

The GUILD REPORTER

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

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ON GUILD'S DEFENSE LINE:

Having been slugged and beaten, leaders in the Chicago strike were arrested. Here are some waiting to go. Virginia Gardner, chairman of the Chicago Tribune unit, struggles with her nerves as she looks at Charles Cain, who suffered a severe head wound. Nate Aleskovsky, striking copyreader, is assisting her. Local Executive Secretary Don Stevens, also beaten, is in the background.



Hearst Strike Firm, Balks Thug Attack

Chicago Unit of 500 Has Papers Crippled; Fight Long Provoked

CHICAGO—Resisting successive strikebreaking maneuvers which included sluggings and arrests, the strike of more than 500 editorial and commercial department Guildsmen against Hearst's Chicago papers, which began on Dec. 5, entered its second week Monday with power growing as its pressure campaign developed.

Plant Polls Due on 2 Hearst Papers

While the Labor Board last fortnight ordered plant-wide elections on Hearst papers in two important Guild cities, a third local, San Francisco, extended its contract on the Hearst Oakland Post-Enquirer to cover classified advertising employees and bring them large raises. The elections, which had been awaited by the Guild since last April, will be on the New York Journal and American and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

The papers, the morning Herald & Examiner and the Evening American, continued publication, but more than 80 per cent of their circulation was tied up from the beginning.

The walkout, beginning at 4 in the morning, came at the end of more than a year of management attempts to break up the Guild, including wholesale dismissals, contract violations, demotions, organization of company unions in alliance with top AFL officials, and the use of gangsters against Guild-organized circulation men.

The strike vote was 137-65, and the walkout drew 500 from all Guild divisions, tying up particularly the editorial and circulation departments. One hundred non-Guildsmen refused to go through the picket lines, and 30 of their number signed application cards during the first day. The strike is the largest in ANG history.

Anti-Strike Tactics Fail

Management maneuvers to break the strike were first centered upon efforts to get back the circulation branch managers, who were responsible for crippling the circulation. The men, who had been getting \$35 a week, were offered \$65 to return. This failing, a campaign of terror was begun. Thugs cruising in autos waylaid and beat the men as they made their strike rounds about the city in the early morning hours.

The attack upon the picket line on Dec. 8, widely publicized as a "battle" between pickets on the one side and "non-strikers" and police on the other, resulted in injury and arrests only for pickets. Thugs armed with auto cranks and lead-filled rubber hose and police with (Continued on Page Three)

One Signs In W.-B.; Rest Stall

WILKES-BARRE—The Wilkes-Barre publishers' front was broken last fortnight with the signing of an industrial, Guild shop contract with the Sunday Independent, covering to the Guild's satisfaction virtually all points which had been under dispute.

Expected publication of the first newspaper Wilkes-Barre would have since the strike-forced shutdown of the city's four papers on Oct. 3, was blocked however, by refusal of the International Typographical Union local to permit its members to return to work until all four papers have signed up, although the printers are not on strike. Should the paper attempt to operate over the opposition of the ITU local, the Guild position remains clear. Its contract not only provides that Guildsmen shall not be required to handle work destined for struck departments, but that they shall not be required to pass through picket lines.

Meanwhile the publishers of the three dailies, the Evening News, Times-Leader and Wilkes-Barre Record, persisted in their refusal to negotiate settlements. Instead, they continued their efforts to break the strike with the aid of a company-dominated union organized in alliance with AFL leaders from Washington. Last week the publishers went to Washington to bring pressure to bear upon the National Labor Board in the hopes of obtaining an employee election on the petition of the (Continued on Page Six)

Levy for Strike Due Now

This constitutes notice that the IEB has levied a Defense Fund assessment to meet the great additional need created by the Chicago strike. This need is urgent; payments should be collected at once and rushed to headquarters.

The Board has also authorized a series of additional assessments if necessary.

The Guild will win in Chicago and on the other fronts by placing its main reliance on the smooth steady functioning of its financial machinery—on prompt payments of assessments and dues. The whole history of the ANG has taught the importance of facing emergencies in an organized way. This is a vital time to demonstrate that discipline.

Assessment Call Gets Quick Action

Faced in Chicago with "the greatest struggle in the history of the Guild," in the view of Executive Vice President Eddy, the International Executive Board last week levied a 50-cent assessment payable as of Dec. 12.

Hardly had word of the motion in the Board been announced in the strike bulletin of Dec. 5, when locals began to respond. Reading, Pa., was first to get its check to headquarters, Sec'y T. R. Hughes sending it on Dec. 7. On the same day, Secretary-Treasurer Robert H. Fleming of Madison, Wis., sent his local's check.

In Boston more than half the membership was believed to have paid on Dec. 9, and in the case of at least one unit, the Transcript, Philadelphia and New York were reported well started before the (Continued on Page Six)

BUILDING: The Chicago Struggle, Its Meaning and Background

By JONATHAN EDDY

CHICAGO.

JUDGING from the letters and resolutions, the strike against the Chicago American and the Chicago Herald & Examiner is commanding more instantaneous response throughout the Guild than any other struggle we have had in recent years. Judging from the array of telegrams on the bulletin board here at strike headquarters in the basement of the Steuben Tower Building, it has aroused unprecedented support amongst other organizations and individuals, and the general public.

This is not to minimize the splendid display of solidarity, discipline and self-reliance we have had from the beginning in Wilkes-Barre. An effective strike against four newspapers, one of which has now settled, in a city of that size, with the top leadership of the AFL up to its usual splitting tactics, is unequalled in Guild history. The Wilkes-Barre strike was won the day it started, no matter how long the publishers' associations are able to keep the remaining hold-outs among the local publishers in line and deprive the public of news. It is not necessary to minimize Wilkes-Barre or any other of our fights in order to evaluate the Chicago battle.

Just as the Brooklyn Eagle strike was, in the numbers involved, the size of the (Continued on Page Four)

This Is Birthday— Celebrated on P. 9

Five years ago the American Newspaper Guild was formed, at a meeting of delegates in Washington.

Back of it were decades of attempts by editorial-workers to create some kind of body for their economic welfare. Almost every attempt failed or petered out. The story of them is told on Page 9 of this issue by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, historian of the industry.

Messages from ANG President Broun and from John L. Lewis, president of the CIO, also appear on page 9.

Wage Act Gains Enforced

SIoux CITY, Ia. — The Guild here pressed both daily papers for benefits provided by the Wage-Hour Act, and the publishers acceded to the union's demands on most points after a joint conference.

However, one paper, the Journal, refused to establish a blanket 44-hour week in the circulation department, and countered with a proposal to sign a written agreement to lower the work-week in the event a court ruling establishes a precedent.

The partial Guild shop contract obtained here left only two provisions of the Wage-Hour Act open to discussion. These were the time and a half clause for overtime and the 44-hour week for three classifications in the circulation departments — other union members already working a 44-hour week.

Results of Letter

Upon receipt of a letter from Guild President Don Pinkston the Journal immediately established the thirty and a half provision, and paid back overtime on that basis to the date the law became effective.

After the conference was held the Tribune met the overtime provision and lowered the work-week to 44 hours for the circulation classification affected on that paper, the city district men. The Journal still refused to lower the work-week of district men, country men and street circulators the necessary four hours.

The Journal publisher's proposal to the Guild would provide for full back pay at time and one half if and when any court established a precedent. The Guild grievance committee notified the publisher, W. R. Sammons, that it would confer with international headquarters before replying.

San Antonio Wins Before NLRB

SAN ANTONIO, Tex. — Rulings in favor of the San Antonio Guild on every point were made in an intermediate report filed last fortnight by an NLRB trial examiner on charges brought against the Express Publishing company.

Examiner W. P. Webb reported, on the basis of testimony at a hearing held Oct. 6, that the Express had "restrained and coerced its employees" and that it had discouraged membership in the Guild. He reported also that although four conferences had been held, beginning March 14, the company had refused to bargain with the Guild.

The examiner recommended that the company cease its coercion and interference and post a notice that it will bargain in good faith.

Boston Unit Votes Strike Over Indemnity Violation

BOSTON — Editorial and commercial employees of the century-old Boston Evening Transcript have voted to strike rather than allow the management to ignore its dismissal pay agreement for two old employees.

The Guild has nearly 100 percent membership among the editorial and commercial departments of the newspaper, now in receivership for reorganization under Federal bankruptcy laws.

Lincoln O'Brien, publisher who came in prior to receivership, discharged two old employees, one "for no fault of his own" and the other "for no fault of his own." He declined to pay dismissal pay to the first employee and paid only two years severance pay to

Did Guild Improve Press? Something Did, Robb Says

Has the "rise of American Newspaper Guild brought with it more accurate and intelligent handling of the news?" Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, thinks it has and he so declared over a nation-wide radio hook-up when the question was put to him on a recent broadcast of "America's Town Meeting of the Air."

But Arthur Robb, editor of Editor & Publisher and co-discusser with Thomas and Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., on the broadcast of "What Does Free Speech Mean Today?" wasn't so sure. He admitted there has been an improvement, but he couldn't be sure how responsible the Guild was for it.

The question was asked by a member of the studio audience and was directed to Thomas who replied:

"Yes, taking the country as a whole, I do, and largely on this basis that, when men feel some sense of protection in association they have a dignity, a security of position, which ministers toward proper reporting, and therefore I think that the effect has been good. It is certainly very good in principle."

The moderator of the program, George V. Denny, Jr., requested Robb to speak to the question also. Robb said:

"I don't think that the question can be answered definitely. I don't think there is any question that there has been an improvement in the intelligent treatment of news during the last, well, say, five years, the period of the Guild's existence. But as to just what extent the Guild is responsible for that, I do not know."

Boston Publisher Offers Guild Shop, But At a Price

BOSTON — Yes, Virginia, there is a profit motive! Boston Guildsmen met last week in conference with a joint committee representing publishers of the Globe and Herald-Traveler in an effort to reach agreement on the Guild shop, but they brought into the open an interesting offer by the publishers to sacrifice "principles."

The Guild refused, under the circumstances, to bind itself to concessions for the Guild shop, particularly as it was pointed out that the Guild shop was of benefit to publishers, too, and was not to be used to outmaneuver the Guild on basic policy and contract issues.

When conferences reached an impasse, Fred Myers, New England Guild District executive secretary, elicited from the Globe's representative an indication the publishers would grant the Guild shop for a price. Hitherto, the publishers had made much of the point that they could not permit the Guild shop because it would force many "old loyal employees" to join the Guild.

"The publishers," said the publishers' committee, "have thoroughly considered the report of their committee and are not convinced of the advisability of joint negotiations."

"The committee, however, is perfectly willing to go back to the publishers if the Guild wishes to undertake to offer a complete, written proposal for consideration."

The statement ignored the Guild shop, which had been under consideration, and Myers asked a question which drew the reply that the publishers' committee, "have thoroughly considered the report of their committee and are not convinced of the advisability of joint negotiations."

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Big Six Again Bars Fund to Fight CIO

Members of New York Local 6 (Big Six), International Typographical Union, have again rejected the proposal for payment of the per capita tax of 1 cent a month to aid the AFL war chest in the campaign against the CIO.

By a viva voce vote, the ITU's largest local refused to consider a proposal by the Chicago local for a national referendum, and thus reaffirmed a stand taken several months ago.

Capital Guild Gains In Vertical Drive

WASHINGTON — Enrollment of 125 business and circulation employees of the Post has given impetus to the Washington Guild's drive to organize and obtain contract advantages for all workers in the capital's newspaper industry.

Negotiations in behalf of the business office and circulation office employees of the News (Scripps-Howard) began last fortnight, and the proposed supplemental contract for the Post has been drafted.

Representing the Guild in the News negotiations are President Rodgers, Newspaper Information Service; Tom Reynolds, UP, and Jay Ward, Post.

All editorial employees on Washington newspapers are covered by contracts. Renewal negotiations with the Star are under way.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID? MOTION PICTURES

THE LATEST AND GREATEST OF THE HARDY SERIES

OUT WEST WITH THE HARDYS

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Houston Improves Contract

HOUSTON, Tex. — Wage, hour and work standards established in its first contract with the Houston Press (Scripps-Howard) were maintained and several improvements made when the Houston Guild signed its second agreement.

Principal gains were in increased dismissal indemnities, a staggered statement of the 8-day, 40-hour week clause, elimination of a "right to dismiss" clause, the widening of a considerable pay.

In the new agreement, which covers only editorial workers, dismissal indemnities are based on one week's pay for each eight months of service or fraction thereof instead of a complicated scale in the old agreement. The new clause adds about one week's dismissal pay for each year of service over the schedule of the former contract. Top now is before is 24 weeks' pay.

Pay schedules remain the same, ranging from \$20 for the first six months of experience to \$45 for employees of five years' experience.

The new contract replaced one which expired Sept. 7, status quo being maintained during negotiations. It was signed by Victor Emanuel, secretary for the Guild, and by Alan C. Bartlett, editor for the management. Negotiators were: Robert V. Johnson, Allan Sanders, W. H. Gardner, Sam Johnson and Glenn R. Dodd.

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Chicago Strike Firm Under Attack

500 in Hearst Unit Resist Thug Onslaught

(Continued from Page One)

clubs charged the line of about 400. Slugged were Stanley Sander, a striking circulation branch manager; Charles Cain, vice president of the Portland (Me.) Guild who was visiting in Chicago, and Don Stevens, executive secretary of the Chicago Guild. Many others were beaten and kicked.

Doctors at the county hospital feared for a time that Sander might lose an eye. Witnesses said he was clubbed to the ground and kicked by a uniformed policeman. Cain required hospital treatment for a head injury.

The police at the scene were under command of Captain John Prendergast and other officers who were in charge at the time ten persons were killed in the South Chicago steel strike massacre.

