

THE GUILD REPORTER

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

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UNITS HIT HEARST 'ECONOMIES' LEVIED FOR FIGHT IN CHICAGO

Official Lied in Quiz of ANG Men

The New York State assistant attorney general who haled three New York Times Guild members to his office and questioned them about a hypothetical connection with a publication said to have been issued by Communists on the paper, was caught in a lie last week.

The statement by the official, Benjamin Heffner, that he was acting at the instance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was flatly repudiated by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the bureau. Hoover said that his bureau had had no contact with Heffner, "has not requested him to take any action on behalf of the bureau and has absolutely no interest in the subject matter of Mr. Heffner's inquiry."

Hailed as Case Closed
The three Guild members are Herman Dinsmore, chairman of the unit; Herbert French, editor of the unit paper, and Leonard Goldsmith, one of the leaders in organizing the Times commercial departments, who was discharged and whose case is now before the Labor Board. Goldsmith is now secretary of the New Jersey CIO Council.

All three received orders from Heffner to appear before him just two days after the closing of hearings in the Guild's Labor Board case against the Times. Observers at these hearings agreed that the management's defense was shattered.

Goldsmith and Dinsmore were prominent witnesses in the Guild's behalf, and Managing Editor Edwin L. James's hostility to French because of his Guild activity figured in the case.

Since all three men had no contact with Heffner, the case was closed. (Continued on Page Six)

Guild Shops Won In New Contracts

(Contract highlights on Page 2.)

A closed shop and a Guild shop contract are among the new agreements negotiated by Guild locals during the past fortnight. They are, respectively, with the Stockton (Cal.) Independent, covering the editorial department, and the San Francisco L'Italia, Italian language daily, covering the editorial and commercial departments. In addition, improved renewals were signed with the Reading (Pa.) Times and the Knoxville News-Sentinel (Scripps-Howard). The Reading agreement renews the Guild shop clause.

The Stockton contract brought to an end negotiations which had been in process for more than a year. Agreement was reached just 20 minutes before a strike deadline set by the Guild membership. The strike was voted after the paper's stalling had exceeded 13 months.

Hearst Settles Old NLRB Case

SEATTLE—The Seattle Post-Intelligencer (Hearst) has closed the Lynch-Armstrong Labor Board cases by reinstating Frank Lynch with full back pay and giving the late Everhardt Armstrong's estate full back pay up to the time of his death.

The firing of Lynch and Armstrong in the summer of 1936 precipitated the P-I strike. After deducting the amount earned during the period before reinstatement, Lynch got \$513.10 from the P-I and \$500 from King Features Syndicate. Armstrong's estate received \$522.

Guild Pacts Protect Jobs In Wartime

Clauses designed to protect the jobs of Guild members serving their country in time of war are beginning to appear in Guild contracts. One is included in the new Seattle Post-Intelligencer contract, one has been agreed upon by the New York Journal & American, one is being sought on the New York Daily Mirror—all three are Hearst papers—and one is being sought on the Cleveland News.

On the P-I, reinstatement is assured upon return from war time military service, and the same right is extended to employees elected to international office in the ANG. The clause reads as follows:

In the event an employee is elected to any international office in the American Newspaper Guild, he shall be reinstated upon his return from military service. (Continued on Page Five)

Firings Bring a Strike in Tennessee

CHATTANOOGA—The Evening News unit of the Chattanooga Guild walked out on strike May 23 over a series of contract violations and other anti-labor practices culminating in the discharges of an office boy who refused to sign a "loyalty" petition and a member of the grievance committee protesting the office boy's discharge. It is the ANG's first strike in the South.

Twenty-five walked out in the editorial and commercial departments, leaving only two strike-breakers to help executives in the editorial department and reducing the other departments to very slender crews. Mechanical department employees remained out for two hours, before getting orders from their international unions to return to work under their contracts. Several printers immediately donated a day's pay each to the strike and the Typographical and Pressmen's locals offered financial assistance.

Publisher a 'Liberal'
Publisher of the News is George Fort Milton, who enjoys prominence as a liberal. He is a member of the Wage-Hour Administration National Committee for the Textile Industry.

The strike was precipitated by the firing on May 20 of Copy Boy Gus Anderson, who became an "economy" victim when he refused to sign a "loyalty" petition. (Continued on Page Six)

'Frisco Demands City Guild Shop

SAN FRANCISCO—Management of the five dailies in San Francisco and Oakland last week took under consideration the Guild's demand for a Guild shop to cover the full editorial and commercial jurisdiction on the papers.

Speaking for the publishers' committee, Clarence R. Lindner, general manager of the Examiner, assured the Guild that the committee had power to act, withdrawing earlier statements to the contrary. The Guild's case for the Guild shop was presented by Sam Kagel of the Pacific Coast Labor Bureau.

Guild Fights For Plane Victims' Kin

MEMPHIS—Controversies arising over the apparent indifference by the management toward the families of two staff members who were killed while on an airplane assignment, and over the dismissal of an expectant mother who applied for a leave of absence have arisen on the eve of contract renewal negotiations for a new contract with the Commercial Appeal and the Press-Scimitar, both Scripps-Howard papers.

The employees killed were George Stokes, pilot-photographer, and Ted Northington, reporter, both Guildsmen. They had been assigned by the Commercial Appeal to a good-will tour for the Memphis. (Continued on Page Four)

Balk at Firings; Papers End Talks

The general Hearst management, which has been pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars for months into Chicago to fight the Guild, called on its chain papers for economies to bolster its losses and was being sharply rebuffed by local Guilds last week.

