

The GUILD REPORTER

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Guildsman Winner Of McQuade Award

San Francisco — Guildsman George de Carvalho, feature writer on The Chronicle, is winner of the third annual McQuade Memorial Award by the Association of Catholic Newsmen.

He will receive \$500 and a scroll at a dinner in his honor January 27 at the San Francisco Press and Union League Club.

His award was given for articles in The Chronicle exposing a widespread Communist extortion racket plaguing Chinese-Americans. The stories led to an investigation by the Treasury department.

Honorable mention in the 1951

judging went to Joseph Sheridan of The News and Howard Hayden of The Call-Bulletin.

The McQuade award was inaugurated in 1949 honoring the late Eddie McQuade, who had served as president of SFONG and of Association of Catholic Newsmen.

The two previous awards also were won by Guild members.

Clint Mosher, Examiner, won the award in 1949, while Al Ostrow, then a News reporter, was the 1950 winner. Ostrow is now on the Cleveland Press staff.

WSB Okays Four More Guild Contract Petitions

Reno, Cincinnati, Time, Inc., and Memphis Pacts Are Approved

By EVA JOLLOS
ANG Staff

Four more Guild contract petitions, two involving wage increases exceeding existing formulas and two making improvement in conditions have been approved by the Wage Stabilization Board. Wage petitions approved involved the Reno Gazette and Nevada State Journal and the Cincinnati Record, while conditions gains were approved for Time, Inc. and Memphis Commercial Appeal and Press-Scimitar contracts.

The latest WSB actions bring to 10 the number of Guild cases approved by the WSB in Washington or regionally. Seven more petitions are awaiting action before various regional boards. Previously increases exceeding formula limitations were approved for the Erie, Kingston, Manchester, New Orleans, Salt Lake City and Sheboygan locals. No Guild settlement has been disapproved or modified.

The Reno increase was approved by the national WSB. It was the last of four originally filed in Washington last May by

ANG representatives, and the Board's action establishes an important precedent for a number of other Guild units which did not secure their first contract until after Jan. 15, 1950; the base date for computing increases under the WSB 10 percent formula.

By its approval the Board has ruled, in effect, that absence of a Guild contract during the Jan. 15, 1950 base period constitutes a valid reason for granting a different base for computing increases under the 10 percent formula, and that the effective date of the first contract is the proper base in such a case.

The petition which the Board acted upon asked for approval of a \$6 general increase solely on the grounds that January 1950 was an abnormal base period for the Reno unit since no contract was in existence at that time, and asked that the effective date of the first contract—March 4, 1950—be substituted as the base. By approving the petition, the WSB in effect ruled that the increases resulting from the establishment of minimums in the first contract (which averaged nearly 15 percent for the unit) do not count against the increase available under the 10 percent formula.

WSB regulations currently permit general increases without approval totaling 10 percent of the average straight-time salary in the bargaining unit during the payroll period ending on or after Jan. 15, 1950, plus "cost-of-living" increases based on current payrolls which match the percentage increase in the BLS Consumers' Price Index since January 15, 1951. From the 10 percent increase all general increases since Jan. 15, 1950, must be deducted.

The 10 percent regulation also permits the WSB to grant a different base period if abnormal conditions make the January 1950 base inequitable. Intended primarily for plants not in operation at that time, or situations where seasonal factors distorted the pay or employment setup, the provision also has been used by the WSB to approve increases under other special conditions.

(For the Guild the absence of a contract now has been recognized as such a special condition warranting a different base date.)

The changed base date for Reno means that the \$6 increase for 1951, which is retroactive to last Mar. 7, instead of constituting part of a total increase of about 25 percent, now becomes the only increase chargeable

against the 10 percent formula, and the earlier increase is incorporated in the average base period pay. Thus with a higher base, the 1951 increase represents only a little over 8 percent, and under the Board's method of operation, can now be paid under the 10 percent formula.

The Reno case represents an interesting case history reflecting the WSB's operations and changing policies, as well as the slow unwinding of the red tape maze. The petition was drafted originally last spring, and filed shortly after the WSB was reconstituted following return of the labor representatives. At that time Board policy was in its first stages. The joint petition filed at that time leaned heavily on intra-plant inequity as the basis for approval.

With no applicable intra-plant policy on the books, the parties were advised in August to submit additional data which would permit approval under the "tandem relationship" policy. Under this policy increases exceeding the 10 percent formula are approved if they are made to preserve established wage relationships with another unit in the same plant or another plant.

The material supplied did not meet the exact specifications of the tandem regulation, and in October advice was received from Washington to supply arguments on the basis of inter-plant inequity. ANG, in addition, suggested that a request for a different base period be included in the amended petition. When management refused to join in the inter-plant inequity argument, the base period abnormality contention became the single basis on which approval was sought.

On Dec. 19, exactly seven months after the case was first filed, the Board's Appeals and Review Committee unanimously approved the petition, making approval by the full WSB automatic. Official notification is expected shortly.

The Cincinnati Record case was approved by the Cleveland regional WSB several weeks after the racing paper suspended publication. Retroactivity to May 1 and corresponding increases in the severance pay received by the employees is protected by the contract.

The petition in this case asked for approval under the tandem policy, the parties showing that during the past five years the wage settlement for the Record matched Guild settlements obtained at the Cincinnati Post.

(Continued on Page Two)

Can't DO That, Says NLRB—

Houston Chronicle Found Guilty Of 3 Unfair Labor Practices

Houston—The Houston Chronicle, published by Jesse (50-Billion-Dollar) Jones, the former cabinet member and once head of the RFC, was guilty of at least three types of unfair labor practices against the American Newspaper Guild and employees in the city circulation department who joined the Guild, an NLRB trial examiner has held.

The examiner, Sidney Lindner, recommends that the Chronicle be required to cease and desist from its unfair labor practices, to reinstate 16 employees discharged in October, 1950, to make up their lost pay, and to bargain on demand with the Guild.

A majority of editorial department employees eligible to Guild membership has also been signed at the Chronicle within recent months, and a recognition petition has now been filed to establish the Guild as their bargaining agent.

The circulation department decision followed by five months a hearing, at which was unfolded the story of how the Chronicle acted swiftly and ruthlessly to thwart organization of its circulation department employees, and to evade bargaining with the Guild, after a majority of the employees in the department had joined.

Following threats by supervisors that the Chronicle would "go independent" before it would permit a union in its circulation department, the Houston financier's newspaper hastily changed over to a so-called "independent contractor" system on October 20, 1950, the day after the Guild had filed a petition to be certified as bargaining representative, witnesses related at the hearing.

General Manager J. H. Butler went red-faced several times as he insisted, in his testimony, that the reason for the change

was to achieve a "more economical and productive" operation of the department. He admitted, however, that the demand of the Guild to bargain with the Chronicle caused the Chronicle to accelerate the change, in order to prevent the Guild "or anyone else" from "interfering" with the changeover.