After the "battle" in front of the Hearst building, Publisher Merrill C. Meigs and Circulation Manager Walter J. Parker of the American, who pointed out Guild leaders to the slugs, again pointed out a group of leaders—this time for arrest. Practically every Guild leader on the scene was arrested. The slugs remained on the scene, untouched by the police. Those arrested were:

Harry Wohl, Chicago local president; ANG Representative H. Richard and Seller, three on behalf of the International; Stevens and his wife, Sada; Cain; Virginia Gardner, chairman of the Chicago Tribune unit, who was barely saved from serious injury; David Keniston and Nate Aleskovsky, Herald & Examiner copy readers. After being held for several hours on "open charges" the eight were released under \$25 bail each on disorderly conduct charges. The bail was later reduced to \$10.

Line Is Reformed

The picket line was reorganized and charged immediately after the attack.

Earlier, that day, two striking circulation men, Tom Clark and Arthur Gravis, were attacked by four slugs and arrested with their assailants on assault charges. The management bailed the slugs, the Guild its members.

Nor were the assault victims confined to Guildsmen. Two printers and a machinist, members of the International Typographical Union, were slugged on Dec. 11 when one of them placed a Guild handbill on a news stand.

The picket line assaults were followed, on Dec. 9, by a "back-to-work" movement which drew 13 editorial employees several of whom had been under suspicion as stooges sent out on strike to lead just such a movement. The stratagem was marked by fake radio and newspaper reports that the strike was "over." Simultaneously, strikers' homes were flooded with telephone calls from Hearst executives, promising large pay increases if the employees returned. There were anonymous telephone calls, also, threatening violence, and men impersonating Guild leaders telephoned that the strike was ended.

Fake Meeting Fails

Two score editorial department Guildsmen were lured to a hotel through a phony meeting call. They found Publisher Meigs at the place. The strikers told him to see the proper Guild officials. Later, Edward G. Woods, Hearst counsel, telephoned Stevens an invitation to come to the Hearst plant for a conference. Guild leaders forbade entry into the plant, fearing further violence. Woods refused to meet on neutral ground and there was no conference. Leaders believed that the planned conference was a part of the scenery for the back-to-work movement.

The strike has attracted wide

spread support. CIO Chairman John L. Lewis interested himself personally, requesting Van Bittner, regional director, to aid the Guild. The strike was the topic of sympathetic sermons in six large West Side Roman Catholic churches Sunday. The Rev. John Hayes, who earlier addressed a Guild mass meeting, spoke at three masses at St. Angela's Church.

Teachers Lead Aid

Chicago's army of teachers, principals and other school employees joined those aiding the Guild. Officers of the Chicago Principals' Club notified strike headquarters that 14,000 teachers were being urged through their principals to address letters of protest to large advertisers against use of space in the struck papers. In addition, they were urged to write letters to the publishers demanding that the Guild's demands be met.

Similar action was taken by the Chicago Teachers Union, members of which were advised to act also as individuals. Joining in the plan was the City Schools Committee, representing 80 organizations.

The Guild is advertising the strike through the distribution of hundreds of thousands of leaflets and by parades through the Loop section. The withdrawal of advertising was accelerated by the published admission by Publisher Meigs that the papers were not being delivered.

Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy, who spent the weekend in Chicago, said the strike was the best organized in its first week, in the ANG's history.

Ill-Assorted Staff

The management, seeking to maintain a semblance of operation of the plants, imported strike-breakers into the editorial departments, promoted copy boys to editorships, and made rewrite men of promotion department workers who have difficulty in speaking English. The papers found additional handicaps in producing after the International News Photo union members voted to shut off all news and picture flow to and from the staff offices, and not to force their way through picket lines.

Refusal of American Communications Association members to cross

CHICAGO LAW AND ORDER

Police Caught in Act of 'Preserving' Both



Scenes before and after thugs armed with auto cranks and lead-filled rubber hose charged the Chicago Hearst picket line with the aid of police. Note the man with crank in photo above. Right, a policeman displays an academic curiosity as thugs drag a half-conscious picket away.



The picket line closed the Postal Telegraph office in the building. While recent mass firings, having the earmarks of a direct challenge to the Guild, precipitated the strike, the genesis lay in the intimidation and coercion which goes back two years.

Tried to Stop Organization

When underpaid and overworked employees in the editorial departments of the two papers started flocking to the Guild late in 1936, the managements hurriedly raised pay and restored the five-day week (discarded when the NRA was declared unconstitutional). Failing to halt organization, executives began a campaign of firings and intimidation which reached its height immediately after the special convention of newspaper publishers' associations called here by the ANPA in the name of "the freedom of the press" to attack the Guild. A drive to organize a dual newswriters' union in the AFL was launched simultaneously upon or-

ders by William Green, AFL president. This failed, but Green's drive has continued since, as has Hearst's. The Guild estimates that 500 have been fired in both plants during the past two years.

A Hundred Violations

The Guild's tabulation showed that the management has violated in more than 25 instances the contract provision requiring that the Guild be consulted on all economy dismissals, and in more than 62 instances hours and overtime pay regulations.

The contract was signed on Jan. 20 last after the Hearst units had taken a strike vote. The employees' demand at that time was protection against the recurring waves of firings. The contract prohibited economy dismissals for 90 days and barred pay cuts for a year. The contract covered only editorial employees, but there was a stipulation that the firing and pay cut provisions would apply to other Guild departments. At the same time agreement was reached that the NLRB would determine whether

(Continued on Page Four)

BUILDING: The Chicago Struggle, Its Meaning and Background

By JONATHAN EDDY

(Continued from Page One)

papers, etc., twice as big as any preceding Guild strike, the Chicago business is twice as big (and then some) as anything preceding, including Brooklyn. Two papers are involved, twice as many Guildmen and women are on the picket line, the opposition is far stronger, better organized, more unscrupulous. With all due respect, this is our first truly metropolitan strike.

Since the winning of strikes is largely a question of reaching and affecting public opinion, the size of the city has a very direct bearing on the magnitude of the task. Further, the voices of liberalism, of freely informed democracy, are weak in this stronghold of reactionary publishers and gangsters. Guildmen and women in some smaller centers have learned what it is to be hounded by armed thugs in the employ of the publishers and to have their families terrorized in their absence. They know the feeling of indignation and outrage that comes upon realization of the actuality that some AFL leaders will stoop to giving union cards to the employers for distribution to hoodlums in order to fight labor organizations.

The difference in Chicago is that these common manifestations of a weak and unprincipled AFL labor movement are organized here on a grander scale; and that the misleaders of labor have placed at their disposal the machinery that the employing class usually reserves jealously for its own direct control. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that this top bureaucracy of the Chicago and Illinois AFL bodies has been taken over by the employers and incorporated into the strike-breaking apparatus of the most reactionary employing interests, of whom the publishers, Hearst leading, are the chief spokesmen and propagandists. Indeed, the AFL top bureaucracy has become the principal agency, as well as the false front of the employers in breaking strikes.

For nearly a year the bitterest attacks against the Guild have been appearing, not in the American or Herald & Examiner, but in the news publication of the Chicago Federation of Labor, under the direct control of this bureaucracy. Again, while the conservative organizations joined in the frenzied broadcasts today that "the strike is over," for nearly a year the radio station of the Chicago Federation of Labor, controlled by the same fat set of job-holders, has been attempting to destroy our organization on the newspapers by far more systematic and less transparent lies.

I have said repeatedly that our principal task in winning Guild strikes has been the organization of unity of the forces of labor in support of the strike, and, therefrom, unity of the public in support of collective bargaining in good faith. This is true on the grand scale in Chicago. Our strikes always have succeeded because we have been successful in this basic task. The speed with which it can be accomplished here will be enormously affected by our internal organization, of which the most serious aspect is perhaps finance.

All in all, what is the perspective, now that the strike has had a few days in which to "shake down"?

For one thing, as to the fact that the papers are publishing. Entering strike headquarters, one of the first things you see is a copy of the local Hearst papers tacked to a pillar under a sign reading "See It Here—Don't Buy It." Going through it, the American, I found a half-column and one column deep of a railroad, an ad the same size for a brand of charged water, and a substantial amount of theatrical and classified ads. I was told that the amusement ads were half of normal volume, that the community fund ad was free space, that the same type of padding ad was usual in strikes was being

FOR N.Y. PARTY



Here is just a sample of the attractions to be offered at the annual benefit show and dance of the New York Guild in the Hotel Commodore Friday, Dec. 16. Lucy Monroe, comedy star of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will be on the program, as will a host of other big-name entertainers. And heading the distinguished guests will be Mayor LaGuardia. To do their bit in advance, Miss Monroe and Hissner arranged that she should sell him his tickets while the cameras clicked. The night's festivities will start 11 p.m.

2 Hearst Plant Polls Set; Ad Group on Coast Gains

(Continued from Page One)

the classified advertising department as a separate bargaining unit and to hold a special election for that department.

Only one group will vote separately, the city inspectors in the circulation department who will have their choice of the Guild, the AFL Council and the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union.

Extended Hearings Held

The board gave the International Typographical Union 90 days to provide "bona fide representation" for the group known as composing room helpers. If, at the end of 90 days, the ITO has not taken in the helpers or reached a satisfactory agreement with the Guild, the helpers will be declared part of the group found to be the appropriate bargaining unit.

The decision is the result of extensive hearings held in New York in April at which representatives of all of the mechanical unions, the AFL Council, and the Guild testified and presented claims of jurisdiction. The decision is 15 pages in length. The AFL organization was known originally as the American Advertising Associates Union. It had membership only in the classified advertising department.

Recently a movement started in the classified department to resign from the Council and join the Guild. A sizable majority of this department already has signed the mass resignation and has applied to the Guild for membership.

The leaders of the Journal & American unit expect to receive more than 90 per cent of the vote. The Guild is solidly organized in all departments.

GUILD ALONE ON BALLOT

SEATTLE—In an order establishing an important precedent, the past, and that the Guild today is in a better position, in size, in union understanding, in unity and discipline than ever before to wage such a struggle.

And to top this off, the management refuses to meet with us for purposes of collective bargaining, and its latest pronouncement is that it's against the law to bargain with the Newspaper Guild! Somebody is certainly crazy, and I don't think it's the AFG.

Photo Captions Tell Chicago Strike Story

Captions attached to the photographs distributed by the Wide World Picture service—captions that don't find their way into print—tell the story of police and guard assaults upon the Chicago Guild strikers which no newspaper has published.

One Wide World caption served with the picture which appears on page 3 of the Guild Reporter says: "An injured picket is thrown from the line by strikers . . . after slugging . . . Note the policemen, detailed to prevent disorder, looking on idly." The AP caption on the same photo notes that eight Guildmen were arrested. The caption attached to the second photo (Wide World) reproduced on our page 3 included one sentence which had been "X'd" out. But the type was still discernable. It read: "Police-men detailed to prevent disorder made very little apparent effort to stop the disorder as strikers slugged and kicked the pickets."

The only commercial newspaper known to have printed the picture revealing the man with the crank handle was the New York Daily News.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID?

Chicago Strike Holds Firm

(Continued from Page Three)

The Guild would be recognized, the bargaining agency for distribution and business departments, most a year has passed, and Guild still awaits the election.

Firings Resumed

With expiration of the economic dismissal clause, the firings began again. Forty were dismissed about May 1, and since that time 20 more, all without the consultation required by the contract. During a recent conference with Joseph V. Connolly, Hearst general manager, Connolly made the statement that there were too many high-salaried executives of the Herald and Examiner. Not one of these executives was fired in the mass dismissal.

NLRB hearings on the question of election certification unleashed new waves of intimidation, and the Guild added complaints of unfair labor practices to its case. More than a score of AFL unions lined up with jurisdictional claims after the management had attempted to convince some of them, that the Guild would invade their fiefs.

Two company-dominated organizations arose overnight in the plant and—with no visible source of funds—hired expensive halls, produced costly leaflets and petitions. Executives practically forced employees to sign membership applications.

Joseph Padway, AFL general counsel, took an active part with other AFL-affiliated attorneys in fighting the Guild. Hearings in both the certification petition and unfair practices complaint have been completed and the record is now being studied by an NLRB trial examiner.

The board found that this group "has no real interest in the business and good will" of the paper—the business and good will are in fact the property of the company, available at any time to its exclusive enjoyment by termination of the drivers' contracts. The drivers' work included the delivery of papers to subscribers, the solicitation of subscriptions, and the keeping of subscription lists up to date.

In line with an agreement made between the Guild and the Brotherhood of Teamsters local here several months ago, the board certified the Teamsters for employees in bargaining agent for employees in the outside circulation unit of the circulation department.

\$7,000 IN RAISES

SAN FRANCISCO—An agreement granting employees of the Oakland Post-Enquirer classified advertising department the same salaries, hours, working conditions and dismissal indemnity schedule as prevail under the Guild contract with the San Francisco-Oakland Publishers Association has just been signed by the Guild.

The agreement provides pay increases amounting to \$7,000 a year for 11 employees. It establishes a 5-day, 40-hour-week, overtime pay and dismissal indemnity of one week's pay for every 30 weeks of service up to 25 weeks. It raises salaries from an average of about \$18 to more than \$30 a week. Employees will receive half the raise at once and the remainder on Feb. 1. The agreement will expire April 1, date of expiration of the contract with the Publishers Association. It was negotiated by Terence, local executive secretary, and Dick Dyer of the Post-Enquirer editorial department. It is the first negotiated for a commercial department in Oakland.

MISS THOMPSON MODERATES

The debate was the result of a statement by Miss Thompson in her N. Y. Herald-Tribune column Nov. 4 that the Wagner Act was "an atrocious act, atrociously administered." When Randau challenged her to debate this question, she suggested on Nov. 10 that wording be changed. Debater Randau said he was encouraged that Miss Thompson had progressed between Nov. 4 and 10 from regarding the act as atrocious or "very bad" to considering it merely "bad." Disappointed that her progress between Nov. 10 and the day of the debate was not as rapid, Randau said he hoped that on further investigation Guildswoman Thompson would join the rest of the Guild "instead of being aligned against us in this coming bitter fight for the protection of the Wagner Act."

