The GUILD REPORTER

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A Short Twenty Years Ago

The Guild Marks Two Decades of Progress

The month of December, 1953, marks the 20th anniversary of the formal founding of the American Newspaper Guild. Two score years ago at this season there trekked into Washington, D. C., a small determined group of newspaper men, most of them speaking for groups of their fellows "back home," bent on making a reality of the earnest but casual promise of New York columnist Heywood Broun to "help get up" a newspaperman's union.

They came from a score of cities, but their purpose was a common one, born of the economic depths into which writing staffs of daily newspapers had been plunged.

Unorganized, news men had suffered insulting cuts in already puny salaries, had firsthand knowledge of job insecurity in a craft traditional for its shifting personnel, had worked long hours without compensating overtime, and had watched a calling which they honestly—if secretly—cherished lose fine talent to more lucrative fields.

"I used to be a newspaperman myself" connoted more than a pleasantry from some new acquaintance. It actually reflected the hard fact that few could tolerate the financial penalties of remaining a reporter, for longer than it took to find a better paying job.

The men who founded the Guild knew what they wanted. Not so clear was to how attain their objective. Indeed, after twenty years, Guild members and their leaders are still striving, still meeting with some of the same obstacles that confronted that Washington meeting.

But the little group built well, of the stuff of hard work, debate, trial and error, inspiration—and desperation.

And if Thomas Jefferson's dictum be true, that controversy is the life-blood of democracy, the Guild, then and later, well earned its title as a thoroughly democratic organization.

Although Broun became its head and steered its deliberations with gifted leadership, the Guild has always belonged to its members. Every present indication is that it always will. Each annual convention renews the conviction that not only is it so, but that it should be so.

In this issue of the Guild Reporter will be found no formal chronology of the Guild's progress. Instead, there have been assembled a few impressions gathered from some who were active in the formative years of the organization.

It will not escape notice that much of the material has sharp present-day application, a justification for the space allotted it.

Each year thousands of Guild newcomers take the place of those who have gone before. To many the beginnings of the Guild are wholly unknown. To such the present GR issue will be fresh news. To others whose dormant recollections it may stir, pleasant browsing!

Guilds Set to 'Pay the Freight' For New York's 11-Day Blackout

While New York newspaper craft unions awaited a report "to be made as soon as possible" by the fact-finding committee set up as part of the settlement of the photo-engravers' strike, the New York Guild, ANG officers and Guild locals across the country turned serious attention to meeting the heavy financial demand imposed by placing so large a group of its members on benefit rolls.

Nearly 4,000 members of the New York local, about one in every seven of ANG's total membership, honored the engravers' picket lines. They were accordingly removed from their respective publishers' payrolls, and the Guild, locally and nationally moved to take up the economic slack.

M. Michael Potoker, New York local secretary-treasurer, has estimated that total benefits will be in excess of $200,000. This is roughly twice the total reserves in the International's defense fund, and far beyond the immediate ability of the Guild's largest—and best-heeled—local to meet without aid.

The local executive board voted an emergency assessment of 5 percent per week against those of its own members who had not been affected by strike lost-time. This calls for four times the normal dues payable in December.

The International Executive Board also directed, after a poll of its members, that national assessments be levied starting with January dues payments. The amount of the levy ranges from fifty cents to $3 per month, and will remain in force as long as is required to replenish the international's defense fund.

From that fund the New York local received $90,000 toward its immediate needs—meeting a "payroll" of some $160,000 at the end of the strike's first week. New York pooled its own reserves as well.

Letters outlining the emergency went to locals from both New York and ANG, asking that immediate aid from local treasuries be forthcoming. Acknowledgment of such gifts is listed elsewhere in this issue.

With New York local President Arthur Rosenstock, ANG's Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak flew to Detroit, seeking aid from Walter Reuther, CIO president and head of the huge CIO Auto Workers Union. Reuther's union at once sent New York a check for $25,000, telling Novak that it was a "first payment" if a prolonged strike indicated further need.

Novak was also instrumental in helping finance a loan which the New York local sought from the Amalgamated Bank, operated by the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

* * *

Three "pay days" were set up by the New York Guild local this week for the issuance of second week strike benefits.

The benefits covered whatever fractions of week's work had been lost owing to observance of the engravers' picket lines. Because of varying work schedules, the local officers had asked each affected Guildsman to file a statement of lost time, so that individual benefits could be computed.

Potoker said that many members voluntarily rejected claim to benefits for the second week of the strike's duration. Those who did so will be listed as having contributed the amounts to the local's defense fund.

The three "pay days" were planned for orderly distribution, with limited office forces staffing the operation. On Monday members of the Journal-American unit were asked to appear at the Guild headquarters in West 44th street. Tuesday the News, Mirror and Post unit members were paid, and on Wednesday those from the Times and the World-Telegram & Sun.

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What the New York local describes as a "blue-print" covering the operation of a strike

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Tri-City Guild Is Counseled To Seek Scott Reinstatement

Answering a request from Tri-City Guild for guidance in the case of a reporter discharged for "gross misconduct" in refusing to answer Congressional committee questions about communist affiliations, ANG Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak has recommended that the local seek reinstatement in order to protect the Guild contract.

Novak's recommendation was renewed a few days ago, after a referee for the State Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance had ruled that the reporter's behavior constituted "misconduct" within the meaning of the unemployment compensation law.

The case arose last July when Janet Scott, a reporter for 27 years, was discharged by the Albany Knickerbocker News, a Gannett newspaper.

"I am still of the opinion (after conferring with ANG Counsel Irving Leuchter) that Scott's discharge was not for just cause, and hence in violation of the contract," Novak told the Tri-City local, "and the basic recommendation is still that the local seek reinstatement. As I said in my letter of Sept. 18, 'for the Tri-City Guild to take a position that Scott's activities outside her duties as an employe of the paper constitute proper grounds for discharge would endanger the fabric of our contract with the paper'."

The hearing referee in the unemployment insurance case had based his decision on a reference in the law to "misconduct in connection with employment."

Pointing out that decision as to arbitration is reserved by the Guild Constitution to the Tri-City local, Novak warned against the pitfalls of seeking to arbitrate only on the narrow grounds of "gross misconduct."

"To take the position that Scott's refusal to testify constitutes ground for discharge, but does not constitute 'gross misconduct' seems to us a somewhat inadequate position. In the first place, to arbitrate that question is to arbitrate only the right to two weeks notice under your contract, and will not serve to protect your members from dismissal as a consequence of activity disconnected with the employment. In the second place, once the propriety of the dismissal is conceded, it is conceded that the refusal to testify is 'misconduct' of some sort; otherwise why would the Guild not seek reinstatement? . . .

"The referee's decision in Scott's case is viewed here as a serious matter. We think the reasoning employed by the referee in holding the refusal to testify 'misconduct in connection with her employment' can be applied to many non-political situations and if followed can

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Dues and Professionalism Were Early Guild Issues

Board Member of Mid-Thirties Recalls ANG Life-or-Death Struggle

By GARLAND ASHCRAFT
Assistant Editor, Guild Reporter

Holder of Membership Card No. 1 in Cleveland Local No. 1, Garland Ashcraft became treasurer of the American Newspaper Guild early in its history, and served as a member of the International Executive Board three years.

His close connection with the Guild's beginnings prompted the editor to assign him the task of telling newer Guildsmen about those days, as to matters within his scope as treasurer and board member.

The limitation was was made because, as Ashcraft himself commented: "The real story of the early Guild has to be preeminently the story of Heywood Broun."—Ed.

I don't like reminiscence. It marks a man. At the mellow age when it may become him he usually begins to remember too much, including some things that didn't happen.