In making the hasty change, the Chronicle discharged five district managers, four of whom had been leaders in the organization of the department. The fifth had been prominent in a previous, "unsuccessful organizing attempt. The Chronicle also cut off the payroll 11 rackmen and dock boys. Two of the discharged district managers were in Dallas at the State Fair at the time of their discharge—the trip being a reward for outstanding work in building circulation in their districts. They learned of their discharges only after returning home.

J. E. Anderson, city circulation manager, denied that he knew about the circulation department Guild activities or that he threatened retaliatory action, but his testimony was contradicted by the Guild witnesses and in some respects by his own supervisors. The trial examiner held that Guild witnesses' accounts of the events were truthful and credible, while the denials of management were not found worthy of belief.

The examiner held that the Chronicle had refused to bargain with the Guild, in violation of the law, and had discriminated against employees and had "interfered with, restrained and coerced" employees in an effort to discourage Guild membership. He recommended that the Chronicle be required to stop questioning employees about their union membership and activities, or threatening them with loss of their jobs, or refusing to bar-

gain with the Guild or in any other manner interfering with the employees' right to join and engage in Guild activities.

He further recommended the following affirmative action be required of the Chronicle:

Re-establishment of the district manager system within 60 days, and return to the district manager system previously in effect.

Immediate and full reinstatement of the 16 discharged employees, and reimbursement to them for any loss of pay caused by the Chronicle's discrimination that culminated in the discharges.

Bargaining on demand with the Guild and signing of a contract covering pay, hours and other conditions of employment if agreement is reached through such bargaining.

Posting of notices in the Chronicle plant notifying employees that the Chronicle would not interfere with their right to join the Guild, would reinstate the discharged employees, would bargain with the Guild and that all employees are free to join and remain members of the Guild.

The recommendations await action of the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, and may thereafter be appealed.

Chronicle attorneys have indicated that they will file exceptions to the report and recommendations and that an appeal would be taken to the Fifth federal circuit court in New Orleans if the NLRB upholds the examiner's report and orders it made effective.

The case against the Chronicle was prosecuted by James P. Wolf, of the NLRB general counsel's staff in the 16th region. Appearing for the Guild were Robert C. Eckhardt of the Houston labor law firm of Dixie & Ryan, and Alexander Hieken, international representative.

1951 BROUN AWARD

DEADLINE for entries: February 1, 1952.

SEND entries to American Newspaper Guild, 99 University place, New York 3, N. Y.

PRIZE is \$500 in cash and a Guild citation. To be awarded for the most outstanding journalistic achievement "in the spirit of Heywood Broun" for work done or completed between January 1, 1951, and December 31, 1951.

ELIGIBLE is any newspaperman or woman in the Guild jurisdiction in the United States and Canada.

ENTRIES should be submitted in scrapbook form, with an accompanying letter telling the circumstances under which the work was done.

JUDGES are Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor; Edward J. Donohoe, city editor of the Scranton Times; John C. Manning, editor of the Detroit Times.

WADE FRANKLIN,
Award committee chairman.

Labor Coverage Only as Good as Publishers Allow It to Be, Loftus Tells Conference

Coverage of labor news in the press can be improved only if newspaper editors want it improved, Joseph A. Loftus, top labor reporter of the New York Times Washington bureau, told a University of Wisconsin round-table conference of editors, writers and newsmen.

Labor, he said, has made a lot of news since the NRA became effective in 1933 giving workers the right to organize. Since then it has become a political, economic and social force that papers "just couldn't" disregard.

Newspapers, he continued, "have management problems and management views. . . I think one of the basic troubles is (their) failure to appreciate labor's problems and contributions as well as they appreciate their own problems. I am told that a large part of the case-load of the NLRB consists of charges and complaints by unions against newspaper management—discrimination cases. So the newspaper is an interested party in labor disputes."

As an example of newspapers' partiality to stories which show labor in a bad light compared to business in a similar situation, Loftus told his audience about the Civil Aeronautics board's grant of \$500,000 to the National Airlines at a time when the pilots were striking against the company.

"I thought it was a pretty good story," Loftus said. "I got it in the paper, but I didn't see any of the other newspapers pick it up. Can you imagine

what a play the story would get if it were the other way around, if government money were being used to finance a union in a strike? Every press association would carry that, and probably it would make page one."

Another case was that of a large rug company which decided to stop selling rugs because it didn't like the price ceiling. "Now, isn't that a management strike?" Loftus asked. But the story was handled by newspapers in a routine manner, on financial pages.

Loftus believes that a labor reporter can't be any better than the paper he works for because of pressure, in one form or another, from his own office.

"I have heard some reporters say," he declared, "that they are never told how to write a story, and they were very serious about it. . . News is what the publisher thinks it is. When a reporter finds the boss making slurring remarks about one side in a labor-management dispute or writing strong editorials, he readily learns what is pleasing to the boss. Reporters aim to please."

Another problem that affects labor coverage, Loftus thinks, is "unsubstantiated" reporting, writing and editing. During the railroad strike a large metropolitan newspaper ran an eight-column head one Sunday morning which said, "Union chief orders railroad strikers to go back to work."

It wasn't really news at all, Loftus said, because that particular union chief had been

saying the same thing for several days previously. Only a private word from him could have sent the men back to work, not a public announcement that the paper played up so strongly.

To overcome some of the weaknesses of labor coverage, Loftus recommends assigning qualified reporters, allowing them time "to develop and dig beneath the surface of these stories," and keeping them on the job steadily. Neither labor nor business leaders will do business with consumers who change their minds so often.

Brief Strike at New Kensington Wins Remote-Control Signature

New Kensington—Guild members of the recently organized Dispatch unit of the Pittsburgh local went on strike for five and one-half hours, two weeks ago, because management failed to keep an appointment for affixing signatures on a first-Guild contract.

Management had agreed on a signing date for Thursday, December 13. Guild officials kept the appointment, but management failed to appear. The reason for failure to be present.

Since the date of signature had a bearing on the effectiveness of certain provisions of the contract, unit members held a meeting to discuss action. It was learned that Alfred G. Hill, publisher of the Dispatch and several other dailies, was in the area. Reporters aim to please.

PRESS FREEDOM ISSUE AT LAKE CHARLES

Crusading Louisiana Newsmen Await Court Decision in Defamation Case

The trial of Lake Charles (La.) newsmen accused last summer of "defaming" 16 parish (county) officials and three self-confessed gamblers in the course of their newspaper's anti-gambling crusade, ended last week with the trial judge reserving decision for a later date.

The case against the co-publishers and three staff members of the Lake Charles American Press got national attention when Sen. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), whose anti-crime crusade figured in the action, last August, denounced the indictment.

When told that the Lake Charles grand jury indicted the newsmen, he pointed out that they only tried to do locally what his committee did on a national basis. Said he, "I hope

the press of the country gets behind the newspapermen and stops this kind of intimidation in its tracks."

"You can bet your life," he told a questioner, "that congress will investigate if there is any attempt to railroad the newspaper men. . . Personally, I believe it is a wonderful thing that these men had the courage to go after the situation. At least one of the gamblers they allegedly 'defamed' is well known to the senate crime investigating committee."

