

The Free Press

When Ickes Met The Gang

All Was Fair Until He Looked Away—But Press's Confetti Bounces Back

By N. L. GOLDBERG

THE Harold L. Ickes-Frank E. Gannett radio debate on Jan. 12, on the question, "Do We Have a Free Press," tossed one of the hottest potatoes of recent years into the collective lap of American newspaper publishers. For the New York Town Hall "Town Meetings of the Air," under whose auspices the debate was held, the National Broadcasting Company hooks up 70 major stations. Normally it estimates that 7,000,000 listeners are attracted. With a growing public interest in the daily press, it can be hazarded that several millions more listened to this one. So there was a huge audience in a position to check the next day's papers.

The press responded by putting on a show of neutral reporting on the debate itself and then blasting Secretary Ickes' charges with follow stories which the public could hardly check, and which, in total, were about 90 per cent wrong.

About 600 papers carried the first-day story, judging by clips received in New York. From the Guild Reporter's sampling of 150 chosen at random about the country it is evident that almost every paper (using mostly AP) got in some of both sides, with the space in Gannett's favor in the proportion of about 8 to 5.

A sensational follow story which they could have had, they did not go after. It would have been on Ickes' side. This was in connection with the secretary's charge that Gannett for a time had been in debt to the amount of \$2,700,000 to the International Paper & Power Company. Most papers printed Gannett's desperate explanations and cried that he had been fouled by Ickes on this point, and their coverage left the point hanging between assertion and counter-assertion.

It was a main point in the following days' editorial outburst, which ranged in tone from polite reproof for Ickes to thinly veiled statements that the Secretary of the Interior is a liar and a stinker and so is the New Deal.

If the papers had investigated they could not only have established that Gannett had borrowed the money and paid it back just as the Federal Trade Commission was about to expose him, but also they could have revealed that Gannett had made himself liable to five years in the penitentiary and a \$2,000 fine for failing to list the paper company's ownership of his bonds in his annual post-office statements.

Gannett's version as given in the debate, and which

(Continued on Page Six)

GUILD REPORTER

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

Published the 1st and 15th of Each Month at Guild Headquarters, 1560 Broadway, New York.

Vol. VI—No. 4 Entered as second-class matter August 18, 1937, at the Post Office at New York

NEW YORK, N. Y., FEBRUARY 1, 1939

Single Copy 10c Yearly \$2.00

100 Chicago AFL Leaders Organize Strike Aid Group

Papers In W.-B. Renegade On Talks

WILKES-BARRE—The publishers of Wilkes-Barre's three daily newspapers, closed since Oct. 3 by a Guild strike, signed an agreement last fortnight pledging themselves to negotiate a settlement of the strike, but during three days of negotiations which began on Jan. 23, the three publishers' only contribution to the conferences was the question, "Whom do you represent?" They repeated it again and again to the Guild spokesmen, ANG Vice President Morris Watson and Local President Stanley Kupstas.

This new tack appeared after a fortnight of developments in which an AFL "union," organized after the strike began, suffered a conspicuous collapse. The "union" was a bulwark for the publishers' public assertions that conflicting claims for representation would make negotiations with the Guild a violation of the National Labor Relations Act. Last week they reiterated this statement, telling the Guild that Elisha Hanson, attorney for the American Newspaper Publishers Association, had told them so.

After submitting to three days of stalling, the Guild strikers last week voted to serve an ultimatum upon the publishers that unless they negotiated in good faith, the

(Continued on Page Five)

Guild Joins Fight on WPA Slash

Guild locals joined vigorously with other unions during the past fortnight in the fight to force restoration of the \$150,000,000 sum looted by the House from President Roosevelt's request for an \$875,000,000 WPA appropriation.

Particularly active were locals in cities where jobless newspapermen have found relief through WPA writers' projects. The drive to curtail WPA threatened to wipe out the writers' and other arts projects.

In New York, ANG Vice President Morris Watson, Deems Taylor, the noted composer, leaders of the American Federation of Actors and other representatives of unions interested in the arts projects, appealed for public support in broadcasts from WABC and WOR. President Carl Ransau and Morris Iushewitz of the New York Guild addressed union rallies, and New York Guildsmen participated in a protest parade. Speakers urged

(Continued on Page Five)

BROPHY URGES UNITY FOR STRIKE

CHICAGO—A "bona fide strike of workingmen," said CIO Director John Brophy in an address before the Hearst strikers last fortnight, "is entitled to the unified support of all labor, no matter what other differences there may be. In this strike a great principle is involved. If you were to be defeated—which, of course, you will not be—it would be a defeat for all labor. I trust the light of reason will cause some leaders in the American Federation of Labor to recall their great past in the labor movement and not to demean that record." He added:



"You are not only fighting Hearst, but also his allies. There is a united front of great enemies of peaceful labor relations. Because of that there is a unity of labor to support your fight. This unity will grow as the greater implications of your struggle for social progress become more widely known."

Emphasizing that "the eyes of the whole nation" are focused on the Chicago strike, Brophy reviewed briefly Chicago's reputation nationally. It is because of this reputation, he said, that the strikers must "carry on. A victory for you means a victory for the ethical progress of Chicago."

"There is no doubt as to that ultimate victory. You are possessed of the will to win and you are backed by the enlightened labor movement of the country and by all men and women of good will."

4 New Pacts Boost ANG Total to 125

Signing of two New York contracts last fortnight, including a Guild shop agreement covering 445 editorial and commercial employees on the Brooklyn Eagle, has brought to four the new year's contracts. (Details on Page 2.) The ANG now has more than 125 daily newspapers, news and photo agencies, news magazines and radio stations under contract.

Besides the Eagle the latest contracts cover Newsweek magazine in New York; the Akron Beacon-Journal and Detroit Times (Hearst). Newsweek minimum salaries range to \$75 and the dismissal indemnities are scaled to a maximum of \$5,000.

The Beacon-Journal agreement boosts minimums from the \$37.50 provided in the old bulletin board statement to \$45.