Starting this story, I encountered a mental block I do not understand. It took me three days to get down to the typewriter, like a dog turning around thrice before retiring. Backing cautiously into it, I note that the office calendar, the kind you shift a card on every day, reads "December 18," the anniversary of the death of Heywood Broun.

At convention time in Toronto in 1938 I vanished from the IEB after three terms, having served as the Guild's second treasurer in 1935-36, retiring as others have over the Guild's two decades.

I didn't go to Toronto. I had no desire to hear convention noises. Instead I sat on the banks of a cool stream listening to running water and cicadas in the trees.

I had joined what a midwest local president has called the Guild "Alumni Club." I didn't lose interest. I suppose I felt as many other early officers and actives felt at the close of the turbulent thirties, after doing their stint.

* * *

The founding of the American Newspaper Guild on December 15, 1933, by representatives from newspapers in 20-odd cities, in the Press Club at Washington, was a minor episode in a great organization movement of American workers, rudely awakened by the depression from a long Gomperian slumber.

Today ANG-CIO is one of the tiniest units of American labor, though the largest organization of its kind in the world. Among other internationals of the two divisions of labor in this country it is financially and numerically insignificant.

As a factor in American labor leadership, its role has been obscure, if observable at all. Associated with gigantic mass industry unions, it was perhaps not in the cards that it should be otherwise.

The Guild in its origin was almost unique in this respect: It was a completely self-organized group. Without manual, without outside organizers or initial financing, newspaper men formed their own national organization. They gave it practically and technically a correct labor union structure and orientation, and on the third anniversary of Heywood Broun's column pointing to the need for a newspaper union, it received its charter from the American Federation of Labor.

A great many early members—and some of the most loyal and courageous—were deluded by this fact, in those first years. They pointed with too much pride to the Guild's surface appearance of self-sufficiency. I'll confess now (sic!) to a bit of that prideful self-containment myself, but the position was not tenable.

I did not serve as unit collector, local treasurer and ANG treasurer without finding out that it wasn't the original cost but the upkeep. It was not one of my happier moments when Heywood Broun and John Eddy went to Washington to John L. Lewis and Bill Green, hat in hand and with patches on the seats of their organizational pants, to beg for money to support our organization.

It should be set down on this ANG anniversary, for the record, that John L. Lewis didn't bat an eye, while they described the financial plight of the Guild, and he asked only one question:

"How much do you want, boys?"

* * *

A blow-by-blow chronology of what happened during this union's formative years would, I think, be dull and futile typing and profitless reading, even if somebody took the pains to research it.

My sources for this piece are incomplete and perhaps not photographically objective. My sources are the first four yearly volumes of the Guild Reporter, a batch of 1935 intra-IEB cor-

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The State of the Union—
When Reason Fails Guild Must Resort To Forceful Means



By RALPH B. NOVAK
Executive Vice President

SECTION 2 OF ARTICLE 1 of the American Newspaper Guild Constitution states: "The purpose of the American Newspaper Guild shall be to advance the economic interests of its members, to guarantee, as far as it is able, constant honesty in the news, to raise the standards of journalism and ethics of the industry, to foster friendly cooperation with all other workers, and to promote industrial unionism in the newspaper industry."

The Guild has advanced the economic interests of its members in its twenty-year history primarily through the agency of collective bargaining. During these past twenty years the Guild through its locals has negotiated hundreds of new agreements and thousands of renewal agreements.

Sometimes across-the-table negotiations have broken down, and it became necessary for the Guild to take strike action in order to secure an honorable settlement. While Guild strikes have played an important part in the advancement of the economic interests of our members, hysterical publishers and their friends are all too prone in a crisis, such as we experienced in New York a few weeks ago, to forget the many settlements which were arrived at without the use of economic warfare.

Publishers and employers generally are fond of saying, particularly during a time of crisis, that "Nobody ever wins a strike." The fact is that from labor's standpoint a strike is never lost. True, quite often the immediate gains are not all that the strikers hoped to win. But the long range benefits, in my opinion, are immeasurable. No one, including the employer who is struck, can fail to respect union members and their families who are willing to make great sacrifices for a cause they consider just.

THIS NATURALLY LEADS us to two questions. The first is: What has the Guild learned about collective bargaining and negotiations in its twenty years? And the second is, and naturally follows from the answer to the first: What part then do reason and logic play in negotiations?

To return to the first question: What has the Guild learned in its twenty years about collective bargaining? For the sake of convenience and clarity, let me answer that question in the light of my own experiences in collective bargaining during the past sixteen years. Like many another Guild negotiator, when I first entered Guild activity I was under the impression that if I had a good case and could present it clearly and precisely across the table to the publisher, I would have no great difficulty in convincing him of the rightness of my position, and would thereby secure a contract acceptable to the membership I was representing.

Fortunately for me, it did not take very long for the publishers to disabuse me of that idea. As a matter of fact, I have had publishers' representatives, i.e., the so-called "realistic" ones, on more than one occasion tell me across the table that "When you are organized and strong enough to take it away from us, we'll give it to you."

DOES THIS MEAN that we in the Guild are about to abandon reason, logic and persuasiveness in collective bargaining and to place all our reliance on force? Not at all! It only means that we recognize the realities of the situation in collective bargaining.

I think that the Guild should be so organized that it is prepared to strike whenever necessary to do so. I also think, at the same time, that this weapon should not be used unless it is necessary to do so. That decision, however, is more up to the publishers than it is up to the Guild members.

I sincerely hope that in time publishers will treat us with the respect and thoughtful consideration to which we are entitled as mature men and women. Then perhaps we can come to agreement without costly economic warfare. In the meantime, because of our experience over the past twenty years, we propose to keep ourselves strong enough organizationally to be able to secure, by any means forced upon us, those rights to which we are entitled by reason of being employed in the fourth estate.

Perhaps you wonder why I have chosen this subject to write about at this time. The reason is that as a result of the shut-down of daily newspapers in New York, some publishers and publishers' organs are still raving and ranting about the threat to freedom of the press, which they say was occasioned by the lack of newspapers brought on by the strike of the photo-engravers. We shall probably hear more of this. Some scream there ought to be a law; there ought to be compulsory arbitration.

I would like to repeat what I said in my column in the Guild Reporter of December 11. **"Freedom of the press was not an issue in the New York shut-down. The issue in New York was simply economic."**

Loose-talking publishers should remember one thing: A law which compels union to arbitrate, equally compels the publishers to arbitrate. Once Congress begins passing laws compelling them to do certain things, which in the minds of the Congress of the moment may seem expedient, such as perhaps compulsory arbitration, there is no telling where such a course may lead. Ultimately, of course, the courts would find any law infringing on freedom of the press to be unconstitutional under the first amendment. And in case some of you have not had occasion to read the first amendment lately, or have forgotten it, here it is:

Amendment I—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

* * *

HOW MUCH BETTER it would be for all of us, including the people who read our papers, if the publishers, instead of trying to pass laws against us, would bend more of their efforts toward finding a solution to our problems in collective bargaining; a solution which will keep our press and all of us free. Anytime the publishers are ready to begin work on finding a solution, we in the Guild will be happy to join them.

...New York Strike Costly



GUILD CARDS PAY OFF—**Members of the New York Daily News unit line up for benefit payments resulting from picket line observance when New York's engravers went on strike. They are some of the nearly 4,000 Guildsmen who were off management's payrolls and looked to—and got—Guild aid in the emergency.**

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newspaper by the Guild has been filed away for possible future reference.

