

The GUILD REPORTER

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

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Organize, Was CIO Session Keynote

PITTSBURGH—The Congress of Industrial Organizations, formed last fortnight in its historic constitutional convention, made its main theme the extension of organization to the millions of unorganized workers and the preservation of the democracy necessary to make their gains secure.

The twofold program, nominally secondary to the Convention's purpose of transforming the CIO from a loosely-formed committee to a solidified congress representing 4,000,000 workers, ran through every action of the sessions. Reports, speeches and resolutions all were addressed to the unorganized, to the goal of security and to the advancement of a legislative program to make permanent all gains. The Convention adopted a broad program of political action to defend civil liberties, extend social security to all the population and create work for the unemployed, and voiced its determination that fascism shall not come to this continent. Another determination was to oppose amendment of the National Labor Relations Act "with every resource at our command."

Many Guildsmen at Sessions

The Guild and Guild members had an important part in the Convention. In addition to the ANG's four delegates—President Broun, Executive Vice President Eddy, Secretary-Treasurer Pasche and Vice President Watson—there were at least 14 Guild members present as delegates from state and city industrial councils and other bodies. The total number of delegates was 519. Broun was chairman of the Convention committee on press, and Eddy was a member of the committee on officers' report.

The Convention adopted a Guild resolution condemning attacks upon Guild organization by the Hearst management and calling upon CIO unions to give "all possible aid and support to Guild aims and (Continued on Page Three)

30 in AFL-Hearst Union Join Guild

More than 30 employees in the classified advertising department at Hearst's New York Journal-American have resigned during the past fortnight from the AFL American Advertising Associates Union, which contested jurisdiction with the Guild before the National Labor Board. Hearings in the case ended over four months ago, and the NLRB decision is expected soon.

Those who resigned from the AFL, mostly the better paid salesmen and telephone solicitors in the department, immediately joined the Guild and set up a committee preparatory to participating in negotiations that will follow the Labor Board decision. Two organization meetings already have been held by this group, a third is scheduled, and it is expected that others in the department will follow them in the move out of the American Advertising Associates and into the Guild.

START THAT DRIVE TO COLLECT DUES!

IEB Calls for Dual Campaign to Liquidate Debt, Strengthen ANG

A statement by the International Executive Board, prepared at its direction by the Finance Committee

A program which couples a campaign through all available agencies for the systematic collection of back and current dues with a budgetary policy designed to keep expenditures strictly within assured income and provide a margin for steady reduction of accumulated debts was adopted by the International Executive Board at its quarterly meeting in Pittsburgh, Nov. 11 and 12.

The Board acted after a careful study and review of the ANG's present finances and its operations in the five years of its existence. The review showed that, while there has been a consistent and steady increase in membership paralleled by an increase in dues collections, these collections have not kept up with the expenses of applying the program of increased organizational activity and services to locals which was entered upon more than a year ago to give effect to the decisions of the St. Louis Convention. Collective bargaining successes have moved ahead much faster than dues payments. The result is that as of Sept. 30, the ANG owed a total of \$19,063.08 in debts to other labor organizations, to officers, officials and representatives of the ANG and to trade creditors.

The fact that there is outstanding more than \$50,000 in back dues presents the obvious conclusion that proper collection of dues would make it possible for the ANG not only to cover an expanding program of services easily, but to have a substantial cash reserve. It is a fact that out of the ANG membership of close to 18,000, a very substantial number, including an estimated several thousand receiving the direct benefits of Guild organization and con-

(Continued on Page Four)

ANG Aids All Hearst Units In Enforcing Wages Act

Word is reaching ANG headquarters that publishers in some localities are attempting to evade the wages and hours act by employing various classes of employees as far as possible outside its provisions. While such reports have been relatively few, one example is from the Hearst chain, which posted a bulletin under date of Nov. 7 over the signature of J. D. Gortatowsky, asserting that classified telephone solicitors, classified counter clerks and "telephone verifiers—circulation and advertising"—were exempt from the act "because they are engaged in LOCAL RETAILING CAPACITIES."

Any attempt to exclude workers in the Guild's jurisdiction is a violation and the ANG is prepared to advise all such workers, whether organized in the Guild or not, on the proper means of compelling compliance with the act.

All newspaper employees should now under the act be receiving time and a half for all work over 44 hours in any week. The only exceptions are in the cases of a very few Guild contracts where, as provided in section 7 (b) of the act, hours are so regulated by the contract as not to exceed 1000 in any 26 weeks. (See Employer Relations Committee report, GUILD REPORTER, Nov. 1.) Even in such a case overtime at time and a half must be paid if the hours exceed 12 in any day or 56 in any week.

No such exception could be claimed by a paper which did not have a Guild contract, since the act specifically provides that it

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Plans for an Advisory Council of Guild units on Hearst papers to coordinate Guild action in combating the management's attacks on organization and the efforts to obtain new or improved contracts, were drawn up at a conference of unit representatives at Pittsburgh on Nov. 13.

The plans have been referred to the units for adoption and for the designation of representatives.

The conference was attended by delegates representing Guild members on 16 Hearst papers and by Vice President Eddy, Secretary-Treasurer Pasche, six other members of the IEB who remained over after the Board's quarterly meeting, and ANG Representative H. Richard Sells, ANG Vice President Connelly of Los Angeles served as chairman.

"The program of the council," Pasche wrote the Hearst units in

(Continued on Page Seven)

Dues Delinquents Get Special Seats

WASHINGTON—Guild members not in good standing will be required to sit in a "delinquent section" at all future Guild meetings here so there will be no mix-ups over who is entitled to vote. This action was voted by the executive committee as a result of a question raised at the last membership meeting over a member's good standing.

Publishers' Front In Wilkes-Barre Broken; 1 Talks

Remaining 3 Get Setback in Rejection Of Company-Dominated Union Petition for Election

WILKES-BARRE—The latest of the long series of excuses Wilkes-Barre publishers have used to stall settlement of the two-months-old strike was exploded last fortnight by a National Labor Board rejection of a company-dominated union petition for an employee election. This development came as one of the four papers, the Sunday Independent, broke away from the publishers' united front to open contract negotiations with the Guild. All four papers have been closed down since Oct. 3.

The Labor Board action was a severe setback for the remaining three publishers. They had leaned heavily for public support on the contention that conferences with the Guild were out of order until the Labor Board determined "the proper bargaining representative."

With the collaboration of AFL top leaders, the publishers obtained an opponent for the Guild in the form of a small office workers' group. As an AFL "union" this group petitioned for a consent election. The move was condemned by the Wilkes-Barre AFL Central Labor Union.

Invited to Negotiate

At a conference at the NLRB offices in Philadelphia on Nov. 18, Regional Director Schaffner denied the petition and expressed his belief to the publishers that the conflict could be resolved only by economic pressure. The publishers' confusion was heightened when Benjamin Simons, AFL attorney representing the office workers' group, admitted that his petition was no obstacle to the publishers' negotiations with the Guild for a settlement. Guild representatives thereupon invited the publishers to sit down and negotiate. The Guild was represented at the conference by ANG Vice President Watson, Local President Kupstas, Attorney A. J. Isserman, Hugh Brislin of the Times-Leader unit, and Walter Harris, chairman of the Joint AFL-CIO Labor Committee aiding the strikers.

The publishers negotiating with the Guild was J. V. Heffernan of the Sunday Independent. He has already agreed to the 5-day 40-hour week, doubled his original

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Schenectady Unit Strikes Over Firing

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—The Tri-City Guild's newest unit, composed of nine editorial and commercial workers at the Schenectady Sunday Sun, went on strike Nov. 18 over the firing of Michael Gravino, editor and unit chairman. Gravino was dismissed Nov. 10, the day after the management received a request from the Guild for the opening of negotiations. When Guild and Schenectady CIO committees failed to obtain his reinstatement through conferences with John English, president, and Lawrence English, vice president of the paper, the unit walked out Nov. 18.

The unit was organized Nov. 6, chiefly as a result of the speedy victory in the Schenectady Gazette strike, which stimulated Guild activity in the Capital District. It is the first industrial unit in Tri-City.

Strikers are Walter J. Parsley, Elizabeth Racko, William J. Renwick, Abraham Smith, William McDonald, Lloyd Dennin, Peter E. Jacovitte, Robert Gunn, and Gravino, a strike chairman. Only one man, a non-Guild member, remained at work.

Since it started publishing a few years ago, the Sun has been notorious for low wages, long hours and insecurity. Ninety-nine men were fired in the turnover of a 10-man staff in two years. Gravino, with a service record of a year and a half, was a staff veteran. A month before his dismissal,

(Continued on Page Six)

Raises on Hearst Paper Won by Tri-City Local

ALBANY, N. Y.—Wage minimum negotiations at the Albany Times-Union (Hearst) have brought increases to a majority of the editorial staff. New minimums for reporters, photographers, etc. are \$20 for beginners in contrast to the former \$16; \$25 after one year's experience (the same as before); \$34 after two years, in contrast to the previous \$32, and \$42.50 after three years, compared to the previous \$40.

Tri-City Guild signed its first contract at the Times-Union last April 1, with the provision that negotiations be reopened Oct. 1.

Randau--Thompson Debate Set for Dec. 9

The debate between Carl Randau, president of the New York Guild, and Dorothy Thompson, New York Herald Tribune commentator, will be held at the Roosevelt Hotel, New York, on Friday, Dec. 9, at 8:30 P. M. The debate subject will be Miss Thompson's charge that the Wagner Act "is a bad piece of legislation badly administered."

Newark Wins Fahy NLB Case

NEWARK, N. J. — Reinstatement of President Agnes Fahy of the Newark Guild, with full pay back to the time of her discharge on Sept. 22, 1937, was recommended in an intermediate report filed last fortnight by Waldo C. Holden, National Labor Board Trial Examiner.