The Brooklyn Eagle contract provides a large measure of job security among other benefits. The Detroit contract was announced in the Jan. 15 GUILD REPORTER.

Baltimore Wins Hearst NLB Case

BALTIMORE—Upholding a Trial Labor Board last fortnight ordered the reinstatement of Fred H. Houck, chairman of the News-Post (Hearst) Guild unit, who was fired in August, 1937, for Guild activity. The paper was ordered to pay Houck more than \$3,000 in back salary.

News of the Hearst victory stirred leaders of the Guild-sponsored company union, which sprang up after Houck's dismissal, into a flurry of activity. Although that

(Continued on Page Two)

Hearst Sham Revealed By Pact

CHICAGO—Support from AFL unions for the Guild strike against the Chicago Herald & Examiner and Evening American began to assume impressive proportions last fortnight. This development, of great promise for the strike, seemed certain of even speedier growth in the near future as a result of recent developments exposing the sham of the management's position and the large amount of co-operation being given to the papers by certain leading AFL officials, particularly President John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The support for the Guild showed itself dramatically as the strike was rounding out its third month when more than 100 rank-and-file leaders organized the AFL Committee to Aid the Guild Strike and distributed an open letter attacking Fitzpatrick's activities. The letter was handed to 300 delegates at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, yet no member arose to defend Fitzpatrick, who was in the chair.

The management itself exposed the hollowness of one of its main claims when it signed a contract with the so-called Chicago Editorial Association, the company-union group organized in the Guild's jurisdiction by AFL leaders. The contract was widely publicized in papers over the country in stories calculated to give the impression that it was almost as good as those usually obtained by the Guild. It was also announced that a contract was being negotiated with News-

(Continued on Page Three)

Wires Expose AFL Leader's Link to Hearst

Telegrams giving evidence of the relations between the Hearst management and President John H. Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor who plays a leading role in efforts to break the Hearst Guild's strike, were revealed in New York last week.

One of the telegrams showed that Fitzpatrick was working together with the Hearst management, or that it had free use of his name, in panicking advertisers into returning to the struck papers after they had withdrawn. Another revealed that Chicago Hearst executives regarded Fitzpatrick as a

(Continued on Page Three)

BUILDING: Guild Strikes Once More—Again It Forges Unity

By JONATHAN EDDY

SAN FRANCISCO

THESE days that are speeding by so rapidly now are more weighted with significance than any other days in the history of our organization. Things of tremendous import are happening. Developments are taking place in, or through, the Newspaper Guild of dynamic concern to the entire labor movement, CIO and AFL, because they have an immediate bearing on political alignments and on the struggle to preserve and extend democracy in this hemisphere and in the world.

For more than five years now, under the inspiration of Heywood Broun, the newspapermen and women of this country have been engaged in a fight to wrest to themselves what is known as economic power. Newspaper workers from Jacksonville, Fla., to Bellingham, Wash., and including now almost every major city of the nation, are fighting today as they have never fought before to mobilize their entire strength in the fray. It is said that assessments are not coming in as fast as they should; and that is a fact; nevertheless it may also be said they are coming in faster than they ever did

(Continued on Page Five)

Eddy Joins In Mooney Welcome

1912

surprises that the entire structure is being damaged by the insistence of the AFL-CIO national leadership upon a smart-Alce policy which no other major publisher in the country has found it advisable to invoke, or at least to pursue to the point of a smash-up, namely, the policy of union disruption from within.

No doubt it is the belief of those responsible that by fostering common unions and turning them over to the management, the AFL-CIO leadership makes this possible, the split in the labor movement may be preserved and extended—with all that implies for the national political situation in 1940.

despite the splendid advances signaled in last year's document, the fact is that it is not clear how it has become so apparent that the new negotiating committee is drafting an entirely revised document.

All of which leads up to the observation that the one exasperating factor that has been injected into what otherwise might perhaps be a workable situation has been injected by Hearst—AND it is this same smart-Alce business of union disruption and manipulation. A small unorganized group of those fellows in the same occupational classification on other papers here in the Guild has been discovered by the management on one of the papers in Chicago.

Our problem fundamentally one of unity and we have shown that we can preserve and build in the midst of the hottest fire—that there is where we are most adept at building it. It's the foundation of the newspaper business in Chicago—and if the newspaper men in San Francisco are tied up a few weeks hence, with who can predict what ensuing chain of events—might be, because somebody in the mean time has been told the idea that you can keep on tricking newspaper workers into fighting each other at the expense of their own security.

This is San Francisco, and as one

ICKES & THE HAIL OF BOUNCING CONFETTI

Press Rose Hotly
To Gannett's Aid
After Debate—

(Continued from Page One)
most papers printed, was that he had borrowed the money from the International Paper Company, "NOT" International Paper & Power, because the ordinary money market was high when he sought capital to expand his newspaper chain. When "great ado" was made, he paid the money back.

One of the many journals leaping to defend Gannett was Editor & Publisher, Nothing to it, said Editor Arthur Robb. Gannett borrowed money from his paper house, but paid it back "immediately" it was plain that the public had its fingers crossed on such deals.

A glance at the trade and liberal press of a decade ago recalls the nationwide scandal that developed from the power trust's efforts to buy control of many of the country's newspapers in 1928. The business was stopped short by the Federal Trade Commission investigation at a time when, admittedly, the purchasing was only half begun. Ten million dollars already had been invested.

When EAP Was Younger
In these days, Editor & Publisher news stories made no distinction between International Paper & Power and its subsidiary, International Paper. IPEP was a \$600,000,000 corporation established on June 26, 1928, in Massachusetts. (John Loomis in The Nation, April 17, 1928.) Newspaper was a sideline to IPEP; 54 per cent of its profits were derived from the sale of power, and 25 per cent from the sale of newspaper. (Paul Y. Anderson in The Nation, May 15, 1929.)