Well-poised and dressed in an attractive, dark-blue office dress, Miss Thompson opened the debate by declaring that she believed in collective bargaining, but that the other stated objective of the Wagner Act—to prevent industrial strikes and depressions—could not be achieved by it. She declared that passage of the act was followed by "unprecedented industrial strife," rising to 4,740 strikes in 1937.

Admits Employer Sabotage

"I shall not deny," said she, "the attitude of some employers in this country toward labor, particularly as it concerns its right to organize, has been the most backward and stubborn in the democratic world. Nor shall I deny for a moment that the Wagner Labor Relations Act was wilfully sabotaged by the employers in the hope that it would be declared unconstitutional."

Miss Thompson asserted, however, that the act and employees also were partly responsible for strike. Her chief objections to the act were that it failed to protect employers against "unfair practices" of labor, that it gave the NLRB too much power over employers and labor, that it gave the NLRB too little authority to settle disputes.

Objecting that, by protecting workers from employers' warnings against organization, the act treated employees "as though they were morons," Miss Thompson asserted: "I don't think that it is intimidation if Mr. Ford hands out things saying, 'I will fire you for belonging to the union,' because he knows he can't." The audience laughed.

Miss Thompson also forewarned a possibility of the Labor Board's becoming "a rubber stamp of the trade unions."

"If that should happen, you would have an employers' revolt," she said.

Miss Thompson praised labor statutes in Sweden, where collective bargaining is universal. Swedish laws, she said, make contracts binding, forbid strikes or lockouts during a contract. Her proposals for amendment of the Wagner Act went beyond the Swedish laws, however. She proposed, among other things, that contracts be made enforceable, that unfair practices by labor be outlawed, that employers be allowed to complain to the Labor Board, and that contributions by unions to political parties be barred. These changes are similar to those proposed by employers.

Magna Charta Was Opposed

Randau pointed out that the Magna Charta and the American Bill of Rights were opposed from the right as strenuously as the Wagner Act when they were enacted. He predicted that the battle for the Wagner Act would be won more quickly than those for Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights which took hundreds of years to establish.

The Wagner Act, whose primary purpose is to establish workers' collective bargaining rights and administration of the act by the Labor Board, have been supported strongly by the U. S. Supreme Court and by majority of the U. S. populace, he added.

To Miss Thompson's charge that strike had increased under the Wagner Act, Randau retorted that it had actually diminished after employers' chastened by Supreme Court decisions in 1937, began to obey the act. In the first ten months of 1938, he said, there were only one-half as many strikes, involving one-third as many workers as in the corresponding period of 1937.

Labor Spurts Ahead

That the act had been successful in promoting collective bargaining is indicated in the growth of the American labor movement from 2,008,000 members in 1934 to over 7,500,000 in 1938, he said.

"There should be 40,000,000 men organized for collective bargaining," declared Randau, "because their employers long since have been organized for collective bargaining in their own employers' unions. We are on the way to that 40,000,000. It is because the National Manufacturers Association and the owners of newspapers know that, that they have found this law is no good. The reason the law is no good is because it works, and if it didn't work, they would think it was swell."

NLRA NOT SO BAD, MISS THOMPSON FINDS

But It Still Needs Bettering, Insists Columnist in Debate

Starting out to prove that the Wagner Labor Relations Act "is bad act, badly administered," Columnist Dorothy Thompson moderated her position during a debate with New York Guild President Carl Randau Dec. 9 in the Hotel Roosevelt. Miss Thompson conceded that the act had accomplished much good but insisted it needed improvement.

Nearly 1,000 Guild members and friends attended the debate, sponsored by the New York Guild. Although several reporters busily took notes at a press table, the debate was unreported by New York City newspapers, which next morning found it necessary to devote much of their space to demands for amendment of the Wagner Act by Nebraska's Senator E. R. Burke and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Freedom of the press, as well as the Wagner Act, was debated by the speakers. At one point Miss Thompson cried: "I would join a strike with you any day on the issue of anybody being fired for refusing to distort a factual report."



Is the Wagner Act "bad legislation, badly administered?" Dorothy Thompson, New York Herald-Tribune columnist, said so and was challenged to debate the question by Carl Randau, president of the New York Guild. Left—Randau is saying an emphatic "no." Miss Thompson is pictured by courtesy of the National Broadcasting Co.

Miss Thompson Moderates

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Deriding Miss Thompson's claim that workers need to be protected from "coercion" by union members, Randau reported that a court recently held that a picket coerced a fellow employee by refusing to say "Hello" to him. Employers, he said, need no further protection against "unfair" labor practices, for there are already on the statute books a long list of offenses for which workers can be and are sent to jail, from "riot" and "unlawful assembly" to "disorderly conduct."

"The Wagner Act," concluded Randau, "is a law that should enforce the support of every lover of democracy. It constitutes the first line of defense for all who would remain free."

"Not Far Apart"

Arising to rebuttal, Miss Thompson said:

"Mr. Randau and I are not nearly so far apart as one would think. I never raised the question that this act was designed for a good purpose, nor did I ever raise the question that it has improved conditions. I have never raised the question that this isn't a better act than no act. . . . I just think it is nothing like good enough."

"The way to achieve a better law," rejoined Randau, "is to enact supplementary legislation . . . such as that when an employer violates the law, the government no longer deal with him. . . . The law can be strengthened without touching it. Opening up the law would be like sending a Runciman to Czechoslovakia and appeasing the Czechs, and they end up with nothing."

Replying to a charge by Randau that the Herald-Tribune had omitted vital sections favorable to the NLRB in reporting the recent Supreme Court decision in the Consolidated Gas case, Miss Thompson said:

"I want to know who writes these false reports. They are not written by the owners of the Herald-Tribune. They are written by reporters on the Herald-Tribune, and there are a lot of prejudiced reporters on every newspaper. . . . If the public is misinformed about the act, they are misinformed to a large extent because of careless newspapermen."

A Matter of Jobs

"False reports are written," retorted Randau, "by those who know that they had better write them that way or they won't have a job tomorrow. This will continue until all employees working on paid papers decide that they are going to be honest and they are going to keep their jobs at the same time."

Miss Thompson, who got the

CIO Opens Campaign To Defend Labor Act

The CIO has moved to meet the anticipated attack upon the National Labor Relations Act at the next session of Congress.

Warning that in the coming assault, Labor "is faced with an emergency as serious as any by which it has been confronted for years," CIO headquarters as a first step distributed 100,000 copies of a 24-page pamphlet titled "Why the Wagner Act Should Not Be Amended." Each city and county industrial union council was asked to take responsibility for the distribution of at least 500 of the pamphlets. They are available from the CIO, at 1106 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, at 3 cents a copy, \$2 a hundred, \$7.50 for 500, or \$12 a thousand.

In a letter to city and county council CIO Director John Brophy urged that the distribution be not confined to CIO members, but extended to AFL unionists and members of progressive groups as well. "Begin with the local stockholders, who have a direct financial interest in the maintenance of wages in the community," he said.

Distribution should be accompanied by a campaign to bring about a stream of letters to members of Congress, and also from the AFL rank-and-file to those AFL leaders who have joined in the campaign to amend the act, Brophy said.

The pamphlet takes up point by point the arguments against amendment of the NLRA and discusses the motives of those seeking its amendment.

Another nation-wide campaign to defend the act has been launched by the American Association for Economic Freedom, of whose national policy board William A. White, publisher of the Emporia (Kansas) Gazette is chairman. The AAEF contributed \$10 to the work of the association. In a 15-page pamphlet being widely distributed, the association emphasizes that the NLRA "marks a new epoch in the development of democracy," for "our transition from an agricultural to an industrial and commercial nation has demonstrated to us . . . that political democracy without industrial democracy is a sham and a delusion."

A Bill of Rights

The pamphlet gives pungently the answer to the argument that the NLRA is "unfair" because employers have no status as petitioners under its rulings. It says:

It is not sound criticism to inveigh against the Labor Relations Act on the grounds that it is a "one-way measure." It is and should be precisely that. Actually the law establishes a fundamental right of the worker, whether by hand or by brain, against industrial autocracy, corresponding to guarantees of political freedom to citizens, against autocratic action of political government, as embodied in the Bill of Rights, or personal and civil liberties of the Constitution of our country. It would be just as unwarranted to urge that our political government be empowered to invoke reversely the right of free speech, free assembly, trial by jury, etc., against citizens, as to give employers the power in the National Labor Relations Act to invoke its provisions against employees. The act does contain and should contain only rights to employees as against employers and is in reality, the beginning of an industrial Bill of Rights, or code of industrial or personal economic liberties. Logically, it is a legislative supplement to our constitutional Bill of Rights.

quint applause during the formal debate from an audience that obviously disagreed with her, lost some of her poise under a rain of questions from the audience at the close of the formal debate. In answer to one, she threw up her hands, cried: "I like the Swedish setup very much." Asked how workers could make their political desires felt if they were forbidden to make political contributions through their unions, she retorted to "I raise that question, as you know, very tentatively."

Said Randau: "I think that 95 per cent of the people of the United States—take the statutes as to their incomes and their interests—should have an opportunity through clipping in their pennies, their nickels, their dimes, their dollars to elect the people who will do the things they want done. It is my hope that the Guild will grow to the point where it will have that sense that a new-born babe should have, and realize that it ought to be in politics right up to its neck all the year round."

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSASSINATIONS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

CIO Hits Press Bias

Following are further resolutions and reports adopted by the CIO Convention at Pittsburgh.

PRESS BIAS SCORED

WHEREAS, (1) The public press tends month by month to reveal a more violent bias against labor organizations, a bias expressed not only in editorial but in news reports;

(2) Such bias reflects not only the industrial connections of the policy-making groups which control the press, but also without doubt the resistance of publishers themselves to the self-organization of their employees for the betterment of their conditions;

(3) Such bias, by leading to the distortion of the news, constitutes an abuse of the privileges of a free press and reduces the value of newspapers to the general public; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the CIO calls upon the newspaper publishers of the nation to comply with the National Labor Relations Act and permit the self-organization of their employees, and challenges them to report labor issues with true impartiality.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESS

The Committee on Press recommends the development and support of the labor press and feels that its growing success will depend upon its ability to be lively and readable as well as educational. In dealing with the press and radio news in general, all CIO members are urged to analyze the handling of labor news and to learn to distinguish between headlines and the body of the story. Much of the dirty work in the dissemination of misinformation goes on through headlines.

A striking object lesson can be had by studying some of the newspaper coverage of the CIO convention here in Pittsburgh. Some papers are more factually fair than others, but we must make up our mind to accept the fact that the press in general is loaded both editorially and in news treatment against labor.

The Committee wishes to stress the importance of the press and publicity departments of the CIO unions and to urge the full cooperation of all members to insure their efficient functioning. We consider that the question of the press ties in with the educational activities of the unions and we wish to urge all possible expansion of educational facilities by the CIO and that special attention be given informing members on the role of the press and an intelligent use and understanding of it.

Still it is the press and radio news by which the great body of Americans are informed or misinformed and we have got to get along with it. We must reach out to the labor press and go well beyond its present accomplishments. The union member must school himself in learning to read between the lines and even to develop a sense of realizing just what it is that many newspapers leave out.

Freedom of the press confers upon the publisher the privilege of printing what he pleases and throwing away what he pleases. It is a traditional right. But there is another traditional right. The reader has every right to send letters to the editor complaining about news coverage and editorial bias. This is an old American custom. We advise CIO adherents to avail themselves of their undoubted right to their part in insuring that the integrity of the news must be preserved.

Herwood Brown, Chairman
Len DeCaux, Secretary
J. B. S. Hardman
Charles Ervin
Vin Sweeney
Bob Pruden
John Tate
Ellis Seales
Saul Mills
Corby Paxton
Committee on Press.

Does Guild Pay? Here's Example

MEMPHIS—When Mrs. Henry A. Hohn was compelled by ill health to resign her position in the display advertising department of the Memphis Press-Scimitar last September, the management paid her \$325 severance pay.

This was under terms of a contract negotiated by the Memphis Guild providing that "in case of retirement because of physical or mental breakdown or old age" the employee shall be compensated under the same scale as prevails in cases of dismissal.

Mrs. Hohn joined the Guild last May—had paid into the Guild 25 dues before her retirement less than \$15.

Further IEB Actions Listed

Below are further IEB actions taken at its November quarterly meeting.

OFFICE CONTRACT SIGNED

Signing of the contract between the ANG and the United Office and Professional Workers, Local 16, on behalf of the headquarters office workers was authorized by the IEB. This was a renewal of the previous contract and provides for a closed shop, preferential hiring, 5-day 35-hour week, holidays, paid vacations up to three weeks after five years' service, sick leave with pay, requirement of seniority and union consent in lay-offs and rehiring on a seniority basis, time and a half for overtime on week days and double time on Sundays and holidays, provision for negotiation of salaries between the Guild and the UOPWA with \$21 a week as a minimum, and other protective provisions.

DUES STANDING PUBLICATION

Publication in the GUILD REPORTER of the top 30 Guilds in percentage of membership in good standing was ordered by the Board as an incentive toward collection of dues. Publication will be made monthly, beginning with this issue.

INQUIRY ON LOAN

The IEB appointed a subcommittee to explore the situation brought to its attention from the New York Journal-American unit regarding the "10 per cent pay cut, termed a loan," accepted individually by the members of the New York Post unit last summer. The petition asked that the IEB investigate and "seek remedial action." Members of the subcommittee named were Executive Vice President Eddy and Vice President Sullivan of Boston.

F.I.J. ACTION

Taking note of the policy question arising in the International Federation of Journalists (F.I.J.) because of the suppression of press freedom in the fascist countries, the IEB resolved that the ANG would continue to support progressive policies in the Federation.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

Locals Respond Quickly To Strike Assessment Levy

(Continued from Page One)

Word was also reaching headquarters of contributions and special collections being made in advance of the assessments. The Newark Guild voted \$50 at its Dec. 7 meeting; members of the New York Guild representative assembly chipped in \$100 on Dec. 5, 1938. King Features unit a smaller sum.