Finding that Miss Fahy had been discharged for her Guild activity in a 30-page report and finding of fact, Examiner Holden recommended that the Ledger post a notice that it will cease its acts of discrimination. Publisher S. J. Newhouse has filed a request for argument on the report before the National Labor Board at Washington, and indicated that he would appeal to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Holden held that evidence produced at his hearings established that Philip Hochstein, executive editor, was antagonistic toward Guild activity on the part of employees. He said that management contentions that Miss Fahy's discharge was for economy or incompetence "finds no support on the record."

City Leaders Take Guild Party Boxes

Many prominent persons in the labor movement and other walks of life have bought boxes for the annual benefit show and dance of the New York Guild on Friday, Dec. 16, at the Hotel Commodore. All of the motion picture companies and some of the leading New York theatres have also taken boxes.

Among the boxholders are Mayor LaGuardia, ANG President Brown, Orson Welles, Herbert Bayard Swape, David Dubinsky, "Nehemiah" Morris, Samuel Goldwyn, Mike Jacobs, Arthur Kuddner, Sheriff Edward J. Flynn, Borough President Stanley Isaacs, and Councilman Robert Straus. Richard Hinbar's orchestra and a swing band will play for dancing. An all-star show will get under way at 11 p.m.

FOOTNOTE ON GREEN

Confusion regarding the action of the convention of AFL's powerful Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' Union in withdrawing its formal invitation to William Green to speak (GUILD REPORTER, Oct. 3) has arisen because several days after this incident Green actually did address the meeting.

What happened was that a motion to invite Green to address the convention was withdrawn without a dissenting vote after the convention heard two Pennsylvania delegates bitterly attack Green for opposing labor-indorsed candidates in Pennsylvania.

Despite this definite indication he was not wanted, Green, about a week later, suddenly appeared before the convention—entirely uninvited—was introduced and spoke.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS!

Eddy to Address Locals On Tour of New England

The Guild and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have made the main topic of discussion by Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy at a meeting of the Boston Guild, 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon, Dec. 4. The role of the newspaperman in the labor movement, incidents involving freedom of the press at the Pittsburgh CIO convention, and an outline of general Guild policy will be covered. Eddy has agreed to take up all questions

39 Due to Vote in Poll On Albany Gannett Paper

ALBANY, N. Y.—Editorial employees of the Knickerbocker News (Gannett) will vote by secret ballot Dec. 5 on whether they wish Tri-City Guild to represent them in collective bargaining.

The agreement on the consent election was reached by A. J. Isserman, Guild attorney, and Elisha Hanson, attorney for the Press Company, at the opening of a hearing on the Guild's petition for a NLRB election. Thirty-nine employees are eligible to vote. In addition, seven Guildsmen whose reinstatement the Guild seeks in an NLRB action, will be permitted to vote by mail. Their votes will be segregated, to be counted only if the Guild fails to achieve a majority without them and if they are ultimately ordered reinstated.

Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick will supervise the election "as an individual."

When the Guild sought to open contract negotiations last March at the expiration of a bulletin board agreement, Publisher A. J. McDonald demanded legal proof of its majority. The Guild contends that the management tried to destroy the unit by firing a disproportionate number of Guild members and the merger of the Knickerbocker Press and Albany Evening News in 1937.

N. Y. Times Talks Hit Snag on Pay

Pressure of a major part of the staff of about 1,200 in the jurisdiction of the Guild on the New York Times is being applied behind the New York Guild in an effort to break a deadlock in negotiations on a contract for the 100 employees of Wide World Photos, Inc., the Times picture subsidiary. In spite of anti-Guild tactics in the Times building, which houses the Wide World offices, a declaration of demand upon Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the publisher, was circulated and signed by hundreds of the staff, non-members as well as Guildsmen.

Conferences on the contract deadlocked in the management's refusal to raise a proposal of \$50 minimum for photographers, the key wage term, which compares with \$60.65 prevailing in New York. The management has stated that standards set in Wide World applied to the Times as a whole, hence a rallying of Times workers in self-interest. Since the start of negotiations last Summer, Sulzberger talked to the Guild only through counsel or a labor relations adviser, and the staff demanded inclusion of a provision that appear in person so that they may be direct collective bargaining.

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Experts to Speak At Guild Forum

Gilbert Farrar, originator of the "dash left" style in newspaper typography, will speak Wednesday evening, Dec. 7, at New York Guild headquarters, 137 West 46th St., on "New Designs for Daily Newspapers."

His lecture will be the third of the new series of forums on technical and union subjects, sponsored by the New York Guild's Forum committee, of which Lewis Gannett, book reviewer for The New York Herald-Tribune, is chairman.

The series began Nov. 23, when Dr. Herbert Brucker, assistant dean of Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, spoke on "New Kinds of Newspapers." Dr. Brucker, who published the experimental newspaper, "Gist," originated many new ideas now used in newspapers.

The union phase of the series was to begin Nov. 20, when John Ryan, organizer for the New York Guild, speaks on "The Elements of a Good Contract."

Mr. Farrar's lecture, Dec. 7, will deal with right and wrong ways to use the "dash left" style of headline, and will set forth other typographical innovations thus far not generally used. Admission to all lectures, which begin at 8:30 p. m., is free of charge.

Milton Kaufman, executive secretary of the New York Guild, will speak on Wednesday, Dec. 14, on "The Technique of Negotiation." The series will last through the coming Spring; journalists and union subjects will alternate.

ALFRED L. FAUST, president of the Bridgeport (Conn.) Guild and labor editor of the Bridgeport Herald, has been elected to the executive board of the Connecticut Industrial Union Council.

Hearst Unit Presses for Guild Shop

PITTSBURGH — Negotiations with the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (Hearst) moved forward here with a determined unit fighting for a full Guild contract, including the Guild shop. Conferences were held in rapid succession in an effort to reach full agreement by Dec. 12, expiration date of the present agreement.

Possibly the greatest array of ANG leadership aided the local in the first negotiations session, attended by more than 60 observers. Present on the negotiations committee were Secretary-Treasurer Victor Pasche; Philip M. Connelly, ANG vice president and California State CIO president; Robert T. Canziani, ANG vice president and Seattle CIO president; ANG Representative Seller and former Representative Honors Armstrong. They were here for the IEB meeting and the CIO convention.

The negotiations began after the local had brought its contract draft into conformity with ANG bargaining policy after an exchange of letters with Executive Vice President Eddy. In the controversy with the IEB Employer Relations Committee over constitutional provisions, the local executive board drafted a resolution attacking Eddy, sending copies to the IEB and locals with Hearst units.

The resolution was withdrawn by the local at the IEB meeting after the required changes had been made in the contract, and the board, endorsing and upholding the application of ANG policy by Eddy, also voted to endorse the local's negotiations.

Local President Howard Browning also announced withdrawal of the resolution at the Hearst conference. Local negotiators included J. E. Jones, Leo Finegold and Walter C. Burton.

AUXILIARY ELLECTS

DULUTH, Minn.—Officers were elected at the annual meeting of the Lake Superior Newspaper Guild Auxiliary.

Frances Johnson was named president; Mrs. Walter S. Strasser, vice president; Mrs. Wilfrid Jaques, secretary; Mrs. Gertrude Cary, treasurer, and Mrs. Ethel Magill, publicity director. The group voted to affiliate with the Duluth, Council of Congress for Industrial Organizations Auxiliaries.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID? THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

LOUD SPEAKER SYSTEMS RENTED for all occasions

RADIO LABORATORIES 117 W. 46th Street, N. Y. C. (On 10th above N. Y. Guild) Bryant 9-1317 (100% Union Shop)

The Winnah! CLAUDE A. LA BELLE San Francisco News Congratulations, Mr. La Belle!

This is your official notice that you are the winner of the ABBEY FLASHGUN for the best letter of the ABBEY FLASHGUN COMPETITION, which closed on November 15.

The prize, which consists of an ABBEY FLASHGUN for your Leica camera, will be sent to you within a few days.

AbbeyPhotoCorporation 305 E. 45th St., New York City Manufacturer of the Abbey Flashgun — For Speed Graphics and Miniature Cameras. Can be seen at any Photographic Dealer.

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THEATRES

A play 1 liked and all other titles... "PINS and NEEDLES" New York's Hit Musical... Approaching Second Year... 49 St. W. 47th St. 9-1165—Prices: Even. 50c to 1.00. Mats. 50c to 2.50

SAM H. HARRIS presents... PULITZER PRIZE PLAY of 1931... "YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU" by MOSS HART & GEO. KAUFMAN... 49 St. W. 47th St. Main, Wed., Sat. 40c

"Bright Days in the Sun" DENNIS VERA VIVIANA WALKER KING ZORINA REGAL... 49 St. W. 47th St. 9-1165—Prices: Even. 50c to 1.00. Mats. 50c to 2.50

"I MARRIED AN ANGEL" with Audrey Hepburn, Charles Walters... 49 St. W. 47th St. 9-1165—Prices: Even. 50c to 1.00. Mats. 50c to 2.50

"Sing Out the News" Music Box Theatre, 48th St., W. of 5th Ave. 9-616. MATS. WED. & SAT. 50c

MOTION PICTURES... 8th ST. PLAYHOUSE... One Entire Week Nov. 28-Dec. 4... Errol FLYNN in "THE SISTERS" Midnight Show Saturday

ONE ENTIRE WEEK Dec. 5 to 11... DEANNA DURBIN in "THAT CERTAIN AGE" Midnight Show Saturday

New Playhouse... "Say It in French" In Person COUNT BASIE & His Band... 49 St. W. 47th St. 9-1165—Prices: Even. 50c to 1.00. Mats. 50c to 2.50

PARAMOUNT... RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL... 50 St. & Ave. Doors Open 11:30 A.M. GARY COOPER—MORRIS OBERSTON in Samuel Goldwyn's Production "THE COWBOY and the LADY" Patry Kelly—Walter Brennan

ON THE GREAT STAGE: "The Four Seasons" produced by London

Capitol... "The GREAT WALTZ" with RAINER GRAVET-KORJUS

"ANGELS WITH DIRTY FACES" A Warner Bros. Picture ON THE STAGE TED LEWIS & His Orch. STRAND 25c 10c 5c 25c 10c 5c

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PIROLLE now at 111 W. 47th St. — Famous for French specialties — Lunch 55c. Paris dinner \$1. Wines and Liquor Tel. BR. 9-6816

Plan for Progress in Lewis Report

CIO Chief Reviews Program, 3 Years Of Growth

PITTSBURGH—The program of action at the core of the CIO—a program which recognizes the needs of the millions of unorganized as well as organized workers—received its first comprehensive review in the 65-page printed report by chairman John L. Lewis to the CIO constitutional convention.