When the Herald Tribune suspended distribution for five days, although it was not directly involvd in the photo-engravers' strike, the Guild and members of the craft unions at once turned to the often used Guild technique of getting out a newspaper to meet the void created by the complete absence of news—and advertising.

In New York this involved finding a press ready, willing and able to roll editions running into millions of copies, and on a seven-day, 24-hour schedule. After some search, such an establishment was found, with a sufficient supply of newsprint available.

The plan moved to the point of assigning an editorial staff, drawn from top-drawer material from six of the city's major dailies—a managing editor's dream; an advertising crew to handle the flow of sales copy from retailers deprived of the customary means of moving their Christmas wares; and, a circulation department to see that distribution to carriers, stands and dealers moved swiftly.

Had the strike gone past its December 8 settlement date, the daily would have been dummied up and put into production, in spite of the lame resumption of circulation essayed by the enigmatic Herald Tribune management, two days earlier.

The paper would have served a secondary purpose, in giving the striking union and its sympathizers an effective voice, denied them in the fragmentary and biased reports which emanated from management sources during the strike period.

Morris Jushewitz, secretary-treasurer of the New York City CIO Council, and a member of the local's executive board, headed the committee on the project for the Guild.

Most successful operation of a strike daily was that conducted in Pittsburgh in 1950, when all newspaper unions were locked out by publishers, and the union members combined to give Pittsburgh an outstanding series of daily papers for a period of some six weeks. That operation was carried out in the face of concerted efforts to deny the paper a supply of then critically-scarce newsprint. It carried advertising, paid its staff the equivalent of strike benefits, and showed a profit of $50,000 for the venture.

N. Y. Strike Contributions

New York's eleven-day photo-engraver's strike, which put Guildsmen in six major dailies on temporary strike benefit rolls, brought an immediate response from other unions, Guilds and individuals, to aid the New York Guild in meeting its sudden financial burden.

M. Michael Potoker, secretary, treasurer of the local, has acknowledged receipt of the following contributions:

ANG Defense Fund	90,000.00
Middle Atlantic Dist. Council	500.00
Twin Cities Guild	500.00
Washington Guild	500.00
Pitel Press	100.00
D. L. Winks	5.00
R. Coniston	5.00
P. Dumowsky	5.00
J. B. Nixon	10.00
M. Liebman	5.00
T. Steyle	2.00
P-O-I District Council	1,000.00
Wilkes-Barre Guild	50.00
Key Reese	25.00
Newark Guild	25.00
J. Wellburg	15.00
Pittsburgh Guild	200.00
Spencer Brodney	10.00
United Auto Workers, CIO	25,000.00
Sidney Shalit	30.00
Philadelphia Guild	500.00
Cincinnati Guild	50.00
Columbus Guild	50.00
Pawtucket Guild	50.00
NY Local, CSAE-CIO	100.00
Erie Guild	50.00
Toledo Guild	25.00
Hudson County Guild	250.00
Chicago UP unit	15.00
Utility Workers, CIO	500.00
Tri-City Guild	250.00
Kingston Guild	50.00
Empire State District Council	200.00
New York City CIO Council	1,000.00
James Bonar, Pres. Hellenic Typo Union	25.00
Buffalo Guild	250.00
Elizabeth Guild	100.00
Local 95, AFL House Wreckers Union	25.00
Terre Haute Guild	100.00
Murray Kempton	15.00
Auto Workers Union Local 671	50.00
Govt. & Civic Workers Union Local 538	25.00
Grand Rapids Guild	100.00
Baltimore Guild	25.00
Insurance Workers Union Local 59	10.00
St. Louis Guild	500.00
Chalmers Workers Union Local 302	100.00
N.E. District Council	100.00
Ottawa Guild	50.00
Calif.-Nevada District Council	50.00
Washington Guildsmen	100.00
Eileen Callahan	40.00
Steelworkers Union Local 1970	5.00
Reuters Guild	7.50
Paper Handlers Union Local 499	15.00
Seattle-Tacoma Guild	50.00
Chicago Guild	100.00
Akron Guild	50.00
M. Lee	25.00
Barbara Fay King	30.00
TOTAL	$123,863.50

Richmond Elects Richard Wilson Local President

Richmond, Va.—Richard Wilson, city hall reporter for the Richmond Times-Dispatch, has been elected president of the Richmond Newspaper Guild. He succeeds Lawrence T. King, who has held the post for the past two years.

Other officers elected include Larry Gould, News Leader reporter, first vice president; Jack Hunter, Times-Dispatch reporter, second vice president; Frank Walin, Times-Dispatch reporter, secretary, and Jim Powers, News Leader copy editor, treasurer.

Previously the duties of secretary and treasurer were handled by one person. Because of additional duties assigned to both posts, the membership recently voted to set up separate posts for the two positions. Frank Walin formerly held the combined secretary-treasurer position.

UP-Pix Grievance Settled Short Of Arbitration

A photographer in the New York United Press Newspictures bureau whom the company tried to "reclassify" as a photo-printer has been returned to his proper position on the eve of taking his case to arbitration.

Grievance action on the case was started in August when the photographer was summarily advised that he was being "reclassified as a printer and assigned to the day printing staff." Bureau officials refused to reconsider the change in classification, but agreed to permit the employe to continue working his night trick.

The case was prepared for arbitration and the services of the American Arbitration Association sought in the selection of an arbitrator. At this juncture United Press management rescinded the letter of "reclassification," and the Guild dropped its demand for arbitration.

But it soon became obvious that the employe, though listed on the records as a photographer, was being required to do photo-printer work almost exclusively.

A new demand for arbitration was instituted by the Guild, an arbitrator selected and a date tentatively set for hearing the case, when the UP management put him back to work as a full-time photographer.

The case was handled at various levels by Ray Pitt, Assistant Wire Service Administrator; Steve Ripley, Administrator, and Irving Leuchter, ANG counsel.



Thomas C. Mirkil

Harrisburg, Pa.—Thomas C. Mirkil, 70, secretary and executive council chairman of the Harrisburg Guild, died at his home, after an illness of nearly a year.

He had been a newsman in Chester, Scranton and Philadelphia before coming to Harrisburg. He was financial editor of the former Morning Telegraph, and in 1942 joined the Patriot staff, covering the State capitol before taking over the wire desk, a post he held at the time of his death.

Mrs. William Green

Coshocton, O.—Mrs. William Green, widow of the late AFL president, died Dec. 13 at the age of 83.

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"Mixed" News Team Finds Negro Gets Raw Deal

WHITE-NEGRO TOUR OF SEGREGATED AREAS PROVES AN EYE-OPENER

By BONHAM CROSS
Twin Cities Guild

Minneapolis, Minn. — I'm white. Carl T. Rowan, prize-winning Minneapolis Tribune reporter, is a Negro. We recently completed an assignment where it made a difference.

Our job was to gather first-hand information and pictures on racial segregation in the public schools of Washington, D. C., Delaware and the deep south.

Reason for the assignment, of course, was the suits rising out of segregation that now are before the United States Supreme Court.

In Minneapolis, I've gone on many assignments with Rowan. There was hardly a thought of what people would think when they found one of us white and one colored.

I rarely felt that it was disturbing to anyone else. On this assignment, it was different.

* * *

First insight on the problem came when I checked in at a well-known hotel in Washington, D. C., where very recently Negroes have been allowed to get rooms.

Rowan had arrived ahead of me and had checked into a room. Since we had to leave at 5 o'clock the next morning, Rowan left word at the desk that, when I arrived, I was to be assigned to his room.

When I showed up, and the clerk saw that I was white, the original plan was changed. The clerk saw the note from Rowan, but decided it must be a mistake. He assigned me to another room.