The sentiment of Hearst Guild units was reflected by the Record-American unit in Boston, which informed the publisher that it would not tolerate dismissals "until the Hearst general management ends its money-wasting attack on the Guild in Chicago." Reports received at ANG headquarters from five other Guilds showed similar attitudes.

Negotiations End

Simultaneously with this management effort came an abrupt ending to what had appeared to be the first serious negotiations in Chicago since the strike began. Changing from his readiness to concede or discuss Guild points, J. D. Gortatowsky, assistant general manager of the Hearst newspapers and management negotiator, on May 24 flatly withdrew all previous tentative acceptances and informed the Guild negotiators that "we can't settle this strike on the basis of a victory for the Guild."

Simultaneously with the closing of negotiations came a new outbreak of Hearst violence. Goon squads appeared again on the streets after a long period of inactivity. Again strikers were threatened, their autos stoned and otherwise damaged. Hearst spokesmen renewed their blasts against the Guild in radio broadcasts purchased just as the conferences were closed. (Continued on Page Four)

Those 'Ruinous' Press Wage Increases Actually Rising Less Than Other Costs

WASHINGTON—The income of newspaper and periodical establishments increased more rapidly in 1933-1937 and 1935-1937 than did wages, a report of the 1937 Census of Manufactures just released indicates.

In 1933-1937, the greatest increase in costs of newspaper and periodical production was for "materials, supplies, fuel, and purchased electric energy." In 1935-1937, the greatest increase was for "contract work," in other words for printing and typesetting done under contract by other organizations, news-gathering, features, etc.

The actual census figures reveal that the "value of products and receipts" of newspapers and periodicals increased 38.7 per cent in 1933-1937 and 16.8 per cent in 1935-1937. Wages, however, only rose 35.4 per cent in 1933-1937 and 14.8 per cent in 1935-1937. The cost of "materials, supplies, fuel and purchased electric energy" went up 60.1 per cent in 1933-1937 and 26.1 per cent in 1935-1937. "Contract work" costs increased 54.4 per cent in 1933-1937 and 41.5 per cent in 1935-1937.

In dollars, the figures were as follows:

Value of products and receipts, \$1,004,999,000 in 1933, \$1,192,819,000 in 1935, and \$1,393,623,000 in 1937; wages, \$163,490,000 in 1933, \$192,890,000 in 1935 and \$221,420,000 in 1937; materials, etc., \$184,700,000 in 1933, \$234,623,000 in 1935 and \$295,788,000 in 1937; contract work, \$62,623,000 in 1933, \$68,332,000 in 1935 and \$96,690,000 in 1937.

Craft Heads Get Convention Bids

Preparations for the 1939 ANG Convention, from July 31 to Aug. 4 at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco, moved forward last week when Executive Vice President Eddy sent invitations to the presidents of other newspaper unions and to President R. J. Thomas of the United Auto Workers, to attend and address the gathering.

Newspaper union heads invited are Leon De Veze of the Stereotypers, Volz of the Photo-Engravers, Berry of the Printing Pressmen, and Powers of the Commercial Telegraphers.

Further arrangements were to be made at the IEB meeting being held at headquarters on May 26, 27 and 28. President Baker and other international officers of the ITU were expected to hold a joint meeting with the ANG's Board on May 26.

Brown Elected N. Y. Typo Head

Elmer Brown, vice president, last fortnight was elected president of New York Typographical Union No. 6 ("Big Six"). Brown defeated the incumbent, William Ward, by a margin of 56 votes. He polled 3,721 to Ward's 3,665.

Three candidates for the vice presidency failed to get the necessary majority for election, and the contest will be run off on June 14. James J. McGrath was re-elected treasurer.

Brown is well known to Guildsmen. He was a speaker at New York meetings during the organizational campaign of the Guild. Active in the progressive movement, Brown was chairman of the Trade Union Committee for the Formation of a Labor Party and chairman of the Washington Conference for the Enactment of Social Security Legislation.

'Dead' Law Hits Guild Pickets

Anti-handbill laws, long declared a dead letter by the United States Supreme Court, are still being evoked by local authorities to harass Guildsmen participating in demonstrations about the country against persistent advertisers in the struck Chicago Hearst papers.

Twice on successive Saturdays, Los Angeles Guildsmen were routed about by police in the course of picketing and handbill distribution at Sears-Roebuck and A & P stores in that city. Meanwhile, in Seattle, Police Judge Devin acquitted ANG Vice President Robert T. Camozzi, Local Executive Secretary Claude M. Smith and Miss Mary Yowell of the Post-Intelligencer unit. Devin ruled that the city ordinance applied only to "advertising or commercial" handbills. In Boston, the conviction of Guildsmen Charles L. Whipple, Luther Const and President Mary Morris of the League of Women Shoppers has been appealed to the state courts. Each was fined \$10 for distributing handbills.

In Los Angeles, the anti-handbill ordinance had been declared unconstitutional in a 17-page Superior Court opinion acquitting three Guildsmen during the Hollywood Citizen-News strike last year. Despite this fact, police last fortnight seized Local Secretary John Cohee and Guildsmen Charles Judson and William Sanborn. At the police station, the arresting officers found that as a result of protests by Guild Attorney Charles Katz, instructions had been issued to hand out citations only and make no arrests. The three prisoners were released and ordered to appear later before the city prosecutor.

A week earlier, Local President Tom O'Connor and a picket squad were taken to the police station and warned that further "violations" would bring arrests. The handbill distribution has continued.

Guild Collects Indemnity For Fired Sport Writers

LOS ANGELES—Dismissal indemnity is being demanded by the Los Angeles Guild for the sports writers under Guild contract who have been discharged in the wake of a State Assembly investigation into wrestling. Jack Dero, a Los Angeles wrestling promoter, told an Assembly committee he had paid 17 writers between \$25 and \$11,211 a year over a period of four years.