Supplemented by his opening speech, the report reviews the development of "an idea in the minds of a few men" in three years to a solidly organized movement whose sphere of influence for the welfare of the nation goes far beyond its membership of almost 4,000,000. From the eight founding unions the CIO has grown to 41 national and international affiliates, 23 state councils, 164 local councils, and 675 directly chartered local industrial unions.

In broad terms, Lewis outlined a program for the continued growth and unification of the labor movement and an economic platform to achieve and maintain full production and a balanced economy.

Security and Stability Aims "The program of the CIO has a two-fold purpose," he said. "The first is to bring security and liberty to those who work for a living. In achieving this it is our conviction that we implement the second purpose, the creation of economic and social stability. It is only upon such economic stability that a lasting democratic form of government can exist. In the political field we seek to advance these economic aims and to help preserve the liberty necessary to attain them."

The economic program advanced in the report, and later worked out in concrete form by the Convention, in brief was as follows:

1. Continued wage increases and shortened hours.
2. Government contributions to consuming power such as WPA, PWA, etc.
3. Stabilization of farm income to guarantee at least the cost of production to farmers.
4. Government control of credit in the public interest.
5. Also reviewed in the report were the CIO's activities in the fields of education, unemployment, legislation, housing and social security.

In report and opening address, Lewis stressed the obligation of the labor movement to the unorganized and unemployed. Of the unemployed, he said that "we must not forget that we have 12,000,000 more or less who have a right to work, that there are dependent upon those 12,000,000 many more millions who are underprivileged, ill-provided for and who are asking for a participation and are looking to this Convention to devise policies, to state objectives, to lay out procedure that will cause them to have hope for the future. With that amount of unemployment the economy is only half alive. Such an economy cannot long continue."

Facets Wave Hits Here "On the question of the increasing wave of fascism sweeping over the world, Lewis said in his address that 'we are optimistic indeed who believe that those forces will not affect Americans and will not have their impact and repercussions upon the peoples of the Western hemisphere.'"

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER: I wonder whether a sermon is contained in the following facts? The St. Louis Guild recently signed a contract with the Post-Dispatch which provides that reporters with two years of experience shall receive a minimum of \$45 a week. My newspaper experience had exceeded two years when I joined the Post-Dispatch in 1914. For three years I covered East St. Louis, and a staff in 1914. For three years I covered the Post-Dispatch congressional committee subsequently reported: "For three years between what I received after 15 years, meant the difference between being able to lift the mortgage from my home and being compelled to offer it for sale."

PAUL Y. ANDERSON. AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

THEY'RE TALKING CIO ANG Leaders at Convention



Pictured during a hall in the CIO Convention proceedings at Pittsburgh were these four Guild leaders. From the left, Secretary-Treasurer Victor Pasche, President Heywood Brown, Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy and Vice President Philip M. Connelly. Pasche, Brown and Eddy were ANG delegates. Connelly, a Los Angeles newspaperman, who is president of the California State CIO Council, represented the Los Angeles City Industrial Union Council.

Texts of Outstanding Resolutions Adopted by CIO; Hearst Drive Backed

Following are the texts of several of the outstanding resolutions adopted by the CIO Convention at Pittsburgh:

SACK HEARST DRIVE

WHEREAS, (1) In its drive to organize the unorganized newspaper workers within its industrial jurisdiction, the American Newspaper Guild, an affiliate of the CIO, has been for more than a year and is now being subjected to a studied and ruthless attack by the huge financial interests which the Hearst newspapers represent;

(2) In this nation-wide attack on the right of organization, Hearst agents have resorted to brazen sponsorship of company unions, instigation of false jurisdictional disputes, unfounded criminal accusations, discriminatory discharges and other unlawful activities, and Hearst attorneys have left no trick untaken to delay and prevent collective bargaining;

(3) In the preservation of political democracy and the extension of legislative democracy requires vigorous participation by organized labor in the political life of the nation; and

(4) Labor's Non-Partisan League, in the two years of its existence, has demonstrated its usefulness as an instrumentality for united political action; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, (1) The essence of effective political action by labor is predicated upon the strength of labor demonstrated by its numbers in the labor organizations;

(2) That this convention commends the activities and functions of Labor's Non-Partisan League in its efforts to elect progressive candidates to public office committed to a program of social and labor legislation for the protection of labor;

(3) That the Executive Board take appropriate action to coordinate political and legislative activities of each of its affiliates

Anderson Sees 'Sermon' In St. Louis Guild Contract

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PAUL Y. ANDERSON. AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

'Organize' CIO Session Keynote

(Continued from Page One) activities in bringing to Hearst employees their lawful rights."

The first action, on the opening day, was the adoption of a statement introduced by Brown following Chairman Lewis' denunciation of persecutions in Germany. The statement was: "The CIO has offered leadership for the fight of the American labor movement against the Nazi threat. It invites all labor, organized or unorganized, to stand with it in this American position."

"Dictator" Becomes Servant Brown received a ringing ovation when he was nominated as the Guild's choice for membership on the executive board, which is composed of a member from each of the 42 national and international unions of the CIO.

The election of Lewis as president of the Congress brought on a half-hour demonstration. Lewis said in accepting the office: "This election marks my transition from the role of an unscrupulous and tyrannical dictator to the role of a servant of a constitutional democracy, a constitutional labor movement—some change for a dictator!"

Policy on Peace Newspaper headlines declaring that the organization of the Congress "blamed the door" on peace with the AFL drew from Lewis a statement that "the Convention is likely to prove one of the most effective steps yet taken in the direction of labor unity." Delegates said that the statement was based on the understanding that the new CIO would be enabled now organizationally, as well as morally, to talk peace with the AFL on terms of equality. The Convention reiterated the CIO policy of peace that would preserve industrial unionism and safeguard the gains made in the last three years.

Under the simplified constitutional structure, the CIO has but four officers, all of whom serve without salary. Elected as vice president to Lewis were Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray. James B. Carey, president of the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union, is secretary. John Brophy, director of the CIO since its inception, is scheduled to continue in that position.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

Simplicity Mark CIO Articles

PITTSBURGH—Simple in structure and democratic in principle, the Constitution of the Congress of Industrial Organizations lays down these principles in its statement of objects:

1. To bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality; and to unite them for common action into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection.

2. To extend the benefits of collective bargaining and to secure for the workers means to establish peaceful relations with their employers, by forming labor unions capable of dealing with modern aggregates of industry and finance.

3. To maintain determined adherence to obligations and responsibilities under collective bargaining and wage agreements.

4. To secure legislation safeguarding economic security and social welfare of the workers of America, to protect and extend our democratic institutions and civil rights and liberties, and thus to perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.

The Constitution compares strikingly with that of the American Federation of Labor. Outstanding is the assurance of democracy in the CIO through the creation of an executive board composed of a member from each of the 42 national and international affiliates of the CIO. The power to suspend or expel an affiliate union is limited strictly to Convention action, by two-thirds vote. The AFL, which has 100 national and international unions, has an executive council composed of 17 vice presidents. This body is vested with power which it exercised in ousting the CIO unions—to suspend affiliates.

Once suspended, the affiliates lose their democratic rights to representation at the AFL convention, which ratify the suspensions.

Officers Unalarmed
The CIO Constitution says on suspensions: "No affiliate shall be suspended or expelled except upon a two-thirds vote at the Convention. This provision may not be amended except by a two-thirds vote at the Convention."

Another hamstringing provision in the AFL Constitution and absent in the CIO restricts the placing of an employer on an "unfair" list when another international's craft is at work in the plant—a measure inserted after the Guild's first strike in Seattle.

Convention Actions Summarized

Here are highlights of outstanding actions taken by the first convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations:

ORGANIZING: Reaffirmed CIO purpose "to complete organization of the unorganized workers of America on an industrial basis," backed the United Auto Workers' drive to organize Ford with a threat to declare Ford "unfair" unless he bargains; planned a conference to launch a broad campaign of organization in South; backed ANG drive to end discrimination on Hearst papers.

UNITY: Received with acclaim President Roosevelt's plea to leave open "every possible door to access to peace" and resolved to accept the "goal of unity in the labor movement" under a program which would not compromise with the "fundamental aim of organizing workers into powerful industrial unions" nor with the obligation to protect the rights of affiliated CIO organizations. Declared for unity of Negro and white workers, and against political or economic discrimination based upon race, color, creed or nationality.

POLITICAL ACTION: Endorsed program of President Roosevelt, urging him to continue fight to maintain gains of "labor and common people," called for more cooperation and concerted action among labor groups and between labor and other progressive movements to insure increasing participation of labor in government; commended the activities of Labor's Non-Partisan League; directed Executive Board to coordinate political and legislative activities of affiliates.