I was handed another note Rowan had left for me, telling me of the early start. On the elevator I read it and asked that I be put into Rowan's room since we were not going to stay long and had to start so early.

The hotel people thought it was strange, but changed the room.

* * *

During our five days together, we never were threatened. But often there appeared to be tension. Take a school in Delaware. Because of inequality of facilities, this school recently had been ordered to take in Negro pupils.

Rowan and I entered the school and were about to go into the principal's office when a first-grade teacher spied us. She came rushing out of her room and pushed Rowan aside, just as his hand was on the door knob to the principal's office.

We had heard that this particular teacher was prejudiced. She conferred with the principal for about a half hour. There were a number of telephone calls to make sure we had cleared our visit with the higher school officials.

Finally we were allowed to enter. The principal was friendly, but could hardly get a word in with the first-grade teacher doing most of the talking. She interviewed us more than we interviewed her. She often gave me a dirty look. And, of course, no pictures.

During most of the trip, it was I who felt out of place. It was my first realization of what Negroes must go through.

* * *

In Richmond, Va., the only good hotels were for whites only. Because of our tight schedule we didn't have time to be commuting from separate hotels. So we went to a Negro hotel. It was clean, but not much more.

In the colored hotel cafe, the food tasted good, but I felt that all eyes were on me. I was the only white man in the cafe. Carl set me at ease when he said:

"They probably have me figured for a prize fighter and that you're my manager. Or maybe, with all your equipment, they think we're musicians."

Rowan admitted the hotel was not much. And I realized that, if I were a Negro, I would have to stay at this hotel. There would have been no choice.

At Columbia, S. C., I asked a taxi driver about the hotel situation for whites and Negroes. He answered my question with three words: "We don't mix."

There it was frowned upon for me to stay at a colored hotel. We stayed at the private home of a Negro hotel operator.

* * *

Our general procedure was to go first to the Negroes involved in a suit before the supreme court. After getting their side of the story, we went to the most appropriate white people. These included teachers, newspaper editors, local businessmen and local politicians. We talked with Negroes that were against integration and whites that were for it.

Some of the people we interviewed were surprised to find that we were from a "white" newspaper. They were even more surprised to learn that Rowan does not just cover stories involving Negroes. In Minneapolis, when I walk down a street with Rowan I am walking with a reporter. In the south, I am walking with a Negro. And I was conscious of it.

We ran into some special problems in the rural areas of some of the southern states. In Prince Edward county near Farmville, Va., there were no Negro restaurants. Carl couldn't get into a white restaurant.

We worked together one day from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m. without food. Finally, we stopped at a small Negro grocery store and ate sardines out of a can and crackers out of a box.

Again in rural Clarendon county near Summerton, S. C., there was no such thing as a first-rate Negro restaurant—or even a second-rate one. Rowan suggested we stop at a Negro grocery store and buy some sweet rolls and a quart of milk for breakfast.

A Negro woman would have none of it. She took us to her home and fixed us steak, mashed potatoes — the works. Without her, however, it would have been sweet rolls and milk.

In Columbia, S. C., I walked into a Negro restaurant without Rowan. I felt conspicuous. I approached a booth and started to explain to three Negro girls and a Negro man that I would like to shoot their picture to portray life in a Negro community.

The man stopped me and said: "What did you say?"

I repeated. Then the man said: "O. K., you can take our picture all you want because you called us Negroes. That's the right word for us."

* * *

I started this trip feeling that both sides in the dispute had legitimate claims. But listening to all of the conversations, I have come away feeling the Negro is getting a raw deal in practically every respect.

He may have progressed more in the last 75 years than any other race, the law may state that he is supposed to get equal educational facilities, but I can see he gets little that is equal or even comparable to the whites.

My impression is that the southern white man likes the Negro as long as the Negro fits the pattern set for him. I think of a man with a pet dog. He grows to love that dog when the dog happily obeys his commands. The southern white loves the Negro as long as he stays in the element where the southern white has placed him.

The intelligence behind sending a Negro reporter for the job became clear during the interviewing. White people would tell a white reporter just what they wanted him to know. They tried this on Rowan, but a Negro who has spent 18 years of his life in the segregated south cannot be fooled.

And the white reporter would not be trusted as readily by the Negroes.

* * *

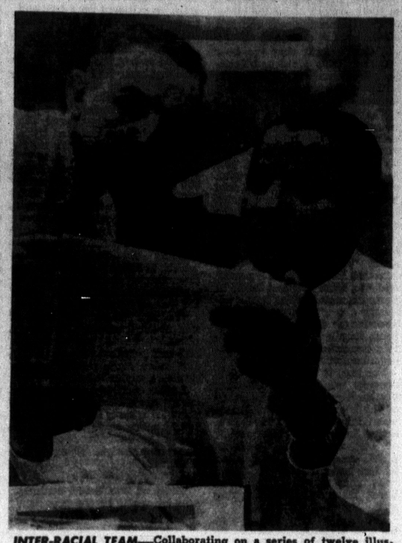
We didn't go down south to stir up trouble. But we didn't always take the easy way out.

When we wanted to interview the president of the school board in one fair-sized Virginia town, we were informed that he was at the court house and that Negroes should use the back door when entering.

We had the taxi driver deliver us to the curb in front of the court house and we walked up the steps together. There were many people, white and Negro, watching us.

They watched us constantly, including our departure by the front door. It seemed as if they never had seen such an occurrence.

Maybe they hadn't.



INTER-RACIAL TEAM—**Collaborating on a series of twelve illustrated articles for the Minneapolis Tribune were Bonham Cross, photographer, and Carl Rowan, staff reporter. Their stories dealt with racial segregation in States where the issue of "separate but equal" educational facilities is now being pondered by the Supreme Court.**

Denver Has New Wire Service Unit

Denver, Colo.—Frank Pitman, of the Associated Press bureau, has been named chairman of the newly-formed wire service unit of the Denver Guild, and Harvey Kadish, of INS, is secretary-treasurer.

Joseph Marshall, INS, was named delegate to the western regional wire service conference in March, at San Francisco.

The unit comprises AP, UP and INS members in the Denver local's jurisdiction, and plans to meet frequently for organization extension, contract enforcement and Guild welfare.

IAM, Pressmen Agree On Work Division

Washington, D. C. — Pressmen's Union and Machinists have signed an accord defining jurisdictions in printing industry.

Marge Flaherty Heads Stockton

Stockton, Calif.—Marge Flaherty of the city staff has been elected president of Stockton Newspaper Guild 100 for 1954, succeeding Elizabeth Chapman, country editor.

It will be Mrs. Flaherty's second turn at the presidency. She served as president in 1952.

Other officers elected at the annual election meeting are Scott Matthews, newsroom, vice-president; Peggy O'Connor, newsroom, recording secretary; Marie Shoemaker, newsroom, corresponding secretary; Frances Ritter, classified, treasurer, and Bob Costa, display, sergeant-at-arms.

Helen Lerach of display and George Nelson of the newsroom were elected members-at-large of the executive committee. Elected as department representatives on the executive committee were Marcia Doty and Harry Bagley, newsroom; Don Mateer, display; Melba Darnell, circulation. Irvine Sprague and Bill Rogers were chosen delegates to the California-Nevada District Council, with Miss Ritter and Mrs. Chapman as alternates.

...Tri-City Firing

(Continued from Page One)

endanger job security and, in many instances, severance pay."

Miss Scott had claimed the protection of the First, Fifth and Sixth amendments in refusing to answer committee questions about communist affiliations, although she answered many other questions. The newspaper, which had carried banner headlines of her subpoenaing and appearance before the committee, also used the news columns to announce her dismissal publicly before she received notice. Miss Scott filed a claim for unemployment insurance shortly after her dismissal, but state authorities ordered a seven-week waiting period because the company had charged "misconduct."