Of the 17 named, 12 have been fired. Four worked under Guild contract conditions, and two of these have been paid dismissal indemnity. The cases of the other two are pending.

Payoff Is Common

The Guild demanded contract compliance by the publishers, without passing upon the merits of the discharge. The payoff practice in the sports industry has been commonly known for many years by publishers and employees alike. Managements have even cited it as an extenuation for the payment of low wages. The payoff works both ways; it is common for newspapermen to send their sports writers traveling with baseball clubs with the clubs paying their expenses.

Of the twelve men fired, eight were on Hearst's Examiner, where an AFL Editorial Workers Union was organized and signed a contract two years ago to defeat the Guild. These men received no dismissal indemnity.

Indemnity Is Unequalled

On the Hearst Herald-Express, the Guild is demanding indemnity for Sports Editor Sid Ziff, although he is not a member. The contract requires payment of indemnity regardless of reason for discharge. A personal service contract held by Ziff was raised by the management

Pittsburgh Balks at S.-H. Firing Waves

PITTSBURGH—On behalf of the Press (Scripps-Howard) unit, officers of the Pittsburgh Guild have written to Editor Edward T. Leech a letter questioning the management's hiring and firing policies on the grounds that "the recent economy waves have been exceedingly disturbing to morale" and the "policy of replacements from journalism schools has become an alarming threat to tenure of employment."

The letter asked for a written statement of policy on the rehiring of economy victims at the Press. It recited that Leech two years ago made an oral promise to give rehiring preference to three dismissed editorial employees and failed to abide by the promise. In the last ten months a dozen editorial workers were fired for economy. None was rehired, although beginners were taken on to fill subsequent vacancies.

\$2,500 Settlement Won by Guildsmen

BALTIMORE—By United States Circuit Court of Appeals decrees entered with the consent of the Baltimore Guild and Hearst Publications, Inc., the Labor Board case involving Frederick H. Houck, former Post-Intelligencer unit chairman, has been settled by payment of \$2,500 to Houck. The settlement was acceptable to Houck.

Houck, a copy reader on the News-Post, was fired on Aug. 5, 1937, for Guild activity.

The consent decree requires the management to post notices announcing that it will cease and desist from its discouragement of Guild membership and end its coercion and interference.

ARE YOUR DUES PAID?

as an obstacle. The others fired from that paper were Ed Krauch and Neil McDonald. Both were paid off, Krauch getting \$1,764. Krauch is a veteran writer of sports features. The Guild is demanding payment for Sports Editor Claude Newman, fired from the Hollywood Citizen-News.

Krauch, who had paid no dues since May, 1937, sent the following letter to the Guild:

Los Angeles Newspaper Guild: My high-powered friends— I don't know how to thank you for that \$1,764 check. Maybe the best I can do is to say this:

1—Thanks a million.

2—We all live and learn. I realize now what the Guild really means. Fighting his own battles, one guy is lost. Five hundred guys and gals mean something—working and pulling together.

3—You can definitely count on this here Guild dumb creature to back the Guild hereafter 1,000 per cent.

4—Enclosed please find my check for all back dues—given with the biggest smile, and a thankful heart.

5—Also enclosed, please send check for 25 berries, which might be of use on the Chicago Guild front.

6—Thanking all you hard-working and serious-minded Guildsmen one hundred million times more, I am,

Respectfully and sincerely,
Your brother,
E. W. KRAUCH.

McDonald, who was paid up, also sent \$25 to the Chicago strike, along with a note of thanks to the Guild.

Those fired from the Examiner were Mark Kelly, Maxwell Stiles, Bill Potts, Clay Koepfel, Carl Schwartz, Jack James, Pete Brunau and Gene Coughlin.

WINS SCHOLARSHIP



CHICAGO—Lettie Stovall, Chicago Times reporter and Guild member, has been awarded the annual traveling scholarship of the English-Speaking Union branch here, having been selected from a field of more than 75 graduate students and educators.

The scholarship provides \$250 for the traveling expenses for a trip to England, where the holder is a guest for a month in the homes of English-Speaking Union members.

Miss Stovall held a scholarship for post-graduate work at the University of Chicago, and is a Phi Beta Kappa.

The picture shows her being congratulated by the chairman of the Chicago scholarship committee, Thomas I. Underwood.

Chattanooga Unit Strikes Against Anti-Guild Firings

(Continued from Page One)

ship protection. Milton flew back from Washington to enter the negotiations, which were continuing as the GUILD REPORTER went to press.

Management effort to break down the Guild's plan was in vain. The participation of negotiations was apparently behind the outburst of anti-labor activity. The editorial department contract had expired March 1 and the local was planning to open bargaining for an industrial agreement. A bulletin board extension kept the contract conditions in effect. The "loyalty" petition made its appearance on May 8 and, following that, executives began working out on employees, particularly office boys, to get them to resign from the Guild.

Local advertisers quickly responded to appeals for support from the strikers and the Guild auxiliary. Without solicitation, many readers immediately cancelled subscriptions.

ANG Representative Morgan Hull arrived by plane from New York to aid the local. ANG Vice President Quentin P. Gore is a member of the striking unit.

Hangs Up Phone

Publisher Milton slammed down the telephone receiver when a Guild officer called for an appointment to discuss the dismissal. The grievance committee visited Managing Editor Clark on May 22. George Londa of the editorial staff, a committee member, was summarily fired that day. In the afternoon Clark and City Editor H. L. Nations coerced Copy Boy Tom Eubanks into resigning from the Guild.

