

THE GUILD REPORTER

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

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THE GUILD'S NEW PRESIDENT

Convict Freed on Hearst Job Bid

The Hearst management last month reached into a New York State reformatory for a man with a long history as a robber to use as a truck driver's assistant on the struck Chicago Herald-American. Leaders in the violent assaults made on the Chicago Guild strikers have in some cases been thugs carried on the Hearst payroll as truck drivers.

The Guild discovered the move on Jan. 5, and the paroled robber apparently was dropped from the payroll, amid a series of varied "explanations" by parole authorities in Chicago and Albany.

How It Started

With the understanding that he was to get the job, John L. Whitney, 31, alias John Leo Waser, was paroled from Elmira Reformatory on Dec. 22. J. L. Hogan, investigator for the Illinois Department of Public Welfare, recommended the release in a letter to the New York Board of Parole describing the job, and saying:

The gentleman making the offer is Carl Guelzo, city circulation manager, Herald-American. . . .

He knows the subject and his family very well. . . . His offer to Whitney is that of helper on a newspaper delivery truck and the pay will be \$18 a week to begin. . . .

Frederick A. Moran, a member of the New York State Board of Parole, told the Guild that no mention was made in Hogan's letter of the fact that a strike was in progress against the Herald-American. "For many years the Board has followed a policy of not permitting a prisoner to be released to work at a place where a strike exists," he said.

Hogan's Story

On the morning of Jan. 6 the Albany office, at Moran's orders, telephoned Hogan at Chicago. Hogan indignantly explained that he "learned" only that morning that Circulation Manager Guelzo had put one over on him—he never gave Whitney the job, and the offer was made merely to get the convict out of prison. Whitney's stepfather, Joseph Schultz, is a pressman at the Herald-American. By Jan. 9, however, the story had assumed a different complexion. This time O. G. Connorton, assistant superintendent of parolees in Illinois, announced at Chicago:

"The job was not acceptable to us because of the strike. We do not allow men on parole to work where there is a strike. He (Whitney) did not go to work there, at all and now has another job."

And Yet Another

But still another version was telephoned from Chicago that day to the authorities at Albany. This was to the effect that the Hearst organization was now offering Whitney the job, but the parole division rejected it.

The Guild is pressing its inquiries further.

Whitney was sentenced to Elmira in January, 1931, for a maximum of 15 years for robbery. He

(Continued on Page Three)

Protect Gains Is Job, Says Crawford

By KENNETH G. CRAWFORD
(His statement as
ANG president-elect.)

Heywood Brown's place in the American Newspaper Guild can never be taken by anyone else. I accepted the nomination of the Washington Guild fully realizing that I could not hope to fill his shoes. But I agreed with the Washington Guild that, even though he could not be replaced, he should be succeeded.

There was a job to be done and someone had to do it. My personal inclination was to wish it on some other one of the nominees. Their withdrawal added to the responsibility. Feeling as I do about the importance of what the Guild has done and is destined to do, I could not conscientiously dodge that responsibility.

Our Mission

What would have happened to conditions of newspaper employment in this era of consolidation and unemployment without the Guild one can only guess. Likewise what the future holds. Any one guessing honestly will not underestimate the Guild's achievement or its continued mission.

I have no program beyond my record in the Washington Guild, which indicates what my approach to Guild problems has been and will be. Stated generally, it is my opinion that the Guild's primary function is to protect and further improve the wages, hours and working conditions of newspaper people; that this objective should be pursued by trade union methods in cooperation with the CIO and the rest of the labor movement; that it is not the Guild's business to reform the world or the world's newspapers.



KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

The Fight for Acceptance

I look forward to the day when all publishers will deal with us as readily as they now deal with the mechanical unions—as a matter of course. That day is not yet. Until it comes, we shall have to fight for it just as other young unions have fought before us. Our job of building will be finished only when our roof covers all now unorganized newspaper workers.

So far as I know, there is no easy way of accomplishing this. I have no plan for remaking the Guild. I do have opinions about method, some of which conflict with current practice. They will be expressed. But since the President is a part time official and casts one vote on a board of 13,

he couldn't dictate Guild policy even if he were so inclined. I am not so inclined.

The Months Ahead

Our salvation must be a cooperative enterprise. I hope and expect to be able to work harmoniously with the IEB and the Guild's officers. The six months between now and the Convention will be crucial but can be made a period in which old gains are consolidated and new ground gained if we keep our eyes on the main objective. I am prepared to give as much time to Guild affairs as a working newspaperman can give.

It would be useless to try to say how much I appreciate the honor of the American Newspaper Guild presidency.

Crawford Wins As Thirteen Drop Out

Kenneth G. Crawford, Washington correspondent for the New York Post and The Nation, became president of the ANG to succeed the late Heywood Brown, when all other candidates withdrew before the deadline for the closing of nominations. The actual declaration of his election without the formality of a vote rests with the International Executive Board, which will meet on Feb. 3 and 4.

One of a group of 14 to be nominated, Crawford found himself unopposed when nominations closed at midnight on Sunday, Jan. 7. Eight of the other 13 had withdrawn specifically in his favor.

Crawford was nominated by the Washington local, of which he is first vice president. The nomination was seconded by the Columbus, Boston, Los Angeles, Rockford (Ill.) and New York locals and endorsed by the New England District Council (Boston, Salem, Lynn, Brockton, Springfield, Worcester, Lawrence, Lowell and Portland).

The 13 Who Withdrew

The other nominees were Eleanor Roosevelt, a member of the New York Guild, put forward by Denver; Max Ways, Philadelphia secretary, by Wilkes-Barre and Philadelphia, seconded by Baltimore; Carl Randau, New York president, by Portland, Me.; James P. Kirby, former Cleveland president, by Cleveland; Katherine Lynch, Detroit secretary, by Battle Creek; Frank Lynch, of Seattle, by Seattle; Robert S. Allen of Washington, by Lehigh Valley, Pa.; Franklin P. Adams, of New York, by Milwaukee; former Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy, of New York, by Chicago. (Continued on Page Two)

Crawford An Ace Newspaperman Who Backed The Union Ideal from Beginning

WASHINGTON. Another organization in which Kenneth Crawford has had experience is the Alexandria (Va.) Candle and Kerosene Association. His neighbor and fellow-unionist, John L. Lewis, was a fellow member. The association, a citizens' pressure group with a sense of humor, was formed because the local utility company was polluting the town's air with smoke. The group staged a campaign and won not only the installation of smoke abatement but a rate cut as well.

A native of Wisconsin, Crawford grew up as an admirer of "Old Bob" LaFollette. He learned manual labor in his summer vacations, working as a ditch digger, as a Great Lake seaman, in a brick yard, in a machine shop.

When the Guild came along, in 1933, he was working in Buffalo as political editor of the Buffalo Times, a Scripps-Howard paper. He was interested at once and wanted the Guild to become a union, not a professional club. The idea met considerable opposition in those days, when most news-

papermen liked to be called "professionals," but he insisted that the destiny of the white collar worker was bound up with that of the worker at the bottom, not the owner at the top. Convinced that white collar and manual worker must stand together he supports industrial unionism and the CIO.

Crawford came to Washington early in 1934 as correspondent for the New York Post, then owned by J. David Stern. One of the hardest groups for the Guild to crack was the correspondents. He helped organize them.

Those were the days, too, when the locals were just beginning to think of contracts. Crawford, as a member of the executive committee of the local (he has been first vice-president for the last year) became chairman of the negotiating committee from the time of the negotiations for the first contract until January, 1939, when he gave up the post. He has continued to help with renewal negotiations. He was a Washington delegate to the ANG Convention in New York in 1936.