At a hearing she requested, Miss Scott submitted a newspaper clipping of July 26, 1947, reporting a witness before a House committee had named her as a communist. She contended that her withholding of comment at that time was a parallel to the present circumstance. But she was not fired then, so her 1953 refusal to answer (she said) was "unreasonably used" by the employer to dismiss her.

Louis J. Naftalison, the DPUI referee, based his decision on the finding that Miss Scott's refusal to answer "had immediate repercussions on her employer, its standing, its reputation and its business interests. No statistical evidence is called for to demonstrate that claimant's deliberate acts tended to diminish the prestige of her employer, to provoke unfavorable opinion, to undermine public confidence and could subject it to serious financial injury. . . . Such refusal leads naturally to the implication that the paper might knowingly be employing communists and would make a mockery of its anti-communist position. . . .

"Claimant's attempted justification of her conduct in relying on Article XII (Outside activities) of the union agreement is misconceived. True, employes are free to engage in outside activities on their own time. But that freedom is not a license to injure her employer's interests . . ."

As to the employer's failure to act in 1947, the referee said: "Obviously, the employer gave her the benefit of every possible doubt and refused to act on what might be considered no more than rumor. Her discharge came only when she herself failed in her duty to her employer to deny under oath that she was a communist."

The referee, defining the responsibility of the press and its reporters, said: "A newspaper must depend upon its employes to keep the wells of newsgathering clean and uncontaminated by private bias, coloring or exposure to hostile auspices."

City Editor Charles L. Mooney had testified at the hearing, "No question of Miss Scott's objectivity was ever raised."

Summing up his finding, the referee declared: "Whether claimant committed an act of misconduct in connection with her employment is not to be determined by finely spun argument. It is to be measured by the standard of the common sense viewpoint of the average man. So measured, the conclusion is crystal clear."

N.E. Council Plans Awards

Boston, Mass.—Two awards for outstanding activity in behalf of the Guild and its members will be made by the New England District Council.

The $50 prizes will go to winning New England Guildsmen in editorial and commercial departments for best contributions to the union's welfare during 1953.

The council decided to set up the awards at its December meeting. They will be given in addition to the $100 NEDC news-writing award presented for several years now.

DEBATE SHARP, TEMPERS FLARED, IN EARLY IEB

(Continued from Page One)

respondence, and my memory, which I discover is not too good as to certain details.

In the search to refresh my memory, I could not find some records, but did get what for me was some fresh news. I learned that years ago some official files disappeared. Whether the thief was the FBI, G-2, a congressional committee hawkshaw or some Rosenberg classmate who might have worked in the office without benefit of loyalty oath, nobody knows.

The hint that GR in that remote period did not publish internal Guild business quite as routinely as it does now, is not to let truth now stone for what was then done. In many localities newspapermen started their organizing practically underground.

A quick glance at the GR headlines over those years tells the story. We publicized our "Guild martyrs" like Morris Watson and Dean Jennings in song and news story but during those first years firings came so fast that martyrs were a dime a dozen, and a dozen job casualties were rarely worth more than a paragraph. Publishers fired Guild instigators right and left, and I think we cannot be censured too much if we often acted like nihilist conspirators.

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A second generation born in the thirties is now working on newspapers and carrying Guild cards. An office worker can get a job anywhere now, and at worst an able-bodied reporter or business office man can go to work in unskilled industry at $1.50 to $2 an hour. Very few members under 35 have ever experienced "job terror," which attacked so many of us in the years when it was THIS JOB OR NONE.

That was what made some newspaper people run like rabbits at the sight of an early Guild organizer, what made organizing so tough, and what still contributes to organizing resistance where there is no labor movement or public sentiment to support a new Guild local.

I suspect it was that which caused a certain tenseness in the old board meetings which I do not observe now, which accounted for hair-trigger tempers, flashes of anger, high emotionalism, recrimination, impatience and intolerance, and the utter ruthlessness that characterized some of our conduct with each other and with members and locals. It was the same in many local boards.

I have never considered that Guild activity in those depression days, when staffs—and salaries—were cut as much as 30 percent and hours extended to 70 or more, was so much an act of courage as of sheer demoralization and desperation.

It has been said that the American Newspaper Guild was spontaneous, that it just occurred, as does mob action. There is a grain of truth here.

Hildy Johnson did blow his top.

He blew his top—about 3,500 of him over the country—spontaneously and simultaneously. That is the approximate number who paid $2 to support the national organization between the first constitutional meeting in Washington in December, 1933 and the St. Paul Convention the following June.

That word "spontaneous," used to describe the rapid rise of the organization, connoted to some a flash in the pan. It wouldn't last, they said.

Knowing Hildy, the publishers were convinced it wouldn't. First editorials were patronizing. Editor & Publisher was even favorable.

But when Hildy sobered up, things didn't look good.

He said to himself: "My boy, you've got yourself in one hell of a jam. You've got to work out of it somehow."

How he worked out of it is the history of the Guild.

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There was much "rioting" and guerrilla warfare at national and local levels at that time, but many of the "issues" have been dated.

For example I recall when the cash of my Cleveland local was disastrously low. Some of the soberer minds charged that we were a bunch of anarchists and crackpots on that local board, and refused to pay dues till we put on clean shirts and washed our necks and ears. Some owed as much as twenty-five or thirty cash. Neither calolery, threats curses nor tears would wring it out of them. As I look back now, I can't say I blame them for being suspicious and disgruntled. But then it was different.

There was strategic use of the false issue, the "red herring," the diversionary political tactic, illegitimate agitation, unscrupulous use of economic intimidation, the "irrevelant social sanction"—the procession of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, McCarthy, the ANPA—and me!

This is not strictly an "I" story—there were hundreds of others in the Guilds about the country, just as angry, determined, ruthless and disingenuous, and we taught each other. I was by no means a major figure, just a minor activist.

There were no cracked heads or property destruction—you slugged a man with a political maneuver or slew him with a smear. I neither rationalize nor moralize; the publishers were not fastidious in their methods, either.

• • •

This suggests something about journalistic ethics and the early Guild.

The American Newspaper Guild's ethics policy has always been a conundrum to me.

When the pubishers raised the question of professionalism in 1933 with the NIRA, as an argument to keep editorial employes outside the wage and hours provisions along with housemaids, I did not know what it was all about. I went to the old dog-eared Webster unabridged in the editorial room. I thought I was a professional, but that dictionary deflated my ego.

I didn't want to relinquish a Guild policy as to ethics, but I felt we were in an ideational trap. If the organization was to prosper it had to be a union. Although I was strong for some ethics in the industry, as soon as "professionalists" interfered with our union development, I was against them.

A large number of Guild members at that time argued we were professionals and the publishers were almost 100 percent of that view, with the notable exception of Hearst. Mr. Hearst was a "romanticist." In an interview in 1934 he said: "I am afraid organization will take romance out of newspaper work." I came to have great contempt for both "romanticists" and "professionalists." To me they were just benighted Guildsmen, nuisances where they were weak, or to be slapped down without compunction where their heads got too high. But we did try reasoning.

There is a contradiction between the idea of a professional ethic for the employe of a publication and the concept of private enterprise (or monopolistic) journalism. If any working press professionalists (they are mostly outside the Guild now) have ever given the thought close analysis, I have not seen it in print. Yet the sophistry, encouraged by publisher philosophers, was a most effective wespon against us in the Guild's formative period.

Curiously, from the beginning, some of our "purest" Guild trade unionists have been the loudest in their concern about the ethics of the business. I was and still am one of this group!