Awaiting sentence are American Press publishers Thomas B. and William Hugh Sherman, a father-and-son team; Kenneth L. Dixon, managing editor, and Carter George, reporter. City editor James E. Norton, originally indicted with them, may be tried separately.

The trial began Dec. 8 after the defense lost a number of motions, first to quash the indictments, then to disqualify both the judge and the prosecutor. Several times the trial judge joined the prosecution in caustic criticism of the manner in which the newspaper conducted its anti-gambling crusade, and interrupted defense witnesses with sarcastic remarks.

Originally, the newspaper's crusade brought about the formation of a "people's action group" with membership running into several thousand, whose declared purpose was to make it "a fight to see whether the racketeers or the law-abiding citizens will run Calcasieu parish."

The group demanded a special investigation of corruption and law violations in the parish and attempted to get indictments against various parish officials and known racketeers and gamblers. Instead, the grand jury, according to G. G. Buchanan, president of the group, "provided an ironic climax to a long crusade to stop wide-open gambling in the parish by indicting some of the very people who asked for the special investigation."

If convicted, the newsmen face sentence of one year in jail and a \$5,000 fine on each of several counts under Louisiana's defamation law. The verdict will affect the newspaper industry as a whole, involving as it does, according to defense attorney Clement Moss, newsmen's "right and duty, under the concept of freedom of the press, to make fair comment."

Detroit Negotiates First Pension Plan

Detroit—The Michigan Catholic, church weekly, has joined the small group of newspapers which have negotiated a pension plan for employees under a Guild contract.

The plan provides elective retirement at age 55 after 30 years of service. It is non-contributory for the employee. Benefits, coupled with social security, will average approximately \$135 a month. Maximum benefits will be about \$100 per month.

All except executives in the editorial, business and advertising departments of the paper are covered.

A trustee and an advisory board of four members will administer the plan. The Guild

will be represented on the board by Anthony J. Beck and John Kenny. Representatives of the publisher will be Rev. Hubert A. Malno, editor, and Philip W. Stackpole, general manager. The trustee will be Dan S. Hellef, a pension consultant, of Hellef Associates.

Representing management in negotiating the pension plan were Rev. Malno and Mr. Stackpole. The Guild was represented by Beck, chairman of the The Michigan Catholic unit of the Detroit Guild, and Edwin W. Scott, executive secretary of the local.

The agreement may be reopened after March 1, 1957.

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Unless labor is regarded by newspapers as something besides an evil and a nuisance, Loftus concluded, "there is no point in talking about such responsibility. The publishers and the editors have to be willing to do a fair job, or there is no point in talking about the techniques of doing it. The press will have to make a conscious effort to be disinterested and detached if it wants to do a fair job. . . That requires real maturity and responsibility, but it can be done."

Hardy had been offered by some of his associates with originally suggesting the idea of the Point Four Program of technical and other assistance to under-developed nations, in a memo to the White House in 1948.

In a formal statement, President Truman identified him as "one of those who helped create the Point Four idea." Secretary of State Acheson commented that Hardy had modestly "refused to take credit for his part in bringing Point Four to life in the minds" of his State department colleagues.

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the publisher had directed King to sign for management, with confirmation in writing to follow the publisher's telephoned instructions.

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Monday morning Pittsburgh local officers and King signed the document, which institutes a five-day week, provides for a full Guild Shop and makes substantial wage adjustments for all those covered. The unit includes all Guild-jurisdiction departments.

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Toledo Local Conducts Successful Forum Night



LAYING DOWN THE LAW?—US Sen. Blair Moody, center, Michigan newsman turned lawmaker, shown with ANG Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak, right, and Jesse R. Long, associate Guildman, professor of journalism at Toledo University. Moody spoke at a dinner of the Toledo Guild.

Toledo—Scare tactics, the cry of "Wolf, Wolf," have no rightful place in the job of keeping the American public informed of what this nation faces in developing its defense program and its foreign policies, it was declared by US Sen. Blair Moody, of Detroit, in a lecture under the auspices of the Toledo Guild.

It is the function of the American press to acquaint readers with day-to-day developments in the national emergency, the senator declared. By-and-large, it is doing that job, but it is handicapped in some measure by a tendency on the part of some government officials to talk in scare headline fashion, when what is needed is a sober, thoughtful approach to imminent, pressing world leadership problems.

The senator spoke on "The Emergency and the Press," as guest at the first public function in what the Toledo Guild plans as a series of informational and public-relations affairs.

CHARGE REFUSAL TO BARGAIN AT COLUMBIA, S. C., RECORD

Columbia—Charges of refusal to bargain, under the terms of the federal labor law, have been filed by the Guild against the publishers of the Columbia Record, afternoon daily, on which the Guild was named as bargaining agent in an election held in September for news and proof room employees.

International Representative Bob Sain said that the Record management balked over discussion of contract coverage for the sports editor. This job classification



POP'S PIPE THE ANSWER—Eighteen months ago Guildman B. B. Kahley, of the Grand Rapids local, squandered sums in quest of a successful feeding ring for his family. Bruce solved the problem by adopting his dad's pipe, not for smoking, just chewing. He's worn down three, acquired a full set of molars. Pop didn't take to a pipe until he was 50.

Election Contest At Twin Cities

Minneapolis—Two members are competing for the presidency of the Twin Cities local, and eight are in the race for six posts on the board of directors.

In the race for president are Bernard Casserly, now a vice president, and William Hendrickson, a veteran in that post. Casserly is a reporter for the Minneapolis Star, and Hendrickson is an artist for the St. Paul Dispatch.

Elected without a contest were Earl Vogt and Marshall Genshow, vice presidents, both of the St. Paul Dispatch. Pioneer Press unit; Sam Romer, secretary, and Forrest Powers, treasurer, both of the Minneapolis Star Tribune unit. W. E. Bode was re-elected executive secretary.

Polk Memorial Awards Rules Set by LIU

Rules governing competition for the annual George Polk memorial awards have been announced by the journalism department of Long Island University.

The program was established in 1948 to commemorate the late Guildman Polk who was murdered in Greece while working as correspondent for CBS.

Awards will be given to newspapermen in the metropolitan area for "distinguished reporting" in the following seven categories: Foreign, national, metropolitan, science, education, wire service, and suburban newspaper reporting.

In addition awards will be given to newspaper or other individuals to cover the period from Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1951. The announced deadline is Feb. 1, 1952.

The awards—gold engraved plaques—will be given to winners in each category with duplicates to the newspapers in which the stories appeared.

Entries should be sent to Prof. T. E. Kruglak, chairman, Journalism Dept., Long Island University, 380 Pearl St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

All entries should be sent to winners in each category with duplicates to the newspapers in which the stories appeared.

The Guild proposals, however, contained a salary minimum for the job, and when this point of discussion was reached in negotiations, management refused to consider whether or not it should be included.

Going beyond that position, management told the Guild negotiators that until the Guild withdrew its listing of the sports editor, there could be no further bargaining on any portion of the proposed agreement.

It was this attitude that constituted the basis for the charges, filed after checking with ANG counsel.