As the strike was called, Milton left town for Washington. The Guild wired Wage-Hour Administrator Elmer Andrews a demand for the publisher's resignation from the Wage-Hour Committee for the Textile Industry. His anti-labor stand was cited and announcement made that formal charges are in preparation against Milton for wholesale violations of the Wage-Hour Act in his own office. Hundreds of hours of overtime have been worked without payment.

Several weeks before the dismissal, the Guild had prepared Labor Board charges against Milton, charging that he dismissed an employee without two weeks' notice to the Guild and without dismissal indemnity payment in violation of his contract and a supplemental statement signed last summer in settlement of a dispute arising over a firing for Guild activity. The petition also cites circulation of the "loyalty" petition.

Soon after the strike began, alarmed stockholders contacted the Guild, opening negotiations and offering reinstatement for Anderson. Executives of the paper made a reinstatement offer for Londa. The Guild insisted on the Guild shop as its only means of member-

Repudiate Prober of Guildsmen

(Continued from Page One)

nection with the Communist paper—the New Times, which suspended publication some months ago—the Guild is seeking to discover who gave him their names. When Heffner questioned them he mentioned the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Dies committee, and then when questioned himself hedged somewhat and mentioned the city police department. His ostensible basis for his inquiry was that the New Times had allegedly violated a state law by failing to print the name of its publisher.

Houck's statement was transmitted to Executive Vice President Eddy by Brian McMahon, assistant attorney general, acting for Attorney General Frank Murphy, to whom Eddy sent a telegram of inquiry. Houck's statement read:

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has not made any inquiry or investigation into the facts outlined in Mr. Eddy's telegram. This Bureau has had no contact with Benjamin Heffner, Assistant Attorney General of New York State, has not requested him to take any action in behalf of the bureau and has absolutely no interest in the subject matter of Mr. Heffner's inquiry.

An uninformative reply was received by Milton Kaufman, executive secretary of the New York Guild, to his inquiry addressed to the New York State attorney general, John J. Bennett, Jr. The reply, written by John F. X. McGohey, first assistant attorney general, merely reiterated Heffner's statement that he was inquiring into the alleged violation of the law, but did not throw any light on the question of how the Guild's members' names were drawn in.

The New York Guild is awaiting reply to its inquiry to Mayor LaGuardia as to the alleged interest of the city police department.

NEW TIMES' SUSPENSION

In the story in the May 16 issue reporting the halting of the Guild witnesses before Heffner just after the Times defense had suffered so badly, the Reporter referred to Managing Editor James' statement on the witness stand that the New Times had been discontinued, and added that this fact had been confirmed by the Daily Worker. James has written to the Reporter regarding the possible inference in the sequence of statements.

The demands upon the fund are growing at such a rate that it has been decided to up the membership fee as of April 1 to "twenty annual payments of \$10.50, or seven consecutive annual payments of \$25.25, or one life membership of \$407.50."

It is important to bear in mind that aged or otherwise indigent newspaper men over here are dependent either on the fund or on the generosity of their former employers. Newspaper men are not covered by Britain's unemployment insurance and old-age pension systems.

PAUL W. WARD,
London Correspondent of the Baltimore Sun.

ANG Committee Calls Labor Press Editors' Parley

A conference of labor press editors to discuss ways in which labor publications can be increased in numbers and effectiveness has been called by the New York members of the ANG Labor Press Committee to be held in the auditorium of the New York Guild Club, 117 West Forty-sixth Street, on June 2 at 2:30 p. m.

More than 20 acceptances to the call from editors in the Eastern region extending as far as Washington, D. C., had been received by May 25.

Among the speakers will be Len De Caux, editor of the CIO News; Alexander Crosby, news editor of the Federated Press; Cameron MacKenzie, publisher of People's Press; Alfred M. Lee, historian; Morris Luswetz of Motion Picture Operators Local 206 (AFL); Saul Mills of the Transport Workers

Fund Aids Newsmen In Britain

LONDON.
Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

There is an aspect of the British press that I believe, is unknown to most American newspaper men. I refer to what is called here the Newspaper Press Fund, of which Major J. J. Astor, M.P. (Cons.), is president. He is the Times' principal owner.

The fund exists to help down-and-out journalists and to pay pensions to their widows. It is supported by voluntary contributions from journalists who pay \$5.25 a year and become "members" and from publishers who are shaken down for contributions at annual dinners and benefits.

Any member has, of course, a call upon the fund in case of need. But its benefits are not confined to them or even to journalists. Non-members or their relicts frequently draw assistance from the fund, and so do men whose connection with the press has merely been close enough to enlist the sympathy of newspaper men.

The fund is administered by district committees without publicity. The names and condition of beneficiaries are known only to the committees, who are trusted to handle honestly the funds at their disposal. Benefits are not fixed. Payments are made at the discretion of the committees and in whatever form they may elect.

That the fund has a large sum at its disposal may be gathered from the fact that in 1938 it spent \$134,360. This outlay comprised \$45,580 in pensions to 129 members and widows; \$79,295 in relief grants to members and dependents; and \$6,175 in grants to non-members. The fatty state of its coffers also is indicated by the fact the fund is paying out annually at the rate of \$25 per member, although its members contribute only \$5.25 each. It has about 5,375 members.

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PAUL W. WARD,
London Correspondent of the Baltimore Sun.

THE OFFICE WORKERS' DILEMMA AS MACHINES TAKE MORE JOBS

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION. By John M. Blair. 418 pages. New York: Covici-Friede. \$4.00.