PROTECTION OF DEMOCRACY: Declared against giving material or moral aid or comfort to aggressor nations; pointed out that labor is vitally concerned with maintenance of peace protection of people's rights, since labor can survive only when peace and democratic institutions prevail; endorsed extension of U.S. credits to Latin-America to provide a bulwark there against penetration of fascist nations; endorsed President Roosevelt's denunciations of persecutions in Germany.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: Called upon Congress to consider favorably legislative recommendations of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee, and to give committee sufficient funds for two years' work; declared the courts to be people's servants entrusted with preservation of constitutional liberties, and asked President Roosevelt to appoint judges who understand modern problems; urged national legislation to prevent federal financial assistance to state or local governments involved in destruction of civil liberties; urged establishment of permanent federal bureau to investigate major violations of civil liberties.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT: Opposed "Without qualification all changes whatsoever" in text of act; condemned attacks on act by anti-labor and anti-democratic interests and deplored support accorded such interests by "certain reckless and unscrupulous office-holders" in labor movement; urged Congress to double NLRB's appropriations to meet needs of enforcement occasioned by widespread employer resistance to act.

LEGISLATION: Called upon Congress to outlaw maintenance of arsenals in industrial plants; strikebreaking purposes, prohibit purchase of arms and munitions

by corporate employers, prohibit gifts of money and munitions by corporations to police authorities, and prohibit labor espionage. Endorsed Child Labor amendment and called upon affiliates in states to act in its behalf; urged affiliate action on broad state programs to extend federal progressive measures and CIO program to states; instructed Executive Board to cooperate with government in Wage-Hour Act enforcement, and to work for supplementary federal and state legislation to improve and extend act.

HOUSING: Urged Congress to expand capital loans figure in housing act from \$800,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000; called upon affiliates to work for creation of local housing authorities and cooperate with other groups interested in low-cost public housing movement.

SOCIAL SECURITY: Adopted broad program for extension and improvement of social security and unemployment insurance benefits, urging that funds be obtained from taxes upon accumulated wealth rather than payroll and income tax upon workers; demanded labor representation in administration of system.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WPA: Demanded two-year government work program to provide jobs for all unemployed on socially necessary and productive projects, without requiring unemployed workers to degrade themselves as paupers; demanded cancellation of WPA pay cuts; demanded Wage-Hour Act minimums on southern WPA projects.

EDUCATION: Approved principle of federal aid for schools; declared for creation of permanent Federal Bureau of Fine Arts.

DEFENSE FUND: Approved principle of federal aid for schools; declared for creation of permanent Federal Bureau of Fine Arts.

SALEM, Mass.—The Women's Auxiliary of the Salem Guild was organized Oct. 28 and adopted as its first project the raising of money for the New England District Council defense fund.

Nominated for office in the auxiliary were Mrs. Kenneth Rowe, president; Mrs. Chester Hutchins, Jr., vice president; Mrs. Deane Kennard, secretary; Mrs. Charles M. McGee and Mrs. P. Earl Robbins, treasurer, and Mrs. Warren F. Rockwell, reporter.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID?

responsibility for the conduct of affiliated unions, the Constitution empowers the board to investigate situations involving affiliates on grounds that the affiliate is acting contrary to provisions of the Constitution. At the same time, however, affiliate autonomy is protected in the provision limiting the board's powers to making recommendations to the affiliate and a report to the Convention.

Revenue provisions of the Constitution require the payment by national and international affiliated unions and organizing committees of 5 cents per month per member, and 50 cents for members of local industrial unions under the local supervision of the CIO.

copies; reduction in the frequency of wire service shop papers and their placement on a bulletin instead of periodic basis; non-replacement of International Representative Morgan Hull during his six months' leave of absence just begun and assignment of the news editor of the Guild Reporter to work of an organizing nature during part of his working time; sharp restriction of the use of telegrams and long distance telephone, and automatic rejection of all collect telephone and telegraph messages.

The last-named economy can, the Board believes, properly be made a permanent policy. The other economies, however, represent definite reductions in services established in accordance with the policies and program approved by the Convention. The Toronto Convention in fact contemplated a further expansion of these services, and addition of some others when possible. Whether the weekly Guild Reporter and other services are restored, and whether they are to be expanded, hinges directly on the extent to which the ANG can regularize dues collections. Responsibility for the decision lies with the membership.

The Board calls upon the officers of all locals and units, and upon all the members, to join in an unremitting drive to bring every member into good standing and keep him there, to the end that ANG finances may be in sound condition, its treasury ready for any developments, the big gains for the membership kept up, and that the ANG may look forward to expansion of all services to locals and to speeding up its drive to bring all eligible newspaper employees into the Guild and under the protection of Guild contracts.

The Committee on officers' report took note of the "highly financed campaign of slander and misrepresentation . . . against the CIO through the press and through the other opinion-forming channels controlled by anti-labor and reactionary employing interests." The committee held that the "building of an effective labor press of large circulation is therefore a matter of first consideration" and commended and congratulated Chairman Leis, Editor Len DeCaux and the editorial staff on the "remarkable growth and success" of the CIO News. The Convention adopted the suggestions of Lewis that state and city industrial councils, and local unions give consideration to the publication of their local papers as special local editions of the CIO News, and urging that national and international groups add special editions, or subscribe to the national edition for their members.

The Board commended Connelly and the Los Angeles Guild for prompt action and protested "the

Treatment Of News CIO Topics

PITTSBURGH—The growing awareness of labor to the eagerness with which most of the daily press lends itself to the suppression and distortion of labor news was reflected in the comments and actions of delegates throughout the five-day Convention of the CIO. On the fourth day of the session the Convention protested by a vote against current distortions which attempted to picture differences of opinion among the delegates as a "left wing revolt."

The protest was embodied in a resolution brought in by ANG Vice President Morris Watson, acting for the Convention committee on press, which was headed by ANG President Brown. The resolution said:

Throughout this Convention the press generally and certain newspapers especially have striven to portray and actually to create splits among the forces of the CIO. To this end the press has misrepresented the purposes of ordinary debate, has twisted meanings and has distorted headlines. In order to show the complete lack of basis for the representations in the press, be it resolved, that we have demonstrated by a rising vote that the forces of the CIO are solidly united.

Lesson Is Handy
The report of the committee on press held forth as "a striking object lesson" some of the published newspaper reports on the Convention.

In dealing with the press and radio news in general (it said) all CIO members are urged to distinguish between headlines and the body of the story. Much of the dirty work in the dissemination of misinformation goes on through headlines. . . .

The reader has every right to send letters to the editor complaining about news coverage and editorial bias. . . . We advise CIO adherents to avail themselves of their undoubted right to their part in insisting that the integrity of the news must be preserved.

The committee recommended development and support of the labor press, saying that its growing success "will depend upon its ability to be well informed and readable as well as educational."

Lewis View
In his report to the Convention, John L. Lewis remarked that "on no other occasion of modern times has the American ideal of the free press been so sullied" as in the "Jeremiad against the Committee for Industrial Organization."

He described the growth of the CIO action to the CIO which followed the heavily financed propaganda campaign of the independent steel companies and other anti-labor corporations.

CIO experience in this connection, he declared, "has led us to realize the importance for labor of building a press of its own."

'Slander' Noted
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misuse of the Guild's name in which the applicants and other individuals were involved, occurred when a group on the Writers Project, including the applicants, called a strike and led the local papers to believe that the Guild was a participant.

The five applicants had previously put in their applications for membership, which the local rejected.

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"The attempts spuriously to obtain membership in the American Newspaper Guild," the Board continued, "and the subsequent events plainly were part of an organized plan to attack the CIO and to divide and destroy labor."

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EIGHTEEN GUILDSMEN AT CIO CONVENTION



At least 18 Guildsmen attended the CIO Convention at Pittsburgh as delegates of various constituent bodies of the CIO. In the group are, from left to right, seated, Charles Ervin, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; ANG Vice President Robert T. Canozzi, Seattle Industrial Union Council; Seal Mills, New York State Council; Secretary-Treasurer Victor Pasche, President Heywood

Brown and Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy, ANG delegates; George Wilson, San Francisco Council, and Vice President Morris Watson, ANG delegate. Standing, left to right, Elmer Feilhaber, Franklin County (Ohio) Council; Gunnar Mickelson, Madison (Wis.) Council; James Gillan, proxy delegate, Waste Paper Workers Local Union, Long Island City, N. Y.;

James Blackwell, Western Maryland Council; ANG Vice President Philip M. Connelly, Los Angeles Industrial Union Council; David Ramsey, Fur Workers International Union; Corby Paxton, National Maritime Union; Charles Cain, Maine Industrial Union Council; Estely Ward, Oakland (Cal.) Council, and Leonard Goldsmith, New Jersey State Council.

IEB Hits Misuse Of Guild Name

Upholding Los Angeles Local in Ruling on Ineligibility of WPA Group, Board Denounces Use of ANG Title by Non-Members and Applicants

The IEB denied an appeal from a ruling of the Los Angeles Guild in which five applicants for membership were held ineligible, and issued at the same time a strong denunciation of an instance of misuse of the Guild's name by non-members, in which the applicants were involved.

The appeal from the local's ruling came over the signatures of 15 Los Angeles members, and was supported by statements intended to show that the applicants were eligible. The applicants are employed on the Federal Writers project in Los Angeles. The Board after an examination of the statements held that there was not sufficient evidence to show that any applicant's previous employment qualified him for membership under the limits set by the Constitution and it declined to upset the Los Angeles Guild's ruling.

Rejected Applications
The misuse of the Guild's name in which the applicants and other individuals were involved, occurred when a group on the Writers Project, including the applicants, called a strike and led the local papers to believe that the Guild was a participant.

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employed organization, one supporting Lewis' declaration on fascism at Mexico City, and one calling on all CIO bodies to support the Guild's efforts to bring to Hearst employees their lawful organization and bargaining rights.

REINSTATEMENT RULING
Acting on a request for information from the Philadelphia-Camden Guild executive council, the Board held that Frederic Turner had a right to acceptance by Philadelphia of his transfer card issued by the Buffalo Guild. The question was raised because Turner, who has taken a position as assistant city editor of the Guild-shop Philadelphia Record, was reinstated after having admittedly led in the organization of the so-called "Independent Editorial Federation" on the Buffalo Courier-Express. He was fined only \$10 by Buffalo. The "Federation" was described by former Buffalo members now on the Record as a company union although Turner denies this. He sought his reinstatement so as to be able to take the Record position.