OWEN, OF GUILD JONESES, IS BACK FROM OVERSEAS

Rochester—Gwenyth Jones, former Twin Cities Guild member, was a recent visitor at the Times-Union news room upon her return from overseas, where she spent 19 months as news chief of the US Army's Blue Danube network in Vienna.

Gwen comes from an all-Guild family. Her father, Lewis R. Jones, a St. Paul Dispatch staffer, is a charter member of the Twin Cities local. Gwen, her brothers, Russell and Richard, are all former members there.

Russell is UP bureau chief at Vienna. Richard recently returned to this country after three years of free-lancing in Paris.

Attend meetings regularly—the Guild is what you make it.

Supreme Court Blocks Monopoly Advertising

Washington—Arguments that newspapers may refuse to accept advertising "at any time and for any reason" have been rejected by the US Supreme court this month by a 7 to 1 decision.

The ruling upheld a lower court's decision in the case of the Lorain (Ohio) Journal and its publishers and owners, Samuel A. and Isadore Horvitz, found guilty of monopolizing news and advertising in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

The newspaper had refused to accept advertising from Lorain merchants who also advertised over radio station WKOL in nearby Elyria. Similar action was taken by the Mansfield (Ohio) News-Journal under the same ownership.

The case was originally tried in the winter of 1949 by Federal Judge E. B. Freed on a justice department complaint that the Journal was attempting to monopolize both news and advertising.

Judge Freed found the paper guilty of discrimination and ordered the practice stopped. The paper countered with an appeal to the Supreme court.

Justice Harold H. Burton, who helped fill six columns of the miniature paper with a verse which included a line or two about every local Guild member. Doubtfully the bard named his piece, "This is a Poem!"

Likenesses of various Guildmen plying their trade drawn by Martha Gagli, added to the hilarity of the evening. Together with Anne Pzelomski she decorated the ballroom in a newspaper motif. Miniature Christmas trees cut from the Sunday Parade lined the room. The centerpiece was a tiny typewriter.

The committee also included chairman Charles A. Landolf, local president; Fred Friedman, William K. Gibson, Frank Norton, Dick Riley and Adrian Slika.

The meeting will be Thursday evening, Jan. 10, and business will be confined to nomination of officers for the ensuing term.

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The State of the Union—Planning Plus Organizing Equals Guild Contracts



By Ralph B. Novak

IT IS THE USUAL practice at this time of the year for organizations as well as individuals to take stock of the past year's record, evaluate problems and to make plans for the next twelve months.

While the ANG does not operate on a calendar year basis, most local Guilds do and it is to them I would like to address myself.

Since the Guild was organized primarily to advance the economic interests of its members, collective bargaining is our business, our reason for existence.

Of course we cannot bargain unless we have an organization. We cannot build an organization, or keep it alive, to carry out its function of collective bargaining, unless members and non-members alike are informed as to our purpose and how we propose to achieve it.

In order to have an effective organizing, bargaining and information program, we must have a plan. The most lavish expenditure of time, effort and money is purposeless, unless made in accordance with some coherent plan.

I suggest therefore that local Guild presidents or executive officers assuming their duties in the next month or so take time out now to think about plans for organizing, collective bargaining and information programs for their locals. In my opinion the principal job of leadership is to think and plan. Herewith some suggestions to give you a start on a plan of your own.

NOW LET US TAKE first the subject of organizing. The Pittsburgh convention adopted the following basic program:

Unless peculiar local conditions dictate otherwise, the Guild's organizing potential should be divided into the following categories, to be attacked in the order listed:

a. Free riders in organized departments.

b. Unorganized departments of newspapers or bureaus of service where the Guild is already organized, and member papers of chains already partially organized.

c. Unorganized papers in cities which have other papers or wire service bureaus signed up.

d. Other newspapers.

Local presidents should as a first order of business appoint an organizing committee and assign to it specific tasks and goals. The name of the chairman of the committee should be forwarded to the ANG's director of organization, J. William Blatz, so that he may be kept informed and give advice and assistance whenever needed.

A negotiating committee should be appointed which, as nearly as possible, has representatives from every department covered by the contract. The name of the committee chairman should also be sent to ANG headquarters in order that we may supply the local with material from our research and information department to enable them to do the best job possible consistent with the extent of organization.

An information committee is an absolute must if the officers expect the membership to have and keep an intelligent interest in the affairs of the Guild. Each local Guild should have a local paper with a regular publication date. It need not be elaborate but it must be well written. During negotiations bulletins should be issued after every session, reporting on the matters discussed and the respective positions of Guild and management.

THERE ARE OTHER committees which should be appointed, of course, such as grievance, finance and political action, to mention a few of the more important ones. But without a good organizing committee and program, without the best negotiating committee possible, or without a competent information committee, other committees would be an awful waste of time.

In planning at any time it is best to place first things first. Our business and first things are organizing, and collective bargaining. Without good programs and plans in both of those fields we have no purpose for being. All else we do stems from them. To set up committees and have them carry out their functions in accordance with well-thought-out plans is not easy; but if we are to carry out the purpose for which we are organized, it is necessary.

Published by Simon & Schuster in connection with the Times centennial, "One Hundred Years of Famous Pages" reproduces, magazine-size, 100 Times front pages, beginning with that of its first issue, September 18, 1851, and concluding with that announcing President Truman's firing of General MacArthur, April 11, 1951.

There is an introduction by Henry Steele Commager, noted Columbia University historian, who concludes:

"All of the events selected here for recording are memorable; some are sobering, and some are inspiring. Few, it is safe to say, are more gratifying than the event which this volume itself celebrates: the 100th birthday of the New York Times."

The Book Plan packet also includes "The Only Way We Seek," a visual presentation of the President's Point Four Program told largely in photographs from the files of Life magazine. Prepared by Arthur Goodfriend for the ADA, it is published by Farrar, Straus and Young, Inc.

Subscribers also will receive copies of Ammunition, monthly publication of the UAW education department, and a special CIO News supplement recording the votes of the last Congress.

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A. I was called back into the army. But I was discharged a second time with ulcers—of the duodenum. They shot me full of barium from both ends.

Q. So?

A. I went back to the Times. They had a column on military and political matters but the guy running it joined the army, so I got his job. The damn thing expanded until the managing editor decided to call it Mr. Fixit and take on all comers. When the Times folded, I went bag and baggage to the Tribune.

Q. That's how columnists are born?

A. That's how columnists are born. Things haven't been the same around the Tribune since. Maybe it's just as well.

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Ben Kern Is Nobody—Or So He Says But Minneapolis Knows Mr. Fixit

Minneapolis—A good-looking blonde hitchhiker was picked up in downtown Minneapolis the other day by a couple of cops.

They let her go and gave her 15 cents for streetcar fare, when she told them she had only a half-hour for lunch and had to rush up to the Star and Tribune building to have a talk with Mr. Fixit.

This incident is just thrown into this story to demonstrate the role Guildman Ben Kern plays in the Twin Cities.