Reviewed by LEON SVIRSKY

John M. Blair is a Washington (D. C.) economist. He has made an attempt at a scientific appraisal of capitalism. Mr. Blair's study considers not whether capitalism is good or bad but whether, by the test of known facts, it will work. Mr. Blair concludes that it will not, because it contains four fundamental weaknesses—seeds of destruction.

The four axioms that capitalism violates without being able to help itself are:

- 1) Capitalism must not cast out of employment a progressively increasing number of workers no lower the relative wages of those employed.
- 2) Capitalism must not progressively raise prices without correspondingly raising wages.
- 3) Capitalism must not distribute a large portion of its income to the upper income groups.
- 4) Capitalism must be ever-expanding.

The evidence that Mr. Blair marshals to prove that capitalism is violating all these laws must be disgusting to all workers. He shows, for example, that in the most prosperous U. S. period, between 1923 and 1929, factory employment declined 3 per cent, while the output of each factory worker increased 22 per cent. Wages to employed factory workers rose much less than that, so that workers received a continuously smaller share of the value of their product. After 1929, of course, employment fell much more sharply and wages declined, and by 1933 35 per cent of industrial workers were unemployed.

Where Do Jobs Go?

The next question is: were new jobs made elsewhere for displaced factory workers? Not many new jobs were created in the manufacture of "labor-saving" machinery, which employed only 700,000 workers all told in 1927, and according to all indications it will employ not more but fewer workers as time goes on. Employment on farms declined, so that today it is almost impossible for a factory worker to find a job in agriculture giving him more than a subsistence living.

Most significant to members of the Guild is the fact that technology is also playing havoc in white-collar, clerical work. Already about 50 per cent of all office workers use machines (other than the typewriter) and it is estimated that 80 per cent of office jobs can be mechanized. Up to 1930 the number of persons employed in clerical jobs rose constantly, but mechanization has apparently depressed their salaries and economists predict that in a few years business men will find that they can dispense with two-thirds of their employed clerks.

Newspaper Workers' Problems

Mr. Blair sees little hope that the unemployed can be absorbed in the so-called service industries. He finds that during the depression the number of persons employed in domestic service fell by a bigger proportion than in any other occupation, and he points to the fact that professionals also were hard hit. He reasons that employment in the service industries cannot rise unless the purchasing power of workers in the basic industries rises.

There is one grain of comfort for newspaper workers: advertising, which as an industry grew enormously during the 1920's, is likely to grow even more in the future, in accordance with a "law" that the more one advertises; the more resistance consumers develop so that the advertiser must constantly put forth greater and greater efforts.

But even this fact is not as rosy as it first appears, because while newspapers and other periodicals have got more and more money from advertising, the number of the increase in employment in the publishing industry has been relatively slight. Moreover, advertising is one of the parasitic industries that is marked by concentration of wealth rather than the distribution of mass purchasing power.

Evils of the Concentration

Mr. Blair demonstrates that money concentrated in the hands of the wealthy is not going into an expansion of capitalism, and cannot

HE TRIED A UNION IN THE 90's Classes And Out He Went -- Later, He Got The Inside Story

CAIDWELL, N. J.

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

The 'GUILD REPORTER' tells me the Pittsburgh Guild is presenting a contract to the Post-Gazette. Well, that carries me back 43 years to 1896 when we organized the first reporters' union in Pittsburgh. I was one of the ring leaders. In fact I believe I was the instigator of the movement. We really should have done it. We were well paid. The scale for reporters at that time ran from \$10 to \$18 a week. I was one of the "upper crust." The Post paid me \$20, so you see I had no reason to join a union. We worked only 14 to 24 hours a day. We could get sick any time we wanted to and take a vacation every year at our own expense.

Overtime Was Free, Too

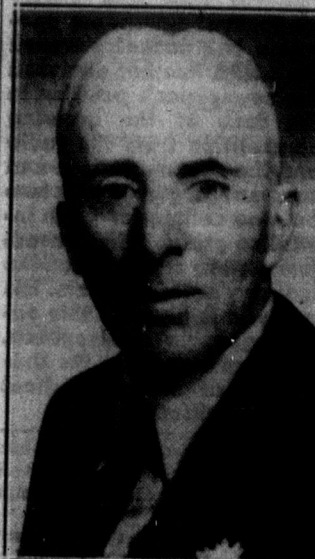
And who ever heard of overtime pay when we were working on the Homestead strike, the great national steel strike, the Mammoth mine disaster, or any of scores of other big news events that kept us going night and day without sleep for weeks at a time except an hour or two snatched between excitements? There were fewer telephones then than now. The automobile was only a dream in the mind of its earliest inventors. We walked many a weary mile in all sorts of weather. If you were off a day you found your pay a day short. When any of the boys died, as newspaper men do some times, we often had to take up a collection. Nobody made enough money to get any ahead.

The Big Shots Kicked

So we organized a union. The AFL would not recognize us. They told us we were under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union. So we applied to that organization and were granted a charter. We were going along fine. Members were crowding in. All but the high priced fellows. Two or three of them made as much as \$25 a week and they sneered at the idea of a union. I couldn't improve their condition any. They knew they were as high up as it was possible to get in newspaperdom. They joked about it and carried information to the boss.

Myers was managing editor of the Post at that time and it was owned by the Barr family. Myers was afterward professor of Journalism at Ohio University. I was finishing up my day's work one evening when the office boy came to my desk and said: "Mr. Myers wants to see you when you have finished." I completed the story I was writing, turned it in at the desk and walked into Mr. Myers' office.

And there was No NLRB. He looked up as I entered and without preliminaries said: "I just



FREDERICK L. LONG

sent for you to tell you you either have to leave the union or leave the Post."

I was flabbergasted. "Why what do you mean?" I asked.

