in the Watson case the "freedom of the press" cloak was stripped from their anti-union activity, they became apprehensive. Individually and through the publishers' associations they sought not only to evade the provisions of the law but to discredit it and the Board which administered it. This apprehension worked to hysteria when the organization of newspaper workers spread from the editorial to all of the commercial white collar and hitherto unorganized newspaper departments, and when here and there through the slow processes of Labor Board action newspaper publishers were brought to book. Publishers have been found guilty of coercing employees, fostering company unions, discharging employees for union activity and of refusing to bargain collectively. They have found that neither their privileged position nor their power over public opinion has deterred the Labor Board from ordering them to comply with the law of the land.

Against the Gannett papers in Maine, against the papers of the Scripps-Howard and Hearst chains, against individual newspapers in the east, north, south and west and not excluding the New York Times, charges of unfair labor practices have been filed. In some cases violations have been found. The other cases are pending.

It is against this background that the newspapers are perverting their news columns to poison their readers with vicious falsehoods and half-truths about the Labor Board's action. They seek not to bring "unbiased" news to the public but to destroy the integrity of the Board before the public as a step toward destroying it and the act under which it functions.

The intended victim is not the Labor Board nor the Wagner Act, but the growing trade union movement which, free from oppressive shackles, is forging ahead to achieve that "equality in bargaining power" which the Supreme Court, years ago, held to be an essential cornerstone of real democracy in America. The propagandists lost out with Landon. They will not fool the public with this Labor Board attack.

A. J. ISSERMAN.

Choosing Between AF of L and CIO

Advice to Newspaper Men Forming Union in Anti-Labor Community

QUESTION: After years of effort, we have been able to organize a sort of defensive organization on our paper. I have been charged with investigating the possibility and desirability of affiliating with the Guild or the AF of L equivalent. We all naturally favor a Guild affiliation, but in view of the fact that

Local Guild officers and others writing to ANG headquarters for advice often ask questions of broad general interest to the membership, which the GUILD REPORTER publishes. Of such is this question and answer.

this is a decidedly anti-labor community and the only unions with any strength are the teamsters and sawmill workers, we are wondering if it would be possible to survive in such an isolated position. The teamsters served notice months ago that they would refuse to haul our papers if we joined the Guild. What can you do for us?

ANSWER: To those of us who recall the failure of the American Federation of Labor, over a long period of years, to organize white collar workers on newspapers, and contrast with it the rapid organization of these workers by the Guild, there seems to be no room for hesitation. The fact is that AF of L membership among editorial and commercial departments of newspapers consists of a few federal locals, started principally with the assistance of publishers in their fight against the Guild. With perhaps a rare exception, these federal locals of the AF of L can be described only as company unions.

REASON FOR GOING SLOWLY

The fact that you are in an anti-labor community may well be a reason for moving slowly and carefully, but not for withholding organization or for becoming a federal local of the AF of L. The fact is that even in communities where the labor movement was weak, Guild organization and practices have resulted in benefits for the membership, while the same cannot be said of AF of L organization among white collar newspaper workers. The major reason is, of course, that the Guild is the union of this category of workers all around the country, generally recognized as such by all publishers, with a record of achievements. But implicit in this record is the fact that the Guild is a thoroughly democratic union, with the membership completely in control, and the membership determining the course of negotiations on its behalf, within the framework of Convention decisions, and actually watching and supervising the negotiations. AF of L federal locals in the newspaper field have negotiated extremely bad contracts, without consulting the membership affected.

Another major consideration is the industrial union policy of the Guild. It appears from your letter that you have taken into your temporary organization the very groups that the Guild takes in, editorial, advertising, circulation, business office, etc., in other words all who do not belong in existing craft unions. In the Guild, you would remain one group, strengthened by your unit. The AF of L would split you up into at least two locals, editorial and commercial.

There would be no sense in trying to minimize the difficulties presented by the facts you describe, that the community is anti-labor and that the teamsters are believed to be anti-CIO, although we question whether the membership is as anti-CIO as their leadership would make them out to be. Are we not right in believing that the saw mill workers are part of the International Woodworkers of America, a CIO union? If so, there would be a material element of support for a local Guild.

ORGANIZED BY NEWSPAPER MEN

A very important factor in the success of the American Newspaper Guild is the fact that it was organized by newspaper employees themselves, and that today all its officers and organizers are working newspaper employees, or were up to the time they became full-time Guild workers. On the contrary, the AF of L federal locals in the newspaper field are set up by organizers who developed their experience in other fields of work, and are unfamiliar with the problems of newspaper workers.

As to what the Guild can do to help you, we think it is best to point to the way in which it has helped the numerous groups formed under it. That has been by helping them to help themselves. We have only three international organizers, and 100 locals, and that means that Guild groups have become accustomed not to expect long or frequent attention from organizers. We have to use the organizers for major emergencies and critical situations. We do try to send in an organizer, as far as possible, when serious trouble arises. But the help given our locals has taken chiefly the form of passing on to them the experience of all the other locals in the ANG and the information and practices built up by the ANG setup over close to five years of intensive organizing and collective bargaining work. Through bulletins from headquarters, copies of contracts, and material published in our official weekly organ, the GUILD REPORTER, leaders of Guild locals have generally been able to work out their problems themselves. Of course, a large part of the job of this office consists of counseling with locals and advising them to the best of our ability. And in time of serious trouble, such as a strike or lockout, the ANG does its best to marshal the resources of the other locals to help the local which is in trouble.