Editor & Publisher, printing many pages of stories on the FTC investigation, reported in its May 11, 1929 issue that Gannett, falsified his statement of ownership in one newspaper and evaded direct statement on the IPEP link in others. It was EAP itself, in a story written by its Washington correspondent, George H. Manning, which pointed out that such a statement was perjury, punishable by imprisonment and fine. But the then authorities took the view that the statement was "incomplete" and planned to return it for "completion." Other publishers were similarly involved, and, reported EAP, it was understood that their cases would be handled in the same way.

EAP's Own Story
Here are excerpts from the EAP story:
The testimony adduced by the (Federal Trade) commission from Mr. Graustein (Archibald R. Graustein, president of IPEP) showed that IPEP and its subsidiaries have expended more than \$10,000,000 in aiding to finance the Boston Herald and Traveler, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Journal, Albany Knickerbocker Press, Albany Evening News, Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Columbia (S.C.) Record, Greensboro (N.C.) Record, Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald & Journal, Brooklyn Eagle, Tampa Tribune and others (N.Y.) Journal.

In the Senate this was quickly followed up by Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, Democrat, calling upon the postmaster general to furnish the Senate with a copy of the last statement filed by Gannett.

After reporting that Gannett's two Albany papers, the Evening News and Knickerbocker Press, named only the Piedmont Press Association of Dover, Del., a sub-

THE PUBLISHERS' CORNER?

In this section of the Town Hall audience named most of the Gannett-lickers debate original. The AP Board of Directors had tickets for the debate, and the photographer suspects that the members were in the section shown above. Recognize them?

sidary of IPEP, the Editor & Publisher story continued:
The other Gannett paper, the Brooklyn Eagle, in the space reserved for holders of securities or bonds other than the owners, placed the word "None" in answer to the question, "Do you own any securities or bonds?" Graustein told the commission "forty per cent" (Editor's Note: Gannett sold the Brooklyn Eagle soon afterward.)

Besides handling Gannett to his advantage on this episode, the papers with notable exceptions, gave top position in the stories to Gannett's complaint when he was interrupted before his initial speech was finished. The facts were that Gannett, presumably because of more loss of time in booing and applause, was allowed 16:43 minutes against 14:30 minutes for Ickes. Secretary Ickes was likewise cut short before he finished.

The Tobacco Story
The first of the big counter-blats by the press against Ickes' charge of suppression of news was on the tobacco study by Dr. Raymond Pearl, the Johns Hopkins biologist. Ickes had said in answer to a question from the audience:

I understand that at Johns Hopkins University there is a very sensational finding resulting from the study of the effect of cigarette smoking, that has not appeared, so far I know, in any newspaper in the United States. I wonder if that is because the tobacco companies and the cigarette companies are such large advertisers.
Dr. Pearl aided the papers in their counter-attack. A story carried by the Associated Press quoted him as declaring that his study of the effect of smoking on longevity had been "printed in every cross-road newspaper in the country." Pearl's statements included a derogatory reference to George Seldes, whose book "Lords of the Press" told how the newspapers suppressed the scientific reports, which was made in New York on Feb. 23, 1938.

Suppressed or Buried
However, in Dr. Pearl's scientific reckoning, New York must not be among America's cross-roads, for the story was here suppressed by 75 per cent of the press and buried by 25 per cent. The burials were in the Times and World-Telegram which used several paragraphs on inside pages in longer stories dealing with scientific generalities on other phases of longevity. Neither the Times nor World-Telegram reported figures. The Times quoted Dr. Pearl's finding that smoking "is associated with a definite impairment of longevity."

Federated Press reports that the publisher of the New York Herald Tribune, said that paper was "scooped" on the story, the AP having failed to wire it on the local circuit. The AP insists that the story went not only to the Herald Tribune but also to the other New York papers that failed

THE PUBLISHERS' CORNER?

In this section of the Town Hall audience named most of the Gannett-lickers debate original. The AP Board of Directors had tickets for the debate, and the photographer suspects that the members were in the section shown above. Recognize them?

sidary of IPEP, the Editor & Publisher story continued:
The other Gannett paper, the Brooklyn Eagle, in the space reserved for holders of securities or bonds other than the owners, placed the word "None" in answer to the question, "Do you own any securities or bonds?" Graustein told the commission "forty per cent" (Editor's Note: Gannett sold the Brooklyn Eagle soon afterward.)

Besides handling Gannett to his advantage on this episode, the papers with notable exceptions, gave top position in the stories to Gannett's complaint when he was interrupted before his initial speech was finished. The facts were that Gannett, presumably because of more loss of time in booing and applause, was allowed 16:43 minutes against 14:30 minutes for Ickes. Secretary Ickes was likewise cut short before he finished.

The Tobacco Story
The first of the big counter-blats by the press against Ickes' charge of suppression of news was on the tobacco study by Dr. Raymond Pearl, the Johns Hopkins biologist. Ickes had said in answer to a question from the audience:

I understand that at Johns Hopkins University there is a very sensational finding resulting from the study of the effect of cigarette smoking, that has not appeared, so far I know, in any newspaper in the United States. I wonder if that is because the tobacco companies and the cigarette companies are such large advertisers.
Dr. Pearl aided the papers in their counter-attack. A story carried by the Associated Press quoted him as declaring that his study of the effect of smoking on longevity had been "printed in every cross-road newspaper in the country." Pearl's statements included a derogatory reference to George Seldes, whose book "Lords of the Press" told how the newspapers suppressed the scientific reports, which was made in New York on Feb. 23, 1938.

Suppressed or Buried
However, in Dr. Pearl's scientific reckoning, New York must not be among America's cross-roads, for the story was here suppressed by 75 per cent of the press and buried by 25 per cent. The burials were in the Times and World-Telegram which used several paragraphs on inside pages in longer stories dealing with scientific generalities on other phases of longevity. Neither the Times nor World-Telegram reported figures. The Times quoted Dr. Pearl's finding that smoking "is associated with a definite impairment of longevity."

Federated Press reports that the publisher of the New York Herald Tribune, said that paper was "scooped" on the story, the AP having failed to wire it on the local circuit. The AP insists that the story went not only to the Herald Tribune but also to the other New York papers that failed

But the Dead Cats Found Targets on The Way Back

Several had asked Dr. Pearl for copies of the report, but had had no luck in getting it. The Associated Press and several metropolitan dailies including the New York Times, which carried Dr. Pearl's statement denying Ickes' charge and attacking Seldes, ignored telegrams from Seldes setting forth the facts.