"I mean you either leave the union or leave the Post. We have enough trouble now with unions among the printers, press men, and other trades. We're not going to have it among the reporters."

"Well I'm not going to leave either," I declared, my fighting blood gaining temperature rapidly.

"Very well then you're fired," he said as he turned to his desk.

The following Sunday night I reported to the Pittsburgh Central Trades Council, made up of representatives of all trades. The council at once passed a resolution to back us reporters in the fight. A committee of two from each trade was named to visit the Post and tell Mr. Barr that if he didn't re-hire me he'd have a fight on his hands. The committee, about 40 in number, marched up to the office of the Post the next day, every trade represented except the printers. We had taken it up with the printers and they told us they would not fight the Post but would pay me benefits of \$6 a week until I got another job. I told them I didn't want benefits but wanted my job back and I was going to fight for it.

So This Trick Is Old

Within a week our battle was the biggest thing in labor circles in Pittsburgh. The Barrs were worried. They didn't want to fight union labor in Pittsburgh. A week later I received a letter from the Post telling me to return to work. I went back, worked all day and

handed in my resignation that evening.

"What does this mean?" asked Eddie Christy, the city editor.

"It means I saw you first," I replied. "I know you are going to fire me for cause first chance you get and there are always plenty of chances."

That ended the fight and the union. The boys got scared when they found they could get no support from the printers, and the union just dissolved. I was never in the Post office again until years after when I was covering the national steel strike for the New York Sun. I had written a story about one of the political figures in that fight. The Post took the Sun service and also printed the story. The individual sent his lawyer around to hold them up or face libel suit. Mr. Chester Lord wired me to go into Pittsburgh and see Mr. Barr. I went.

When I entered Mr. Barr's office he looked up and his mouth dropped open. "Why, why," he stammered, "I was not expecting you."

"Well it's I," I said, "but I hold no grudge. This blatherkite won't sue. The story was absolutely right and the best legal advice you can take is to tell him to go to hell."

A Publisher Talks

He did and the man didn't sue. Mr. Barr and I got quite chummy and talked for an hour. The old union fight came up and he told me an inside of it that I never knew before, although I had suspected it. "You know you had us in a tight hole that time," said Mr. Barr. "The Bryan campaign was on and we were backing him. We couldn't afford to have a labor fight on our hands and we had not expected you to fight. After you quit and had all union labor in Western Pennsylvania after us I sent for a nice little fellow who was organizer or something like that for the printers. He said to me: 'Mr. Barr, we don't want a fight with the Post. But this little devil of a Long is raising hell and is going to get the international officers on us here yet. Why don't you just put him back at work and then fire him in a week or two for being scoundrel or something.'"

"So," said Mr. Barr, "that is why we wrote you to come back, but you wrote us to it when you resigned."

This is the story of Pittsburgh's first reporters' union. I'm an old man now but I rejoice that I have lived to see the day when James M. Blair has established himself so that he can present a contract to such papers as the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

FREDERICK L. LONG
Unemployed Unit,
Newark Guild.

For Office Workers

Office workers wanting to study for work in the trade union movement or in the field of progressive legislation, or possibly wanting merely to develop a broader understanding of economics, will gather from June 25 to July 22 for the two and four-week sessions at the University of Chicago, held annually by the Summer School for Office Workers.

About half of the students attending the school come from the ranks of organized labor. Miss Eleanor Colt, director, said last week. Many of the others, she said, return to their offices ready to join up. Eleven of the delegates to the first national convention of the United Office and Professional Workers had been students. Many local and national unions as well as other national bodies furnish scholarships to send members as students. The school is now in its sixth year.

Its program aims to give the worker a picture of his or her position in the economic set-up. The main courses are two: a broad study of economics, which includes labor problems, labor legislation, and economic history; and a background course in concepts of American thinking, which includes the psychology and attitudes of white collar workers, and discussions of such political forces as fascism and their effect upon white collar workers.

Union representatives from Chicago, white collar unions will help on the dramatic program, which will be headed by William Wolfe, educational secretary of the International Ladies Garment Workers in Chicago.

The school makes use of the facilities offered by the University of Chicago and also of Chicago Theological Seminary, though it is in itself a unit apart from either of these institutions. The only educational requirement is that the students shall have finished grammar school. Otherwise, they must be men or women engaged in some office work. Those with unusually advanced educational backgrounds are asked to join the special seminar for teachers and labor union leaders, a three-week course starting July 1.

The charge for the full four weeks' session is \$125, which includes room and board and tuition, and that for the two weeks' session is \$60. For the seminar a fee of \$50 is charged, which does not include board and room.

Headquarters are at 302 East 35th Street, New York.

not, because no new industry has appeared that shows signs of substantial expansion of our economy. A great increase of mass purchasing power, according to Mr. Blair, is necessary to save capitalism, and he concludes that that is not possible, even if unions become much stronger, because whenever labor forces increases in wages, capitalists raise prices. Price fixing, he finds, only impels capitalists to reduce operations and increases unemployment.

All this gives only a hint of the far-flung ramifications of Mr. Blair's argument and his vast array of evidence. His book is illuminating, even though one may not accept all his conclusions. With one conclusion, however, few will quarrel: fascism cannot solve capitalism's problems. It brought about an expansion of capital goods production in certain countries (largely through the manufacture of munitions) but has done so only by getting into debt, not by increasing mass purchasing power. It is only a matter of time, Mr. Blair believes, before the fascist economy will "explode."