ANOTHER GUILD AT THE TOP

One additional Guild local achieved a place at the top in the good standing list as of Oct. 1, as compared with that of Sept. 1. This represents a gain of three over Aug. 1. A list of the 30 leading Guilds in respect to membership standing in October follows:

1ST PLACE (tie)	13TH PLACE	21ST PLACE (tie)
Atlanta	Memphis	Kansas City
Great Falls, Mont.	Springfield, Ohio	Lynn, Mass.
Greensboro, N. C.	St. Louis	San Diego, Cal.
Lansing, Mich.	Jacksonville, Fla.	Baltimore, Md.
Muskegon, Mich.	Clarksville, W. Va.	25TH PLACE
Muncie, Ind.	17TH PLACE	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Reading, Pa.	Cumberland, Md.	26TH PLACE
San Francisco Peninsula	18TH PLACE	Birmingham
9TH PLACE	19TH PLACE	27TH PLACE
Salem, Mass.	Hawaii	Columbus
10TH PLACE (tie)	20TH PLACE	28TH PLACE
El Paso	Worcester, Mass.	Milwaukee
Nashville		29TH PLACE
12TH PLACE		Portland, Me.
Bellingham, Wash.		30TH PLACE
		San Francisco
		Oakland

Wilkes-Barre Publisher Signs; Others Still Stall

(Continued from Page One)

AFL Office Workers' Union. The NLRB regional offices at Philadelphia have respected the petition. Pending before the board now are Guild charges that the publishers committed a series of unfair labor practices, including the sponsorship of a company union.

Basis for Settlement

The Sunday Independent contract covers about ten employees in all departments where they are eligible to Guild membership. It is a complete contract, replacing the skeletonized Guild shop agreement signed after settlement of the strike against the Record last year. The contract is regarded by observers as well as the Guild as a basis for settling the strike on the other three papers. It was negotiated with the aid of ANG Vice President Morris Watson, who has been assisting the strikers.

In addition to the Guild shop, preferential hiring clause covering all white collar departments, and pay raises, the agreement established the 5-day 40-hour week, the time off at the rate of time and one-half for overtime, sick leave with full pay, two weeks' vacation, and an eight-cent mileage rate for autos. Other clauses provided the usual protection against pay cuts, against inter-departmental transfer without the employee's consent, and also that reporters shall be responsible for only one beat at a time. The salary provisions ranged to \$47.50 for desk men and \$42.50 for reporters and correspondents after five years of experience, \$37.50 for salesmen and collectors, \$27.50 for general business office help, and \$15 for copy boys, mat boys and proof boys. Reporter-correspondents selling advertising will receive commissions ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. The paper does not handle its own circulation.

The contract was signed by Local President Stanley A. Kupstas, Vice President Willard K. West and Michael Kolesar and Secretary-Treasurer Dan Delaney.

Almost two score Guildspen, arriving by bus from New York and Philadelphia, participated with Wilkes-Barre members in their strike activities last Sunday. The New York delegation was headed by President Carl Randau and the Philadelphia group by Max Watz.

Speakers at a strike meeting were John Kmetz, United Mine Workers official; Walter Harris, TWOC regional director; Randau, Watz, and Executive Secretary Milton Kaufman of New York. Morris Jushe-witz, New York Guildsmen who aided the local in organizing and fighting its first strike, was chairman.

Boston to Bargain KFS Unit Backs For 600 on Paper Chicago Strike

BOSTON—The Boston Guild will begin negotiations within two weeks for the complete Guild jurisdiction on the rich Herald-Traveler—about 600 employees.

A vigorous membership drive through all commercial departments brought agreement from Robert Choate, managing editor, to the Guild's demand for the broad negotiations. The Guild had offered to prove its authority to represent all departments not covered by mechanical union contracts. Hitherto the Guild has represented only the editorial and maintenance departments.

and \$124 was collected among the audience at the Randau-Thompson debate on the Wagner Act in New York on Dec. 9. Word was being received of numerous other informal contributions, though reports of amounts are not available.

The printers at the Boston Herald-Traveler were raising a fund of their own.

NEW YORK CIO PAPER

The New York State Industrial Union Council, organized at a convention Sept. 16 and 17, has published its first issue of The CIO Reporter, an eight-page tabloid. Bundle lots of the publication, for distribution to union members, may be obtained for \$5 a thousand from council headquarters, 1131 Broadway, New York City.

Action in South Is Endorsed

Resolutions endorsing the efforts of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and asking President Roosevelt and Congress to act by Federal legislation to end state poll taxes were adopted by the 50 at Pittsburgh. The resolutions set out:

SUPPORTING SOUTHERN CONFERENCE

The situation in the South has been characterized by President Roosevelt as the "Nation's No. 1 economic problem" and the reasons for this is powerfully described in the "Report on Economic Conditions in the South," prepared for the President by the National Emergency Council.

These conditions not only retard the whole movement for the improvement of the economic position of the working and farming masses of the South, but deter the forward march of the entire nation.

Some thousand leading citizens of the South, including representatives of the American Newspaper Guild and all branches of organized labor and every shade of progressive opinion, have combined to call a "Southern Conference for Human Welfare," to be held in Birmingham, Ala., Nov. 20 to 23, for the purpose of working out a program acceptable to the majority of the Southern people as a means of coping with the conditions described in the report of the National Emergency Council.

The American Newspaper Guild is vitally interested in the improvement of the conditions of the working and farming people of the South and the upbuilding of economic and living standards in the South.

Therefore, be it resolved that the International Executive Board of the American Newspaper Guild indorses these efforts to cope with these problems in a realistic and patriotic manner as expressed by the calling of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

AGAINST RESTRICTIONS ON VOTING

There are still seven states having statutes requiring payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting.

Such laws prevent the preservation and extension of democracy and the principles of self-government.

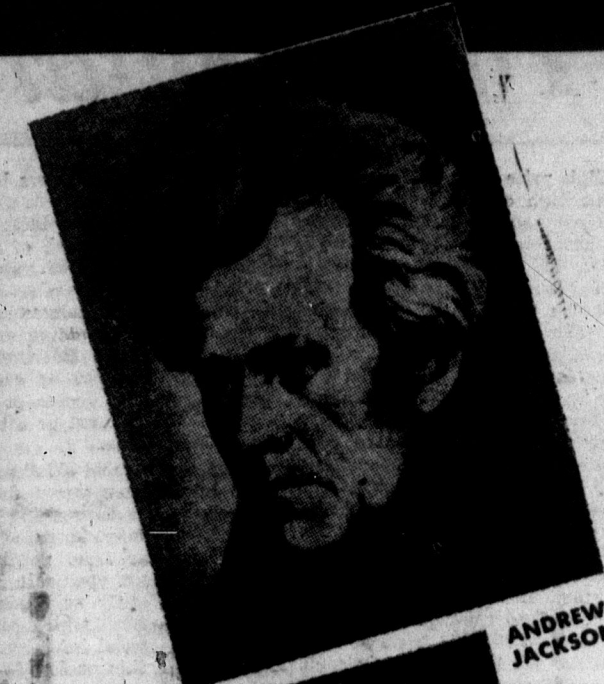
They preclude in those states the carrying-out of the CIO program of independent political action, indorsed by numerous Conventions of the American Newspaper Guild.

The states themselves show no inclination to eliminate these laws under which political machines thwart the will of the people.

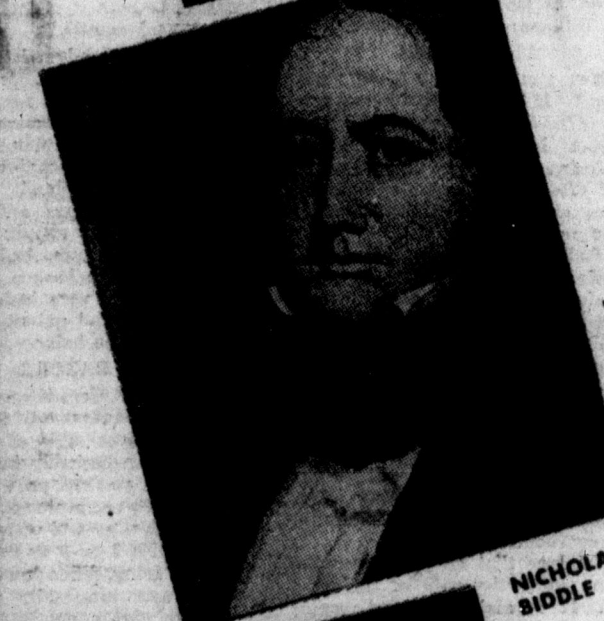
Therefore, be it resolved by the International Executive Board of the American Newspaper Guild that it demand of the President and the Congress that Federal legislation be enacted to provide for a national uniform registration law and to eliminate poll taxes and other restrictions upon the free and universal exercise of the franchise for all citizens as provided for in the Constitution of the United States.

Randau Heads N.Y. for Fifth Term

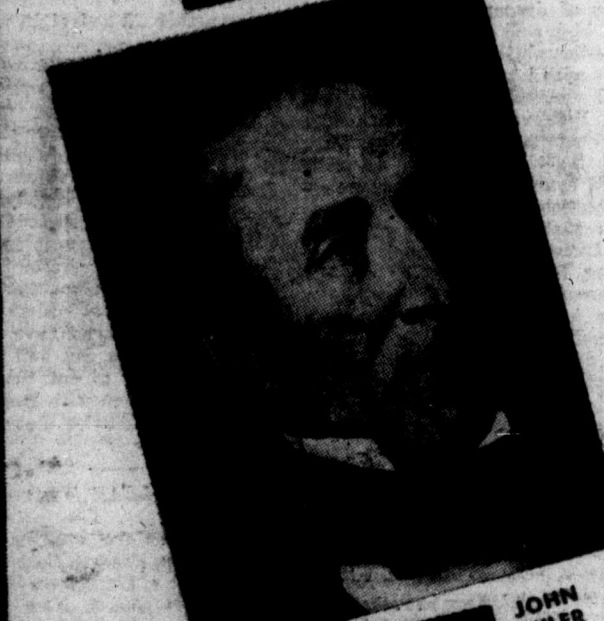
Carl Randau, of the World-Telegram, was elected president of the New York Guild for his fifth term, last fortnight, at the head of an unopposed slate of officers. Elected with him were, vice president, Monroe Stern, Journal & American, Tom Cassidy, Daily News, and James Whitaker, Daily Mirror; treasurer, Gladys Bentz, Brooklyn Eagle; executive secretary, Milton Kaufman; chairman and vice chairman of the Representative Assembly, L. Kaufman, Brooklyn Eagle, and E. F. Wolf, Bronx Home News.



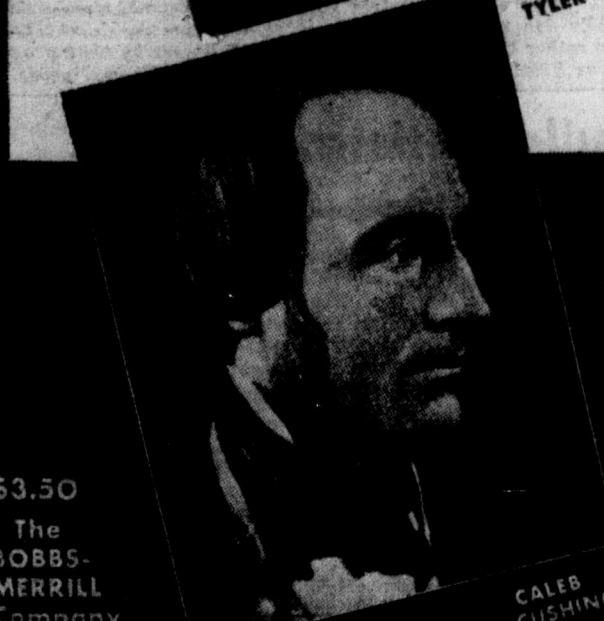
ANDREW JACKSON



NICHOLAS BIDDLE



JOHN TYLER



CALEB CUSHING

"A NEW CHAPTER IN AMERICAN HISTORY"

—CHARLES A. BEARD

OUT of the past emerges the drama of a crucial decade. Few who stood with Jackson against the power of Biddle, could have foreseen that within ten years the battle would have to be waged all over again, or that the individual in the White House who would then man the citadel of liberty would be the victim of the most merciful misrepresentation ever heaped upon a Chief Executive. Yet such was the fate of John Tyler—to be rated a traitor by his party, threatened with impeachment, deserted by his cabinet, attacked by a mob.

Here, in a dramatic new book, filled with new material, is the complete story of that decade when economic and political democracy was truly in the making. Hugh Russell Fraser has won the acclaim of America's outstanding historians.

★ **CLAUDE G. BOWERS** says: "I found *Democracy in the Making* so fascinating that I read it from beginning to end without stopping. It is a robust and dramatic, rapidly-moving story for the preservation of democracy against the attacks of an embryo plutocracy, written with gusto and color. It covers a new field in carrying forward the story from Jackson to John Tyler, to whom tardy justice is done. From these pages emerges the real fighting Tyler, able, consistent, incorruptible, courageous. . . . The author has rendered a real service to history."

★ **ALLAN NEVINS** says: "It throws new illumination on an important subject never properly treated by American historians. . . . represents work in hitherto untouched sources."

★ **HERBERT AGAR** says: "It is the first book to do full justice to John Tyler."

TIME says: "Here is history written with journalistic liveliness. It pictures in swift chapters the fight of Jackson and Tyler against the United States Bank. Packed with savory local color, *Democracy in the Making* makes the Jackson-Tyler era seem closer than the Harding administration."

DEMOCRACY in the Making

By HUGH RUSSELL FRASER

\$3.50

The BOBB'S-MERRILL Company
New York
Philadelphia

The Free Press... Suppression and Smear Words for Seldes' Book

The publishing firm of Julian Messner, Inc., released George Seldes' book, "Lords of the Press," for review on Nov. 14. In the 27-day period between Nov. 14 and the day this is written, the newspaper publishers themselves have proved the truth of Seldes' theme. They suppressed reviews of a book, or they attacked it vituperatively. They refused to take advertising, or they censured the advertising.