The Philadelphia committee that investigated the matter, recognized the element of local autonomy involved but pointed to the danger that publishers would be able to stack Guild shops with "reformed company unionists" unless the Council situation was clarified regarding such reinstatements.

The Board referred this aspect of the Philadelphia Guild's request to the Philadelphia Council.

RESOLUTION FOR CIO
Eight resolutions were ordered by the IEB to be introduced by the ANG delegates to the CIO Convention. One pointed to the task of educating not only union members but the middle classes and farmers to the necessity of organizing politically; and a second to the necessity for better political organization to make the unions and central bodies "real instrumentalities for democracy and progress of the people as a whole in their respective communities," both to support sincere and honest progressives for office and to secure progressive legislation.

The other resolutions included one on unity with the AFL, one on freedom of the press, one on un-

Where Your Dues Go
Out of every monthly dues payment by a member to his local, 75¢ is turned in by the local to the ANG treasury, and the balance is applied to local expenses. The following is a breakdown of the expenditure of each per capita payment by the international, on the basis of the budget adopted by the IEB for the quarter December, 1938, to February, 1939.

HEADQUARTERS:
Officers Salaries \$.075
Board and Headquarters Traveling Expenses .05
Office Salaries .09
General Office Overhead (rent, telephone, telegraph, postage, stationery, printing, taxes, etc.) .19
Per Capita to Affiliated Organizations .05
CIO .005 \$.46
FIJ .06

FIELD STAFF (exclusive of one vice president on CIO payroll and of travels of exec. vice pres.):
Salaries \$.025
Expenses .035 .06

GUILD REPORTER:
Salaries \$.062
Printing & Mailing .075 .14

REDUCTION OF DEBTS
Salaries \$.075
Expenses .06

GUILD REPORTER:
Salaries \$.062
Printing & Mailing .075 .14

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Expenses .06

GUILD REPORTER:
Salaries \$.062
Printing & Mailing .075 .14

ANG Quarterly Budget Adopted by IEB

Sept.-Nov., 1938 Dec. '38-Feb. '39

HEADQUARTERS:
Salaries \$5,235.50 \$4,784.00
Rent 100.00 100.00
Overhead 1,075.00 1,125.00
IEB Meeting & CIO Convention 2,200.00 900.00
Headquarters Traveling Exp. 500.00 700.00
Telephone 450.00 400.00
Postage 600.00 500.00
Auditor 150.00 150.00
Electricity & Water Cooler 60.00 60.00
Stationery, Printing & Supplies 650.00 600.00
Insurance—bonding & general 25.00 25.00
Miscellaneous office expenses 350.00 350.00
Taxes 1,500.00 1,500.00
Per Capita to Affiliated Organizations: 1,385.00 1,385.00
FIJ 30.00 30.00
Sound Truck: 55.00 55.00
Garage and Repairs 100.00 175.00
Insurance 100.00 100.00
Furniture & Fixtures 1,275.35 \$14,031.05 \$12,970.00 \$13,286.00
Miscellaneous 1,275.35 \$14,031.05 \$12,970.00 \$13,286.00

ORGANIZATION
Salaries \$1,456.00 \$2,000.00
Expenses 1,200.00 1,000.00
Miscellaneous organ. expenses 150.00 2,900.00 1,000.00 1,828.00

GUILD REPORTER:
Salaries \$1,976.00 \$2,028.00
Printing 2,162.00 1,425.00
Addressing & Mailing 1,145.00 720.00
Miscellaneous 150.00 5,431.00 150.00 4,323.00

TOTAL
\$22,368.05 \$19,437.00

PAYMENT ON ACCOUNT OF DEBTS:
FIJ \$ 270.00 \$ 270.00
Salaries & Expenses of Organizers & former Officers 205.00 502.50
Dismissal Indemnity 190.00 300.00
Reduction of Trade Debts 1,000.00 1,665.00 1,500.00 2,662.00

GRAND TOTAL
\$24,033.05 \$22,100.70

Operating Expenses Incurred
June, July, August, 1938 Miscellaneous 13.86
HEADQUARTERS: Salaries \$ 5,479.75 ORGANIZATION: Salaries \$ 1,456.00
Rent 1,050.00 Expenses 1,200.00 1,288.75
Convention Expenses 2,274.39 Other Organization Exp. 349.10
IEB Subcomm. Meeting 42.80 \$ 3,093.90
Headquarters Traveling 542.76
Telephone 296.85
Postage 480.72
Auditor 542.76
Electricity & Water 150.00
Cooler 49.70
Stationery, Printing & Supplies 699.69
Insurance 25.71
Miscellaneous Office Expenses 40.37
Taxes 368.73
Payments to Affiliated Organizations 1,165.25
FIJ 135.00
Sound Truck: 45.25
Garage and Repairs 51.47
Legal Expenses 85.90
Donations 20.00

GUILD REPORTER:
Salaries \$ 2,167.75
Printing 3,118.62
Addressing & Mailing 2,086.82
Advertiser's Commissions 321.20
Advertising Discounts 11.44
Miscellaneous 80.89
TOTAL \$ 7,786.88 \$24,441.70

NEWSPAPER ARTISTS' SHOW
The first annual New York Newspaper Artists Exhibition of art work opened Nov. 21 at the Delphic Studios at 44 West Forty-sixth St. and will continue till Dec. 4. About 25 artists on newspapers are showing their work in oils, water colors, etc.

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Publishers' Front Cracks; One Talks

Remaining 3 Get Setback in NLRB Rejection of AFL Petition for Election; Papers Still Shut Down As Sunday Independent Proceeds With Bargaining.

(Continued from Page One) The strike papers, to an approach by a Memphis Guild committee. The committee informed the Wilkes-Barre local that it had visited the Memphis committee of four, which was headed by ANG Vice President Harry Martin reported that Robertson's response was, "Let them starve, and I wouldn't meet with those cattle!"

In addition to publishing the weekly paper, the Guild continues its nightly news radio broadcasts. The strikers were widely commended for their radio coverage of the tragic drowning of seven children and their bus driver in a water-filled mine-cave hole. Leaders of both AFL and CIO unions spoke nightly during the news broadcasts of the past two weeks.

Wage-Hour Enforcement Pushed; ANG to Aid All

(Continued from Page One)

can only be had "in pursuance of an agreement made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees certified as bona fide by the National Labor Relations Board." The ANG, as the recognized union in the field, is prepared to accept such contractual arrangements as will smooth the operation of the act without sacrifice of the employees' best interests. Such an arrangement was recently made with the New York Daily News. But the Guild points out to non-members particularly that no arrangement not approved by it has any standing in avoiding straight-time-and-a-half payment for all overtime.

Moreover, employers cannot legally cut hourly wages down to the 25 cent minimum required by the law, the administrator said last week.

The act enables employees to collect double the amount in damages in cases of failure to pay the correct overtime.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association through its attorney, Elsie Hanson, has been attempting to confuse the public

and to lead publishers to take a chance on evasions.

However, his attempt to argue that newspapers were "service" industries and therefore exempt, was dismissed by Administrator Andrews, who gave his general counsel's opinion that "newspapers are not service establishments" within the meaning of the section cited by Hanson; and added that the act specifically excludes only "any weekly or semi-weekly newspaper with a circulation of less than 3000, the major part of which circulation is within the country where printed and published." This limited class, Andrews pointed out, would not have been exempted if Congress had intended to exempt the whole industry.

ANG International officers at headquarters have given close study to the act and the various interpretations in recent weeks, and have consulted with the administrator, and they are prepared to assist local Guilds or individual employees not members of the Guild who wish advice on how to proceed, to the end that the act may be put into full effect throughout the entire newspaper industry.

Tri-City Unit On Strike

(Continued from Page One) Gravano was made editor and his name was placed on the masthead. He was the only worker not on a wage cut two weeks before the strike, yet the management class was fired for incompetency as well as economy.

John English also owns the United Baking Company, where the AFL Bakers and Confectionery unions struck last year. On the eve of a New York Labor Relations Board hearing, he reinstated the strikers and paid \$1,900 in back wages. Since then most of the strikers have been fired and the AFL has filed new charges.

The Guild publicized English's labor-breaking record in strike bulletins Nov. 19. The bulletins pointed out that he was a member of the City Council. Next day he announced his resignation from the Council and from the Municipal Housing Authority because of "ill health."

The Free Press

The 500 delegates to the CIO convention in Pittsburgh couldn't help but be impressed by the amount of coverage the local press gave their proceedings. While they were in session, events in Nazi Germany horrified the civilized world and newspapermen regarded this as one of the biggest stories to break since the World War. But in two of Pittsburgh's three newspapers the CIO, during most of the week, was given by far the biggest headlines, the most space and the largest display of pictures.

What did the CIO headlines say? Here are a few, taken at random from the three papers: "Union of 250,000 Deserts CIO"; "Lewis Ignores Loss of 250,000 to CIO"; "Lewis Assails Democrats"; "No, CIO Says to AFL Peace Plan"; "Will Dictate to AFL on Peace, Lewis Says." Once one of the three papers—the Scripps-Howard Press—brought in Hitler to share headline prominence with Lewis, and this is the way it appeared:

"LEWIS PLAYS HITLER'S TACTICS, SLAMS DOOR ON PEACE WITH AFL."

Chain Paper Town

Read them with the fast, photographic eye which the average newspaper reader uses to scan heads, and check up on your impressions. The CIO convention committee on press well said much of the dirty work in the dissemination of misinformation is done through the headlines. Further down we can examine the texts on which the heads were based.

This brief review covers the treatment given the convention by the Pittsburgh papers, only, but it can be used as an index to the coverage in other cities, noting that the emphasis was on world news. Pittsburgh is an interesting newspaper city. Here the two great newspaper chains cover the afternoon field. Hearst operates the Sun-Telegraph and Scripps-Howard the Press. Paul Block, owner of a small chain of papers, publishes the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, which enjoys a monopoly in the local morning field. Once there were seven newspapers in Pittsburgh.