Crawford is 38. He was born at Sparta, Wis., and attended public schools in Jefferson, Wis., and Beloit College, where he received a B.A. in 1924. He is married to Elizabeth Bartholomew, of Lansing, Mich., who is a bacteriologist at St. Elizabeth's Hospital. They have a boy and a girl.

Crawford had a whiff of newspaper work as school correspondent for his Jefferson paper. At Beloit he was editor of the Round Table, a twice-a-week student publication. On graduation he got right into the field, starting work with the United Press in Chicago. He went all over the Midwest for the UP, with stops at Milwaukee, Madison, Detroit, Indianapolis, St. Louis, St. Paul and Columbus; then to Washington as Capitol and White House reporter.

The Later Years

He covered Al Smith and Charles Curtis in the 1928 presidential campaign, and then was sent to Buffalo, where he transferred to the Times. Back in Washington, he became a close friend of the late

Paul Y. Anderson, whom he succeeded as Washington correspondent of The Nation.

Like all newspapermen, Crawford is privately proud of his news beats. When Justice-designate Hugo Black returned from a vacation in England and made his famous radio speech about his former membership in the Ku Klux Klan, Crawford printed what he was going to say the day before. More recently, he revealed that long sections of an article by Father Coughlin in Social Justice were lifted from a speech by Nazi Propaganda Chief Goebbels.

Assigned to cover a newspaper-

His recent book, "The Pressure Boys" (see story on page 2), is evidence that he is relentless in pursuing significant facts. He showed this same trait in Buffalo in an exposure of contract padding in the construction of the Erie County Home and Infirmary. He got his information by going to the infirmary office one night, doing some rapid checking in the dark with a tape measure, and then chiselling through the wall.

Crawford Wins as 13 Withdraw

(Continued from Page One)

The eight who announced their support of Crawford were Sullivan, Frank Lynch, Katherine Lynn, Eddy, Martin, Kirby and Watson. Bandau moved the second for Crawford's nomination at the New York Representative Assembly meeting Jan. 5.

Many Favorite Sons

The nominating period opened in a mild way with Crawford and Max Ways as apparently the only serious candidates. Both received nominations from their own locals, and other candidates, nominated by different locals, withdrew almost as fast as their names were put forward. Nine dropped out in this way. But before the end of the period a veritable forest was in the field, including the later nominees and the favorite sons bearing the nominations of their own locals. It was not until the final evening that the field abruptly cleared.

The nine nominees who withdrew immediately were Mrs. Roosevelt, Bandau, Katherine Lynn, Frank Lynch, Allen, FPA, Sullivan, Watson and Kaufman. The remaining four—Ways, Kirby, Eddy and Martin—announced their withdrawals on the 7th individually and in a statement issued on their behalf by ANG Vice President L. L. Kenean at Cleveland. Nominations were due to close that midnight. The action followed a week-end conference called in Cleveland by Kenean and Don Stevens, Chicago Guild executive secretary. (Text of Kenean's statement on page 3.)

Two additional nominations, one for Martin of Memphis by Birmingham and one for Westbrook Pegler by Youngstown, Ohio, came in after the deadline and were therefore void.

Here is the chronology of events as they developed at headquarters with the arrival of the telegrams and letters:

Friday, Dec. 29

Washington nomination of Kenneth G. Crawford received. Action taken on Dec. 27, letter dated Dec. 28.

Denver nominee Eleanor Roosevelt.

Saturday, Dec. 30

Denver wires withdrawal of Mrs.

Executive secretary of the Chicago local, to unify support for one of the five candidates. Crawford's nomination then was seconded by the New York local Friday night.

Ways, Kirby and Martin authorized the following joint statement:

"The New York local's support of Kenneth Crawford of Washington, D. C., for the post, in statements issued by them here today through a conference of Guild friends of all five.

Those withdrawing were Jonathan Eddy of New York, former ANG executive vice president; James P. Kirby, former president of the Cleveland local; Max Ways, secretary of the Philadelphia-Camden local, and Harry Martin of Memphis, ANG vice president.

Crawford was nominated by the Washington local on Dec. 27. Nominations continued and the Cleveland conference, held Saturday and Sunday, was called early last week by L. L. Kenean of Cleveland, ANG vice president, and Don Stevens,

REPORTER'S HOLIDAY

Crawford Gets Things Off His Chest in "Pressure Boys"

Kenneth Crawford has written an American document in his recent book, "The Pressure Boys." It is the cold turkey on the Washington figures who, often unseen or unrecorded, make history through the influence they can bring to bear on influential members of Congress and on the governmental departments. It is a practical newspaperman's contribution to an understanding of the United States Government, which names names of leading Senators and Congressmen and tells the private interests that influence their decisions.

His Reactions

In a foreword to the book—which is published by Julian Messner, Inc., in New York—Crawford tells how he came to write the book. Indirectly, he tells something about himself.

Passages:

Like most of my colleagues in the Washington Press Corps,

Roosevelt's nomination upon her

Tuesday, Jan. 2

Wilkes-Barre nomination of Max Ways received. Action taken Dec. 26; letter dated Dec. 29.

Wednesday, Jan. 3

Philadelphia nomination of Ways received. Action taken Jan. 2.

Thursday, Jan. 4

Battle Creek (Mich.) nomination of Katherine Lynn received. Action taken Jan. 3.

Portland nominates Carl Bandau of New York. Action taken Jan. 3.

Portland nominates that Bandau of New York declines.

Lehigh Valley (Allentown, Pa.) nominates Robert S. Allen. Telegram arrives in evening.

Salem nominates Donald M. Sullivan. Letter dated Jan. 3.

Katherine Lynn declines by telegram.

Chicago nominates Jonathan Eddy of New York. Action taken Jan. 3; letter dated Jan. 4.

Seattle nominates Frank Lynch by telegram.

Columbus seconds Crawford nomination by telegram.

New York seconds Crawford nomination.

Saturday, Jan. 6

Knoxville nominates Harry Martin of Memphis. Action taken Jan. 4; letter dated same.

Frank Lynch of Seattle with

draws in favor of Crawford. Night telegram dated Jan. 5.

Sullivan of Boston withdraws in favor of Crawford. Letter dated Jan. 5.

Boston and Los Angeles second Crawford nomination. Night telegram dated Jan. 5.

Rochester (Ill.) nominates Milton Kaufman. Action taken Jan. 5;

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I have the job of watching day by day and reporting edition by edition what our Senators, their houses and their minions do for the weal or woe of the people of the United States. Being a reporter, most of the time, I am circumscribed by the rules of my craft, one of which forbids expression of the writer's opinions in the news columns. I am circumscribed, too, by the exigencies of daily journalism which often make it impossible to get the whole story until the event is no longer headline news. . . . Almost every week . . . something comes along which makes me want to write, "That old fraud, So-and-so is at it again." Frequently, too, I have the urge to tell readers of my newspaper that some public man has disregarded political expediency to do a brave and statesmanlike thing. . . . We're Used to It

A majority of the pressure boys being dealings of private

property interests, their enormous energies and resources are devoted primarily to the protection of property, sometimes by fair means and sometimes not. . . . Property has not hesitated to corrupt government when necessary to preserve its precious advantages and to extend them. This has been going on so long that we scarcely notice it. Here in Washington we are accustomed to it; we take it for granted that the property lobbies will push our legislators around whenever the interests of their principals are threatened.