The main indictment is on the score of suppression. Seldes reports that from all over the country he is receiving letters from reviewers and others saying that publishers are cutting the reviews or boycotting the book. Only seven newspapers in America gave attention to some kind—mainly vituperative—to the book, and the lone favorable review was that printed in the New York Evening Post. This was followed by a four-column editorial of criticism which was not vituperative.

Walker Calls Names
The first review to appear was in the New York Sunday Herald Tribune, written by the widely-known city editor, Stanley Walker. The first two sentences of the review called the author "The angry man of the fourth estate" and accused him of "hysteria, malice, innuendo, invective, obfuscation and vituperation." To be sure that the point got across, the third sentence said that Seldes was "in a furious lather."

Seldes wrote a letter to the Herald Tribune, pointing out that 80 per cent of his book was documented fact; that not one instance of error was pointed out; that while Walker quoted a line praising the annual forum conducted by the Herald Tribune, he skipped the chapter charging the newspaper with selling a supplement to Cuba which was first passed off as news matter, and later called advertising; that it published in its Paris edition an editorial advocating fascism for the United States; and that it continues to employ a man (George Sokolsky) exposed by the LaFollette committee as being in the pay of industrial interests. The Herald Tribune has just informed Seldes that it will publish the letter on Dec. 18, one month after the review appeared, but that certain deletions will be made.

Advertising Trouble
The Herald Tribune refused an advertisement for Nov. 14, the day the book appeared. The New York Times refused to accept an advertisement for the same day unless which listed the table of contents, which was changed so that the chapter, "Treason in the Press," appeared as "Treason in the Press."

The review appearing in the New York Sunday Times on Dec. 4 leaves serious doubt that reviewer Allan Nevins really read the book. One of his main attacks was on the chapter about the Washington correspondents. Seldes points out on the second page the statement is made that most of the chapter is a review of Leo C. Rosten's book "The Washington Correspondents." In a letter to Times, Seldes said: "The book (Rosten's) was prepared on a two-year scholarship granted by the Social Science Research Council. . . It is scientific and true. . . Every charge against the press is made by the Washington correspondents themselves. What Rosten has done is tabulate their statements. What I have done is merely to repeat them."

The Baltimore Sun dismissed the book with a paragraph saying much of it consists of "surmises." The author wrote in to say that more than 300 pages were facts gathered from fellow newspaper men, personal experiences, Editor & Publisher, Christian Century, Times, New York, and notably from the Grand Bureaux.

Editor & Publisher says the only publication so far which has permitted the author to answer un-

Here's some news that's real news— but it may never appear in the news columns of any paper!

IT MAY NEVER appear in the news columns of any paper. It may never appear in the news columns of any paper. It may never appear in the news columns of any paper.

LORDS OF THE PRESS
by George Seldes
416 pages, indexed, \$1.00
at all bookshops

PROOFS FROM
Herald Tribune
Herald Tribune
Herald Tribune

"YOU CAN'T Substantiating the charges made by George Seldes in his book, "Lords of the Press," the New York Herald Tribune refused to print this ad for it, after having submitted corrected proofs, as the photocast shows.

fair or dishonest statements. Editor Arthur Eddy of Eddy just said that the book "strikes with more emotion than evidence." Seldes' reply said "strikes" was a smear-word, that instead of emotion there was 50 per cent evidence and the rest reliable editorial opinion in addition to the author's and that considerable material came from the columns of Editor & Publisher itself.

In the periodical field, favorable reviews have appeared in the Saturday Review of Literature, the New Republic, the New Yorker, and the New Masses. The Spectator, a Catholic monthly, reported favorably except on the paragraphs dealing with Catholic pressure on the press. New Republic listed the book among the best 100 of the year.

HEARST DOWNS EDDY
Following is an order sent to all Hearst managing editors and editors by a Hearst general executive:

In connection with a proposition made to one of our papers to publish the coming visit to America of Anthony Eden . . . No paper must give any publicity to what Mr. Eden says. . .

The Chief says: "I think Eden's impudence is only equalled by his lack of vision. We must keep rid of him." What if your readers find out that Mr. Eden was in the country Mr. Hearst?

WHO'S CORRECT HERE?
From an Associated Press dispatch from Providence (R. I.), as printed in the New York Times of Dec. 1:

A contract signed by Francis J. Germond, international president of the United Textile Workers of America, in March, 1937, John L. Lewis, head of the CIO, was said to have been . . .

From a United Press dispatch . . .

Your Dollar

By CONSUMERS UNION

High price does not necessarily mean high quality when you buy children's snowsuits. Some of the comparatively low-priced suits which CU tested came closest to having the ample cut, good construction and reinforcements, and the color-fast, all-wool, wind-proof fabric that are needed to protect your child against cold, resist wetting and stand up under the abuse a snowsuit is sure to get. The most expensive suit in the test, Kenwood (\$16.95), while of fair good construction, was too porous to give good protection. The cheapest suit, Sears Roebuck Cat. No. 4852 (\$5.98), was not all-wool as claimed in the catalogue, and not color-fast. Best buys were: Ward's Cat. No. 7485 (Montgomery Ward, Chicago; \$7.35 plus postage) and Brewster (J. A. Brewster, Camden, Maine; \$8 plus postage). The Ward suit is lined; the Brewster is not.

ALKALIZERS
Have you a little acid in your blood? If you have, don't reach for Alka-Seltzer but phon. the nearest hospital or undertaker right away. Only victims of serious, often fatal organic disturbances show any noticeable acid blood reaction.

Alkalosis—poisoning from indigestion, continued use of alkalinizing powders, is actually far more of a menace, says Dr. Arthur F. Hurst, renowned English physician, who adds that he believes more deaths result from unrecognized poisoning by alkalinizing powders than from accidental poisoning with the barbiturates (sleeping drugs). Many doctors will agree with Dr. Hurst that dosing with alkalinizing remedies is dangerous and overdue.

If it is true that an alkalizer will often soothe the pain of indigestion. It is also true that some cases of dyspepsia are associated with high acid content of the stomach—though there are many other cases with low acid content or even total absence of acid in the stomach. But even in cases with high acid content, the strong probability is that acidity is merely an additional symptom, not the cause of indigestion.

Most stomach disturbances can be traced to emotional stress, wrong food or drugs or organic disease. The symptoms may be the colorant in any case. To diagnose your ailment as "acid indigestion" and dose yourself from the last advertisement you read is dangerous business, for the patent remedy covers up the symptoms without treating the cause. At best, you're wasting money. At worst, you may be taking poison and neglecting a serious organic ailment which needs medical care.

Some of the highly advertised "alkalizers" such as Bromo Seltzer and Sal Hepatica are not alkalizers at all. Some of them contain potentially dangerous pain relieving drugs rather than alkalies. Others, such as Bisodol, are actually compounds of alkali.

—AND LAFOLLETTE

From the Hearst San Francisco Examiner:

Hearings of the LaFollette Senate committee into West Coast labor conditions will start in San Francisco . . . The hearings will go into . . . such groups as the Associated Farmers and Industrial Association, which are scheduled for as much "smearing" as the committee can apply while violent tactics of labor unions are always ignored by the committee.

Yes, that's no editorial. It is from a news page story.

OH, THAT'S DIFFERENT

The highly opinionated Frank R. Kent, Mark Sullivan and Walter Lippmann are among the columnists whose columns are published by the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Also published in the Post-Gazette are the columns written by Ernest R. Lindley, who frankly represents the New Deal viewpoint. Lindley gets this notice under his name:

"The views expressed are Mr. Lindley's own opinions and are not to be construed as the editorial policy of this newspaper."

The other writers, we presume, express the editorial opinion of the paper. They read a special notice.

Melvin Douglas, screen actor, and Donald Ogden Stewart, writer, are in charge of a labor committee to obtain Hollywood "names" for the program.

When the Citizen-News Unit has interested in adding the

possession of alkaline powders but overpriced. The cheapest, simplest alkalizer is sodium bicarbonate (baking soda). A pinch of baking soda in a half glass of warm water may be tried to relieve occasional attacks of indigestion due to alcohol, hurried eating or emotional disturbances. But even alkalizing soda should not be used too often. Consult a doctor or clinic if you have continual or repeated indigestion.

"Acid skin," "acid skin" and the other acid ailments you find exclusively in the advertising pages are just so many forms of sales promotion. Far from needing an alkalizing cream, your skin is covered by a slightly acid secretion, the "acid mantle" which protects it against bacterial infection. "Alkalizing" the skin or feet is likely to irritate the skin if it interferes with the "acid mantle."

The truth, which advertisers are so effectively obscuring, is that you don't need alkaline remedies, drinks, foods or cold creams because your body's complex chemical balance is self-maintained. Your blood, lymph, and tissue fluids, body cells, lungs and kidneys are successive supply lines maintaining equilibrium. And when those defenses have broken down, as they may do in rare instances, patent medicines and patent foods will not restore the balance.

SAFETY RAZORS

Durham Duplex, Gen Micrometric, Gillette, Valeo, Autocrat, Schick, or Rolle—whatever style razor you use, you can probably improve your shaving if you wet your beard thoroughly with warm water, wash your face with soap and water and follow this with 2 or 3 minutes of vigorous lathering. When you shave, draw the razor diagonally across your face to give a partly slicing stroke, rather than straight up and down.

Part of CU's razor test was performed by a "shaving squad" of staff members who for months made the supreme sacrifice of coming unshaven to work in order to compare efficiency of various shaving techniques, brands and types of razors under laboratory conditions. Their experience seems to indicate that the Gillette type razor is best choice for the average man who wants good shaves at low cost. The Gen Micrometric type gave somewhat closer shaves, but had also a greater tendency to cut the face, and blade cost even with Best Blades was about twice that of the Gillette type.

YOUR DOLLAR is a regular monthly feature. The facts and opinions given are based on Consumers Union Reports, the monthly magazine of Consumers Union, 55 Vandam Street, New York City, a non-profit membership organization whose object is to safeguard buyers by testing and reporting on consumer goods.

Guild Christmas Party On Coast-to-Coast Chain

LOS ANGELES—Five thousand children and 2,800 adults are expected to attend a Christmas Eve party being sponsored by the Hollywood Citizen-News Unit at the Farm Security Administration model camp for migratory workers at Shafter, in the heart of the San Joaquin Valley.

The party will be broadcast over a nation-wide hook-up of the National Broadcasting Company. The title of the broadcast will be "Christmas for One-Third of the Nation."

Melvin Douglas, screen actor, and Donald Ogden Stewart, writer, are in charge of a labor committee to obtain Hollywood "names" for the program.

When the Citizen-News Unit has interested in adding the

party are Konrad Bercovici, author; Ella Winter, widow of I. L. Gold; George Bassman, reporter, and State Senator-elect Robert W. Kenny, of Los Angeles.

Organizations co-operating with the Guild unit are the Save the Child Fund, the Committee to Aid Agricultural Organization, the League of Women Shoppers, the Bakersfield Central Labor Council and Kiwanis and Lions Clubs in the San Joaquin Valley.

Inspiration for the party was given by Guild members Patrick K. Elloran and Karl Schick, who have recently spent much of their time in the valley investigating conditions in migratory workers' camps and taking photographs.

The Long Hard Road That Led to the Guild

A Leading Newspaper Historian Shows How the Earlier Attempts at Organizing Failed

By ALFRED MC LEE
Author of "The Daily Newspaper in America"

SINCE the Civil War, almost every sort of professional and union organization has been given a try by editorial workers for daily newspapers. More than four decades of experimentation with various types of newspapermen's unions and near-unions preceded the birth of the American Newspaper Guild at Washington five years ago.

This experimentation offered numerous alternatives to the Guild's present structure and methods. With the exception of the old-time press clubs that flourished before the daily newspaper industry's big-business era, however, none of these possible alternatives was notably successful. And the success of the press clubs—formerly assured by contributions from interested business men and politicians—was certainly not in the line of improving the prestige or the general wages and working conditions of newspapermen as such.

The New York Press Club, started Dec. 4, 1872, became the long-lived prototype of most early journalists' clubs. According to a writer in 1885 in that famous old craft publication, the *Journalist*, this club "is not only a social institution, recognized and respected at home and abroad, but it is a benevolent society, which takes care of its members who are in need, assists the sick and buries the dead." It tried to restrict its membership to those "professionally employed in journalism, and of good moral character," but this writer in the *Journalist* said that the "uninitiated member" in the club, that the management is lax or indifferent. This situation and other considerations led such clubs to establish "associate memberships" at fairly sizeable annual figures, to conduct drives for building and other funds among those who had reason to help newspapermen, etc.

THEY WERE GOOD FELLOWS WHO GOT SOLD OUT

Historically considered, in short, during the period after the Civil War in which newspapers' mechanical craftsmen were combining collective bargaining with beneficial programs, their newswriting fellows—with a Bohemian and implicitly "professional" tradition—sought to link good fellowship with provisions for the relief of their distressed members. Despite their unpopularity with the management, they declined joining in a movement that would tend to affiliate them permanently with mechanical workers. They, like most "white collar" workers, intended to find financial relief through individual advancement, through taking a place among the executives, the employers, in the newspaper industry or elsewhere. Reporting or deskwork was merely a means to an end; typesetting or press operation was, for many, an end in itself.

The growth of "counting-room" methods, evidenced by the passing of the "great editor" period and the rise of the modern "editor-publisher," plus favor-getting excesses finally caught up with the press clubs. "Ugly rumors concerning the methods employed by press clubs, all over the country in supplementing their incomes," asserted *Editor & Publisher* in 1913, "have been in circulation for some time."