Half an Answer
The New York Times and other papers promptly reprinted portions of an editorial prepared for the columns of the next day's Boston Herald. This said:

If Mr. Ickes... will take the trouble to consult our files he will find a complete first-page account... with the names and pictures of all the participants in the Morning Herald of April 27, 1932, the Evening Herald of April 27, the Traveler of April 27 and the Sunday Herald of April 28.

This looks like the answer to Ickes, but it isn't. Not one of these papers mentioned that S. Vorenberg, owner of the auto, operated a store. The Transcript carried a story on an inside page, giving Vorenberg's name and address, but failing to report his business.

Close, But Not For Long
The American (Herald) first had a two-inch page on a 10-identifying Vorenberg, as "a clothing house proprietor doing business in the city."

This was expanded to a half-column piece in the last edition, in which Vorenberg lost his identity as a clothing house operator and became simply "a Boston business man."

Other Boston papers in 1932 were the Advertiser, the News and the Post. Newspapers attacking Ickes did not refer to these papers, and THE GUILD REPORTER has not had opportunity to check them.

The journalistic performance of the Gannett newspaper chain in handling the debate deserves special mention. (See tabulation elsewhere on this page.) Fifteen dailies and one semi-weekly of which Gannett has a whole or majority control "covered" the debate by giving an aggregate of 487 inches of space to Gannett's side and 158 to Ickes'. Two published long stories about the revocation of the Baltimore charter was submitted at the same time for the same reason, but in view of active reorganization in Baltimore, the IEB Finance Committee recommended defeat of the motion as to that charter and it was defeated.

Votes received from locals through Dec. 31, the legal closing date, were unanimously against revocation of the Baltimore charter and for revocation of the other two. Two published long stories about the revocation of the Baltimore charter was submitted at the same time for the same reason, but in view of active reorganization in Baltimore, the IEB Finance Committee recommended defeat of the motion as to that charter and it was defeated.

There has been no suppression of Mr. Ickes," said Gannett on the air.

Ironically, Ickes received this deal in the Gannett papers in the face of his announcement during the broadcast that an Ithaca (N.Y.) citizen had warned him of (Continued on Page Seven)

Officers Elected by Locals

Below are reports of election of officers at annual meetings of local Guilds.

CHATTANOOGA — President, Travis K. Hedrick; vice presidents, Murray E. Wyche and Rufus Terrell; recording secretary, George F. Hull; financial secretary, Mary Stallings.

WILKES-BARRE — President, Stanley Kaputas; vice presidents, Willard West and Michael Kolesar; secretary-treasurer, Dan Delaney; recording secretary, Robert Lewis.

ROCHESTER — Pres., George W. White; secretary, Joseph E. Whitcomb; secretary-treasurer, E. Donald Record; delegates to CIO council, J. Roy Elliott and Edward Russell.

SEATTLE — President, W. B. Sparks; vice president, Ed Hill; secretary, Mario Pearl; treasurer, Monty Johnson; sergeant-at-arms, Leo Connor; delegates to CIO council, Robert T. Camozzi, Ruth Givan and Claude M. Smith.

AKRON — President, Robert H. Stoper; vice president, Robert I. Cruden; secretary, W. Keyes Beech; treasurer, Preston H. Bergin.

CALUMET (Hammond Gary Ind.) — President, Louis P. Ade; vice president, Agnes Harper; secretary, John Tangerman; treasurer, James Brubaker.

ROCKFORD (Ill.) — President, Robert Jacobs; vice president, James Flagg; secretary, C. Hjalmar Nelson; treasurer, Herbert Ball.

NORWALK (Conn.) — President, George E. Boyland; vice president, William R. Williams; secretary, William A. Walden, Jr.; treasurer, Eugene A. Charlott.

SAN ANTONIO — President, Stanley Ryan; vice president, Frank Laro; secretary, Cliff Potter; treasurer, Alex Murphy.

HARRISBURG (Pa.) — President, Sidney Barnes; vice president, Michael Seaman and Lester J. Melly; secretary, Fred U. Rossi; treasurer, Samuel Botaford; delegates to Central Labor Union, Marcus Kob and Sidney Baron.

ANG Council Lifts 2 Charters

Revocation of the charters of the Passaic Valley (N.J.) and Monterey Bay Area (Cal.) Guilds was voted unanimously in an International Council poll conducted between Dec. 16 and 31. The IEB submitted the motions to revoke the charters of Passaic Valley and Monterey Bay Area after suspending the locals because of failure to function. A motion for the revocation of the Baltimore charter was submitted at the same time for the same reason, but in view of active reorganization in Baltimore, the IEB Finance Committee recommended defeat of the motion as to that charter and it was defeated.

Votes received from locals through Dec. 31, the legal closing date, were unanimously against revocation of the Baltimore charter and for revocation of the other two. Two published long stories about the revocation of the Baltimore charter was submitted at the same time for the same reason, but in view of active reorganization in Baltimore, the IEB Finance Committee recommended defeat of the motion as to that charter and it was defeated.

There has been no suppression of Mr. Ickes," said Gannett on the air.

Ironically, Ickes received this deal in the Gannett papers in the face of his announcement during the broadcast that an Ithaca (N.Y.) citizen had warned him of (Continued on Page Seven)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A meeting of the New York Press unit has supported a request of its chairman that we publish the letter by Edward Levinson, one of its members.

The letter, not printed previously for reasons stated, was discussed but not read at the Guild meeting Jan. 12. It follows:

LEVINSON'S LETTER

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

New York
The newspapers of the country deserve no defense for their treatment of the CIO. With few exceptions, they have misrepresented its activities in news stories. They have printed distorted headlines. They have run unfair and uninformative editorials. By and large, the newspapers do not give labor a fair break; in times of crisis they are often viciously unfair.