Often the lobbyist finds it fairly easy to persuade articulate middle-class voters, who hold the balance of power in most districts, to become partners in their own undoing by favoring legislation which not only obviously does them a disservice. . . . Workers, especially when organized into unions and guided by alert leaders, are not so easily duped.

Crawford. Telegram arrives in morning.

Watson declines in favor of Crawford.

Lehigh Valley withdraws Robert S. Allen's nomination at his request. Telegram arrives at noon.

Katherine Lynn endorses Crawford. Telegram arrives in afternoon.

The nominations were declared open by ANG headquarters in a letter on Dec. 22 but with a unanimous IEB recommendation that nominations and election be postponed until the Convention next June. "In view of the unique place occupied by Heywood Brown and the feeling that the Convention would 'provide a means for the Guild to choose an officer of this importance not in haste but after the consideration'."

Admission Charge

Admission to the meeting will be by invitation and free of charge. Blocks of tickets will be made available to Guild units and other organizations in New York. Out-of-town Guildmen will be sent tickets upon request.

Requests for tickets should be sent to the Heywood Brown Memorial Committee, New York Newspaper Guild, 117 West 46th Street. The committee includes Lewis Gannett, Franklin P. Adams, Ernest L. Meyer, Quentin Reynolds, Morris Watson and Saul Mills.

Endorsed by 17 Locals

This position was endorsed by the locals in Boston, Columbus, San Jose, San Francisco, New York, Cleveland, Harrisburg, Pa.; Omaha-Council Bluffs, Hudson Co., N. J.; San Diego, Toronto, Detroit, Great Falls, Mont.; Westchester County, N. Y.; Los Angeles, Seattle and St. Louis. When Crawford was nominated however, some of these locals, including Columbus, Boston, New York and Los Angeles, were among the seconders.

In nominating Crawford, the Washington executive committee announced that it acted on the recommendation of a membership meeting. It said:

Sympathetic as the Washington membership was with the sentiment actuating members of the IEB, it was the sense of our meetings that practical objections to the plan outweighed its merits as a memorial. Moreover, it was felt that Ken Crawford was so logical a choice for the presidency that no useful purpose could be served by postponing his election until the Convention.

Boston Backs Crawford

The Boston local stated that it adopted its earlier view "in recognition that others might properly differ," and urged other Guilds to support Crawford as a man in an "excellent position to promote unity and to lead the Guild in the period before us."

When it nominated Ways, the Wilkes-Barre Guild said it wanted "to safeguard ourselves against the possibility of going into an election without a candidate, and with the knowledge that if ours was the only nomination because our candidate would withdraw from the field."

Philadelphia's resolution nominating Ways noted that Washington was "entirely within its rights" and Crawford a candidate "in no sense objectionable to the Philadelphia-Camden local." In making its nomination, had in mind bringing its attitude to the attention of the entire national organization, and probably will pursue its nomination to the 1940 Convention.

In its post-deadline nomination

of Westbrook Pegler, the Youngstown Guild informed the Guild Reporter that the local "although affiliated locally, has voted to maintain its present organizing and financial program. George F. Markham, Boston local organizer, was elected executive vice president of the council. He succeeds Fred Myers, now an ANG representative.

Contributions to the Chicago strike from Dec. 26 to Jan. 7 totaled \$1,925.58, exclusive of ANG Defense Fund payments. The list of contributors will be published in the next issue of the Guild Reporter.

Below are the changes to be made in the Jan. 1. Guild Reporter list of national advertisers who persistently buy space in the Chicago Herald-American despite our strike. Note the deletions and additions, and get your protest off to them today!

Deletes Philip Morris cigarette and Pepsi-Cola. Adds Elizabeth Arden Cosmetics, 681 Fifth Avenue, New York; Kitty Kelly Shoes, 161 Sixth Avenue, New York, and Coca-Cola Company (Mr. Price Gilbert), Atlanta.

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Contributions to the Chicago strike from Dec. 26 to Jan. 7 totaled \$1,925.58, exclusive of ANG Defense Fund payments. The list of contributors will be published in the next issue of the Guild Reporter.

Below are the changes to be made in the Jan. 1. Guild Reporter list of national advertisers who persistently buy space in the Chicago Herald-American despite our strike. Note the deletions and additions, and get your protest off to them today!

Deletes Philip Morris cigarette and Pepsi-Cola. Adds Elizabeth Arden Cosmetics, 681 Fifth Avenue, New York; Kitty Kelly Shoes, 161 Sixth Avenue, New York, and Coca-Cola Company (Mr. Price Gilbert), Atlanta.

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THE PROGRESS REPORT

Unit Swaps 150 Into Guild Shop... Hanson Mum in NLRB Case... Raises Won in 2 Cities...

The BROOKLYN (N.Y.) EAGLE unit, which two years ago returned to the job from a 15-week strike, found itself in the position at the turn of the year of being the only union working under a contract officially recognized by the legal owner of the paper—a bankruptcy trustee appointed by Federal Court.

Swift action by the unit, when its hard-won Guild shop contract was jeopardized, brought about the result. Trustee Charles C. Green had declared the Court was now "owner" of the paper and hence all contracts were void. He refused to enforce a contract clause requiring all employees within the Guild jurisdiction to become members. The matter was serious; 150 employees, formerly sears, later members of a company union taken over by the AFL, were refusing to join.

They Wanted to Sit In
The unit council demanded that trustee and publisher meet with the Guild next day, all members who wished attending as observers, and that the conference continue until the matter was settled. Signs of a heavy turnout of observers developed and, rather than face it, the trustee petitioned Bankruptcy Referee Monahan to order him to carry out the Guild contract terms. The next morning a Federal Court order to that effect was posted throughout the plant.

The realists quickly joined, many expressing the relieved opinion that it was good all were now in one organization.

HANSON WON'T TALK WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?
Eliaha Hanson, counsel for the American Newspaper Publishers Association, doesn't feel that Labor Board charges made by the WESTCHESTER (N.Y.) Guild against three of J. Noel Macy's newspapers are worth answering, and onlookers wonder whether this is based on a feeling that the National Labor Relations Act would be mutilated before the case could be finally decided.

Publisher Macy likewise refused to answer questions about dismissal of Guildman George Rance "on advice of counsel."

Thirteen days of hearings in New York ended last month when Hanson, as attorney for Macy, rested without presenting any testimony. He made two motions for dismissal on the grounds that the Guild failed to prove its case.

We Get 7 New Members
Charges are that Macy refused to bargain in good faith, first chance for Guild activity and otherwise interfered with organization, imposed a wage cut during contract negotiations and formed a company union—on the pretext that the Guild "was going to strike." Attorney Sol D. Kaplan represented the Guild, Daniel Baker the Labor Board.

Sidelight: The local enrolled seven new members during the hearings.

AKRON SIGNS QUICKLY, GETS PAY INCREASES

Negotiation of a new contract with the AKRON Beacon Journal, Akron's only newspaper, has been completed after four conferences, the speediest settlement in six years of Guild bargaining here.

Under the 1936 contract, a three-year schedule of salary minimums replaces the former five-year schedule, and the minimum for three years' experience becomes \$22.50 a week, an increase of \$2.50 over the former three-year figure. An improved dismissal pay schedule provides for one week's salary for each nine months of service up to a maximum of 24 weeks' pay. The contract also reduces the number of "key" employees exempted from the overtime compensation clause from 10 to five.

The contract covers all editorial department employees of the paper. It was negotiated by Ralph Platt, president of the Cleveland Guild,

and Robert H. Stophrer, Keyes Beach and Robert S. Elliott of the Akron Guild.