His quasi-educational, quasi-bombastic daily column in the Minneapolis Tribune has the kind of readership most reporters think their stuff has.

As Mr. Fixit, he averages more than 10,000 information-seeking letters every year. As Ben Kern, practically nobody knows him.

"I was christened Ben, not Benjamin," Kern explains. "The preacher didn't want to do it, he said it wasn't a real name. Matter of fact, it is a real name—you can find it in the Bible."

It's probably right. The plain truth is that in Minneapolis Ben Kern is nobody and Mr. Fixit is a well-read newspaper personality.

Twice a year of late the Star and Tribune building has been thrown open to the public on open house occasions.

Angular, scholarly, one-ulcer Kern takes his stand with other Star and Tribune personalities—Cedric Adams, George Grim, Mary Hart, et al. For Kern, it means putting up with all manner of snide remarks, like "Why, I imagined you were tall and thin."

Kern earned his following by answering questions like this:

Q. Golf has no fascination for me, but it does for my husband. Lately I've been wondering if I wouldn't be smart to start playing. I've often thought that more went on on golf courses than usually is dreamed of.

A. The things in excess of those which you dream of, as going on on golf courses, don't go on there, because there are too many people coming through all the time. Nevertheless, golf is good exercise.

Q. When did you take up the profession?

A. Steadily, you mean?

Q. Steadily.

A. I graduated from journalism school in 1934. I couldn't get a job. That is, a steady job. Or maybe you better say I couldn't hold a job. So I went back to school and got a teacher's certificate to teach high school English.

Q. Yes?

A. I graduated a second time in 1938 with a B.S. in the college of education. That's the one I've used since.

Q. Then?

A. I still couldn't get a job, so I joined the army. I was released because I was over 28, so I sent out letters to newspapers like mad. The Minneapolis Times (now defunct) hired me long distance.

Q. And then?

A. I was called back into the army. But I was discharged a second time with ulcers—of the duodenum. They shot me full of barium from both ends.

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Spotlight on National Defense Program

HAPPY DAYS AGAIN FOR BIG BUSINESS—CURTAINS FOR FREE ENTERPRISE

To launch the defense effort in full force, it was necessary for the President to declare a national "state of emergency" under which the government could exercise extraordinary powers.

A Defense Production Act of 1950 was passed by the congress giving the government unusual powers over the lives of its citizens and their free institutions. To the extent that this emergency and defense effort becomes a continuing "way of life" will those extraordinary controls become normal practices. They will fundamentally alter the ways of doing business, earning a living, and conducting one's private and public affairs.

The genius of the American economy has been its virile expression of free competitive enterprise.

American economic supremacy has been built up largely on the happy conjunction of (1) vast natural resources, (2) a free labor force, and (3) the ability of private enterprise to make use of their exceptional talents of industry and capacity applied under (4) governmental conditions that interfered very little with their activities and (5) paid out substantial rewards for their efforts.

Countering this condition has been the growth of government restraints on the one hand and the growth of private business monopoly on the other.

Each crisis situation increases the threat of controlled direction of our economy either by government or Big Business or a combination of the two. Each crisis situation shows up weaknesses of the economy which must be met in a hurry. Thus, when World War II began, we found ourselves with major shortages of all the elements of war—steel, aluminum, rubber, etc.

The usual methods of private business were inadequate to meet these needs. So \$20 billion of new plants were built, which survived in the postwar era mostly at the expense of the taxpayer.

The \$8.5 billions of plant facilities built by private business were allowed exceptional tax write-offs to pay for them, and the \$12.5 billions built by the government directly were later sold to private concerns at bargain prices.

For example, the US Steel Corporation got the most modern

STRIKING INSURANCE AGENTS MEET PROPAGANDA HANDICAP

In spite of a heavily-financed newspaper advertising campaign by The Prudential Insurance Company, 15,000 striking agents of that firm have held their lines steadily since December 1 in the nation's largest work stoppage of organized white collar workers.

Prudential agents have had no raise in pay for 25 years. They ask for an increase in their guaranteed minimum from \$35 to \$55 a week. They also demand grievance machinery and job security clauses—which they have never had—a union shop, and car expense allowance.

Negotiations began Oct. 1, but the company's "final" offer is an increase of \$3.11 in "average" agent's commissions plus \$3.14 in "company-paid benefits for the workers."

The company admits that the "average" increase could apply to only a few. The majority would not be able to meet the higher standards for commission

The Public Affairs Institute has issued a new publication, "Defense of America," which analyzes critically the need for and cost of defense, and the building of a stronger democracy in America. The following excerpt, reprinted by permission of Dewey Anderson, executive director of the institute, deals with the costs of the national defense effort as it affects government, business, labor, the farmers and consumers.

The document is procurable at 50 cents a copy from the institute, at 313 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Washington 3, D.C.

stockmaking plant in the world at Geneva, Utah, a \$200 million establishment for 20 cents on the dollar. The Aluminum Company of America got an aluminum plant for \$5 million at Massena, N. Y., as late as 1920, which cost the government \$10 million to build during World War II when costs were much lower.

Whole new business empires were built during this crisis period primarily at government expense, as witness the Kaiser Aluminum Corporation which made a reported net profit of \$9 million in a 10 months' period on plants secured from the government on terms much below costs of construction.

In the current defense effort, again confronted with insufficient steel, aluminum, etc., the government is already processing a total requested \$16 billion for new plants which will be paid for by the public through tax amortizations but which will be owned privately.

With few exceptions, these new plants go to increase the alarming concentration of ownership and economic power in the hands of a few corporations, for which Random House has signed as publisher. He'd like to hear from newsmen—or others—who have pertinent stories which may belong in his book.

A 1950 Federal trade commission report shows that eight banking groups centered in New York, with cross-fertilization of board members in different and presumably competing business corporations, exercise a dominance over the crucially important segments of business enterprise.

Four such groups, for example, controlled eight of the 10 largest steel producers whose aggregate steel ingot capacity represents 77 percent of the national output. The present defense plant expansion will nearly double the domestic output of aluminum. But almost all the additional capacity has already been awarded the existing Big Three producers who are the suppliers of aluminum metal to independent

rates and would actually realize much less, under the company offer.

The company's advertising campaign features a strike-breaking device, intended to induce policyholders to by-pass collection agents and make premium payments directly to the company offices.

Handicapped, the agents are still confident. They have the full support of many policyholders, to whom they are well-known personally, and the backing of all organized labor.

To name a few, in Kansas City Prudential has been told to vacate its offices, rented from the boilermakers union. In Los Angeles the building trade unions have joined the agents' picket line, and in New Jersey, the company's home state, the federation of labor has demanded that the state withdraw from Prudential several million in group policies for state-highway patrolmen.

with all its irritating and interfering features.

It brings into crucially important posts in government a host of appointees that are entirely outside the civil service or elective responsibility of the people. Many are dollar-a-year men on leave from their companies, clothed with exceptional powers to decide the fate and future of particular segments of industry and commerce.

It fastens upon the farmers even more strait-jacketing controls over production plans, storage and sale of their products.