No Word on Press

Any view of the three papers' coverage must be backgrounded against how the papers handled the recent AFL convention at Houston. When William Green today screamed and ranted, etc.? Did the newspapers devote columns of comment on their newspapers to speculation over the rank-and-file revolt that needed for all to see beneath the AFL proceedings? When the revolt finally erupted in demands for unity and in the rejection of an executive council at the New Deal, did they report this "objectively," or did they say gleefully that the AFL dictators were set back on their heels? Did they play up the CIO's endorsement of the New Deal? Did they analyze the causes of the AFL convention steamroller?

These are some of the things they didn't do with the AFL convention.

Hunt for Dissension

"Garment Workers Desert CIO," declared the five-column headline of the Scripps-Howard Press. "Union of 250,000 Deserts CIO," said Hearst's Sun-Telegraph, adding meaningfully in its story that the ILGWU was the "first to desert Lewis." The Post-Gazette next morning had "Lewis Ignores Loss of 250,000 to CIO," but its own story gave the headline the lie by quoting Lewis as saying, "I have nothing to say now and probably won't make any statement until the convention opens."

Nov. 12 found the Press on a hunt of dissension or revolt among the delegates. Here is how it was done. First there was a series of statements by anonymous delegates to the effect that the ILGWU withdrawal was best done before the convention, because the union's plea for peace might have caused dissension on the floor. Then the papers report that Lewis and his leaders have the situation "well in hand" (Dictator angle—Ed.). Next, the work of convention committees is reported, with emphasis on the fact that the committees work in private. The paper does not mention, of course, that ALL convention committees ALWAYS work in private.

Here is a sample quotation which includes an incidental dig at the Democrats, among other things:

"Committees, meeting in private, are disposing of subjects that might cause trouble if they got to the convention floor. Some observers believe that the public proceedings may be as routine as the last Democratic National Convention in private."

More opinions are that any purge growing out of this convention will be directed at trouble makers in general rather than communists as such.

Hearst's banner headline that day was "Lewis Assails Democrats." The basis for that was this:

"The day that Lewis' report was read to the convention was a field day for the Press. Lewis had attacked Hitler and said of AFL peace that if the AFL representatives are 'ready to recognize as established facts and to deal with the CIO on a basis of equality and justice they will find... the CIO more than receptive.'"

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Lowell Thomas Slaps CIO, Sunoco Loses a Customer

NEWARK, N. J. In his November 16th broadcast, Lowell Thomas dwelt on America's sympathy for the Jews in Germany. He said: "Even the CIO" protested the savagery of the Nazis. His words, and the tone he used, indicated he was surprised that sympathy for the Jews should, or could, have come from the CIO.

Because of Thomas' continued

CIO Comes to Town--And the Papers Roll Up Their Sleeves

Papers Reached Far For This 'Red Revolt'

The following is from an article on the CIO convention by Bruce Biven, Jr., in the Nov. 30 New Republic:

In the distorted reports which newspapermen sent to the dailies (including, I am sorry to say, even Louis Stark of The New York Times) a great deal was made of the "left-wing crisis" which occurred on the convention's second day. The theory was that a disgruntled faction, led by Harry Bridges, was trying to "have a convention rule changed"; that Lewis had stamped out the "revolt" with a forceful threat or two. No doubt these reports pleased those who would like to believe there is no democracy within the CIO; that serious disaffection exists and that internal wrangles, now evident, will ultimately bring its downfall. Some day this may happen. There is no inkling of it now. The "left-wing revolt" was a spontaneous outbreak of complaint over the fact that printed copies of the proposed constitution were not available to the delegates when the voting upon it began. The complaints were justified. Overnight a printer was found who could handle the large rush order. By morning the problem was solved.

Did He Talk?

Lewis himself read President Roosevelt's message to the convention and, having finished, said that it would receive "the most earnest and profound consideration."

Lewis' statement that labor should not be expected to uphold the prestige of Democratic organizations such as controlled the New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania machines. The next day, the Sun-Telegraph found suspicion of dictatorship in the fact that the CIO didn't clutter up its convention with a string of speakers, inviting only President Roosevelt and Josephine Roche, the Denver liberal, to make addresses. Said the Sun-Telegraph: "... the very has been cleared for AN UNPOPULAR LEWIS PROGRAM."

Nov. 16 was the day of the big "left-wing revolt," created out of the demand by maritime and communications union delegates for printed copies of the draft constitution (see the report of Bruce Biven on this page). The Sun-Telegraph said Lewis "saw red revolution." The Post-Gazette had an accurate story. The Sun-Telegraph reported merely "dissension." The Press ran wild in its "background," pointing to all corners. Its news story said that the statement of objects in the constitution "sounded like a national platform declaration of the Democratic party, or even of the Republican party—it contained no 'strictly political objectives.'"

This sounds queerly irrelevant, but there it was, added to the report of the "revolt." The Sun-Telegraph this day set forth proof that John L. Lewis is a dictator. It said that after Lewis spoke "three minutes" on procedure in adopting the constitution, "delegates who had raised frequent questions or suggested changes rushed through section after section with almost unanimous approval." Having reported that Harry Bridges of California was one of the "left wingers" who was crushed by Lewis, the Press later skipped completely any mention of the fact two days later, that Lewis had publicly lauded Bridges' organizational work on the coast.

Turn by Time

On the last two days of the convention most papers throughout the country reported that Heywood Brown had apologized to the working press for remarks he had made on a resolution introduced by ANG Vice President Watson, protesting efforts by newspapers to create a split in the CIO by their coverage. Very few reported adoption of the resolution. Brown said that "neither the resolution nor the speech meant to reflect on any single newspaper working man or woman here. That apology does not go for publishers, not any single publisher." Time magazine, current issue, distorted this brief statement into this report:

"... Worried, haggard columnist Brown apologized for Mr. Watson's 'clumsy wording' and declared the document didn't mean what it said, its denunciations did not apply to correspondents..."

Hearst's To Unify Drives

(Continued from Page One)

his capacity as provisional secretary of the group, which he was elected, "is to promote mutual support and cooperation of Guild members on all Hearst enterprises in pressing on the entire chain of organization through the Guild jurisdiction, and collective bargaining for full Guild contracts, covering all departments eligible for Guild organization."

To Clear Correspondence

The council, Pasche added, will serve as a clearing house for a monthly exchange of correspondence through headquarters, and often when necessary, to keep all Hearst units constantly informed of developments all along the chain, particularly in respect to contract negotiations, for reference in handling their own problems and for mutual assistance and consultation. Immediate operation of the council was unanimously desired by the delegates.

Management attacks, stalling in negotiations, and stirring up of false jurisdictional disputes were found to be so widespread that the council called for the introduction of a resolution in the CIO Convention urging all CIO bodies to assist the Guild in bringing full organization and bargaining rights to Hearst employees. The resolution was adopted (see page 3).

Those attending the council meet besides Eddy, Pasche, Connelly and Seller were:

Howard Browning, R. F. Reamy and Clair Kinney of Pittsburgh; Monroe Stern of New York; Perry Hill Jr. of Milwaukee; George Wilson and Estolw Ward of San Francisco; Robert Camozzi of Seattle; Kirk Earnshaw, Don Stevens and Ben Meyer of Chicago; ANG Vice President Donald Sullivan of Boston; ANG Vice President Morris Watson, reporting for King Features Syndicate; ANG Vice President I. L. Keneen of Cleveland, representing Central Press; and ANG Vice Presidents Quentin P. Gore, Julius Klyman and W. J. Parson.

IEB Hits Misuse; Acts on Resolutions

(Continued from Page Five)

to a newly established committee on Constitution and local by-laws.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

Study of possible revisions of the ANG Constitution and model local by-laws in preparation for the 1939 convention was provided for by the IEB with the appointment of the following committee: Vice President I. L. Keneen, chairman; Executive Vice President Eddy, Secretary Donald Sullivan, Max Ways of Philadelphia and Monroe Stern of New York.

BUTTON CHOSEN

For official Guild button the International Executive Board at its Pittsburgh meeting unanimously chose a replica of the Guild seal in bronze. The button is a half inch in diameter.

Arrangements for sale and distribution of the buttons will be announced later.

Further IEB actions will be reported in the Dec. 15 issue.

H. F. WOOD DIES

ALBANY, N. Y.—H. F. Wood, 37, Albany Times-Union rewrite man and Guild member, was found dead at his home. During his 10 years on the Times-Union he covered outstanding trials and criminal stories. He previously worked on the Albany Evening News.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID?

Facts About Election That Were Lost in the Shuffle

The papers are working overtime to make readers believe that the country is tired of the progressive movement and that the election of 489 Republicans Congressmen out of 435, and 18 governors, means a demand for a period of rest.

Actually, as Guild Reporter correspondents and local labor papers reveal, the issues were confused by many factors. Chief of these were the attempts of many Republicans to outbid the Democratic or other party candidates in liberalism; the promise of anti-labor Democrats in leading positions on tickets, leaving the voters no real choice; corruption; the knifing of progressive Democrats by reactionary bosses; and probably most of all, the militant fight for progressive ideals.

In spite of all the obstacles there were numerous votes that showed the basic progressive sentiment. And the whole election demonstrated the need voiced by the CIO Convention and earlier by our International Executive Board, for more intensive participation by labor both in the selection of candidates, whose records and progressive standards will commend them to the voters, and in the waging of campaigns.

Here are little-reported facts on the results in some of the noteworthy states:

CALIFORNIA—Issue of progress vs. reaction was more sharply drawn than in almost any other state, and pro-New Deal candidates won a thoroughgoing victory. Republicans were openly conservative, partial to big business. Democratic state Governor-elect Olson, Lieutenant Governor-elect Patterson and Senator-elect Downey championed New Deal. Fight on anti-labor initiative unified labor, church, civic and fraternal organizations as well as such political groups as pensioners, making the campaign a broad one to protect civil liberties. This and William Green's endorsement of Governor Merriam provided just the cement needed for solid progressive front.