MANY ATTEMPTS MADE AT FORMING UNIONS

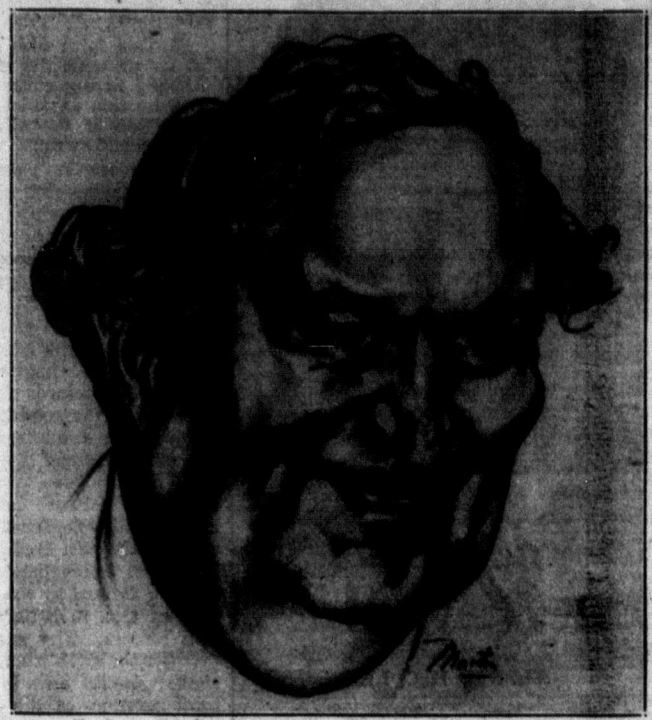
Press clubs were part of the old-time "romantic" days of reporting. Newspapermen, after many experiments and failures, finally became the "press clubs" or "counting-room" Journalism.

The first reference to unionization among newspapermen was apparently printed in the *Journalist* in 1886. "Efforts have been made from time to time by progressive men," it said, "to organize a Union of Brotherhood among writers for the press. The suggestion toward that end which appeared in these columns some time since, met with a hearty and enthusiastic response, but that is the last I have heard of it." The paper thus finally became discouraged from advocating "a mutual protective organization."

Newspapermen were stirred by the agitation preceding "C. F. Fick's" of 1892 at Homestead, Pa. Under the broad stimulus, they decided in 1891 that it was time for them to follow the

Broun Greet's ANG's Birthday

Heywood Broun sends the following statement on the occasion of ANG's anniversary:



The Guild is five years old. It has learned to walk and talk, and most of all it realizes that the Guild does not belong to any individual or group of individuals, but that it is the organization of its own membership.

There have been many criticisms of Guild policy, and some may be correct and some inaccurate. On the whole, it seems to me that the Guild can stand on its record of solid achievement in the matter of shorter hours, higher pay and greater security. But in any case, there is a simple answer to the man or the woman who does not like the general program of the Guild. This answer should be simple, "Come on in and better those things you do not like." The machinery of the American Newspaper Guild is completely democratic. Its birth came out of economic tides. Its progress will depend upon an understanding of fundamental currents.

We have some reason to be proud and some reason to be a little shamefaced. After all, we were late in starting. We think we have a contribution to make to the labor movement in general, but that contribution will be effective only insofar as we keep conscious of the fact that our own life and our own chances depend upon a complete cooperation with all our fellows of trades unions.

HEYWOOD BROUN.

example of the better-paid mechanical workers and form a union. Fifteen got together and obtained a charter on Oct. 13, 1891, from the International Typographical Union as Pittsburgh Newspaper Union No. 1. The ITU, in order to aid in this move, had amended its constitution that year to authorize the chartering of local unions of "editors (other than managing editors) and reporters." While the contemporary Pittsburgh dailies did not fail to chronicle the banquets and jaunts of the Pittsburgh Press Club, none of the International League of Press Clubs, none of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association began its systematic relations program. A series of difficulties between publishers and the ITU in these years at first caused publishers to strengthen their local associations and

Realizing the part newspapermen had played as "scabs" and apologists in many ITU strikes and wishing to consolidate its position as an industrial union of the printing industries, the ITU made repeated efforts to bring reporters within its fold. It dispensed in 1893 with the four-year apprenticeship rule in the case of newsmen. With but two newsmen's unions in existence, at Boston and St. Louis, the ITU granted them in 1896 a vice-presidency. J. F. O'Sullivan of Boston held this post from 1896 until he was succeeded in 1903 by E. J. Bracken.

MANY CHARTERS ISSUED AT TURN OF CENTURY

The years 1899-1900 and 1902-04 witnessed the chartering of 38 newsmen's unions by the ITU. The first of these periods—1899-1900—were the years in which the American Newspaper Publishers' Association began its systematic relations program. A series of difficulties between publishers and the ITU in these years at first caused publishers to strengthen their local associations and

Lewis Voices His Confidence

Below is the anniversary message of President John L. Lewis of the CIO:

Please accept the greetings of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the formation of the American Newspaper Guild. The Guild has done a magnificent job among workers who very sorely needed organization and it has established standards of a high level for the protection of the working conditions for American newspaper workers.

I have high confidence in the ability of the Guild to move forward until every newspaper worker has the protection of membership in your organization and in the CIO.

With best wishes, sincerely yours,

JOHN L. LEWIS.

For Decades Editorial Men Sought to Build Mostly on Professional Lines, If Not in Clubs

then finally brought ANPA labor policies a little more into the open. At the suggestion of an ANPA committee appointed in 1899, the publishers' body organized a labor bureau in 1900 directed by a "Special Standing Committee" and financed by voluntary contributions. This committee made its first arbitration agreement with the ITU for one year, effective May 1, 1901. The years, 1902-04, the second period mentioned above, were those in which the ITU made an attempt to regain its industrial union status in the face of a secessionist movement.

The 1899-1900 and 1902-04—the second and third—waves of unionizing among newspapermen soon spent themselves. The newsmen's vice president failed to attend the 1906 convention, and the ITU struck reference to newsmen's unions from its constitution the next year.

ITU TRIED FOR DECADES TO ORGANIZE NEWS ROOMS

Of the 59 charters issued by the ITU to newsmen's locals in 1891-1919, only six unions held them for more than five years. It took strong pro-union sentiment locally and the backing of other trades to keep editorial workers even partially unionized in such a few cities. Only Boston, Milwaukee, Columbus, Scranton, New York, and Philadelphia, usually with labor paper staffs either as a nucleus or as the whole membership of the local, furnished the necessary conditions. The story of the success of the Scranton local, chartered in 1904 and re-chartered in 1907, one of the most long-lived, has been frequently recounted and will not be retold here. For many years prior to the organization of the Guild, it maintained unusually high salaries and otherwise satisfactory working conditions.

Reporters meanwhile were occasionally trying to work along more "professional" lines to raise their pay and improve their general working conditions. Butte, Montana, had had an ITU newsmen's union in 1904-05 that the publishers had smashed. In 1912, therefore, the editorial workers formed the Butte News Writers Association. D. G. Leipschneider of the *Butte Daily Post* spoke in 1916 of the organization as follows:

"We compare the organization here to other societies, such, for instance, as the medical society, the bar association, or the society of engineers. This organization has never come before the publishers as a labor organization with demands regarding wages or other matters to be expected of a trade union."

A POLITE ASSOCIATION—BUT INEFFECTUAL

This "association," too, never matched the achievements of the Scranton Union. It resembled the early and ineffectual stages of Actors' Equity Association, formed in 1913, except that actors regard acting as a life-long vocation. Actors' Equity joined the American Federation of Labor in 1919, struck, and became a powerful factor in the American theater. Equity' example temporarily encouraged newsmen and then became useful to the Guild as an analogy later.

The International Typographical Union chartered no newsmen's unions in 1916-18 but recognized 15 in 1919, its last. Post-war maladjustments associated with the re-orientation of men from the army and the war industries had brought a wave of unionization and strikes among newsmen as among other workers.

Among the older reporters' unions that survived, the experience of Boston Newsmen's Union No. 1, chartered in 1895, furnishes a useful illustration of the stage of editorial unionization reached just after the World War. This union expanded its membership in 1918-19 to include some 180 of the 210 editorial workers on the city's seven dailies. After a series of negotiations with the publishers, it voted on July 5 to strike unless wage increases and union recognition were granted. The Boston Central Labor Union pledged the writers "moral and financial" support and sent a committee to discuss recognition with the publishers. This aided and with the probability that all mechanical employees would join them, the union made the Boston Newspaper Publishers' Association agree on July 22, 1919, "to grant the demands

(Continued on Page Ten)

Before the Guild—Many Tried to Organize

(Continued from Page Nine)

of the News Writers' Union for a minimum wage scale of \$45 per week for writers and copy readers, \$38 for reporters and staff photographers, and \$30 for district men. Members of the Union who receive more than the minimum scale will receive "proportionate increases." The scale is retroactive to June 1. The quotations are from the *New York Times*.

The *New Republic* of Aug. 6, 1919, reviewed this unusual Boston victory as follows:

The newspaper writers of Boston . . . were not responding to revolutionary ideas caught out of the surcharged air. Their union is a product of simple economic pressure. . . . In August, 1918, when newspaper writers averaged \$21 a week, the men, despairing of getting more money by individual pleading with the owners, called an organization meeting. A fair proportion of Boston's 300 reporters and editors came. The next day, the pay envelopes contained from \$5 to \$7 more than usual. This set the news writers to thinking. . . .

There had been a newspaper writers union in Boston for years, but it was of the kind which didn't debate itself with consideration of wages and strikes. They called it an old-fashioned organization from the ranks of the hand workers for counsel. The union grew, in the spring the union presented demands . . . just a bit more than the typographers and photo-engravers scale. . . .

ONE GROUP STRUCK—BUT PROFESSIONALLY

The liberal weekly chortled too soon. Members lost interest with the disappearance of the immediate need, but employers remained vigilant. And Boston No. 1 was declared defunct by the International Typographical Union on Oct. 31, 1922. Publishers took the 1919 wave of unionization quite seriously and fought it decisively. The new writers of Louisville, Ky., scheduled a meeting, but it was not declared defunct by the International Typographical Union on Oct. 31, 1922. Publishers took the 1919 wave of unionization quite seriously and fought it decisively. The new writers of Louisville, Ky., scheduled a meeting, but it was not declared defunct by the International Typographical Union on Oct. 31, 1922.

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ST. LOUIS TRIED TO AVOID OFFENDING PUBLISHERS

Since the publishers objected so strenuously to unionization of their newsmen along ITU lines, some members of the craft in St. Louis decided that another type of organization might be more practical. The "St. Louis Plan," sponsored by the St. Louis Association of Journalists, attracted wide attention late in 1919 because it resembled the "Butte plan" and sought to achieve "the same distinction" which is accorded the associations of lawyers, physicians, and the like. Formed in 1919 and carrying "nearly 150" editorial workers, it did not, despite its dignity, avoid economic problems. "As one of the first results," memorials were presented by the members of the *Post-Dispatch* "chapter," asking that the publishers note the discrepancy in the advance of prices for living and the advance in salaries," to quote from *Editor & Publisher*. These requests brought a 20 per cent bonus, retroactive in its effects for the *Post-Dispatch* with an average raise in addition of 10 per cent for each man, and a substantial raise for the *Times* men.

The St. Louis A. J. gave a newspaper's



ALFRED MCC. LEE

or newsgathering agency's employees "original jurisdiction" as a unit of the association over "domestic" matters between themselves and their employer. It permitted the unit, however, to appeal for aid to the whole city association. Sam Heilman, managing editor of the *St. Louis Republic*, asserted that the society "has the cordial support of the publishers and is not affiliated with the A. F. of L." Richard L. Stokes, music and dramatic critic of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and president of the association, wanted to "repudiate the snobbery which would regard news writers and reporters as being in some mysterious manner too superior to affiliate with union labor," but he wanted "newspaper men, because of the singularity of their function as public servants," to "abstain, except as a last resort, from any alliance that under the remotest contingency ever became entangling."

This theory led the association to ad-

mit all of the city's managing editors as charter members. The organization's constitution provided only the following recourse to cope with business office pressure that might be transmitted through such executives:

Broken faith with an employing newspaper or with the association shall be deemed fitting cause for an investigation by this organization looking to the expulsion of the offender or offenders from membership. The association's constitution did eliminate two press club abuses: It would not admit to membership "a person who is not, at the time of his application for membership, actively engaged in the profession of journalism as a daily occupation," and associate members. The association wanted, "by fair and open means," to "advise and work for . . . such adjustments of salaries as are deemed necessary," to raise employment standards for new workers, to "encourage the confidence on the part of the public in the integrity and high ideals of newspapers and their professional workers," and to "encourage sympathetic co-operation between newspaper publishers and their professional employees."

From the "St. Louis Plan" sprouted the American Journalists' Association, provisionally formed by the St. Louis organization on Oct. 8, 1919, and named by its own officers. The group then began to promote the establishment of pseudo-unions similar to its own in other cities. The total revenues of the AJA and of all its subsidiary bodies were to be derived exclusively from dues, fees and assessments paid by the members themselves. The organization specifically eliminated the sources of revenue that had brought the old press clubs into disrepute.

RECEIVED RECOGNITION FROM JOURNALISM SCHOOL

Dean Walter Williams of the University of Missouri School of Journalism issued an "enthusiastic endorsement" of the association and permitted his students to petition for the first associate chapter charter. Stokes, as president of the AJA, gave several talks in other parts of the country explaining the association's aims and ideals. *Editor & Publisher* went out of its way, for a while, to forward the AJA. This journal even began a weekly feature, "The American Journalists' Forum," in 1920, under AJA auspices.

The combination of the "best qualities" of press clubs and of bar and medical associations with an economic relief plan

in the AJA proved unstable. Rupture representation through the administrative news executives stifled—after a brief flurry of success—effective action by employe members. The publishers, alarmed, did not regard AJA as a factory substitute for straight unionism affiliated with the ITU; they did a variety of economically-minded association and their reporters. And the AJA died.