It plays off one segment of the population against another so that some kind of top-side reconciliation of diverse and frequently antagonistic interests

Free Polish Newsmen Convene in London

London—Nearly 50 percent of Polish journalists have voluntarily exiled themselves to free countries, according to Boleslaw Wierzbinski, chairman of the International Federation of free journalists in Central and Eastern Europe and Balkan countries.

The pre-war strength of Polish journalists, he told the union's 1951 convention in London, is sadly depleted. Formerly 1,000 strong, only 500 members are practicing their profession in 14 countries of the free world.

Active syndicates (unions) are maintained in the United Kingdom, France, Italy and the United States. Others are working in Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Canada, Australia and

Business Paper Sees Labor Press As Big Factor in '52 Elections

Surveying the labor press as presidential elections draw nearer, the Wall Street Journal wryly remarks, "Labor publications are grabbing a solid slice of the nation's publishing business through a myriad of weeklies and monthlies ranging from slick newspapers to smart, slick-paper magazines."

Not liking the situation, the worried Journal front-pages the fact that "there are over 900 labor publications of all types in the US, compared with only 500 ten years ago," and then speculates on their significance in the coming elections:

"... the influence of the labor press could be a potent factor in determining voting results. These publications currently are an important means for stirring up rank-and-file discontent, with wage stabilization and with rising living costs."

Decrying the tendency of "conservative company publications" to serve up "dental chitchat" about new babies or "file clerks' engagements," the business paper points out that "sedition do unions forget their readers are 'political citizens'."

The typical union paper going to company workers emphasizes political issues in a rambling and flamboyant style. (sic)

The Journal's ire is aroused by headlines from some prominent sheets, such as "Liberal Revolt Upsets Bad Tax Bill" in the United Automobile Worker and the banner head, "Medical Aid Bill Killed by Tax" in the United Rubber Worker.

"The Wisconsin CIO News," the Wall Street paper observes, "jumped on Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R., Wis.) with both feet, coming out with a 16-page supplement devoted to attacks on the Red-baiting senator."

Journal readers learn that

is necessary, such as the recently established defense board representing the interests of management, labor, farmers and the general public.

The government becomes not only the chief buyer and direct supporter of the economy, but it competes both with farmers and industry for manpower through its use of selective service mechanism.

Breadwinners and family supporters are taken into the military establishments thereby seriously affecting the living standards of many people. The farms, and business establishments of the nation are put on a non-improvement, bare-bone replacement basis.

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Journal readers learn that

"Head to Come"....

The Law

By IRVING LEUCHTER
ANG Counsel

One of the more difficult things to determine in the present state of the law is what exactly constitutes refusal to bargain on the part of management.

The line between hard bargaining and a refusal to bargain is a fine and wavering one. Where it will be placed by the NLRB and courts in any particular case can never be foretold; and there is frequent disagreement between tribunals, and irreconcilable decisions in the same tribunals on different occasions.

All that can be done to clarify the matter is, from time to time, to summarize the type of conduct which the Board and the courts have found constitutes a refusal to bargain.

For example, the Seventh circuit court of appeals, sitting in Chicago, recently upset an established ruling of the NLRB. This ruling I summarized as follows in a memorandum to the ANG staff in December, 1950:

"An employer who moves unilaterally on matters under negotiation, before impasse is reached, refuses to bargain collectively. Informing the union of the prospective action does not excuse the employer; neither does acting only after making the offer to the union, which rejects it."

"The employer may move unilaterally only after impasse is reached; that is, after the position of the parties has so hardened that it may reasonably be assumed that agreement on the matter will not be reached."

The seventh circuit court, however, now holds that an employer may unilaterally put into effect a wage increase which it has offered the union and which the union rejected, provided the employer does not refuse continuous bargaining for the balance of the union's demand. (NLRB v. Bradley Washfountain Co., 29 NLRB 2664.)

The court does not think that such action necessarily undermines the status of the union. In order to find an unfair practice, the court would require proof of a specific intent and a measurable result in undermining the union.

The NLRB now has the choice of appealing the court's ruling, limiting its application to the jurisdiction of the seventh circuit or accepting it and applying it throughout the country.

The NLRB itself, in an interesting recent decision, found that management refused to bargain when it:

1. Refused to reduce the existing conditions of employment to a written and signed agreement;
2. Never itself requested negotiations but at all times waited for the union to press for a meeting;
3. Limited negotiations to unreasonably short meetings with unreasonably long intervals of time between meetings;

Turned down all union offers and refused to make any of its own, and

5. Granted a unilateral increase during the course of negotiations without first bargaining it with the union. (Gagmon Plating and Manufacturing Co., 27 NLRB No. 20, 29 LRMB 1068.)

This first and the last of these acts, of course, are classic types of refusal to bargain and undoubtedly influenced the decision to hold the entire course of conduct a refusal to bargain. There is no conflict between this decision and that of the seventh circuit court cited

Arbitration Digs Own Grave, Says Attorney

Guild locals that have tried it don't have to be told that arbitration is not the cure-all it sometimes is said to be.

It's costly, complex, and not infrequently mistaken.

Now comes an expert who says that it also appears to be moving toward its own destruction.

Laurence Katz, general counsel of the CIO Textile Workers, in an address made before the American Arbitration Association and the National Academy of Arbitrators, says that unless three "disturbing" trends are successfully challenged, they will lead to the extinction of voluntary arbitration and its replacement by compulsory arbitration imposed by the government.

These trends, Mr. Katz says, are:

"1. The growing pressure by management to confine the scope of arbitration to an ever-narrowing channel in which objections are placed by management to prevent the arbitrators from effectively dealing with the dispute."

"2. The gradual transformation of arbitration proceedings into facsimiles of judicial proceedings, with their ritual, dilatory maneuvers, transcripts of the proceedings, briefs of counsel and the additional personnel required to perform the increased arbitration workload."

"3. The eagerness of the judiciary to accommodate the requests of management by staying arbitration proceedings on the ground that there is no dispute, or by vacating awards on similar pretexts."

"To be effective," Mr. Katz continues, "arbitration must be swift, inexpensive and result in a real resolution of the dispute. Unless both labor and management have confidence that their disputes can be resolved by arbitration, the arbitral process will give way to another. Labor arbitration is not so deeply rooted in the history of labor relations that the mind of man runneth not to the contrary."

"Should these trends continue much longer, I think that we will soon be on the verge of an abandonment of labor arbitration because one party, management, has already indicated its lack of faith in the process and the other party, labor, is rapidly being convinced by management's actions that the process

above, for in this instance management did not negotiate the increase with the union at all, much less before impasse was reached.

Quite apart from what constitutes a refusal to bargain, the seventh circuit court in its Bradley Washfountain decision also ruled that, within certain limits, management sponsorship of a back-to-work movement during an economic strike is nothing but an exercise of its inalienable right of free speech.

Again reversing the NLRB, the court ruled that management may solicit employees to return to work, either by letter or personal visit to their homes, may arrange meetings of employees to determine how many are ready to return to work on the terms offered, and may urge the employees themselves to call a meeting at their union hall to vote on a return to work on these same terms—provided only that these same terms are offered the union as a settlement, that no better terms are promised during the individual solicitations and that no threats are made.