With first Democratic state administration in 44 years and with Downey replacing three Democratic Senators McAdoo, progressive forces are planning strong program. Number one item is the freeing of Tom Mooney.

CONNECTICUT—Republican victory means nothing except that organization of labor and progressive is long overdue. (and will take place in January at a

state-wide Conference on Progressive Social and Labor Legislation to be attended by Mayor LaGuardia). Democratic machine rejected plans of labor and New Dealers for liberals and nominated a notoriously anti-labor anti-New Dealer for lieutenant governor, renominated Senator Longworth, who voted against every major New Deal measure. Longworth was kept from taking a hand in Connecticut on advice of Attorney General Cummings, whose resignation Roosevelt has just accepted.

Republicans Senatorial candidate, Danaher, young attorney, was fresh from defending taxmen from conspiracy charges in growing out of election campaign on slogan, "This is a New Deal for the people."

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man Shanley by 100 over reactionary GOP candidate who posed as labor's friend. In New Britain labor forced Democrats to nominate AFL man for state senate, CIO man for state representative. LNPL's endorsement and rapidly growing war machine carried the city for Cross and the New Deal.

IOWA—Liberal voters had little choice with Democratic state ticket headed by Governor Kraschel, who used the national guard against the Maytag and Swift packing strikers, and Senator Guy M. Gillette, a labor-warrior New Dealer. Kraschel lost, Gillette won.

MASSACHUSETTS—Republican victory cannot be interpreted as an anti-New Deal vote. First, wealthy Leverett Saltonstall beat Guiley for governor in a fight of personalities and over honesty in government. Curly was beaten by his earlier record. Labor was united in support of the Democratic ticket because it offered more hope of progressive reforms, but the Republican rule of nominating a good front man won many liberal votes.

Second, Republicans outpromised Democrats on friendship for labor, the aged, youth, civil liberties and many other New Deal principles.

Third, the conservative-progressive alignment broke sharply through party lines. Reactionary Democratic Governor Hurley and ex-Governor and Liberty League for state unity, decried support to Saltonstall.

Fourth, Congressional balance of five New Dealers and 10 Republicans remained unchanged, and young New Dealer Tom Eliot came within about 4,000 out of 130,000 votes of defeating the reactionary Republican incumbent, Robert M. La Follette in a normally reactionary stronghold. Significant of the true trend were the defeats of GOP State Senator Floor Leader Moyle and Senate Senator Sybil Holmes, who led the Sherman Commission, the Massachusetts replica of the Dies committee.

MICHIGAN—Alliance of conservative Democrats, led by the state boss, Murray Van Wageningen, with Republicans, beat Governor Murphy.

MINNESOTA—Republican won by outpromising as liberals and out-promising Farmer-Labor candidates. Stassen, front man and gubernatorial candidate, smartly posed as the new spirit of the reformer Republican party, the socially conscious, streamlined

Republican. Knowing the great following the late Floyd B. Olson still has with the people, Stassen in radio talks mimicked Olson's voice, was bludgeoned by his opponent, who was liberal in promise on most other issues. Many big influential papers heretofore prevaricatingly refused to make a special effort to defeat Wagner, singling him out for attack while supporting Democratic Governor Lehman. Wagner topped the slate and won by 475,000. Also important was the election to the Senate of Mead, a Democrat and veteran trade unionist, replacing the late anti-labor, pro-patent medicine Copeland. The ousting of reactionary Democratic elements by anonymous delegates to the House Rules committee and election of a New Deal choice in his place, James H. Fay, was one of the best jobs in the election.

OHIO—Outgoing Democratic Governor Davis, who fought labor during his term and was defeated by labor opposition in the primaries, knifed the Democratic ticket in return for what he hoped to be a patronage deal with the Republicans. Democratic machine treachery also evident in Toledo. LNPL rolled up powerful support for the New Deal ticket in the industrial areas, nevertheless, and nine Congressmen with its endorsement won, together with many state legislators—three senators and 11 representatives in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) alone.

PENNSYLVANIA—Labor had to fight for the New Deal under the banner of two distasteful Democratic candidates, Governor Earle, who backed under business pressure in the Johnstown steel strike and whose administration was under charges of graft, running for U.S. Senator, and an admittedly candidate for governor, Charles A. Jones. Still the vote for Jones topped by nearly 200,000 Earle's winning vote in 1934.

WASHINGTON—The labor and progressive forces, solidly unified under the threat of the anti-labor initiative, and with the militant Washington Commonwealth Federation in possession of the Democratic machinery returned a solid Democratic slate of six Representatives and Senator Bone to Congress. Democrats, ardently New Deal, maintained heavy majorities in both houses of the state legislature and retained control of King County (Seattle), completely defeating the strong Republican drive to capture some offices.

The Guild Reporter

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It Will Benefit The Country

THE wages and hours act will bring benefits to workers in the newspaper industry, as in other industries, considerably exceeding its primary goal of ending sweatshop competition. It is another way of getting at one of the laudable objectives of NRA, namely the creation of employment. It puts a break on the crazy system of piling up work on those in jobs while ever more relegating other able-bodied workers to the dole.

In the newspaper industry it will undoubtedly mean some additional jobs; probably an even greater effect will be the protection of the jobs already in existence.

Thus the act will serve to protect the living standards of the entire country; moreover it will keep up, and even speed, production power, which industry's treatment of its employees was slowly contracting before the New Deal.

In the face of these broad constructive advantages it is up to all individuals, not only union members but those still unorganized, to see that the act is carried out to the full. It is not, as some would like to make us think, a question of grabbing a personal advantage and to hell with the employer. It is a matter of preventing the employer from damaging the national well-being by trying to secure competitive advantages to himself, in the form of cheaper labor, to the ultimate detriment of everyone.

The act specifically makes individual workers and their unions part of the enforcement machinery. We police the act in our industry; the whole country benefits.

Our Responsibility

From a Speech

By NATHAN STRAUS

U. S. Housing Authority Administrator, Before the A. F. L. Convention at Houston

ONE more thing I must say, that is on my mind and on my heart in speaking to this great labor gathering. The first act of a dictator, wherever he arises, is to crush the organized labor movement. Dictators are moved to take such action because the principles of organized labor are a direct contradiction of that organized despotism which is called "dictatorship." If every dictator, as one of his first moves, seeks to crush the labor movement, it is fitting that labor understand the challenge implicit in that act.

Destruction of the labor movement carries with it the ruin of all those great institutions for the protection of individual liberties and the improvement of human living conditions which flourish under a democracy. Organized labor must assume the responsibility of maintaining itself by maintaining that democratic form of government under which it alone can continue to exist.

The staunchest barrier to protect civilized democratic countries from being engulfed by the tides of dictatorship, must be organized labor. In its struggle to achieve and preserve the rights of the laboring man, organized labor will be preserving the rights and liberties of the whole American people.

WHAT IS PRESS DOING?

Seldes Studies the Many Flaws of Papers to Which The Readers Object, and Comes to a Conclusion

LORDS OF THE PRESS by George Seldes. Julian Messner, Inc., New York. 1938. \$3.00.

By RICHARD O. BOYER

WHILE this book is closely documented throughout its 408 pages it is fortunate that its pervading thesis has been corroborated by a well-known American publisher. If this were not so there might be those who would try to laugh it off as mere sensationalism.

Yet the sensible reader does not need the agreement of William Allen White, welcome as it is, to realize that the volume portrays a situation so dangerous that it may ultimately threaten American democracy. As case after case of news distortion and suppression is introduced, as instance after instance of hostility to labor is catalogued, it is difficult to avoid the impression that such actions are the rule rather than the exception. Indeed public welfare is so consistently sacrificed to private profit, if Messrs. White and Seldes are correct, that it seems rather mild to say that the nation's publishers have a vested interest in reaction, that they will always fight the people and always fight progress, that they will always fight labor and always misrepresent labor's aims.

If the past, moreover, is any criterion in judging the future, the conclusion seems inescapable that if an American brand of Fascism is ever imminent many American publishers will embrace it providing it holds a promise of profit. Of course such an embrace would be hidden behind a screen that portrayed only the publishers' disinterested, self-sacrificing devotion to Americanism and democracy.

There is already one instance, revealed in Mr. Seldes' pages, of an American newspaper coming out in favor of Fascism for the United States. The paper was the Paris Herald owned by Ogden Reid who also owns the powerful New York Herald Tribune. The Herald declared editorially that "The hour has struck for a Fascist party to be born in the United States" and suggested as its leader "the clean youth of a Charles Lindbergh" or "the sagacity and experience of a Henry Ford." The editorial raises the interesting question of whether one of Mr. Reid's papers can be for Fascism for this country in Paris while another is against Fascism for this country in New York. While the New York Times has never endorsed Fascism, Mr. Seldes is even more disturbed about that paper than he is about the Herald Tribune. He believes it fundamentally sound in intent, from a liberal point of view, and yet finds that it aids Fascism through employing a completely discredited propagandist to report the Spanish War, through red baiting and hostility to labor.

"Lords of the Press" begins with publishers in general, publishers as a species, and then proceeds to examine their separate acts. It first scrutinizes their joint conduct, as expressed in the maneuvers of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and then goes on to their individual capers. Referring to closed sessions of the A. N. P. A., Mr. Seldes writes: "The publishers' meetings are secret because their actions cannot bear the light of publicity." The section dealing with their activities will make familiar, though still shocking reading to members of the Guild (Mr. Seldes, incidentally dedicates his study "To the American Newspaper Guild and others interested in a free press." Perhaps this is one of the minor reasons that his volume went so largely unmentioned and unreviewed in our present free press.)