A NEW CONTRACT FOR STOCKTON

Wage minimums were increased \$2.50 in all brackets under a one-year agreement signed by the STOCKTON (Cal.) Evening Record.

At start of negotiations the management pressed for renewal of last year's posted notice, but the offer was rejected by the Guild through its negotiator, Sam Eubanks, executive secretary of the Northern California District Council.

The management stated any gains obtained by the Guild would apply to unorganized departments on the paper, but when the Guild offered to bargain for all unorganized employees as well as editorial staff, the management asserted it was not up to it to act as "organizer" for the Guild.

Partial Guild Shop
Wage minimums now range from \$20 for less than one year to \$24 for over five. A full Guild shop was not obtained, but the management agreed that all new employees must make application for membership after 90 days. Dismissal pay was increased four weeks, exemptions on the 5-day 40-hour week were reduced. Death benefits equal to dismissal pay were provided.

U.P. MEN STAND PAT ON WAGE DEMANDS

Negotiations with the UNITED PRESS for renewal of the contract which expired Dec. 23 were scheduled to resume late last week. The sessions were adjourned for several days to permit United Press staff over the country to meet and consider the management's rejection of the demand for wage increases.

Virtually all of the units instructed the negotiators to stand firm for increase in minimums to equal standards set by other Guild contracts. The United Press top management for experienced news-

men in New York City is \$50 per week against \$70 per week on the Daily News. Despite the lawlessness of the service's minimum, many raises accrued to United Press employees when the rates were established 18 months ago.

BOSTON OPENS TALKS ON FACTS FOR 700

Negotiations for renewal of contract with the BOSTON Herald-Traveler and the Record-American (Herald) have started, the former covering about 450 per-

sonnel and the latter about 250 in the commercial departments and formerly-unorganized portion of the composing room.

Both units are pressing for the Guild shop and other security provisions, as well as wage increases to compensate for the rise in living costs.

Although Boston Herald papers outgrew all others in the city for advertising income in the first 11 months of 1939, Publisher H. G. Kern again pleaded poverty. Conventions in his arguments were the maximum Guild jurisdiction and the latter about 250 in the commercial departments and formerly-unorganized portion of the composing room.

Despite a previous promise to submit a counter offer on wage division and the management at the last conference stuck to its former position that it would not go above the minimums granted by the United Press in the contract which expired Dec. 23.

The Guild's negotiators declined to discuss other items of a proposed contract until the management made an adequate wage offer.

"We will show a spirit of compromise to match your own," the Guild told the management.

ing of economic interests. So far as the organized are concerned, the problem is of organization.

Some of the best of us are "company men." We don't mean to be. But we join with the employers in setting up obstacles to organization.

We go out to organize the employees of what is, or is believed to be, the "paternalistic" paper in town. We fail. Naturally, we need excuses and since we can't blame ourselves we blame the unorganized. We say, "those people are all company men"—a lot of stooges—"they're stupid," etc.

In the course of time we convince ourselves that they cannot be organized. This conviction becomes Guild-created obstacle No. 1. Our contemptuous opinions of the unorganized naturally come to their attention and they are offended and alienated. Their resentment becomes Guild-created obstacle No. 2. We say "to hell with them" and their employer is made happy.

An End to Suspicion
Then comes the day when we realize that we have driven the unorganized into a virtual union stand with the employers against the Guild. We decide they must be organized. Since they won't join us unless they have confidence in us, and since we can't organize them unless we have confidence in them, the first move seems to be up to us. We must revise our attitude; we must acquire confidence in them.

This confidence in the workers is not a political concept to be achieved by some act of faith. It consists of a realistic understanding of economic interests. So far as the organized are concerned, the problem is of organization.

1. BELIEF THAT WORKERS WANT TO BETTER THEIR CONDITIONS. Since the whole human race wants to do this, this belief does not require much "faith"—it is obvious. This does not mean a belief that the unorganized want to better their conditions collectively, through organization. In fact, due to any one or more of a number of causes, probably including our own mistaken attitude, they may be definitely opposed to organization. But, just like us, they do want security. Every objection they raise can be traced to their desire for security. Are they afraid to join the union? Then it is because they are unwilling to impair what security they now have. Are they afraid they might have to strike? The same answer. Every objection has the same source.

If you aren't convinced, let's take a sad example. Witness the statement addressed by his editorial staff to Publisher Arthur J. Carruth, Jr. of the Toledo Star-Journal. After they had been subjected to an effort to enroll them in the Guild, they told their publisher, "we... have decided against membership" and added:

It is no secret to you that we are not entirely satisfied with conditions as they are. We have not raised the pay out of several years ago and never restored, nor the doubling up of duties due to a shorter staff while the composing room works five short days a week and has received pay hikes. We realize these conditions however have

pointed out by Guild negotiators and the point was stressed that Carruth could not very well claim "losses" in one city and throw away millions in fighting a Guild strike in Chicago.

'REALISTIC' OFFER DUE FROM A.P.

Guild negotiators were scheduled to meet the A.P. management in New York on Jan. 12 to receive a "realistic" offer on wage minimums.

Written into the contract are many gains won by the Guild in Boston and elsewhere, such as guarantee on overtime, outside activity, severance, and wages. The wage scale, however, makes advances over the Guild standard set in the Herald-Traveler contract only in some of the upper brackets.

For instance, the year-old Guild contract sets a \$70 minimum for city editors, news editors, head of photo, sports, etc., while the A.P. contract sets that scale at \$69. Assistant city editors, rewrite, etc., get \$60 on the Herald-Traveler and \$65 under the new A.P. contract, but the big group of reporters, district men, artists, etc., are left at a \$45 level after six years—no improvement over the old Herald-Traveler agreement.

Violation of the contract wage scales through "apprenticeship" is actually provided for in a clause saying "office boys used regularly on assignments and other duties shall be paid pro rata for the time so employed."

3-Year Probation
Office boys are "on probation for three years" and may be dismissed at any time after that.

District men are exempted from the 40-hour provision. They do not work at night except Saturdays, but are "expected to tip the office in the event of unexpected news items after 6 p.m."

Overtime is paid in time of up to 48 hours and thereafter at time and one-half in cash, and the employee himself must make the claim for overtime, and within one week.

them understand simply that the organized hardly have a right to expect benefits from an employer who is so determined to deal with a business world that is tightly organized; naturally he will turn to his unorganized workers for new profits when he cannot draw upon the organized employees, so upon the organized employees or upon the paper manufacturers.

Our Attitude Now
2. BELIEF IN THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE WORKERS. This means simply a belief that because the "organized do want security, they are intelligent enough to accept our union methods of achieving these objectives, provided we will patiently and effectively explain them.

If we are inclined to take a superior attitude, if we are impatient, we can readily humble ourselves. We need only recall that for almost 100 years organized printers looked out of the back shop into the city room at newspaper writers and wondered how soon we would "get smart." (And no doubt some of our present, impatient members were among those of whom the printers despaired.)

If we can have confidence in ourselves after a few years of organization, we can afford to have patience with, and confidence in, those of our fellow-workers who are still thinking as we did for several generations.

3. We must believe so confidently in these principles, (1) and (2)—which should not be difficult—that we will always blame our own inadequacies rather than the workers if we fail to organize them.

With such an approach we will organize many more workers.

What They Emphasized
Yet the statement contains a strong protest that indicates rank and file desire for security—for such benefits that the Guild has won. Observe the emphasis on "the fear and uncertainty that hovers over the land and in many newspaper offices"—the recognition that it is necessary "to strive for some sort of security"—the dissatisfaction with wage levels, and hours and speed-up—the statement that they would like "to be even happier."