All the more, therefore, do I object to the unsigned article, "The Free Press," which appeared in THE GUILD REPORTER of Dec. 1, 1938. By its own inaccuracies and by its effort to conceal some pertinent facts about the Pittsburgh Convention of the CIO, it makes legitimate criticism of the publishers more difficult. THE GUILD REPORTER should excel in at two respects: it should be the most accurate paper in the country; and it should have a complete knowledge of the labor movement. "The Free Press" of Dec. 1 has neither of these attributes.

See Hair-Splitting
I leave aside for lack of space comment on some of the puerile criticism included with substantial complaints on the Pittsburgh coverage of the Convention. As an example of hair-splitting, however, I commend the following: Lewis himself read President Roosevelt's message to the Convention and, having finished, said that it would receive "the most earnest and profound consideration."

Now, did Lewis comment or didn't he? As gross inaccuracy and ignorance I cite the following:
A. The revolt at the Houston Convention of the AFL finally erupted in demands for unity and in the rejection of an Executive Council attack on the New Deal.
The facts: The attack on the New Deal was proposed by the AFL Convention's resolutions committee, not by the Executive Council. The distinction is important. The resolutions committee is chaired by Matthew Woll, John P. Frey is its secretary. This committee, seeking to put something over on the few New Dealers on the Executive Council, brought out the attack on the New Deal without warning. Some newspapers recorded that fact. If escaped the author of "The Free Press."

ILGWU Per Capita
R. "The Free Press states: 'For a year, the ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union) paid no per capita dues to the CIO.'"
The facts: The ILGWU, I am informed by that union, did not pay its last per capita payment three months ago, on August 29, 1938. That brought per capita payments up to May, 1938. I do not agree with the course of the ILGWU in leaving the CIO, but I think fairness and accuracy require that its contributions should not be misrepresented. For what the facts are worth, the ILGWU has given the CIO a total of \$330,000—\$118,000 in per capita, \$112,000 to the textile drive and \$100,000 to the steel drive.

My most serious objection to "The Free Press" of Dec. 1 does not rest on these patent misstatements, but on the effort to conceal from the members of the American Newspaper Guild the fact that Harry Bridges and some of his supporters were thoroughly squelched by John L. Lewis with the backing of the Convention.

Now, that was not mere persiflage. Coming on top of the flurry of the day before, it was a showdown between two important leaders of the CIO. Louis Stark of the New York Times was entering enough to ascertain what was said between Lewis and Bridges. He wrote the story. Those of us who had been beaten knew it was important enough to

"Significant Incident"

To get down to cases: "The Free Press" seeks to give the impression that there was no significant incident involving Bridges. It says sarcastically that, "Nov. 16 was the day of the big 'left-wing revolt,' created out of the demand by machine and communications union delegates for printed copies of the draft constitution." (see the report of Bruce Bliven, Jr., on this page.)

A motion of censure on the press which the ANG delegates moved was prompted by these stories. The motion to put it mildly, was unfortunate. President Brown apologized to the working press for its clumsy wording. Now comes THE GUILD REPORTER and compounds the felony. THE GUILD REPORTER should tell the members of the ANG the facts of life about the labor movement, let the chips fall where they may. If some of the chips happen to be Harry Bridges and people associated with him, there is no reason for doctoring the report and trying to hoodwink the members of the Guild.

EDWARD LEVINSON,
New York Post Unit.

WHAT, NO HUSBANDS!

SAN FRANCISCO

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:
I imagine I have made a laughing-stock of myself in my own Guild by my protest against the so-called Women's Auxiliary, but the article in the Jan. 1 REPORTER inspires me to protest once again. Women's auxiliaries are all right in unions, say, of longshoremen or steamfitters, to which no women

Motion to Recommend

Rathbone and Bridges did not move to postpone consideration because of lack of printed copies. They moved to recommend a particular section.

What was in their minds? The Clause had been discussed in a session of the constitution committee, where one member had suggested that workers of "all political faiths" also be invited into the CIO. Lieutenant-Governor Thomas J. Kennedy of the Mine Workers Union, Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, among others, had opposed the change. Rosenblum said, the CIO did not wish "to open the door to the Communists." He said also that he did not wish to deprive the CIO of protection against political groups which might come to capture the CIO.

There is even better indication that of what the issue was. During the discussion at the convention, Rathbone told at least two reporters that he wanted the words "political faiths" included. Later, when he realized the implications of what he had done, he declined further comment. The pertinent fact, above all others, is that he and Bridges moved to recommend the particular section. That motion, incidentally, was voted down.

The Bridges-Lewis Story

Even more significant was an incident on the following day. Before the morning session convened, Bridges went to Lewis on the platform, intending to give assurances that he had not intended to create a fuss. While talking, he also demonstrated, asking for leeway on the rules of procedure which the Convention had unanimously adopted. Lewis said "no." Bridges persisted, and Lewis, with profanity for emphasis, told Bridges that he would make no deal with his group. He invited Bridges to start the fight, if he wanted one, and promised that he (Lewis) would finish it.

Now, that was not mere persiflage. Coming on top of the flurry of the day before, it was a showdown between two important leaders of the CIO. Louis Stark of the New York Times was entering enough to ascertain what was said between Lewis and Bridges. He wrote the story. Those of us who had been beaten knew it was important enough to

In Separate Compartment

The W-T reported the statement along an editor's note, saying that Aylsworth "is in charge of business and advertising, but has at no time been associated with the

pick up, after verification. It was one of the major stories of the Convention. Everything else that happened was important, but was expected. It did not require any anti-CIO bias on the part of those covering the Convention (I was one of them) to write the story. Common news-sense and integrity required that the story, as well as that of the previous day, be written.

A motion of censure on the press which the ANG delegates moved was prompted by these stories. The motion to put it mildly, was unfortunate. President Brown apologized to the working press for its clumsy wording. Now comes THE GUILD REPORTER and compounds the felony. THE GUILD REPORTER should tell the members of the ANG the facts of life about the labor movement, let the chips fall where they may. If some of the chips happen to be Harry Bridges and people associated with him, there is no reason for doctoring the report and trying to hoodwink the members of the Guild.