A MANAGER'S FRANK VIEW OF THE PRESS

It Need Not Loose Ground to Radio Or New Magazines, Ethridge Says

From a Speech

By MARK ETHRIDGE
General Manager, The Louisville
Courier-Journal and Times

I am completely out of sympathy with, and critical of, a great many positions and a great many actions taken by the press in the past ten years. It has singularly failed in leadership since the beginning of the depression in 1929. It is no pleasure to say so; indeed, the only consolation at all is that so many other newspaper men who have devoted their lives to the work feel the same way.

I do not, for instance, go along with the statement, made two weeks ago by the President of the American Newspaper Publishers Association that, "All of us recognize the fact that in late years the freedom of the press has been in jeopardy—is still in jeopardy."

Danger Lies Within

I am not so much concerned with the freedom of the press as I am with the atrophy of the mind that is symbolized by the constant yelping about it. Freedom of the press is a fundamental and important right of all the people and no sane man would question the assertion that America would not be America without it, but to me, to raise a great cry in these days and under these circumstances about freedom of the press is equivalent to the American army going into the World War shouting, "Free the Slaves!" That, of course, would have been a noble purpose, but hardly a realistic one.

The press in America can lose its freedom, of course, but if it does, it will be primarily its own fault.

The freedom of the press can be lost through economic adversity that has nothing whatever to do with governmental action or the action of an ambitious individual—through adversity that comes from bad management, from lack of adaptability.

No Regulatory Law Passed

As a matter of cold, raw fact, I do not know that any law affecting the press, except as to postal rates, or general laws such as the wage-hour bill, has been passed by Congress, the only body that could take away our freedom, in more than a quarter of a century. Unless we feel that we are entitled to a favored place in the nation's economy, we have no right to claim exemption from such social legislation as the wage-hour law, nor is there any justification for feeling that that law, or any ruling fixing a reasonable age for newsboys, has the slightest thing to do with freedom of the press.

I repeat that it is not freedom of the press over which I am concerned, but over the type of press leadership which regards the issue as pertinent or important at the moment. It is that type of loose thinking which has put the press where it is. Suppose we examine the evidence.

The Truth About Newsprint

From 1880 to 1910, the number of daily and Sunday newspapers went to 3,120. The decline in numbers started in 1914, so that in 1938 there were 2,056 daily newspapers in the United States and its possessions. According to the president of the ANPA, there were 1,867 daily papers in existence in the United States alone a month ago. Although the figures are confusing, there is indicated a decrease of almost 400 since 1929. Of those that have survived, 360, representing a majority of the remaining circulation, are owned by newspaper chains, and there are no figures to show how many are owned in combination by single ownerships. Within the past 15 months, 43 daily newspapers have suspended publication, of which six have become weeklies.

It is easy to say that the advancing price of newsprint has taken

the toll, but the truth is that the price of newsprint is from \$13 to \$15 a ton below the 25-year average. Although there were more publishers and consequently more newspaper competition in war times, they were able to adjust themselves to higher prices than we are paying now. It is true that taxes and wages are higher, but all business is bearing them without the mortality rate common to newspapers. We look elsewhere for the reason for our less-than-robust health.

A great part of the answer lies in the fact that other media have taken advertising revenues away from us, just as express companies and the parcel post system took package business and just as the truck lines took the short-haul freight away from the railroads. I do not want to bore you with figures, but a few tell the story. In 1929, newspapers secured 69 per cent of the advertisers' dollar distributed between the three chief media; magazines, 28 per cent and radio 3 per cent. The percentage for 1937, a good year for newspapers, was 60, for magazines 27 per cent and for radio 13 per cent.

Competitors Cut In

Under the impact of radio growth, magazines dropped from 28 per cent to 23 per cent, but under the stimulus of a revitalized magazine field, they had almost regained their percentage standing at the end of 1937. Business Week's summary of dollar volume for 1938 showed that newspapers had lost 24 per cent against the preceding year, magazines 13 per cent and radio had gained 3 per cent.

There is grave reason for worry in the fact that since 1929 newspapers have lost one-third of their advertising lineage; in the fact that had newspapers in 1937 obtained the same percentage of the advertising dollar, that they did in 1929, their income would have been approximately \$87,000,000 more than it was; and in the fact that counting 1935 business as normal, there has been a further slide in the percentage of the newspapers' acquisition of the advertising dollars of the leading national advertisers. Radio last year got 129 per cent of what it got in 1935 from those advertisers; the magazines 122 per cent and newspapers 97 per cent.

The one point I am endeavoring to make is that the trend away

A "rebel" on the management side who knows the facts of newspaper operation but cannot stomach the ANPA line has analyzed the newspaper's position in the face of the growing competition from the radio and the new magazines and sees not a gloomy picture but one calling for fresh initiative and a realistic readjustment to capitalize on the industry's strong points. His analysis is given in this adjoining reprint of his speech, made on May 11 at the University of Missouri School of Journalism.

from newspapers has not been checked and is manifesting itself in suspensions or distress of major properties.

To say that the suspensions have resulted from rising costs would be true, but it would not be the whole truth. It would be fairer to say that low newsprint costs have subsidized a great many newspapers during depression times that were not willing or able to make management adjustments to meet competition when the inevitable rise in prices set in. It would be fairer to say, too, that while radio has been growing in popular esteem, as is evidenced by 37,000,000 sets (against 41,000,000 circulation for our daily newspapers) the newspapers have not fought back as in industry, either to hold advertising, or to adjust themselves to the competition presented by radio or the graphic magazines.

Effects of Radio

Newspapers are indispensable, but we should not forget that between the radio and the news review magazines, it is possible to get a pretty good idea of what of moment is going on in the world. It will be possible, with the perfection of facsimile and television, to get a better idea. Likewise, it will be necessary for a great many newspaper publishers to decide, within the next few years, whether their journals will adopt a new technique, or whether they will be local organs serving in larger communities pretty much the same purpose that county-seat weeklies now serve.