It seems to be up to us to instill in these people a confidence in us, a confidence in organization to take the place of wistful expressions of hope. We must make

them understand simply that the organized hardly have a right to expect benefits from an employer who is so determined to deal with a business world that is tightly organized; naturally he will turn to his unorganized workers for new profits when he cannot draw upon the organized employees, so upon the organized employees or upon the paper manufacturers.

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STILL RIDING ON OUR COAT-TAILS

A fourteenth one-half month contract with some pay increases but many dangerous clauses has been signed by the AFL News-writers Union and the BOSTON Record-American (Herald) for the editorial department of those newspapers. With no union shop or other guarantees for the union (an organization formed by city room executives) the contract contains a mandatory arbitration clause.

When George Fort Milnor's News died in Chattanooga in mid-December the finale was reminiscent of the Scripps-Howard, all of which died within the last three years.

Out of only one of the deaths of well-known newspapers has come any explanation sufficiently specific to mean anything.

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FIFTY NEWSPAPERS DIED LAST YEAR—WHY?

Post-Mortem Reveals Many Factors—Advertisers Prefer to Have Fewer—Owners Lax in Fighting for Place

More than 50 papers died in the U. S. and Canada last year. That number brought the total deaths in the last five years to about 120. Most of the 120 were small papers, but among them were five papers of the Hearst chain and four of the Scripps-Howard, all of which died within the last three years.

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Professor Alfred M. Lee, who points to monopolistic trends in his "The Daily Newspaper in America," commenting on the recent deaths said last week:

The trend toward economically stable local monopolies in the daily newspaper industry has been in progress for at least 40 years and probably longer. It has been spurred on by such fundamental internal and external factors that it is not likely to cease during the next decade.

These factors include finance, labor union, personnel, wire franchise, feature rights, national and local advertising, distribution, and other considerations.

ITS A MILLIONAIRES ENTERPRISE NOW

Time was—many, many years ago—when the merging of dailies in any town involved some aggressive individual to set up a new sheet in competition. Such a step now requires a very wealthy person who can make the right arrangements with wire service, feature syndicates, personnel of a sufficiently expert sort to handle the highly complex problems of modern publication; and, today competition costs are appearing at the rate of 10 percent a year—about 20 cities a year.

By 1938, Lee says, there were only 269 cities in the United States which had allegedly competing dailies.

Such trade papers as Editor & Publisher have attempted to blame the unions, and particularly the Guild, for the deaths—although they have blamed other causes at other times. Actually the costs of improved conditions are not the main answer. They are too soon evoked up as between papers to put one at any long-time disadvantage with another. Moreover, as the chart on this page shows, the number of daily periodicals have been declining since 1909, even though advertising income kept on growing until 1929, and circulation is still on the upgrade.

CHEAPER TO BUY SPACE IN ONE PAPER THAN TWO

The deaths are occurring mainly because the competition for advertising has become keener and because it is cheaper for advertisers to use one paper than two or more papers to cover a particular territory. Their interest is to see that every possible buyer is reached; the more cheaply that can be done, the better. This is shown by the analysis of the situation in Wilkes-Barre made by one of the leading advertisers in the city at the time of the Guild strike, in which the dailies remained closed for six months before settling. The speaker, Frank Burnside, Jr., of the Fowler, Dick & Walker department store, read his paper at the annual convention of the National Retail Dry Goods Association.

The stores in the city learned something about their advertising costs during the strike. The five department stores clubbed together and put out a shopping news twice a week; twenty smaller stores shared another, also twice a week.

Radio at first took advertising away from the outdoor companies, but of late it has been cutting in more on newspapers and magazines. And one thing is certain: the newspaper industry is going through a major readjustment, one as far-reaching in character as that which Hearst and Pulitzer caused when they sensationalized the newspaper a generation ago.

Most obvious trend today, and one which almost nobody wants to admit, is that toward local monopolies. One leading publisher recently took the plunge into the subject, however. He plainly shivered a bit before, but quickly warmed up to the idea once he was in. This was the president of the Southern California Associated Newspapers, C. F. White, speaking before a conference of executives of the Copley chain.

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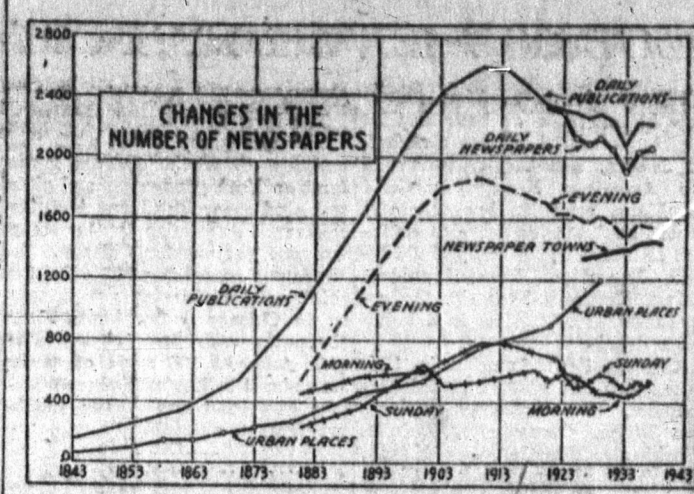
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Most obvious trend today, and one which almost nobody wants to admit, is that toward local monopolies. One leading publisher recently took the plunge into the subject, however. He plainly shivered a bit before, but quickly warmed up to the idea once he was in. This was the president of the Southern California Associated Newspapers, C. F. White, speaking before a conference of executives of the Copley chain.

The stores in the city learned something about their advertising costs during the strike. The five department stores clubbed together and put out a shopping news twice a week; twenty smaller stores shared another, also twice a week.

Radio at first took advertising away from the outdoor companies, but of late it has been cutting in more on newspapers and magazines. And one thing is certain: the newspaper industry is going through a major readjustment, one as far-reaching in character as that which Hearst and Pulitzer caused when they sensationalized the newspaper a generation ago.



A CENTURY OF THE INDUSTRY IN A NUTSHELL

How the number of daily papers in the U. S. rose to its peak of 2,600 in 1909 and then fell off is shown in this chart taken from Lee's "The Daily Newspaper in America," and brought up to date. The top curve, based on Census figures, takes in all daily publications up to 1921, when the Census began to differentiate newspapers from other daily publications. Evening newspaper growth accounted for most of the big rise up to the peak, and these sheets have been holding their own better than the numerically fewer daily and Sunday papers (bottom of the chart.) There were 2,605 daily newspapers in 1937, including 1,560 evening, 505 morning and 538 Sunday. A factor in keeping up the number of papers has been the growth in the number of urban places, which has meant the steady spread of new but small papers. Number of urban places in 1937 was 1,000,000, compared with 1,000,000 in 1921. The number of towns having daily newspapers is substantiated (short line in right middle). This line increased steadily from 1235 in 1926, to its peak of 1

THE PROGRESS REPORT

Unit Swaps 150 Into Guild Shop... Hanson Mum in NLRB Case... Raises Won in 2 Cities...

The BROOKLYN (N.Y.) EAGLE, which two years ago returned to the job from a 15-week strike, found itself in the position at the turn of the year of being the only union working under a contract officially recognized by the legal owner of the paper—a bankruptcy trustee appointed by Federal Court.