EDWARD LEVINSON,
New York Post Unit.

WHAT, NO HUSBANDS!

SAN FRANCISCO

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:
I imagine I have made a laughing-stock of myself in my own Guild by my protest against the so-called Women's Auxiliary, but the article in the Jan. 1 REPORTER inspires me to protest once again. Women's auxiliaries are all right in unions, say, of longshoremen or steamfitters, to which no women

Motion to Recommend

Rathbone and Bridges did not move to postpone consideration because of lack of printed copies. They moved to recommend a particular section.

What was in their minds? The Clause had been discussed in a session of the constitution committee, where one member had suggested that workers of "all political faiths" also be invited into the CIO. Lieutenant-Governor Thomas J. Kennedy of the Mine Workers Union, Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, among others, had opposed the change. Rosenblum said, the CIO did not wish "to open the door to the Communists." He said also that he did not wish to deprive the CIO of protection against political groups which might come to capture the CIO.

There is even better indication that of what the issue was. During the discussion at the convention, Rathbone told at least two reporters that he wanted the words "political faiths" included. Later, when he realized the implications of what he had done, he declined further comment. The pertinent fact, above all others, is that he and Bridges moved to recommend the particular section. That motion, incidentally, was voted down.

The Bridges-Lewis Story

Even more significant was an incident on the following day. Before the morning session convened, Bridges went to Lewis on the platform, intending to give assurances that he had not intended to create a fuss. While talking, he also demonstrated, asking for leeway on the rules of procedure which the Convention had unanimously adopted. Lewis said "no." Bridges persisted, and Lewis, with profanity for emphasis, told Bridges that he would make no deal with his group. He invited Bridges to start the fight, if he wanted one, and promised that he (Lewis) would finish it.

Now, that was not mere persiflage. Coming on top of the flurry of the day before, it was a showdown between two important leaders of the CIO. Louis Stark of the New York Times was entering enough to ascertain what was said between Lewis and Bridges. He wrote the story. Those of us who had been beaten knew it was important enough to

In Separate Compartment

The W-T reported the statement along an editor's note, saying that Aylsworth "is in charge of business and advertising, but has at no time been associated with the

would ever be likely to belong. But in the Newspaper Guild, quality men and women workers are members of equal standing, with equal rights, privileges, and obligations.

I may be an old-fashioned feminist, but to me it is an offense to women Guild members to form a specifically Women's Auxiliary. Why should not husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers of women members be organized in an auxiliary? Why the invidious distinction of sex? Of course we know that in any auxiliary the wives will do all the work—they always do—but I think we owe it to the newspaper women (who have a hard enough row to hoe anyway) to make it plain that our auxiliary is no biologically put on the back to keep wives from wandering why their husbands spend so much time in union activities, but a genuine bisexual auxiliary which solicits the cooperation of all close relatives of all members, regardless of gender.

MIRIAM ALLEN deFORD

SYNDICATE FREE PRESS?

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

Your feature, "The Free Press," is one of the finest bits of journalism I know of. May I suggest two things: 1) that you arrange to syndicate this to the labor press and 2) that you make a pamphlet out of those published to date.

MARK MARVIN,
Labor Editor, Consumers Union Reports.

Ickes Stirs Up a Storm Of Bouncing Confetti

(Continued from Page Six)
watch out for Gannett; the publisher once before debated with a man and printed only his own side of the story.

The tabulation of clippings from the Gannett papers, does not include the second and third-day after-thought stories of explanation and vituperative editorials. The editorials termed Ickes the "Lords of the Press," explained that the word "status from the racks." They said Ickes functioned as the administration's belligerent censor.

Chief of the anti-Gannett papers to lead with its editorial chair was the New York World-Telegram which on Jan. 14 caricatured Ickes and gave him the lead editorial entitled "Old Left—He's a Card!" Replete with gobs, one of the lines said that Ickes' stuff had a tang "the same as a lively stable on a frosty morning." Even Editor & Publisher said the editorial was "in bad taste."

So great was the reader indignation that on Jan. 17, the World-Telegram was obliged to print seven letters to the editor attacking the paper. It ran six more the next day in the first edition but then took them out afterwards, making over the editorial page to do so. The tone of the letters was that Ickes had pinched the W-T's tender corn. Ickes had cited as an example of "secret financial entanglements in outside control" the Federal Trade Commission's "amazing story of a propaganda fund" amounting to millions of dollars by means of which "the power interests had filled the newspapers of the country with articles and editorials hostile to government ownership of public utilities, and opposing public development of water power. 'Incidentally,' he added, 'the man who was in charge of the distribution of this propaganda money was Merlin A. Aylsworth, now publisher of the New York World-Telegram.'"

In Separate Compartment
The W-T reported the statement along an editor's note, saying that Aylsworth "is in charge of business and advertising, but has at no time been associated with the

conduct of the editorial policy of the newspaper."

Never, reported Town Hall, has such interest been shown in one of its broadest forums as in this one. Thousands of letters were received, one from Adena, Ohio, naively asked: "What would be the procedure to get them (the Gannett-licker statements) printed in the local papers or given our local radio stations?" The Associated Press Board of Directors, meeting in New York, requested, and received 17 tickets to attend at the studio. Much of the applause which, with jeers, was the basis of Gannett's complaint that he was robbed of time, started from this section of the audience.

Gannett's Noted Aide
Busy on stage and off was Edward A. Rumely, executive officer of Gannett's anti-New Deal Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government. Rumely acted as Gannett's publicity agent, handing out copies of his speeches, etc. Later he was seen in the audience, strategically planting several questions to ask the speakers. One question he did not plant was asked by a woman:

"Mr. Gannett, it is true that in your fight against the Roosevelt administration, you employed a former German agent, an ex-convict."

That's Rumely. The question was declared irrelevant by President Denny of Town Hall, but it had to be included in the Town Hall bulletin, printed weekly following the forums. Rumely admitted that Gannett would use the answers in the debate only if the replies were favorable to Gannett's conception. Gannett did not use them, although Ickes read from the answers one editor had sent to Ickes rather than Gannett.