The urgent necessity, it seems to me, is for us in newspaper work to undertake to get a clear view of what has happened and a clear perspective of what is probable in the future.

It is undoubtedly true that radio already has taken the edge off of

Newspapers Have Points of Strength But Need Realistic Initiative

top news stories. By the time newspapers got around to the Hitler speech story, radio had been giving all-day interpretive talks by top-notch correspondents all over the world. Radio has taken the reporting of spot sports news events from us; our own newspapers have not issued an extra in several years.

Radio and the movies have deprived us of certain of the edge of our entertainment value; serial stories, for instance, are declining in popularity according to surveys I have seen. I believe, moreover, that we have about reached a peak, or at least a level, of comic-strip popularity.

The graphic magazines, mastering within a few months the technique of high-speed printing on magazine paper, have surpassed us in the handling of photographic stories and with our picture readers they have taken a great many of our best advertisers.

We have lost ground because we have doggedly held on to old methods. There have been advances, it is true, but on the whole the newspaper business has been fighting a rear-guard action for ten years—a losing action at that. But I see no reason to despair if we employ our intelligence to the remedy as strongly as we have our lungs to shouting about freedom of the press.

But There Are Limits

There are distinct limitations both to the magazines with which we compete and to radio. Transmission of pictures by wire can overcome, providing the pictures are properly used, any advantage of the high-speed printing of graphic magazines because of their necessarily slow distribution. Some newspapers are already meeting the challenge of the review weeklies by more intelligent selection, grouping and presentation, and a more serious attitude toward their news. It is possible, if the newspapers will, for them to regain much of the ground they have lost to magazines, just as it is possible by intelligent competitive selling to regain a good volume of the national advertising they have lost.

It is not so easy with radio, because it has taken more from us. But there are weaknesses also in radio. It will be primarily a medium of entertainment as it is now. The percentage of information of all sorts that radio carries is small and it must sugar-coat most of that. It can never, for instance, be successful in selling price items or mass items such as are carried on full pages of newspapers. It will never be, therefore, the local advertising medium that newspapers can be. It can never have an editorial page, because, by law, the air belongs to all the people of America and no station owner has the right to use the air to propagandize for his own ideas or his own purposes. Radio is strictly regulated as to its partisanship. It can never be for causes, good or bad, as long as the present law holds. Radio can never crusade for civic good because its license is in jeopardy if it crusades at all.

New Techniques Needed

In handling news, it must inevitably give it in bulletin form, because audiences simply will not listen to long news stories over the air, unless they be of the utmost importance. Nor would it be possible for a radio announcer to read the contents of a metropolitan newspaper over the air in less than five or six hours. Newspapers must be relied upon, at least for a long time, for the elaboration and detail that radio can never supply. Radio in its present form will not supplant newspapers, although it may seriously affect the number unless newspapers do adopt new techniques. What new techniques?

It is significant to me that in a recent poll of our Sunday newspaper, the three sections which rated highest in reader interest as sections were the rotogravure, the

magazine and the Passing Show, or "brains" section. The rotogravure speaks for itself, of course, but it is capable of further competitive development, both through new picture handling technique and through the use of color. The magazine section we have tried to make eight pages of indigenous history and features and book reviews. It has a distinct Kentucky and Southern Indiana flavor because our audience is of Kentucky and Southern Indiana people.

New Sunday Section

The Passing Show or "Brains" section contains the news review of the week, in type, pictures and drawings, done by the cartoonist; the editorial page; the Gallup survey of the moment; special "think" pieces and background by our Washington and Frankfort men and an editorial writer; a piece by the head of the economics department at the University of Louisville; the personality parade, well illustrated short-stick stuff on people in the week's news; a page reviewing in popular style the top-flight state news of the week; the Washington columns and several articles, some by staff writers, that try to get down into the vitals of what's going on. It might be regarded by some newspaper men as heavy reading, but a survey based on the Gallup technique shows astounding popularity for the section.

Do these things suggest new ideas or techniques or possibilities? I think so.

I believe firmly that rather than being the moment for despair this should be a moment of great hope for newspapers. By the very limitations inherent in our competition, we have the opportunity to become again the great force for making public opinion that we were before we abdicated. Magazines of national circulation can never become regional in their breadth; newspapers can and should, because the tendency of the country is to decentralize and to regionalize. Radio can never agitate a question or advocate a controversial civic movement no matter how virtuous; we can, and should. Radio can never bring about political reform, because in the very essence of its charter it is a political enchanter. But we can agitate, we can advocate and we can crusade if the cause be worthy.

Not a Miracle—A Policy

The future of the American press does not lie in the working of some mysterious miracle by an alchemist of the profession. It is wholly bound up in the character and the intelligence of the men who own and run newspapers. If the publishers of America go on blindly resisting the demands for change in the social order; if they go on interpreting those changes in terms of out-of-pocket costs to themselves, regardless of the general welfare; if they go on trying to pull America back into a world she will never know again, then newspapers are doomed to continued retreat.

But if the publishers of this country have the intelligence to use the freedom which they have so long enjoyed; if they have the prescience to see that they lost their leadership and their influence when they deserted the marching army of democracy and if they realize that they can regain it only when they know again what the poor as well as the rich are thinking; if they have the humility to listen to the real voice that is America—the voice of the agricultural plains and the factories; if they have the determination, as Lincoln had, to "hunt the hidden purpose" up the winds of justice; if they have, above everything else, the determination to make some contribution toward the advancement of democracy, then they need not fear for their economic welfare or for their freedom.

THE GUILD REPORTER

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

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