Swift action by the unit, when its hard-won Guild shop contract was jeopardized, brought about the result. Trustee Charles C. Green had declared the Court was now "owner" of the paper and hence all contracts were void. It refused to enforce a contract clause requiring all employees within the Guild jurisdiction to become members. The matter was serious; 150 employees, formerly sent, and members of a company union, were being by the AFL, were refusing to join.

They Wanted to Sit In
The unit council members met with the Guild next day, all members who wished attending as observers, and that the conference continue until the matter was settled. Signs of a heavy turnout of observers developed and, rather than face it, the trustee petitioned Bankruptcy Referee Morehouse to order him to carry out the Guild's demands. The next morning a Federal Court order to that effect was posted throughout the plant.

The resultants quickly joined many expressing the "well-known opinion" that it was good all were now in one organization.

HANSON WON'T TALK—WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?

Elisha Hanson, counsel for the American Newspaper Publishers Association, doesn't feel that the Labor Board charges made by the WESTCHESTER (N. Y.) Guild against three of J. Noel Macy's newspapers are worth answering, and onlookers wonder whether this is based on a gamble that the National Labor Relations Act would be nullified before the case could be finally decided.

Publisher Macy likewise refused to answer questions about his charges of Guildism against George Rance "an advice of counsel."

Thirteen days of hearings in New York ended last month when Hanson, as attorney for Macy, rested without presenting any testimony. He made two motions for dismissal on the grounds that the Guild failed to prove its case.

We Get 7 New Members

Charges are that Macy refused to bargain in good faith, fired Macy for Guild activity and otherwise interfered with organization, imposed a wage cut during contract negotiations and formed a company union on the pretext that the Guild "was going to strike." Attorney Sol D. Kaplan represented the Guild, Daniel Baker the Labor Board.

Sidlight: The local enrolled seven new members during the hearings.

AKRON SIGNS QUICKLY—GETS PAY INCREASES

Negotiation of a new contract with the AKRON Beacon Journal, Akron's only newspaper, has been completed after four conferences, the speediest settlement in six years of Guild bargaining here.

Under the 1936 contract, a three-year schedule of salary minimums replaced the former five-year schedule, and the minimum for \$22.50 a week, an increase of \$2.50 over the former three-year figure.

An improved dismissal pay schedule provided for one week's salary for each nine months of service up to a maximum of 24 weeks' pay. The contract reduces the number of "key" employees exempted from the overtime compensation clause from 10 to five.

The contract covers all editorial department employees of the paper. It was negotiated by Ralph Patis, president of the Cleveland Guild.

A NEW CONTRACT FOR STOCKTON

Wage minimums were increased \$2.50 in all brackets under a one-year agreement signed by the STOCKTON (Cal.) Evening Record.

At start of negotiations the management pressed for renewal of last year's posted notice, but the offer was rejected by the Guild through its negotiator, Sam Eubank, executive secretary of the Northern California District Council.

The management stated any gains obtained by the Guild would apply to unorganized departments on the paper, but when the Guild offered to bargain for all editorial employees as well as editorial staff, the management asserted it was not up to it to act as "organizer" for the Guild.

Partial Guild Shop
Wage minimums now range from \$30 for less than one year to \$45 for over five. A full Guild shop was not obtained, but the management agreed that all new employees must make application for membership after 90 days. Dismissal pay was increased four weeks' exemptions on the 3-day 40-hour week were reduced. Death benefits equal to dismissal pay were provided.

U.P. MEN STAND PAT ON WAGE DEMANDS

Negotiations with the UNITED PRESS for renewal of the contract which expired Dec. 29 were scheduled to resume late last week. The sessions were adjourned for several days to permit United Press units over the country to meet and consider the management's rejection of the demand for wage increases.

Virtually all of the units instructed the negotiators to stand firm for increase in minimums to equal standards set by other Guild contracts. The United Press too minimum for experienced news-

men in the maximum Guild jurisdiction and the latter about 250 in the commercial departments and formerly-unorganized portion of the composing room.

Both units are pressing for the Guild shop and other security provisions, as well as wage increases to compensate for the rise in living costs.

Although Boston Herald papers outgained all others in the city for advertising lineage in the first 11 months of 1939, Boston Herald H. G. Kern again pleaded poverty. Cost traditions in his arguments were

ing of economic interests. So far as the unorganized are concerned our confidence in them need contain no more than three elements: "BELIEF THAT WORKERS WANT TO BETTER THEIR CONDITIONS. Since the whole human race wants to do this, this belief does not require much faith."

It is obvious. This does not mean a belief that the unorganized want to better their conditions collectively, through organization. In fact, due to any one or more of a number of causes, probably including our own mistaken attitude, they may be definitely opposed to unionization. But, just like us, they do want security. Every objection they raise can be traced to their desire for security. The same answer, "Are they afraid they might have to strike? The same answer, "Are they afraid they might have to strike? The same answer, "Are they afraid they might have to strike?"

Our Attitude Now
2. BELIEF IN THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE WORKERS. This means simply a belief that because the unorganized do want security, they are intelligent enough to accept our union methods of achieving these objectives, provided we will patiently and effectively explain them.

If we are inclined to take a superior attitude—if we are impatient, we can readily humble ourselves. We need only recall that for almost 100 years organized printers looked out of the back shop into the city room at news-writers and wondered how soon we would "get smart." (And no doubt some of our present impatient members were among those of whom the printers despaired.)

If we can have confidence in ourselves after a few years of organization, we can afford to have patience with, and confidence in, those of our fellow-workers who are still thinking as we did for several generations.

3. We must believe so confidently in these principles, (1) and (2), which should not be difficult—that we will always blame our own inadequacies rather than the workers if we fail to organize them.

With such an approach we will organize many more workers.

What They Emphasized
Yet the statement contains a strong protest that indicates a rank and file desire for security—far for such benefit that the Guild has won. Observe the emphasis on "the fear and uncertainty that hovers over the land and in many quarters" and the statement that "it is necessary to strive for some sort of security."

It seems to be up to us to instill in these people a confidence in a confidence in organization if we fail to organize them.

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BOSTON OPENS TALKS ON FACTS FOR 700

Negotiations for renewal of contracts with the BOSTON Herald-Traveler and the Record-American (Herald) have started, the former covering about 450 per-

sonnel in New York City is \$50 per week against \$75 per week on the Daily News. Despite the lowness of the service's minimum, many raises accrued to United Press employees when the rates were established 18 months ago.

Top Flight Men Lose Jobs; Each Learns Something

Three well-paid newspaper men recently ended their job connections, and the case of each carried a lesson in organization.

1. Dale Harrison, for 19 years a top feature writer and columnist for the Associated Press, was fired. He received \$2,500 in dismissal pay, at the rate of a week's salary for each year of service, plus one week. The schedule was established after Guild organization. The Guild now seeks a scale which would have brought Harrison \$4,750. He is not a member. He is now opening his own syndicate.

2. Two years ago City Editor Charles R. McLendon of the New York Herald-Traveler fired Goldmann Leo Margolin, giving him two weeks' severance pay. Margolin went over McLendon's head and got four weeks' pay. Recently McLendon quit rather than shift to Sunday editor. He demanded severance pay for 15 years' service, and got \$2,000—as a result of Guild organization.

3. City Editor Ken Lightburn of the Seattle (Guild shop) Star lost his job last month. He came to work as a strikebreaker in the Herald-Traveler. After the strike he refused to join the Guild and worked his way into the contract-exempted city editorship. He made an error on the job and was fired.

Despite a previous promise to submit a counter offer on wage demands the management at the last conference stuck to its former position that it would not go above the minimums granted by the United Press in the contract which expired Dec. 26.