PAY YOUR DUES

THE GUILD REPORTER

Copyright, 1939, by the American Newspaper Guild



Editor: Clyde Beals

News Editor:

Nathan L. Goldberg

Contributing Editors:

Leon Svirsky

Richard O. Boyer

Harland Manchester

A. J. Isserman

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

GUILD REPORTER deadlines: Issue of the 15th—Letters and features, 7th of the month; news and ads, 8th; news bulletins, 9th. Issue of the 1st—Letters and features, 22nd; news and ads, 23rd; news bulletins, 24th.

ANG International Officers

President Heywood Brown	Secretary-Treasurer Victor Pasche	Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy
American Newspaper Guild International Headquarters		
International Vice Presidents:		
Donal M. Sullivan, 983 Memorial Dr., Cambridge, Mass.	Morris Watson, ANG Headquarters	
Harry Martin, 1971 Union Ave., Memphis, Tenn.	William J. Farson, 2221 E. Washington Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.	
Julius H. Klyman, 626 Forest Court, Clayton, Mo.	Philip M. Connelly, 3230 Descanso Drive, Los Angeles, Cal.	
Robert T. Camozzi, 3718 Minor Ave., Seattle, Wash.	I. L. Kenen, 17412 Winslow Rd., Shaker Heights, O.	
Roger Irwin, 597 Oriole Parkway, Toronto, Can.	Quentin P. Gore, 415 James Blvd., Signal Mtn., Tenn.	
International Representatives:		
Morgan Hull	H. Richard Seller	
International Headquarters: 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.		

February 1, 1939

119

Vol. VI—No. 4

Ickes Makes a Beginning

SECRETARY ICKES' facts of life about newspapers, brought out in his debate with Gannett, occasioned little if any surprise among workers in the industry, much as we enjoyed hearing the Secretary tell them, and important as it was to have them laid before such a vast audience. Despite the papers' ranting every experienced newspaper man can cite additional evidence of the same kind.

The public needs to hear next of the job of manipulating public opinion and events in which the press is now engaged, and to which it is today devoting itself with an amazing singleness of aim. On the one hand, it is bent on disorganizing, disorganizing, and if possible stopping the great drive for badly needed reforms which has rallied around President Roosevelt. Every event that can be twisted for the purpose is seized upon. Do six Republican governors in rock-ribbed New England see an opening for a blast? The New York Times makes them look like leaders of a great patriotic crusade. Is Federal action needed to control river floods? Forget it; today we are saving states' rights. The little matter of all the governors being Republican in an attack on a Democrat is slipped in deftly where it will hardly be noticed; the other little matter that one of them is a hopeful presidential contender is left out entirely. Similar incidents could be cited from almost every paper every day.

But this isn't all. The press is also carefully shielding from the public such talking behind the scenes as that of General Van Horn Moseley, revealed in the Jan. 15 Guild Reporter. That speech with its open incitement to bloodshed, terrorism and hatred was given before one of the most influential bodies of business men in the United States, the New York Board of Trade. Yet the press generally—with one notable exception—omitted the vicious parts so that the General appeared to the public as only a normal critic of the Administration's domestic and foreign policies. This was the same General who upon his retirement was given a tremendous build-up because he attacked the New Deal. It is now evident that he is using his Army rank and the favorable publicity to tour the country at the behest of supposedly respectable organizations of business groups, attempting to arouse and organize a fascist attack upon labor and the New Deal.

The appalling thing here is not the fact that Van Horn Moseley is trying to promote a kind of fascism. Others have done that before. It is a fact, almost incredible but nevertheless proven, that Moseley and his promoters are actually aided by a "free" press which does not expose him but rather edits his utterances to hide his character and give him standing.

It is such facts that must be brought before the public now.

The President's Gesture

It is a pleasure to report that the Allied Printing Trades union label will appear on all printed matter issued by the National Committee for the Celebration of the President's Birthday. This is announced by John Haggerty, president of the Allied Printing Trades Association. The birthday ball proceeds are devoted to the fight against infantile paralysis.

Railroad Brotherhood Chief Assails Enemies of NLRA

NLRB Has New Ruling On Wage Law

Under a ruling issued by the National Labor Board, any local of the American Newspaper Guild upon application may be certified as a "bona fide" union within the meaning of the Fair Labor Standards (Wage-Hour) Act for the purpose of making agreements under the Wage-Hour law which exempt publishers from its hour provisions, but limit the number of working hours to not more than 1,000 in 26 weeks.

Reserving the right to refuse certification in particular cases, the Labor Board defined "bona fide" unions in effect as follows:

Any labor organization which has been previously certified as a collective bargaining representative.

Any local union of an international union which, as such, has been certified as a collective bargaining representative.

Any local of an international union of which any other local union has previously been certified as a collective bargaining representative.

Attorney A. J. Isserman, who has handled a large number of cases for the ANG, pointed out that the last of the three definitions was particularly applicable to the Guild, which has a record of Labor Board certifications in the cases of the New York Mirror, Daily News and Journal American, the Boston Record and American, the Detroit Times and others. Under this ruling, any local of the ANG may now be certified within the meaning of Section 7 (b) of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Such certification, of course, does not apply in cases of locals seeking Labor Board recognition as bargaining representatives. The application is in cases where locals sign contracts exempting publishers from provisions of the Wage-Hour Act, by so regulating working hours as not to exceed 1,000 in any 26 weeks. (GUILD REPORTER, Dec. 1 and Nov. 1.)

UNIT DONATES \$458

Members of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch unit have contributed to the ANG defense fund to date, \$458 in wage raises they received as a result of their recently-signed Guild contract.

PAY YOUR DUES THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

The drive by locals to bring up to date and regularize the payment of dues is spreading throughout the ANG.