I don't recall that we ever examined this problem officially. We were too busy with strikes and negotiations and finances.

The first convention wanted to raise the standards of journalism, but by 1936 the Convention had left the responsibility for "news and editorial policy" to the publishers, avowing only that the Guild would "strive constantly for greater honesty and accuracy in the presentation of news."

The Constitution currently states a Guild purpose to guarantee "as far as it is able, constant honesty of the news," and "to raise the standards of journalism and ethics in the industry . . ." but to my best knowledge the guaranty has been largely rhetorical—a certain honorific implication in an organization's basic code.

For me, it will always be a mystery why highly paid (for that day) newspaper men, many of the best brains of the American editorial room, took a live, active interest in the founding of our ragamuffin Guild, at which most professional labor leaders sneered. Some of them, even then gray haired men, burnt themselves out working at it.

It may be their devotion to the new organization had to do with "ethics and standards" in an industry which somehow had frustrated and betrayed the best that was in them. For whatever reasons, they worked hard and fought hard until the Guild was on its feet. Some are dead, some retired, but many joined the "alumni club," and quietly passed into the limbo of what one district council delegate recently called "the Guild's forgotten men."

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As I have indicated, I do not want to seem to quaver through toothless gums a reminiscent recital, of what in retrospect were events having little relation to Guild life today.

During the three years I was on the IEB two major issues confronted us. One was that of affiliation with AFL and later the CIO; the other was that of finance.

With the latter I came to personal grips. I was what they called a "hard dues" man, bullish, not bearish, on budgets. My thinking on financing was primitive. It took no genius to develop it.

The national office was broke, but new locals were popping into action throughout the country. A majority of the IEB believed we were in a seller's market for new members, therefore budgets should be based on estimated income increases, and for organizing and servicing, higher dues and assessments—"all the traffic would bear."

This was rough policy. We had members and officers less optimistic about the Guild's growth, "budget balancers," both on the board and in locals.

Local sentiment was confused, and delinquency was serious. It appeared that the new locals, all green unionists (God knows the IEB was green enough!) had attracted not only sober craftsmen desiring to improve salaries and work conditions, but also assorted crackpots and dreamers.

I have since, in retrospective levity, thought of the ANG in those years as one big jungle full of playful monkeys. We were up to all sorts of antics—I cut a few didoes myself.

But we monkeys seemed to have one very canny simian quality in common that was understandable. When the publisher gave us our quota of bananas on Saturday we didn't want to give the Guild a bite. When the hungry unit collector came around, we chattered angrily, or skittered up a tree and away out on a limb, to devour the whole thing ourselves.

Some "soft dues" advocates wanted to beg the crucial question that year by selling bonds to more affluent members, even to outside people. I am sure these deficit financers were sincere. They really feared the Guild would be wrecked by a harsh financial policy. To me it was a "make it or break it" proposition. Checking back in the files, I find that I offered a counter motion "that the IEB finance the convention program at the present level by constitutional means."

We compromised after emasculating the bond proposal, which I termed "rattling the tambourine," and we did assess, putting on the bite in the face of the general delinquency.

The new union did survive this drastic treatment. That was actually the first year when the IEB was able to meet and function with some semblance of routine constitutionality.

At the same time matters of basic policy, questions that officers in a mass industry union would never have encountered, cropped up fast. But it was still finances. Always, always, FINANCES.

• • •

Much of the board business was by mail. In the first four months after the 1935 convention there were 425 pages of correspondence that eight board members wrote, with original and eight carbons. (Broun, the exception, rarely wrote.)

In that file I ran across a little doggerel written by one waggish board member whose memory I dearly love—I don't now where he is now—inspired by Poe:

"And the problem never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting, on the pallid busted palace just above G. Ashcraft's door!"

It's "Bill Farson's door" now, but the "problem still is sitting!"

That financial terror perched there like a ravening eagle, malignant eye glaring down upon our mousy ANG, always ready to swoop. At the next convention we raised the per capita to 75 cents, but by that time I was beginning to have neuroses, psychoses, complexes. I was seeing things and chewing up pillows, and decided that one year was enough as volunteer amateur treasurer of the American Newspaper Guild.

Perhaps I overdramatize it, but I always regarded that as the 'make or break" year, for ANG. I believe that—and now it can be said—if the publishers had given us one hard blow then in our New York local solar plexus, if they had sacrificed a few petty millions to put power behind the punch, ANG would have taken the count.

• • •

From Feb., 1936 until June, 1938, my last month on the IEB, there were only five weeks—in November-December, 1936, and March-April, 1938—when some ANG local was not striking or locked out! By June 1, 1938 the Guild had weathered 20 strikes, and two were in progress at that time. In November, 1937, we were conducting five simultaneous strikes!

It was a nightmarish period not only for striking members, but for all local bargaining committees, and for IEB members, on whom pressure never abated.

There was no rest for the boys who in 1933 had "blown their tops" and gotten themselves in a hell of a mess.

• • •

After working all day on the paper and handling Guild correspondence till the small a. m. hours, I used to roll out of bed at the alarm bleary and snatch up the paper hoping I wouldn't see any new Guild strike story, or better, the announcement of a reasonable saving settlement of one of those that were going. Frequently I found an editorial or a story charging or hinting the radical gang of cracked-brained leadership of the ANG was fomenting these strikes!—(Censored by Author.)

Well, all those IEB members except Bill Farson, who went on the board the year I retired from it, are resting now . . . we got by somehow, just how, I am not quite certain. It's a little hazy. . . .

• • •

The organic integration of the Guild with the labor movement was effected while I was on the board. Opposition was noisy but not strong. Today members still hear variations of those arguments in discussion of "professionalism" and "ethics," and such thinking still retards local inter-union co-operation and PAC work in many places.

I have some sympathy with those who argue against our involvement with interests external to that single purpose of newspapering.

But I was never convinced, that when a staff complex of interests differed in particulars from those of the publisher, there would not result a balancing of views in the final news product, having more objectivity than existed before staffs affiliated with an outside secular movement like organized labor.

The above paragraphs, I think, represent substantially the views of the hard headed old organizers of the Guild, though no convention has formulated them in exactly those words.

I was certain from the moment I started Guild activity that the organization would become a hard-boiled labor union or a flop. And the common sense of the vast majority of newspaper people made the decision.

I find that I signed an article in GR in 1934: "The American Newspaper Guild is now and will become not what you or I may academically desire, but what conditions require of it. . . . My belief is that the Guild is now essentially a labor union, and will, with the publishers' attitude as it is and has been from its beginning, become more definitely and effectively a labor union as time passes."

I was not the author of this idea. I was expressing as one local treasurer an idea that was general among active and thoughtful members everywhere.

I am certain that ANG would have collapsed within four or five years after its organization, had we not first affiliated with the AFL, and then joined the CIO to become an industrial union, and broadened our membership base to include related departments.

The convention of 1935 in Cleveland had put the question of affiliation with AFL to referendum. It lost the necessary two-thirds support by 1.26 percent!

Through the ensuing year sentiment on AFL affiliation jelled, and the New York Convention voted for it 85 to 5. No referendum was invoked.

Meanwhile the "Committee for Industrial Organization" had been set up by John L. Lewis. Broun, displaying his rare sense of sure leadership, became a member of the committee—a personal decision.

The St. Louis Convention in 1937 voted affiliation with the CIO after considerable debate, and put the question to referendum. The decision was supported by the membership by a two-to-one vote.