The Guild's negotiators declined to discuss other items of a proposed contract until the management made an adequate wage offer.

"We will show a spirit of compromise to match your own," the Guild told the management.

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District men are exempted from the 40-hour provision. They do not work at night except Saturday, but are "expected to tip the office items after 6 p. m."

Overtime is paid in time off up to 48 hours and thereafter at time and one-half in cash, and the employee himself must make the claim for overtime, and within one week.

Violations of the contract wage scales through "apportioning" is actually provided for in a clause saying "office boys used regularly on assignments and other duties shall be paid pro rata for the time so employed."

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STILL RIDING ON OUR COAT-TAILS

A fourteen and one-half month contract with some pay increases but many dangerous clauses has been signed by the AFL News-writers Union and the BOSTON Record-American (Herald) for the editorial department of these newspapers. With no union shop or other guarantees for the union (an organization formed by the BOSTON room executives) the contract contains a mandatory arbitration clause.

Written into the contract are many gains on-by the Guild in Boston and elsewhere, such as guarantees on expenses, outside activity, severance, and wages. The wage scale, however, makes advances over the Guild standard set in the Herald-Traveler contract only in some of the upper brackets.

How Wage Compare
For instance, the year-old Guild contract sets a \$70 minimum for city editors, news editors, head of photo, sports, etc., while the AFL contract sets that scale at \$60. Assistant city editors, rewrite, etc., get \$60 on the new AFL contract, but the big group of reporters, district men, artists, etc., are left at a \$55 top after six years—no improvement over the old Herald-Traveler agreement.

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'REALISTIC' OFFER DUE FROM A.P.

Guild negotiators were scheduled to meet the AP management in New York on Jan. 12 to receive a "realistic" offer on wage minimums.

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Searle points out that "no trade unionist will be safe" if some of the 70 "anti-alien" bills now pending in Congress become law—"they provide a legislative cloak for anti-democratic, un-American activities."

N. Y. MOTION PICTURES
8th ST. PLAYHOUSE 52 West
8th St.

ONE ENTIRE WEEK!
JANUARY 16 to 22
BETTE ERROL
DAVIS • FLYNN
MAXWELL ANDERSON'S
"The Private Lives of
Elizabeth and Essex"
One Entire Week — Jan. 23 to 29
PAUL MUNI
in JAMES HILTON'S
"WE ARE NOT
ALONE"
with JANE BRYAN
—Midnight Show Every Saturday—

EMPIRE Theatre, B'way & 46. St.
Evs. 8:40--\$1.10 to \$3.30. Mats. on
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JOHN GOLDEN presents
GERTRUDE LAWRENCE
to SAMSON RAPHAELSON's Comedy
SKYLARK
with DONALD COOK—GLENN ANDERU
Mon.-Thurs. 7-9:45 Fri. 8-10:30 Sat. 8-10
Hedweges Wed. Sat. 8-10

"BILAROU" With Her. Trid.
SAM H. BARBER Studio
**"THE MAN WHO
CAME TO DINNER"**
by MOSE KANT & GEO. S. KAUFMAN
MUSIC BOX W. 45 St. Mats. Thurs. Sat.

NEW YORK RESTAURANTS

FOOD THAT'S Different—

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MU. 2-9911

SAKELE'S
RESTAURANT
Where the Fast Men Meet
24 RECTOR

Excellent Food!

KAHRS RESTAURANT
Dinner, Lunch, and Bar with Liquor
123 Barclay St. N. Y. C.
Worth 2-7971 - Outgoing phone
orders promptly delivered.

Sagebar
RESTAURANT
Bar • Cocktail Lounge
Wine • Newspaper People Gather
112 Greenwich Street
One block North of Water

COFFEE THAT'LL BRING YOU BACK
100% C.O. House
716 Third Ave. (SW Cor. 45th St.)

MURRAY Hill 2-9792 N. Y. C.

THE NEW UNDERTAKER

Smith and His Gang Who Hover Over the NLRA
Work a Propaganda Trick on the Public

BY public statements of its chairman and by performance, the House committee investigating the National Labor Relations Board has now shown its aims. The committee's purpose is that which has long been attributed to it by friends of the Wagner Act; emasculation of the law. If the unions hope to preserve the law in any serviceable form they had better hurry to meet the attack by informing the public of the facts.

Chairman Smith, in a radio broadcast from Washington just as the committee was getting started, said:

The right of collective bargaining should be safeguarded as to insure to the employees themselves the liberty of independent thought and freedom of action, untrammelled by coercion or intimidation, either from their employer or from any other source. (Emphasis ours.—Ed. G. R.) If the Congress will so amend the law, and the board will so administer the law that the laboring man himself, whom it is the object of the act to protect, can feel free to act without fear of coercion, intimidation or physical violence from any source, we will have accomplished in a large measure the purpose designed by Congress.

The Virginia Democrat has seen the light; he has adopted the Republican formula. He sang in tune with the National Association of Manufacturers, which has 12 proposals for amendment of the Wagner Act. A principal one is designed to "protect" workers against unfair labor practices by employers, their organizations or fellow-employees or any other source. (Emphasis ours.)

NOW THEY DECIDE

Before the committee had been holding hearings a week, before its members had heard any of the "other side," before they had had opportunity to digest the voluminous testimony, exhibits and statements, "a majority," said the Associated Press, "reached a tentative decision to ask Congress for major amendments to the Wagner Labor Act."

This should not surprise anyone in view of the background of the committee's two leading figures. Earlier it was revealed that its counsel and guiding genius, Edmund D. Toland, was an expert anti-Wagner Act lawyer; that he had been a consultant for other lawyers fighting outstanding Labor Board cases and in the first year of the act's operation he appeared in "15 or 20" injunction proceedings directed against the board by employers. (GUILD REPORTER, Nov. 1.)

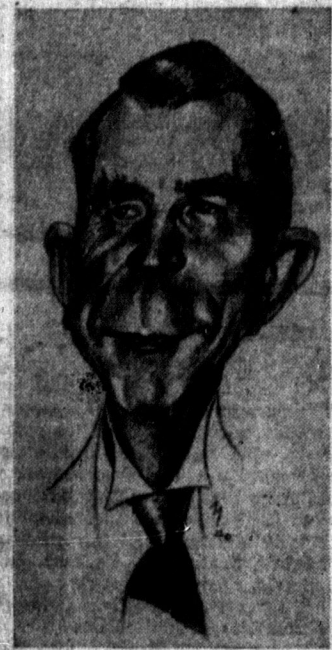
Now it develops that Toland also represented two labor spy outfits, the A. A. Ahner Company and the Industrial Standard Service, when the LaFollette Civil Liberties committee was investigating them. He also acted as local counsel for Earl Reed, attorney for Ernest T. Weir of the National Steel Corporation and a member of the Liberty League lawyers' committee that drafted the brief used as a basis for action against the Labor Board until the Supreme Court upheld the act.

Chairman Smith, a stalwart in Senator Carter Glass's Virginia machine, is president of the Alexandria National Bank, the largest financial institution in his Congressional district. When his resolution was up for action in the House, Representative O'Day of New York said of him that his record could not show a single instance of friendliness to labor. He admitted his opposition to the Wagner Act "in the beginning," but he feels "that it has now become a fixed part of our government policy" and "if confined to its proper channels . . . it can in the future perform a useful and desirable purpose."