The "hard times" of 1921 killed off the three of the 15 newsmen's union chapters in 1919 by the ITU that had collapsed in 1920. The extent to which newsmen complicated ITU negotiations, too, led the typographers to relinquish jurisdiction over editorial workers. A May 2, 1922, after a referendum. A total of nine newsmen's unions were chartered by the AFOFL in 1922-23, five of which lived long enough to be taken over by the Guild on Aug. 11, 1936.

SLAUGHTER OF PAPERS IN '20s STARTED WAVE

The death of the *New York Globe* by the hand of Frank A. Munsey on June 19, 1923, throwing 600 out of employment, the New York pressmen's strike in September of that year, and the subsequent collapse of the *New York Leader*, Norman Thomas labor daily, combined to occasion the first serious effort to get an international charter for newsmen. Estimates of unemployed reporters in the city varied from 800 to 1,000 down to 200 to 500. Herwood Brown, New York *World* columnist and president of the New York News Writers' Union, an independent body, headed the move to form an international organization but did not get the support expected. "Coolidge property" drained off many of the unemployed and the dissatisfied into press-agency jobs and the like. Publishers said what they could by judiciously raising a salary here and firing a man there.

The depression following 1929 brought more serious unemployment and wage cuts, and these together with the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 gave newspaper men the impetus that was needed. Unions, bearing a variety of names, sprang up in many cities throughout the country. Brown's prestige among newspapermen and his experience in union activities singled him out as the logical leader around whom the movement could unite, and the American Newspaper Guild was formed at Washington on Dec. 15, 1933.

The St. Louis Guild in January, 1934, and helped represent it at the Cleveland Convention. Fifteen years earlier he had aided in the organization of the St. Louis Association of Journalists, one of the early and transitory, but for the time effective, efforts of newspaper men to join forces for collective bargaining.

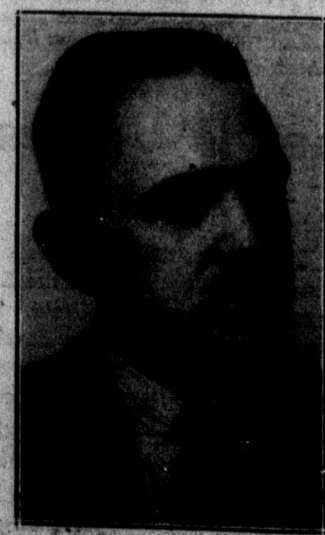
A man of passionate dislikes, he was extravagant in friendship. He was intensely devoted to his old managing editor, Oliver K. Bovard, formerly of the *Post-Dispatch*, even after they parted courses. Similarly Bovard, who had no way of knowing that, after Anderson's dismissal entered his Chicago massacre stories for the Pulitzer prize.

CHICAGO MASSACRE STORY PROPOSED FOR PRIZE

Anderson was never known to punch. Adept in satire, he had learned its ineffectiveness against people too stupid to see the point. In 1920, when he and an associate were stealing a moment for a Coca-Cola down the street from a general alarm fire, a young man bounded up to him with outstretched hand. "I've been wanting to tell you," he beamed, "aw very fair you've been."

"And here," marveled Anderson, as the youngster, son of an incompetent official employed in the official's office, fore himself away, "I've been roasting him on the hottest I could build. Damnedest I ever had."

Far from modest, he was yet far from a personal salesman. He ranked him high as a writer but, curiously, low as a reporter. He was reading a notice of a handsome bonus to an associate not too handicapped, on a story in which his share was considerable, when a third reporter, who also had a hand in it, came up to the bulletin board, read the notice and asked, "And what did you get, Paul?" "Hell," said Anderson, "all I got was the story."



PAUL Y. ANDERSON

HE NEVER PULLED HIS PUNCHES

ST. LOUIS. PAUL Y. ANDERSON, one of the brightest figures behind or in the news, sometimes called the "cheery reporter," one of the staunchest in the Guild, killed himself Dec. 6 at his home in Washington.

His 45 years had been packed with brilliant achievement and bitter personal tragedy. As a last sardonic footnote, his home was under a mortgage, which he related in a letter published in the *Globe* *Reformer* a few days before his death, could have been lifted had the severance provisions of the Guild contract at the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* been in effect when he was discharged a year ago.

Upon his dismissal by that newspaper his services were transferred to the St. Louis *Star-Times*. His weekly Washington letter in the Nation was resumed. He contributed a weekly column to the United Auto Workers paper—his widest circulation.

EARLY WAR FAME WITH NEWS EXPLOITS When Anderson was 3 years old, his father, a member of the old Knights of Labor in Knox County, Tennessee, was killed in an industrial accident. At 12 Paul called on the elder Anderson, old employer and friend, looking for work. He did not get it. He had been named for the man. He never used the name again; the "Y" was only an initial.

He got a job as a messenger boy; he has said sarcastic operators called him "Lightnin'". At 17 he came to St. Louis. Newspaper men noticed him first in the old St. Louis Times, when he succeeded in pumping a semblance of life into a series of local mercantile careers, a task which must have seemed particularly thankless to him. A few years later he attracted national attention by his work in the *Post-Dispatch*, commenced by a Congressional committee, on the 1917 race riots in East St. Louis. With ordinary

news sources closed to him by corrupt officials, he had established his own and blown the town wide open.

His achievements since then are matters of common knowledge the country over. He distinguished himself in obtaining the release of wartime political prisoners in 1923, won the Pulitzer prize in 1928 for his Continental Trading Co. oil expose, aided in forcing resignation of a Federal Judge under fire, nabbed a State Department official in the act of promoting a fake "Red" scare. Fresh in memory are his exposure of the "Mohawk Valley formula"—the "back-to-work" technique—his inside coverage of the CIO-AFL peace parleys, and his spectacular scoop on the then suppressed news camera's story of the Chicago Memorial Day massacre.

Active in the early days of the Guild in Washington, he led in the organization

Tradition Is Shattered in the Southland

Tennessee Guild Locals, ANG Vice-Presidents Active in Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Which Unites Many Diverse Groups on a Broad Program of Progress

TWELVE hundred delegates from 13 Southern states who responded to a call for progressive action in the South made a shattered myth of traditional Southern conservatism by their broadside demands for social and economic reform adopted at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Birmingham Nov. 20-23.

Inspired by the President's Economic Report on the South, the conference was probably the most broadly representative gathering of Southern leaders ever brought together for such a purpose. Employers, union members, educators, Communist organizers, tenant farmers, social workers, government officials, publishers, Guildmen, and many other diverse interests were represented in sessions where free speech was turned loose and democratic action insisted upon.

Reactionary business interests, hostile to such an effort to give expression to all voices in the South, attempted to wreck the conference by fanning the flames of race prejudice, inspiring Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor to clamp down a segregation ordinance requiring Negroes and whites to sit in separate parts of the meeting halls. More than one-fourth of the delegates were Negroes.

The action furnished "black" headlines about the conference for newspapers, but failed in its purpose to disrupt the conference itself. The delegates abided by the law, but vigorously voiced their resentment individually and officially, protesting the action by overwhelming vote.

The conference then proceeded to give the taboo race problem a thorough airing and, thanks in good part to Negro leadership that refused to be stampeded into petty race conflict, brought forth a broad program calling among other things for equal economic, educational, and political treatment of the Negro.

It also included a denunciation of the methods of the Dies committee (which some Birmingham "Citizens" leaders have now called on to investigate the conference), resolution calling for state "Little Wagner Labor Acts" in the South; abolition of poll taxes; federal and state anti-lynch legislation; revision of child labor; revision of legal interpretations of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to place human rights above property rights; expansion of measures to relieve farm tenancy; prison reform; legislation to outlaw anti-labor injunctions and use of military force in strikes; and numerous other grand actions.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, whose opening address asserting that "the answer to error is not terror" kept the entire

conference, was elected permanent chairman of an organization to carry out the purposes laid down in the committee's action through a Southern Council, elected by caucuses of the 13 participating states. Harry Martin, institutional vice president of the Guild, from Memphis, though unable to attend, was elected one of the seven Council representatives from Tennessee. Quentin P. Gore, International Guild vice president from Chattanooga, and a delegate of the Southern District of the Guild, was a member of the original sponsoring committee of the conference and will continue in the permanent organization. Other Guild delegates present included Mrs. Gore, president of the Chattanooga Auxiliary; Mary Stallings of Chattanooga, representing the CIO Council of that city, and Jack Bryan, representing the Memphis Guild.

Mrs. Louise B. Charlton, U. S. Commissioner in Birmingham who directed the temporary organization, was elected honorary chairman; Dr. H. C. Nixon, eminent New Orleans educator and writer, active in the conference's formation, was made executive secretary; and Clark Foreman, Georgia, WPA official, was made treasurer. The conference, to which affiliation by Southern individuals or groups is open, will meet annually, its program to be carried on through a network of committees on civil rights, tenancy, suffrage, etc., under the Council and its executive committee consisting of vice presidents from each state and the officers.

Breadth of its representation is shown

by some of the vice presidents named by the states: Brooks Hays, Arkansas, FSA attorney and head of the Southern Policy Committee; Barry Bingham, Kentucky, publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*; Senator Claude Pepper, Florida; Tarleton Collier, Georgia, columnist, Atlanta Georgian; Dr. E. A. Elliott, regional NLRB director, Texas.

Among the members of the Southern Council are Maury Maverick, vigorous Texas liberal; Arthur Rapier, sociologist and writer of Agnes Scott College, Georgia; William Mitchell, district president United Mine Workers, Birmingham; Dr. Charles Johnson, eminent Negro educator, Fisk University, Nashville; Donald Comer, president Avondale Mills, Alabama; J. R. Butler, president, Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Memphis; George Mitchell, regional director FSA, Raleigh, N. C.; W. T. Couch, director of the University of North Carolina Press; Bishop Lucey, Catholic, Texas; Rabbi Julius Marks, Nashville.

Addresses by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Assistant WPA Administrator Aubrey Williams, and Justice Hugo Black, who was awarded the Thomas Jefferson medal for Southern statesmanship, enlivened the conference. In one of the panel discussions Mrs. Roosevelt rose to counter Birmingham Congressman Luther Patrick's criticism of "the form" of the Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill by asking why, then, Southern legislators hadn't written one they did like. She got no answer.

The Guild came in for praise from one speaker, Mrs. Durr, who, during a severe indictment of the American press, credited the Guild not only with giving the newspapers security, but in helping to bulwark the free press wherever it is organized.

What Do the Schools Teach About Labor?

MADISON, Wis.

By CEDRIC PARKER

YOUNG American is being taught its history, economics, sociology, civics, and political science from textbooks polluted with propaganda against labor, against democracy, against the civil rights guaranteed in the United States Constitution. Many of these textbooks eulogize the fascist states of Europe. They glorify corporate practices in America. They hold forth promises of a rosy, prosperous future for every red-blooded young American who is willing to work hard, be thrifty, and mind the employer.

These conclusions are drawn from the evidence gathered in a comprehensive survey conducted by the American People's Culture Committee of the University of Wisconsin Teachers' Union, which, under the chairmanship of William E. Bull, has made searching studies of scores of textbooks used in the junior and senior high school of Madison. Since these are standard books published by nationally known firms, they may be taken as typical examples of the kind of texts used in schools throughout the United States.

A TEACHERS' UNION STUDY

This survey is part of a nation-wide program which has been started by the National Educational Policy Committee of the American Federation of Teachers. As a liberal city in a liberal and progressive state, Madison was selected as the "guinea pig" for the study, which is one phase of the AFT's national program to "bring the people to the schools and the schools to the people."

Now what about the textbooks—what kind of propaganda do they contain, how extensive is it, how is it brought into the books? If young Johnny tells his father he should quit the union because unions are dangerous and cause strikes, inquiry may disclose that Johnny obtained this opinion in his history class, where the textbook it uses is "Exploring American History." The Teachers' Union exploration of that text disclosed the following statement:

"The years of 1877 and 1894 were darkened by terrible strikes, accompanied by rioting and bloodshed. These struggles accomplished little except to cause property loss, to increase suffering, and to make for bad feeling between employers and employees."

Note the connotations of such words as "darkened," "terrible," "rioting," and "bloodshed" in connection with the subject of strikes. The author of "Exploring American History" didn't explore far

enough to discover that the railroad strikes of 1877 were precipitated by the announcement that all employees of the Baltimore & Ohio receiving over \$1 a day would have their wages cut 10 per cent. On some of the other roads, pay was cut to as low as 75 cents a day, and railroad men had to pay their own living expenses while on the road as well as support their families.

Nor did the author recognize that all of the "rioting and bloodshed" in 1877 were caused by the assaults of militiamen, the Coal and Iron Police, Pinkerton guards, and even U. S. Army men upon the unarmed strikers.

The assertion that "these struggles accomplished little except to cause property loss, to increase suffering, and to make for bad feeling between employers and employees" ignores the historical fact that the strikes had positive and beneficial results for the workers; that they were the first unified struggle of American working men on a national scale; that the wage outdrive of the railroads was partially halted, even though the strikes were brutally suppressed; that the lessons learned in the railroad uprisings of 1877 brought about the adoption of collective bargaining as a function of the railroad brotherhoods. All of these facts are easily accessible in scores of factual reference books, as well as in government archives, newspaper files, etc.

NOT EASILY BELIEVED

This detailed analysis of the 38-word paragraph from "Exploring American History" is given because of the reactions which were encountered after I had published the results of the Teachers' Union survey in a series of articles in the Capital Times of Madison. Many persons accused me and the Teachers' Union of "looking for things under the bed" and "reading between the lines" of the textbooks. Our critics could see nothing improper or untruthful in the excerpts quoted. A member of the Teachers' Union committee has suggested that these reactions might be due to the fact that our critics had learned their American history from the same kind of textbooks.

Is the quotation from "Exploring American History" an isolated example? Not at all. Referring to more recent labor struggles, another textbook, "Fundamentals of Business Organization and Management," inserts without qualification, "all strikes result in hardships to the employer, the employee, and the public in general." This book includes labor union activities among the causes of "social instability."