Determining that the way to start a collection drive "is by setting an example for the rest of the Guild," the New York representative assembly last fortnight adopted a resolution prohibiting members from voting unless their dues and assessments are paid "up to and including the current month." In addition, the Assembly voted to segregate in a special seating section those members not paid up to date. Other steps provide for preferred treatment for paid-up Guild members seeking jobs through the unemployment committee, and withholding Guild pins and buttons from members not paid up.

Coast Drive Planned

Executive Secretary Charles L. Irvine of the San Francisco Guild, who was a member of the Toronto Convention Finance Committee, has circularized local treasurers in California and Hawaii with suggestions for a dues campaign. His letter was in line with a pledge made by each member of the Con-

1939 Convention Set for July 31

The dates for the ANG's 1938 Convention were fixed last week as July 31 to Aug. 4. These were chosen by the IEB Finance Committee on behalf of the Board, after consultation by Executive Vice-President Eddy with the officers of the San Francisco-Oakland Guild, the host for this year.

The sessions will be held at the Hotel Fairmont in San Francisco.

BOARD MEETING

The next meeting of the International Executive Board has been announced by Vice President Eddy for Feb. 25, 26 and 27 at headquarters.

Green Forces Canadian Labor Split

TORONTO—Suspension of 12 CIO unions from the Trades & Labor Congress of Canada caused barely a ripple on the surface of the Canadian labor movement last fortnight because, as Acting Congress President R. J. Tallon observed—"It is a phantom division—in name only."

He coupled with his reaffirmation of the friendliness of both branches of the labor movement, an emphatic declaration that "we are not declaring war on the CIO." The acting president declared that the suspension had been forced by the unyielding stand of AFL President William Green, who had threatened withdrawal of the per capita payments of international AFL unions which form the bulk of Congress' revenue.

Immediately the notices of suspension were received, the 12 CIO unions joined in a statement declaring that the "arbitrary action of the executive council of the AFL in prevailing upon the officers of the Trades & Labor Congress to suspend our unions, will not for one moment affect that deep understanding and community of interests which animates the membership of the international trade union movement both in the AFL and the CIO in Canada." The statement was also signed by Roger Irwin, ANG vice president.

Whitney Rebukes McGrady

Opposition to "any and all amendments to the National Labor Relations Act" was announced last week by President A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on behalf of his union. He made his statement by publishing his letter to Edward F. McGrady, a former assistant Secretary of RCA for labor relations, contradicting a statement attributed to McGrady that railroad brotherhoods backed the AFL's position against the NLRA. McGrady was so quoted in the Wall Street Journal.

Whitney wrote McGrady that "no true friend of labor will seek to amend out of existence the Wagner." He added:

Stability in labor relations will come when industrialists cease forcing company unions onto their employees and stop the vicious practice of hiring labor spies. Let them recognize that labor has a right to bargain collectively for fair wages and working conditions in organizations of labor's own choosing, just as the employers act through their chambers of commerce and the Ass'n of Manufacturers.

Guild Action Stays Dismissal of 5

LOS ANGELES—Prompt action to prevent threatened dismissal of five editorial department and five business office employees of the Hollywood Citizen-News, strike-bound for 11 weeks during the summer, has been taken by the Citizen-News Guild unit, supported by Hollywood's strongest labor unions.

Representatives of the Guild, Screen Actors Guild, Musicians Union, Newsboys Union, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, Los Angeles Industrial Union Council and the State Congress for Industrial Organizations vigorously protested to Publisher Harlan G. Palmer the imminent "economic dismissals."

At the conference with labor representatives Palmer asserted that he had said only that the newspaper had 10 more employees than were needed.

Guildsmen laid plans for a friendly letter to business men and citizens in Hollywood to acquaint them with facts in the situation.

DUES DRIVE SHIFTS INTO HIGH GEAR

The drive by locals to bring up to date and regularize the payment of dues is spreading throughout the ANG.

Determining that the way to start a collection drive "is by setting an example for the rest of the Guild," the New York representative assembly last fortnight adopted a resolution prohibiting members from voting unless their dues and assessments are paid "up to and including the current month." In addition, the Assembly voted to segregate in a special seating section those members not paid up to date. Other steps provide for preferred treatment for paid-up Guild members seeking jobs through the unemployment committee, and withholding Guild pins and buttons from members not paid up.

Coast Drive Planned

Executive Secretary Charles L. Irvine of the San Francisco Guild, who was a member of the Toronto Convention Finance Committee, has circularized local treasurers in California and Hawaii with suggestions for a dues campaign. His letter was in line with a pledge made by each member of the Con-

vention to do his utmost to improve collections in his locality.

Irvine suggested, among other steps, that the locals post the names of delinquents on office bulletin boards after due warning; that delinquents be sent monthly statements; that treasurers make monthly reports and put collections down as an important item on the meeting agenda; that locals bar members in bad standing from voting at meetings, particularly during negotiations, and that they fine members in bad standing.

\$275 in Week

An intensive campaign in the Twin Cities (St. Paul and Minneapolis) brought in \$275 in one week, in addition to the regular collections. Albert H. Cook, chairman of the local finance committee, said, "This is only the beginning. We aim to have every member paid up to date before we get through." All Guild and unit officers are aiding Cook's committee.

In Philadelphia, where the membership paid up \$2,926 in dues and assessments in a two-weeks period, the local executive committee directed that the general tightening-up process be continued. The

local's bulletin to the membership, "The Guild Letter," stressed the importance of paying assessments in a page-one story explaining:

This local, which is happy to say that it has never had a strike, nevertheless made its gains of hours and wages almost entirely on the basis of strike victories elsewhere...

So the half dollars you send to Chicago through the Guild are not contributions to charity; they are your investment in present and future wages, hours and working conditions. You, as much as the Chicago strikers, collect on the returns from those half dollars.

We beat Hearst twice and we can beat him again.

Having paid up fully on dues and assessments, the Salem (Mass.) local is launching a drive for strike contributions. In Denver, newly elected officers and members have pledged themselves to "an unremitting collection campaign." Besides Salem, locals paid up in full or nearly so on Jan. 15 assessments are Jacksonville, Reading, Calumet, Rockford and Lansing. Great Falls already is paid up to Jan. 31.