Yet on Dec. 14 the AP announced

that his committee was considering recommending the removal of one large group of workers from the protection of the act. The group in which Banker Smith is so interested is employees of "national" banks. He would prohibit them from joining "national" unions.

Between them Banker Smith and Lawyer Toland have conducted the investigation as though it were a case against the Labor Board. They have avoided the tactics that periodically bring grief to Congressman Dies and his committee; court room rules, as far as the casual observer can tell, are controlling, and the committee conducts itself with a decorum worthy of Chairman Smith's wing collars and beribboned pince nez. In other



CONGRESSMAN SMITH
"Employees . . . untrammelled by coercion . . ."

words, they use the etiquette of the stiletto rather than the meat axe.

As with the Dies Committee, their whole effectiveness depends on the publicity in the papers. They could hardly have asked for more eager cooperation. During their first hearings, extending over eight days, the Associated Press rolled up its sleeves and sent out at least 28,000 words to the newspapers. There may have been more; 28,000 words was the amount the New York Times printed from AP dispatches during the period. Both the Times and the AP have been prominent defendants before the Labor Board.

F. D. R. BUDGET 'ALARMS'

WASHINGTON — (FP)—President Roosevelt's budget recommendations "give cause for deep alarm to labor and all others who are concerned with meeting the unemployment problem, giving some measure of security to the millions of needy and promoting economic recovery," the CIO declared in an editorial in its official organ, The CIO News.

"The cheers which rang from the story benches of Congress when President Roosevelt promised to slash appropriations for unemployment relief and all other than war purpose will have a bitter echo in millions of American homes in the coming year," the editorial asserted.

Reflects Split on War
The editorial was viewed here as reflecting the growing breach between CIO President John L. Lewis and President Roosevelt on the question of war abroad and its relation to domestic issues. It continued:

Although there are between nine and 10 million unemployed,

On the Sunday before the hearings, the Associated Press prepared the way with an anonymous story of the kind rarely found in American newspapers. Referring to the board files seized by Toland, it said that "Members of the House Committee . . . hinted broadly that some letters bordered on the sensational. . . . One member said privately that the investigators had found what he considered 'some apparently rotten things.' . . . One person close to the group said that some letters indicated a desire on the part of the board to 'high pressure' industry into recognizing unions. . . . 'They've apparently done a sweet job in a lot of cases. . . .'"

THE GENERAL EFFECT

With an ally able so readily to see all the points and deftly convey them to the public, Banker Smith's committee has maneuvered the testimony so as to produce these effects: 1, that the Board officials are a generally incompetent lot, with only one sane man among them, William M. Leiserson, who serves the committee's purposes; 2, that the Board officials were conspiring against employers and that those who tried to be "fair" were ousted; 3, that the Board went in heavily for inexperienced college graduates and good-looking girl lawyers.

Thus a trip by Board Secretary Nathan Witt to Pittsburgh to go over the Steel Workers Organizing Committee case against Inland Steel, at the time of the 1937 strike, came out in the New York Times under the head, "NLRB Aide Accused of Trying to 'Trap' Company for CIO." A former regional director in Cleveland who made such good acquaintances in his position that he left to become a \$150-a-day "labor relations counsel," became a martyr, his story appearing in the Times under the head, "NLRB Region Chief Says Board Ousted Him for Being Fair."

Leiserson, who started his barrage of sharp office memorandums just after the appointment of the Smith Committee, was used to lead off the fireworks with the identification of all the memorandums putting Madden and Smith in false lights, while today, more than a month after, the other two have not been allowed to reply. Other effects have been produced by pictorial display. Secretary Witt and the senior member of the legal staff, Fred Krivonos, whom the committee apparently thinks it can force out after the beginning made on them by the Dies Committee, suffered most in the pictures. They were caught together in a pose that made them

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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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look dejected and disheveled, and of course it was the one chosen for publication. The young women attorneys, on the other hand, have been pictured with attractive smiles.

The gross unfairness of the whole proceeding becomes apparent the minute the real facts are known. While we ourselves have had occasions to criticize the board there can be no question of the legal competence of its personnel. This is proved by its remarkable record in the Supreme Court where, of 22 cases decided, it has won 18, had two modified and lost only two.

The preliminary examination of cases with unions and employers, now being represented as the setting of "traps," are a proper part of the board's work. Ninety-five per cent of the cases placed before its officials are settled informally through conferences of union and employer before a board agent.

Nor is it "unfair" for the Board to promote unionism; the law held collective bargaining to be a necessity for the welfare of the country. Here are the significant passages from the all too carefully ignored preamble:

The denial by employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by employers to accept the procedure of collective bargaining lead to strikes and other forms of industrial strife or unrest. . . .

The inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of

association or actual liberty of contract, and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership association substantially burdens and affects the flow of commerce, and tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions, by depressing wage rates and the purchasing power of wage earners. . . .

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of . . . obstructions to the free flow of commerce . . . by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection.

This is the policy which Banker Smith is trying to wreck. His committee will undoubtedly recommend destructive revision. The CIO is meeting the onslaught by stressing in its 1940 legislative program a demand for amendments that will put teeth in the Wagner Act, that will make its violation a criminal act, that will debar violators from holding government contracts, and so on. The CIO is urging its affiliated unions, international, national and local, to get behind the program. (GUILD REPORTER, Jan. 1.)

WHAT IT REALLY NEEDS

The need for positive amendment of the Wagner Act as against the emasculation proposed by the Smith Committee, the NAM, William Green and others, has long been recognized, not only inside but outside the labor movement. It was given expression before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor last July by Monsignor John A. Ryan of National Catholic University, Washington. Monsignor Ryan spoke for the American Association for Economic Freedom, of which William Allen White is chairman. He said:

The Wagner Act . . . is the culmination of a movement for economic freedom and democracy which has been in progress for more than 20 years. It has been sanctioned by the best sources of public opinion in the United States, including the churches; without regard to denomination. . . . Its opponents are the same old benighted forces—the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. . . .

The only amendments which should be submitted to the Wagner Act . . . would include additional guarantees to workers. . . . To (otherwise) amend the Wagner Act . . . would be not only unfair to labor, but a major disaster to the organized labor movement and to democracy. . . .

moting economic recovery.

A 'Deplorable Retreat'

The CIO has pointed out that a considerable expansion of public works and an extension of social services generally is necessary to meet present minimum needs. It calls for advance, and not retreat, in the field of social legislation.

But the budget proposal to leave so many of the unemployed stranded, by slashing public works funds before private jobs are available, represents a deplorable retreat before the demands of the hard-faced Tories for false economy at the public's expense. So too do the proposed reduction for farm and youth relief and for enforcement of the wage-hour law.

The CIO will continue to call for more not less public works, until all the jobless have work at decent wages, for more adequate social and security services, and for advance and not retreat in legislation increasing the government's responsibility and effectiveness in promoting the public welfare.

with poor prospects of reduced unemployment in the near future, and although the present WPA program falls far short of providing enough jobs, the budget would cut the WPA appropriation in such a way as to wipe out about 650,000 more jobs. The quarter million jobs provided by PWA are cut out entirely.

Wage-Hour Fund Short
Sharp reductions are also proposed in the appropriations for the Farm Security Administration, the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the appropriation for the Wage-Hour administration falls millions of dollars short of estimated needs for proper enforcement.

Altogether about half a billion dollars is to be taken away from the unemployed and from farm and youth relief and \$300,000,000 is added to the estimates for war purposes.

The budget gives cause for deep alarm to labor and all others who are concerned with meeting the unemployment problem, giving some measure of security to the millions of needy, and promoting economic recovery.