In all American business and industry today [Mr. Seldes says] there is probably no instance of such bitterness, such conflict, such hatred, such opposition and such war to the throat as between newspaper workers and the newspaper owners. The amusing angle to this story is that the publishers still print that cockeyed falsehood about the interests of capital and labor being identical. It certainly isn't in their own line.

Perhaps the most interesting diagnosis of a lord of the press is that concerning Roy Howard. It owes its interest not only to the author's skill with the scalpel but to the fact that one of the most unabashed conservatives of them all is thought by some to be a great liberal leader. In being so considered Mr. Howard has been successful in a neat trick. And yet Mr. Howard, in some instances at any rate, has been frank from the first. When the Scripps-Howard chain established a newspaper in Denver, Mr. Howard was insistent, and publicly so, that the primary goal of the paper was "to sell advertising."

ROY HOWARD, ADVERTISING SALESMAN

Mr. Seldes contrasts this enunciation of policy with one by Robert Paine Scripps in which the latter said the goal of the chain was to publish newspapers "be-fitting or worthy of a man of free birth; free, not servile or mean; not narrow or contracted in view; broadminded, free from bigotry, not bound by orthodox form in political or religious philosophy."

Here [Mr. Seldes writes] in the statement of intentions we have a pretty fair history of the rise and fall of the Scripps-Howard press. The elder Scripps twice tried ad-less newspapers because he knew that no free press can ever exist which owes a first allegiance to business: he supported labor unions in general and raised money for picketers, and he was not afraid to dedicate his press to the workingman. The younger Scripps lived in the shadow of his father's illness but he wanted a press befitting a nation of free men. And the present head (Howard) of all the newspapers, news services, radio stations and other means of manufacturing public opinion in America, says, "We are here to sell advertising."

After telling of one instance in which the column of General Johnson was suppressed (one which mentions John L. Lewis favorably) and declaring that Brown's column "is not only suppressed from time to time for expressing ideas which Howard doesn't approve, but his daily copy is actually censored," Mr. Seldes relates an instance that he patently regards as a definitive proof that Howard is a reactionary. It concerns Howard's recent selection of Merlin H. Aylesworth as publisher of the New York World Telegram. Prior to his appointment Mr. Aylesworth had been the head of the National Electric Light Association, Mr. Seldes writes as follows of the Association:

The greatest documentary exposure of the financial corruption of the majority of the newspapers of America is the 72-volume report of the Federal Trade Commission which accuses the National Electric Light Association, the propaganda and bribery department of the public utilities, of poisoning the mind of the entire people through its \$25,000,000 a year newspaper advertising fund. The NELA at its annual conventions boasted that it had "reached" four-fifths of the press, but this figure may be slightly exaggerated. They did "reach" a majority. If Roy Howard had searched the whole world over for a gesture to show the world of big business that it had won and the last trace of Scrippsian idealism was gone, he could not have done better than to choose the former director of the biggest propaganda fund that ever fought the free press of America.

Mr. Seldes devotes more space to the Times than any other newspaper on the premise that since it is the most important paper in the country its shortcomings are more important than those of a less influential sheet. He finds—and gives numerous instances—that it is biased in its labor news, that it buries or suppresses government investigations of big business when the probe reveals industry in less than a favorable light, that it has consistently defended Morgan and other financial powers in the face of official accusations that they were not serving the public welfare, that it indulges in red-baiting, that it slants the news so as to favor the baby-bombing Franco, and that it is generally the organ of big business as opposed to the interests of the public.

SULZBERGER'S ONE-WAY VISION

In detailing his charge that the Times colors its news to favor Fascists in Spain, Mr. Seldes maintains that Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the Times, is ignorant of this pro-Fascist doctoring of the news. Yet, he says:

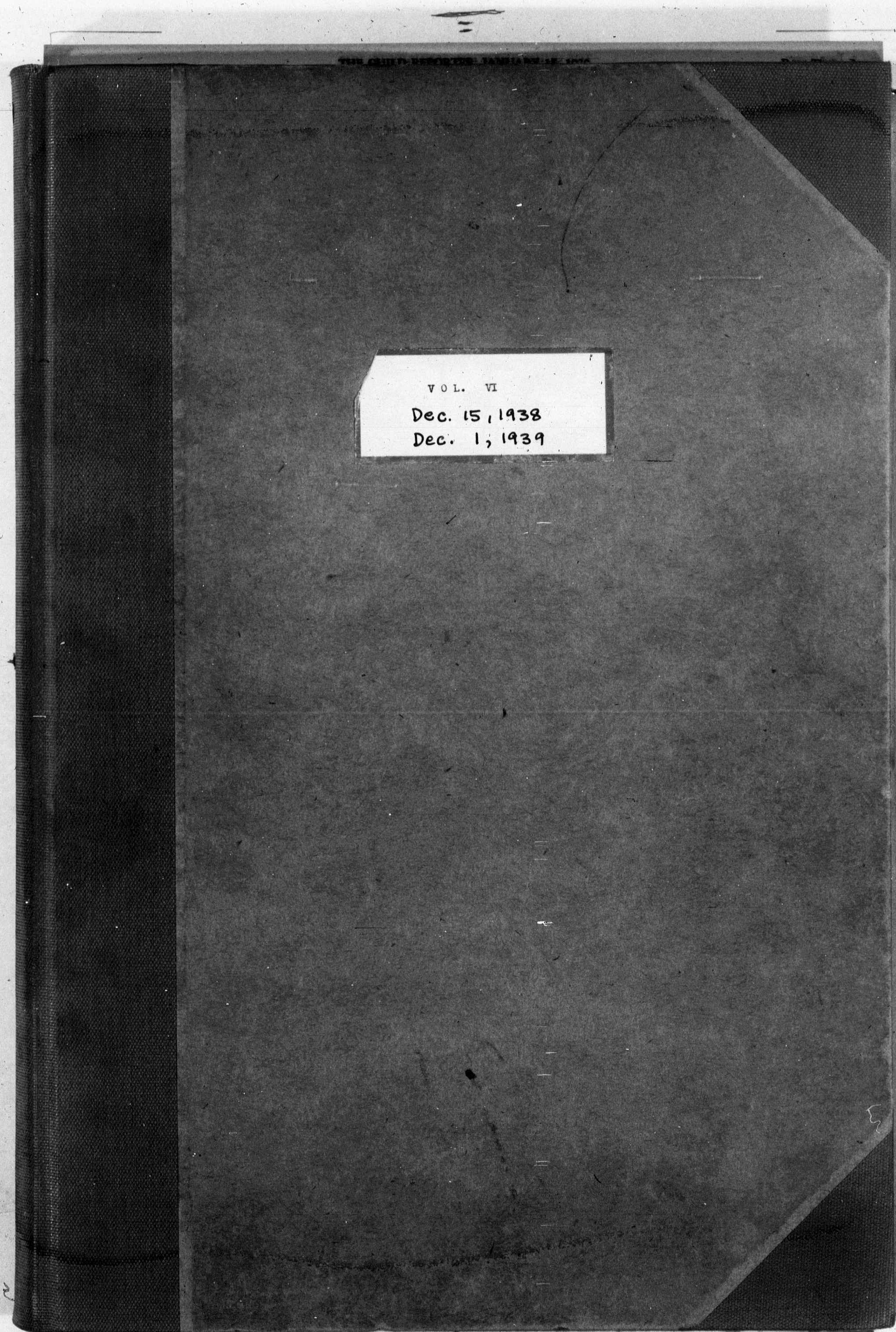
It is true that if the sabotage, intimidation, distortion, coloration and suppression that happens on the Times was directed to advance any progressive or leftist cause, instead of a reactionary, pro-Franco or generally rightist cause, the editors, sub-editors, reporters and others engaged in it would immediately find themselves out of a job. But being reactionaries they are not only in, but going up. I think this is the most important factor about the Times' present state. Mr. Sulzberger says he is a liberal. There is no reason to doubt that he himself believes his liberalism a fact. And Mr. Sulzberger's idea of liberalism is to permit men of all opinions to occupy his editorial job, even when a majority of them are not only non-liberals but anti-liberals, and ultimately enemies of liberalism. He seems incapable of spotting reactionary sabotage, but smells "radical disloyalty" far away.

In a special section devoted to William F. Carney, the Times correspondent with Franco, Mr. Seldes concludes his survey of this paper. Buttressed by careful documentation, Mr. Seldes alleges that Mr. Carney is a liar, that he has deliberately fabricated news, that he has used his dispatches as a means of espionage, that he is and has been for a long time virulently pro-Fascist and that knowing this the New York Times assigned him to Franco's army. In addition he alleges that the Times has heckled Matthews, Times correspondent with the Loyalists, by such cablegrams as this following his story of the Italian defeat at Guadalajara: "Why do you say there were Italians at Guadalajara when Carney denies it?" When Matthews, in a cable story, repeated "these troops were Italians and nothing but Italians" the Times changed the words, Mr. Seldes alleges, to "these troops were insurgents and nothing but insurgents."

This then is the author's picture of the newspaper he considers to be the most important in the country.

In a review of this length it is not possible to be anything but sketchy. It is impossible to do more than suggest the long catalogue of specific instances with which Mr. Seldes reinforces his conclusions. It is impossible in this space to consider each paper and each publisher considered by Mr. Seldes.

Important as is this volume in portraying the press as it is this moment, its implications as to the future are even more important. Throughout the book Mr. Seldes points out that Fascists have always been against unions and that newspaper publishers are against them; that Fascists have always justified their course through a fictitious red menace and that newspaper publishers frequently raise the cry of "red"; that Fascist regimes are always ushered in in the name of justice and righteousness, and that no group so frequently mask their actions behind noble slogans as do the publishers. In an era in which the impossible ever more frequently comes to pass, in which what was once considered fantastic daily becomes reality, it becomes the pleasant duty of every newspaperman to read this book. Let each one weigh the evidence and decide where the lords of the press would stand if the people were faced with a loss of liberty.



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