"I confidently but reluctantly predict that unless these trends are reversed, labor arbitration will soon become not a process of settling disputes voluntarily, but a process imposed by the state upon unwilling parties. Those who deplore the trend toward 'statism' or, as they sometimes impishly refer to it, 'socialism,' might well take heed before labor arbitration has been so completely corroded that its only champions will be a few lawyers and not many more arbitrators."

A PAGE especially for local of- ficers, conducted by the Department of Research and Information.

Stabilization Manual Goes to Local Guilds

Locals are advised to negotiate everything they can, then seek approval of the Wage Stabilization Board if necessary, in a wage stabilization handbook newly distributed by ANG to all local Guilds.

Prepared by Eva Jolles, secretary of the contracts committee, it outlines the collective bargaining manual being prepared by the Department of Research and Information for distribution to all locals, and its pages are punched and labeled for insertion in the manual.

The collective bargaining manual, first of several aids planned for locals in their day-to-day operations, will be ready for distribution some time early in 1952. Ellis T. Baker, director of Research and Information, said.

The wage stabilization handbook is designed to stand alone meanwhile.

Opening with a statement of ANG policy, the handbook recalls the mandate of the 1951 convention and emphasizes:

"There is no ceiling on wage increases under the Government's stabilization program."

"Each local should negotiate the best settlements it can, then seek approval of the Wage Stabilization Board if necessary."

"In such cases, petitions for approval must be cleared with the ANG before being filed with the WSB."

The WSB's 10 percent and cost-of-living formulas, the handbook notes, merely set limits within which wage increases can be paid without first obtaining WSB approval.

The handbook then quotes the WSB itself to this effect, citing a recent unanimous statement of policy in which the board declared:

"Nothing in the law prevents the parties from making any wage agreement they desire, subject to Board approval, and from submitting their agreements to the Board for approval."

"Nothing in the law prevents the parties from arguing that the agreement is approvable within existing regulations, or that an exception should be made, or that the regulations should be modified."

"This is the traditional American concept of due process and one's right to a day in court."

The handbook, which runs 30 mimeographed pages, discusses in detail all regulations of the WSB which affect the Guild and illustrates their operation with specific examples. It is arranged so that it can be updated as new or modified regulations and policies are announced.

In addition to the section on wage stabilization, the collective bargaining manual will include, among other things, analyses of, and arguments for, each clause of the model contract, sections on the theory and mechanics of collective bargaining and the law as it affects collective bargaining, and an exhaustive section on money and how best to present a wage case.

Besides the collective bargaining manual, organizing and administrative manuals will be prepared by the Department of Research and Information.

Each of the manuals will be contained in a regulation 8 1/2 by 11 inch loose-leaf binder, and will be carefully indexed and tabbed so that they can be updated as required.

among ourselves

Ed Meyberry, NY AP newsman for the past eight years, now operating his own Hudson auto agency at Woodhull Lake, N. J., reports he enjoys a 15-hour working day. In this month's Outdoor Life, he co-authors a picture story, with Murray Bookchin, AP chief deleg.

Bob Eddy, St. Paul Dispatch reporter, in Veterans hospital for kidney operation.

J. V. McCanna, Toronto Star sports deskman, expected home from Western sanitarium in six months, completely cured of TB. . . . First Toronto Guild member to benefit from maternity leave contract clause, Mrs. Lily Mae Todd, mother of Linda Mae, 7 pounds, 8 ounces. . . . Mrs. Sue Decker Beach, former Guild member and Star News Service editor, mother of a 7-pound boy born in New York.

. . . Stan Platt, Star accounting, to serve as local v. p. until next membership meeting, replacing Geo. Gillespie, resigned.

Wendel Morrell's assignment to Tokyo from Detroit UP makes Arthur Higbe night manager. . . . Leland Lindberg, formerly of Indianapolis, gets Higbe's place. . . . Jim Keith, Detroit Times copyreader, back after short leave. . . . Stan Bradshaw, Detroit AP, moved to foreign service at Buenos Aires.

Henry Supple, Boston AP unit chairman, taking over as day news editor. . . . John Knox named feature editor and supervisor of news report. . . . Bud Weeks moved to sports desk, and Fred Brady resigned, after 9 years at Boston AP, less time-out for Pacific military duty.

. . . Dick Hannigan, formerly with Boston Record-American, recovering at Kobe, Japan, from Korea wounds. Leonard S. Zahn, Boston UP unit chairman, resigned for publicity job with Carl Byoir, Inc.

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THE GUILD REPORTER

Published by the American Newspaper Guild (CIO)

CHARLES E. CRISSEY, Editor

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December 28, 1951

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Vol. XIX—No. 1



WITH this issue, the Guild Reporter launches an experiment.

It is devoting a page or a major portion thereof, to matters of specific and technical interest to Guild local officers and members of collective bargaining and other committees. The material is supplied by the director of research and information, Ellis T. Baker, and both Baker and the GR editor will welcome comments and suggestions for furthering its usefulness.

As will be readily divined, there is a touch of cunning involved in tagging this department "for officers only."

More than any other union we know, the Guild belongs to its rank-and-file members. We like it that way. And if members look over their officers' shoulder at page 7, and find there some way in which local operations can, and should, be improved, we would count that a solid gain toward sound unionism.

THE long-standing and well-publicized rivalry between those two Manhattan mercantile giants, Macy's and Gimbel's, reached a climax during the Christmas shopping jam, with an event that left Macy's publicity boys drooling gleefully, and their Gimbel opposites speechless.

The stork overtook a woman shopper in Macy's basement, and a store physician delivered a premature girl baby, with typical Macy efficiency.

This happy circumstance was promptly trumpeted abroad, with

the added information that the medical services would be gratis, and that a complete layette would go home with the delighted mother and her offspring. The story, frequently with pix, made feature copy from coast to coast.

Gimbel's isn't exactly sulking, but its publicity staff won't feel normal again until it can come up with something phenomenal, in return. Couple of years ago, be it remembered, there were rosy blushes at Macy's when Gimbel's became the first department store in the world to advocate a Christmas gift in the form of a load of well-rotted manure delivered to the home of gardening friends!

Wire Council For West Coast

San Francisco — ANG wire service structure has been strengthened with the creation of a Western Wire Service Council, after the west coast conference held here last month.

Purpose of the council is to coordinate the widely scattered activities of the western wire service units, to fill the gap between annual conferences in carrying out programs, and to establish a closer relationship between all news service contracts.

Doug Lovelace, AP-San Francisco, was elected chairman, and Ed O. Anderson, AP-Seattle, and William Allen, AP-Sacramento, vice chairman and secretary, respectively.

National Reporter Gets New Support

Assured of support by top CIO leadership, publication of the Guild-proposed National Reporter as a daily labor paper has gained added backing at three CIO state conventions.