The Teachers' Union committee found a

fertile field in its study of textbook attitudes toward Big Business. From its text on "Literature and Modern Business," an introductory book in business course, the student gets this prospect:

"The American worker knows that the wage earner of today is the slave of tomorrow, and perhaps plant owner of the near future."

This comes right from the propaganda mill of the National Association of Manufacturers, but it doesn't satisfy our author. He adds this:

"Short hours of work, good pay, and pleasant surroundings may seem to be the most important characteristics of a desirable position, but in the long run these are not of greatest importance."

BUSINESS BLESSED

Does the housewife complain about the high cost of meat and groceries? Her student can easily straighten her out when he learns the following from his textbook:

"In reference to the charge of profiteering, it can be said with the best of authority that not only does the average middleman not exact too high a profit, but that in many cases he does not even realize a reasonable return on his investment. . . . The business crimes which we hear most about have to do with monopoly, price, and profit. And most of them have not the slightest criminality in them—what is right today may be wrong tomorrow."

To clinch the argument, the author adds that "the large corporation—against whom most of the charges of dishonest business are brought—is less able to be dishonest than is the individual going alone—for crime is personal, and the great corporation is impersonal."

There's nothing wrong with monopoly, either, and "trust-busting campaigns are supremely useless," says the book. And as for banks, we have the author's word for it that "in those instances where savings banks have failed, the depositors have usually lost little, if any, of their savings." Comforting thought! This book, incidentally, was written two years after the "bank holidays" of 1932-33.

What is Johnny learning at school about the government under which he lives, and about political philosophies elsewhere in the world? From one of his textbooks on "Civics" he will obtain the following impression of democratic forms and processes:

"Democracy is a government of the masses, authority derived through mass meetings or any other form of direct expression results in mobocracy. . . . In democracy, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy . . . in negating property rights and attitude toward property that is communism."

Now let's look at the student's sources of information on political affairs across the Atlantic. His history textbook, "Modern History," by Carl Becker, speaks approvingly of the activities of Mussolini's Black Shirt bands in breaking up meetings of "radicals" and labor unions, justifying these activities on the ground that "law and order" had to be maintained somehow in Italy during the wave of strikes which followed the World War. (Remember, this refers to Mussolini's activities before he had legal power.) Declaring that "radicals caused something done to strengthen the government at home and to restore the prestige of Italy abroad," Professor Becker states that "Fascism stood for all these desired things."

And then fascism rose to power in Italy, apparently with the approval of Professor Becker, who wrote:

"If the elections can be taken as a test, the great majority of Italians are well satisfied with the government of Mussolini."

This textbook author's faith in totalitarian elections extends also to Germany, about which Becker says:

"Recent elections show but little falling off in popular support of the government, and Hitler's assumption of the office of president after the death of von Hindenburg seemed to be generally approved."

And then Hitler rose to power in Germany, about which Becker says:

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And then Hitler rose to power in Germany, about which Becker says:

"Recent elections show but little falling off in popular support of the government, and Hitler's assumption of the office of president after the death of von Hindenburg seemed to be generally approved."

To make sure that the student does not "misunderstand" the motives of Hitler, the book provides him with a definition of National Socialism. The Nazi, says the professor, were "those who were devoted to defending Germany against the outside world, and to equalizing conditions between the poor and the rich."

The examples of textbook propaganda quoted here are only a few selected at random from the hundreds which fill the pages of the reports of Teachers' Union investigators.

An intensive drive to bring the facts to the people is under way. Speakers from the Teachers' Union and the People's Culture Committee are appearing before every labor organization in the city. Liberal organizations, church groups, and every other type of society or association are being told the facts about the books.

The Guild Reporter

Copyright, 1938, by the American Newspaper Guild



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

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119

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Hearst Tries Again

THE fifth anniversary of the foundation of the American Newspaper Guild finds a record number of Guildsmen on the picket line in Chicago, fighting to compel observance of Hearst's contract obligations and for the very right to belong to the union of their own choosing.

From the days of the Jennings case, William Randolph Hearst has been the leading, most powerful and most unscrupulous opponent of Guild organization. He forced us into two of our biggest struggles, the Milwaukee and Seattle strikes. The outstanding victory in Seattle appeared to have persuaded him that it was best to lay off the Guild and deal with it. But soon after the 1937 Convention extended our base to the newspaper commercial departments, Hearst and his high-priced executives appeared to forget the lessons of Milwaukee and Seattle. They started over again, to a varying degree on different papers, a drive to destroy the Guild, by the use of every form of subtle or open discrimination and intimidation. The campaign reached the height of intensity in Chicago, where the management relied on the best anti-labor cooperation of some of the AF of L top leadership and the gangster methods developed by Chicago circulation wars.

For more than a year the Hearst management has resorted to every form of unfair labor practice against the Guild local, including fake jurisdictional disputes, scores of dismissals of Guild leaders, false criminal accusations, even gangster threats and actual attacks. Under threat of a strike, it signed an editorial contract last January, but ever since has showed contempt for its contract obligations. It has violated the contract at will in two of its most important provisions, the hour and overtime regulations and the requirement for Guild consultation on economy dismissals, and most of all it has attempted to destroy the second party to the contract, the Chicago Newspaper Guild.

There is every reason to believe that the Chicago Hearst management and the financial interests allied in control of the publications were determined to provoke the Guild into a difficult strike if they could not destroy the organization. The Guild unit displayed admirable discipline and patience in the face of the drive. It held its lines, sought contract enforcement by peaceful means, took the unfair labor practices to the NLRB. When the completion of the labor board hearings was followed by a wave of firing of Guildsmen, the unit was faced with the alternative of striking or of giving up its existence as well as its contract rights. In the best traditions of the ANG, there was no doubt of its choice. Having paid their respects to the law of the land and the Wagner act, the Hearst agents proceeded to show the same respect for the common law and human decency by a planned campaign to break the strike of police and gangster terror, followed by a planted stooge "back-to-work" movement. The net result has been merely to solidify the strikers' ranks, and the biggest strike in ANG history moves on to the inevitable victory.

To those who may have temporarily forgotten the Jennings case and Milwaukee and Seattle, William Randolph Hearst has shown more forcefully than ever in Chicago that to him and his agents and financial allies contract obligations and the law of state and nation mean no more than the force behind them.

In this case force behind them is the economic force of more than 500 Hearst employees in Chicago, 18,000

organized newspaper workers, around the country, supported by the whole American labor movement.

Chicago must be made the means to convince Hearst a third and final time that the Guild has the strength to enforce on any publisher its contracts and its right to exist.

1933—1938

IN the record of its first five years, completed today, the Guild has a two-fold reason for satisfaction and pride. Our own record is one that few organizations faced with similar opposition and obstacles have surpassed. And we are part of a great labor movement that is creating a progressive outlook for the whole country.

In our industry we were faced in 1933 with a downward trend in employment standards. We have not only reversed it; our five-day 40-hour week, overtime, severance indemnity and security provisions have enhanced even the best standards in existence before 1929, and have become accepted throughout the country.

In the nation, organized labor has grown since 1933, from some 2,500,000 to 8,000,000 (including the railroad brotherhoods). It has lately saved the country from a new outbreak of wage cutting; it has furnished the margin of power that made possible such legislative reforms as the Social Security and Fair Labor Standards Acts; it forms the powerful nucleus around which the progressive elements in the country can rally for new forward steps.

Best of all, these gains of the Guild and all labor have strikingly demonstrated the superiority of collective over individual action in the economic and political fields. They should awaken any inactive member to the value of full participation. With this beginning, the record of the next five years can be even brighter.

Paul Y. Anderson

PAUL Y. ANDERSON was one of the truly great American reporters. In many quarters the sorrow expressed will be more formal than genuine. He made little men uncomfortable. They sensed in his integrity an implied rebuke. His opinions were not synchronized either with a pay check or the whims of a publisher. His beliefs did not vacillate in accordance with his prosperity. He was for trade unions when he earned \$20 a week and he was for them when he earned \$20,000 a year. One of the last pieces he wrote before he died was a "sermon" using his own life and experience to prove the worth of the Guild.

Those who worked with Anderson on the Post-Dispatch—particularly if they were young and impressionable—will never forget the way he would swing into the city room, his heels clicking insolently across the floor, nor his fresh, go-to-hell manner, which revealed in every gesture the pride of a man who knows he is good. In those days his courage and his ability helped to transform the Post-Dispatch platform (a paper "that will always fight for reform, always remain drastically independent, never lack sympathy with the poor, never be satisfied with merely printing the news, always oppose public plunderers") from words into a fact.

The writer of these lines had a long talk with Anderson a month before he died. He was not one to take more than passing pleasure in a "scoop" or well-written story. His interests were deeper. It hurt him, and hurt him badly, when, after the Harding Administration was exposed as gigantically corrupt, the response of the electorate was to choose Coolidge for a second term. It hurt him when Girdlers were hailed as heroes, Landons as saviors, officers of the National Association of Manufacturers as disinterested statesmen. For twenty-three years he fought against lies and this seemed to prove that his life was a failure.

It is to be hoped that there are young reporters everywhere who will find something to help them in Anderson's career. If they say he is difficult to emulate because few papers will permit the fearless exposures that Anderson accomplished, Anderson would have an answer to that. Let them work for the Guild as he did increasingly. It is important enough to take their energy, their idealism, their ability.

Pecan Statesman

OUR undercover agents have come up with more dope about the Texas pecan king, Julius Seligman. When he shut down his plants rather than raise his shellers from 5 cents an hour to the wage-and-hour law standard he was only following his tradition. He made the same threats when the NRA came, and actually shut his plants for a few days. When the Labor Relations Act came he threatened to introduce machinery which would supplant about three-quarters of his 10,000 workers; and when the Social Security Act came he threatened to take all his operations back to the farms so as to avoid the responsibility for the tax. He has not carried out any of his threats.

Seligman, it turns out, is a Republican, one of the few in Texas. He does his bit for the cause by making these gestures against New Deal legislation. His stories go over big locally because of the fear of the huge relief burden. This time he has shut down for several weeks, but those who know his real situation are positive that he is bluffing again.

He manages to conform with the new laws when he has to. He and one of his leading rivals have just signed stipulations with the Labor Board for a Board cease-and-desist order and a voluntary court order under which the Board can take him to court for contempt if he engages in any more anti-union practices.

Australia Now Looks UP to Us

Press Union Greeted ANG;
Raises Won in New Pact

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

FOUR months' deadlock between the Australian Journalists Association and the Metropolitan Daily Proprietors has been broken with the signing of an agreement on wage scales.

A general increase of slightly more than \$1 a week for reporters, with more generous increases to "cadets," as cub reporters are known, was announced following the termination of five days of negotiations. General Secretary Sydney E. Pratt of the association announced that other terms of the contract will be determined by the Arbitration Court, according to Australian law.

The deadlock, occasioned by the proprietors' demands for wage cuts and other recessions from existing conditions,

The following letter has been received by Secretary-Treasurer Pasche, from Sydney E. Pratt, secretary of the Australian Journalists Association:

Federal Council which is the governing body of the Australian Journalists' Association held its annual meeting in Melbourne on Sept. 24 to 28. It was attended by delegates from each state of the Commonwealth. Council unanimously agreed to send fraternal greetings to the American Newspaper Guild and to congratulate it on its fine efforts to raise the industrial status of journalists and other newspaper workers in the United States.

Council was actuated in this matter because it recognized the importance of the work of the Guild to journalists in all countries.

tions, was broken during conferences which are ordered by the courts upon request by a union or employer. In this case the union forced the employers into conference. It marked the first time in 21 years that employers' and journalists' organizations in Australia could not come to terms. The new contract will cover a four-year period.

AJA WATCHES OUR PROGRESS

Keen interest by the ANG in its early days in the pioneer work of the Australian Journalists Association is now being reciprocated. Recent issues of the Journalist, organ of the association, have contained an article a month on the progress and achievements of the Guild. Recently ANG Secretary-Treasurer Pasche and General Secretary Pratt of the AJA exchanged letters, as the result of a request from Pratt for information on ANG operations and policies. Long excerpts of a letter from Pasche were printed in the Journalist. The ANG and AJA have mutual membership card exchange arrangements.

The AJA is a craft union with a membership of 402 and a strong financial position. Almost all of Australia's reporters are members, and 80 per cent of the membership is up-to-date in dues payments. Dues collection efforts are bolstered up by the expedient of periodically publishing the standing of members.

SETTING A "LUSTY" EXAMPLE

The success of the ANG with the industrial form of unionism and a growing need for closer cooperation in Australia between the AJA and other newspaper employees led to requests from Australia for "details of the methods and tactics of the American Newspaper Guild found most successful in securing its agreements with publishers."

Interest in the ANG and a desire to learn from American experience is evidenced in the fact that Pasche's letter was followed up in the August issue of the Journalist by an article entitled, "Guild Strike Proved Value of Journalists" written by an American newspaperman now living in Australia.

After describing the struggles and successes of the ANG, the writer concludes:

"It seems to me that the Australian Journalists Association, which was like a beacon on a stormy night to its younger American counterpart during its adolescence, could well emulate its lusty, militant example."

HE WANTS TO HELP US

The following letter is reprinted from the September issue of the Australian "Journalist." The writer's error on our strike statistics does not detract from his friendliness and understanding, which seems to be characteristic of the organized Australian newspapermen's attitude toward the Guild. The letter is headlined, "Solidarity Means Put In to Build the Guild."

MELBOURNE.

The American Newspaper Guild, most militant and successful organization of journalists in the world, has just voted at its annual convention to affiliate (exchange) with the A.J.A., extending to our members who may go to America all the privileges of Guild membership.

In the last year the Guild has fought nearly 30 strikes, all but two successful. It is building the biggest journalists' organization in the world—but strikes cost money, and the Guild is \$40,000 in debt.

Their fight is our fight; and some day we may want their help badly.

In the meantime can't we help them?

What about a couple of bob each in the hat at every district meeting? Surely we can send the Guild \$250 among us from our small rise, with all the best wishes in Australia for success in their fight.

SOLIDARITY.