That "broadened the base" of ANG membership and probably saved the tiny editorial-room craft-organization from con-

(Continued on Page Ten)

Regular Guy with Zest for Living Is Farson's Recollection of Broun

By WILLIAM J. FARSON
ANG Secretary-treasurer

MY MEMORIES of Heywood Broun cover a period of only three years. In looking back, "it seems to me" that the best measure of his personality is that his influence should have been—and still is—so great.

I found him neither saint nor sinner. Some think of him as a knight in shining armor. This is hard to imagine for those of us who knew Broun's build and sartorial habits. I found him just a regular guy with a zest for living and a tremendous urge and drive to see justice done, whether in a lost cause such as the Sacco-Vanzetti case or a visionary's dream of a newspaperman's union.

Our first meeting was in the fall of 1936 in New York. I met with Broun to discuss the successful organization of the Philadelphia Advertising Guild and the possibilities of the American Newspaper Guild broadening its base to admit commercial workers. My most vivid memory of this meeting was the sharpness of Broun's questions. He wanted no double talk; he talked straight and wanted straight factual answers. This meeting gave birth to a mass meeting for New York commercial newspaper workers at the Astor Hotel early in 1937.

It was estimated that 300 to 500 persons attended the rally. (The publishers' guess was 300; we claimed 500.) The first two rows had been occupied at an early hour by the private secretaries of publishers, department heads and straw bosses, complete with shorthand books and pencils. They were to report remarks of speakers and employes.

Sitting next to Broun on the platform was an inspiration. He must have sensed my uneasiness because he went out of his way to keep me engaged in conversation before the meeting got under way. I remember thinking to myself, "What am I worrying about? Here is a guy putting $40,000 a year on the block. What have I got to lose?"

• • •

AT THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION in 1937 I had an opportunity to observe his marvelous ability to chair a meeting. This was a hot convention—in the convention hall and in the caucus rooms and bars. Issues such as joining the CIO and admitting commercial employes to membership, Franco and Bridges resolutions, etc., were up for convention action. Parliamentarians like Bob Buck, of Washington, would have given any other chairman a hard time, but Heywood handled them in his stride.

It was here that I first became acquainted with the famous Broun convention glass, a tumbler containing a colorless fluid which had a strong resemblance to water. It was never full and never empty. This state was made possible by occasional sips from the glass and refills from some mysterious source under the speakers' table. Between sips and refills the glass was covered by a 3 x 5 card. One of my great regrets is that I never asked Broun, "Why the card?" Surely it was not a germ phobia, as no germ, no matter how virile, could survive long in that fluid. The only conclusion that makes sense is that he just didn't like dust particles in his nectar.

This glass took on Guild immortality at the Toronto convention in 1938. The conclusion of the traditional invocation caught Broun unprepared—that is, with his card down—and the minister, reaching for the nearest glass of water, cauterized rather than cleared his throat.

• • •

THERE ARE THOSE who say that Heywood gloried in the description of himself as "an unmade bed." Well, whether he liked it or not, it fitted him like a well-worn glove. Maybe he did accent his unkempt appearance, but from my limited observations it was a gift. I recall one occasion when, along with several IEB members, we waited in Heywood's room while he showered and dressed for a Guild convention dinner. I saw him put on clean linen and a freshly pressed suit. He had a habit of carrying more junk in his pockets than a small boy on summer vacation. Transferring these treasures to the freshly pressed suit did it no good and within a half hour you would have sworn he had slept in the suit and that his shirt had not been changed for at least the last two days. I was always envious of his footwear. His shoes had no laces and the backs were wrinkled down so that he could step in and out of them with the greatest of ease, which he quite frequently did. He was a man who liked his comfort.

At IEB meetings, which lacked the formality of a convention setting, I was amazed at his sensitivity to unjust or unfair criticism. He invariably looked as though he couldn't—or wouldn't—believe people could act that way.

I had the privilege, occasionally, at conventions and board meetings, of watching him knock out his column in 30 to 45 minutes, correct it with the traditional soft-lead copy pencil, and send it off. This feat became more amazing as I later had the opportunity to watch other good men sweat blood over their copy.

The 1939 convention was to be held in San Francisco. Board members were invited to drop off in Los Angeles before the convention and the local boys went all out with their traditional hospitality. Naturally this included a visit to the studios. With a man like Broun in the group, the studios really rolled out the 'plush carpet. Included in the royal welcome was luncheon at the Paramount studio commissary. When we walked in, the place was packed with the great and near-great fresh off the sets and in costume. Broun was a typical tourist and pointed out the stars as he recognized them. Meanwhile, those of us in the rear were astonished to hear stars telling other stars in awed whispers, "There goes Heywood Broun."

At the 1937 convention Broun took two or three of us aside and said he had staked the future of the Guild on the industrial union principle. He said he knew some original Guild members who would quit now that the Guild had become a union and not a glorified press club. He said, "It's up to you and guys like you to bring in enough new people to prove we were right in our move to industrial unionism." And now, in this 20th anniversary year of the Guild, the 16th since you voted guys like me in, I'd sure like to be able to ask him, "How're we doin', Heywood?"

Tiny Rockford, Local 5, Dates Way Back to 1933

By ISADORA NELSON
Rockford Guild

Rockford, Ill.—On a summer day in 1933, shortly after Franklin Delano Roosevelt had assumed the presidency of the United States, and proclaimed the right of collective bargaining for all working men and women, a group of thirteen Rockford Morning Star and Register-Republic news room employes met in the City Council chambers.

The thirteen, who signed as members of the "Rockford Editorial Association," were Fritz Asproth, Howard Blomberg, John Rust, Rae Small, Herman Nelson, Harvey Jewett, Hal Nelson, Dooney Trank, Jim Flagg, Paul Courtney, Curt West, Harry Milne, and Bob Jacobs.

Similar meetings were being held by newspapermen throughout the country. Spurred by the late Heywood Broun, these small groups called a convention in St. Paul, Minn., at which Rockford was represented by Hal Nelson. And the American Newspaper Guild was born.

Rockford was the smallest city represented at the convention. But Rockford received charter No. 5 as the result of preliminary work done by Curt West, who spent his own money to finance trips to other cities to help lay the groundwork for the national guild.

Money was tight in those black depression days. In 1933 the top salary paid a Register-Republic editorial employe was $38 a week. On the Star, it was $29. Salaries of reporters and desk men ranged from $14 to $28.60.

The Rockford group pledged $17.25 to pay the expenses of its delegate to the St. Paul convention. Of this amount, $11 was actually paid in.

In addition to the thirteen newsmen who joined the Rockford Editorial association, charter members of the Rockford Newspaper Guild included Dick Day, Paul Wollstadt, Isadora Haight Nelson, and Dick Ramey.

Rae Small was elected the first president of the Rockford Guild in 1934. Since then the roll of Guild presidents has included: Herman Nelson, 1935; Hal Nelson, 1936; Rae Small, 1937; Herbert Bain, 1938; Robert Jacobs, 1939; James Flagg, 1940; Robert Monahan and Howard Blomberg, 1941; Hal Nelson, 1942; John Rust, 1943; Herman Nelson; 1944; Richard Day, 1945; Elizabeth McCarren (now Mrs. Fritz Asproth), 1946; Hyman Chester, 1947-1948; William Garson, 1949; William E. White and Chad Brooks, 1950; Doug Adams, 1951; William E. White, 1952; Jack Scholler, 1953.

Starting as an independent union, the Guild was affiliated briefly with the American Federation of Labor before shifting to the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1937.

It took five years for the Guild to achieve its first contract with the management of the Star and Register-Republic. A year later, the five-day 40-hour week was added. And in all its contracts since the first there has been a continually higher wage scale as well as improvements in working conditions. Today, the salary scale is more than 250 percent higher than the first contract called for.