In Boston the plan won response from 900 delegates at the annual convention of the Massachusetts State CIO. Boston Guild executive secretary John C. Cort, a delegate, introduced a resolution calling for subscription pledges from various CIO locals for their local officers and staff members. He was followed by Mrs. Alvaine Hamilton, NR representative from Washington.

Commented Stanley Manning, president of Worcester's steelworkers, "... the most constructive proposal in my 13 years as delegate. My local will take 50 copies."

The Illinois' annual conven-

tion of industrial union councils welcomed the proposal for a national daily that would serve labor "as the Wall Street Journal serves those on the other side of the bargaining table."

A resolution was adopted urging all affiliates to pledge subscriptions for officers and staff personnel. Bob Bollard, editor of Illinois Labor and Chicago Guild delegate to the convention, was sponsor of the resolution.

Pledging support "to whatever extent possible," the Texas annual CIO convention at Waco authorized "immediate subscriptions on behalf of each of the council's officers and executive board members ... as an example" to all affiliated unions.

Al Hieken, ANG international representative, was consultant to the committee that brought in the recommendations.

Washington ROUNDUP

By CHALMERS M. ROBERTS
Washington Guild

THE WISE BOYS are having their say in the usual rash of year-end statements on such matters as war, prices, business, dividends and whether two-headed turtles will increase or decrease in 1952. Falling into the review attitude—prone on the back, glass in hand is the recommended position for reviewers—I herewith do some reviewing.

The bulk of it is strictly cribbed, cribbed from an excellent little pamphlet entitled "The People Take the Lead" put out by the American Jewish Committee in New York. It's "a record of progress in civil rights, 1947 to 1951." And it's rather startling to go over the list, especially with Vishinsky's shouting about that recent Florida killing as background music.

BACK on October 29, 1947, the President's Committee on Civil Rights brought forth its report. It was this report that began the cleavage between Truman and the Dixiecrats, a split which now has reached historic proportions. Within Congress there has been a legislative stalemate on civil rights, and a great deal of phony lip service to a principle, safe in the knowledge that nothing would come of it.

Yet despite conservative cries that America has become a welfare state where everybody waits for Uncle Sam to do it, the fact is, as the booklet I mention puts it, that "The People Take the Lead." Throughout the land in all sorts of ways Americans have acted to cast off bigotry and prejudice. Of course a democracy never reaches perfection, and bigotry doubtless will be around a while longer. But progress, incredible progress, has been made in only four years.

LET'S tote it up:

1. **ARMED SERVICES**—In July, 1948, Truman by executive order forbade discrimination in the armed forces. In May, 1950, a competent report showed the Air Forces and Navy had virtually ended segregation, the Army partially. By March, 1951, 95 percent of the Air Force's Negroes were in mixed units, all Army training centers were integrated and segregation ended throughout the Navy. In July, 1951, the Army said segregation in the entire Far East Command would end within six months.

By legislative act, constitutional amendment or a governor's proclamation, segregation has ended in national guard units in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin.

2. **ATHLETICS**—Negro baseball players now are commonplace though Jackie Robinson was the first only as far back as April, 1947. Color bars have disappeared from such assorted organizations as the American Bowling Congress, U.S. Lawn Tennis Association, Greater N.Y. Bridge Association, Amateur Fencers League, Eastern Amateur (hockey) League.

3. **CITIZENSHIP**—Wearing of klan masks has been outlawed in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Florida by legislatures and in several southern cities by ordinances. Poll tax was abolished (1950) by South Carolina and (1951) by Tennessee and anti-lynch laws were adopted by Texas (1949) and South Carolina (1951). American Indians on reservations were permitted to vote by court order in Arizona and New Mexico (1948). Negroes have been added to grand and petit juries in various southern states and cities.

In 1948 some 3½ million Negroes voted in the Presidential election, three-quarters of a million of them in the South compared to a quarter million four years earlier. There even have been a few Negroes elected to office in the South.

Papers Advised To Raise Rates

Minneapolis—Newspapers were urged to raise their advertising rates to meet rising production costs, the advice coming from John Sterling, general manager of This Week, Sunday magazine supplement.

Sterling spoke here to the Roto group, national organization of editors and advertising salesmen of roto sections.

He also asserted that Sunday papers must raise circulation rates, due to increased costs.

Special articles, as opposed to spot news, have gained most in readership since the war, Sterling told the meeting.

The Guild Reporter

99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

4. **EDUCATION**—Supreme court rulings (1948 and 1950) opened most graduate schools in the South to Negroes though some still hold out. Integrated elementary schools have appeared on southern Army posts and Truman pocket vetoed a bill which would have forced segregation on bases and other federal property in the South. State and local moves to end public school segregation have occurred in Arizona, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Still unsettled by the supreme court is the constitutionality of segregation itself. (It now begins to appear that the court will not decide until after the next Presidential election.)

5. **EMPLOYMENT**—As of August, 1951, 81 southern cities in 13 states employed 379 Negro policemen, 44 plainclothesmen and 18 police-women. During 1949-51 five states enacted fair employment practices laws—Washington, Oregon, New Mexico, Rhode Island and Colorado—to bring the total to nine. City and state ordinances and laws in various places have barred discrimination. Truman (1951) set up a committee to promote fair practices by firms with government contracts.

6. **HOUSING**—In May, 1948, the supreme court ruled that courts could not be used to enforce racial covenants. Legislatures in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Wisconsin (1949-50) have outlawed segregation-discrimination in public housing. Public Housing Administration (1950) declared low rent housing units must reflect "equitable provisions" for all races based on number of eligibles and their needs. Some re-development projects have been announced as non-segregated.

7. **PROFESSIONAL, BUSINESS, RELIGIOUS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES**—Racial bars have been dropped by various medical, nursing, church and fraternity groups.

8. **PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION**—By ordinance or legislation discrimination has been outlawed in many airports, libraries and other public places. Supreme court (1950) outlawed segregation in railroad dining cars. Restaurant segregation in Washington, D. C., is under court attack (1951).

9. **MISCELLANEOUS**—Oregon (1951) repealed its prohibition on interracial marriages, becoming the 19th state without any statutory restriction. Interracial marriage law was held unconstitutional in California (1948).

NOW readers in each state or city mentioned doubtless can pick flaws in the summary above. All FEPC laws are not hole-proof, man is ingenious in finding new dodges around ordinances, legislative acts go unenforced.

But the total evidence is such overwhelming evidence of progress—outside of Congress—that it is cause for cheers. May there be more of it in 1952.

AND there is likely to be more, too. If you doubt it, for one thing look at the new Census Bureau figures on Negro population shifts from South to North and West. Negroes (and their votes) are becoming politically significant in cities and states where they never were before. Almost 2 million Negroes have been added to the population of the North and West in the past decade. In the cities themselves (exclusive of their suburbs) non-whites increased 35.9 per cent while whites increased only 10.1 per cent. You don't have to be a numbers writer to get the significance of such figures. The more even spreading of our biggest minority group, bound to continue as time goes on, will help greatly to diminish the South's opposition to change and to bring the Negro closer to first-class citizenship everywhere in the USA.