Of the original seventeen charter members of the Rockford Guild, eight are still actively engaged in newspaper work. Four still are associated with The Morning Star. One, John Rust, has died; one, Hap Milne, has retired.

Today, the Rockford Guild is known for its strength and the integrity of its members. Over the last twenty years, nearly 200 men and women have been members. The strength of the Guild today lies in the work many of these men and women did voluntarily to build a firm foundation.

High Court Rules Firing For Disloyalty Is Okay

Washington, D. C.—National labor leaders are studying a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which ruled last week that statements derogatory of an employer published by employes during a strike, and which were not directly related to the strike issues, constituted ground for dismissal under the Taft-Hartley law.

The employe offense was defined "disloyalty."

The law suit involved a strike of technicians in a Charlotte, N. C., TV station in 1949, during which pickets distributed a handbill attacking the "product" of the station.

The station fired the circulators of the offending dodger for "disloyalty." The union, AFL Electrical Workers, appealed to NLRB, which upheld the employer. The U. S. District Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia overruled the NLRB and remanded the case to it to the Board for redetermination.

The High Court split 6 to 3, with Justice Frankfurter writing the dissenting opinion signed by Justices Douglas and Black. The new Chief Justice, Earl Warren, voted with the conservative majority. Justice Burton wrote the majority opinion.

Reporting the case with varying degrees of completeness the newspapers played up the following excerpt from the opinion which alarmed labor leaders:

"There is no more elemental cause for discharge of an employe than disloyalty to his employer."

The court reasoned that since the handbill contained an attack, not on the station's labor policy, wages, working conditions, hours or other strike issues, but on the quality of its public programs or service, its publication was a firable offense unconnected with the strike.

The minority argued that the NLRB went beyond the authority given it by the T-H law which did not list "disloyalty" as a ground for discharge of an employe. Wrote Justice Frankfurter, "If Congress has so written that section, it would have overturned much of the law that had been developed by the board and the courts in the 12 years preceding the Taft-Hartley Act. . . . Many of the legally recognized tactics and weapons of labor would readily be condemned for 'disloyalty' were they employed between man and man in friendly personal relations."

Arthur Goldberg, CIO general counsel, commented that the court had evidently pitched its opinion on the "feeling" that what the dismissed strikers had said was not "nice." AFL legal department had no comment.

It was not certain how far-reaching the effects of the ruling might be.

Since the 30's the problem of administrative agencies of government making rulings and policies by order and directive having the effect of legislation has been one of grave concern among constitutional lawyers and the judiciary. Justice Frankfurter is regarded by the profession as the outstanding judicial authority on questions of administrative law.

Four Contests For WS Council

Four of the eight posts on the National Wire Service Council have been filled, by nomination of unopposed candidates, while the other four spots will be filled by election procedure among the appropriate membership segments of the wire services.

Those declared elected are:

President, Leonard Milliman, San Francisco AP; secretary-treasurer, Joseph R. Wilson, San Francisco UP; delegate for AP, Jerry Sullivan, Kansas City; vice president for INS-INP, Joseph L. Pearlman, New York.

For the post of vice president for the AP, members in that wire service will choose between Ronald W. Gilbert, Indianapolis, and Ray Henry, Washington.

Vice president for UP will be a choice between Sol Fox, New York, and John Goldsmith, Washington.

The nominees for delegate for UP are Robert Parkin, St. Louis, and Teresa Reese, Chicago.

For delegate for INS-INP Max Fine, New York, and Alvin Spivak, Washington, are the nominees.

NLRB Reverses Itself On "Equal Speech Rights"

Washington, D. C. — Mental processes of NLRB keep changing day by day, with Trumen replaced by Ikemen.

Yesterday (so to speak), if an employer had his foremen herd the workers together in a plant and shut down operations to harangue them on the "right to work" without a union, he had to give the union organizer the same opportunity.

Today the employer can harangue without giving the organizer his inning too, except that he can't assemble the captive audience within 24 hours before a representation election.

In 1951 the board had held that if the employer used company time and real estate to make a speech against organization, the union could do the same. That was the ruling in the Bonwit-Teller case.

This week the board decided two cases in which management had called meetings within a day before an election, but refused unions that right. The unions lost the elections, after which they charged unfair labor practices.

What the board as now composed did, was to refuse the union the privilege of answering on company time and property after an employer-called meeting, and stop all mass campaigning by either party in the plant within the 24-hour period before voting starts.

With one vacancy on the five-member board, two Eisenhower appointees and one Truman holdover formed a majority in these decisions. Abe Murdock, a second surviving Truman appointee, wrote a 7,000-word dissent.

The two new decisions involved the Livingston Shirt Corporation and the Peerless Plywood Company, and the Amalgamated and CIO Furniture Workers.

The ruling followed the United States Chamber of Commerce legislative arguments in its attempt to change the T-H law against the "equal opportunity" rule of Bonwit-Teller.

The law was not changed. The board's mind changed about the law.

In Fletcher Wilson's Memory Book Guild Was Launched by Management

By FLETCHER WILSON
Chicago Guild

TRADITION RELATES that Heywood Broun constructed the American Newspaper Guild at 9 o'clock one October morning.

Some of us who go back that far know that Broun presided at the cornerstone laying after others had built the foundation.

As far as I am concerned, the Guild was brought into existence by a publisher. The story, which many of you have heard from me and which I intend to continue telling as often as possible, is this:

IN THE SUMMER of 1933, when the depression was full blown, the late Frederick E. Murphy, publisher of the old Minneapolis Tribune, called his white collar employes to a meeting.

He had a sad task to perform, he said.

The merchants on Nicollet avenue had forced him, he asserted, to reduce advertising rates. He said he had to pass that loss on to somebody. He announced a 10 percent pay cut for us.

"I can't do this to the printers," Mr. Murphy told us. "They're organized."

He went on to say he couldn't do it to the engravers, the stereotypers, the pressmen, the mailers or the janitors because they too were organized in unions which had contracts enforcing wage demands.

Mr. Murphy was so earnestly disturbed about what he had to do to us that he added a last thought, which he must have regretted later.

"It is too bad," he said, "that you aren't organized. If you were, I could have told those merchants the rates would have to stay where they are."

WITHIN TWO MONTHS we were organized in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The ferment spread nationally. A man from the Minneapolis Tribune's copydesk hitch-hiked to an organizing session in Washington and Broun came to the Twin Cities for the Guild's first national convention.

Cleveland and the Twin Cities each claimed the No. 1 Guild charter. Cleveland got in on a close decision. Our publisher-inspired local was given No. 2.

And that's how I came into the Guild. Maybe it explains why I'm still being called management-minded.

Third Page-One Affair Draws Elizabeth Crowd

Elizabeth, N. J.—The third annual Page One Ball of Elizabeth Guild local drew an attendance of 300 to the Elizabeth Carteret Hotel, including delegates to the Middle Atlantic District Council, which met the same weekend at the hotel.

Four members of the International Executive Board attended, ANG President Joseph F. Collis, Secretary-treasurer William J. Farson, and Vice Presidents Roberta Bailey, Philadelphia, and Edward Easton, Jr., of New York.

Congressman-elect and Mrs. Harrison A. Williams, Jr., and Mayor and Mrs. Nicholas S. LaCorte were among special guests. Williams is the Democrat who upset the normally Republican Union County congressional district in the November elections. Mayor LaCorte and Collis were college classmates, at Villanova University.

Collis officiated at the coronation of Miss Marion Neese, Elizabeth Journal employe, as Page One queen; while J. Harold Brislin, Scranton, president of the district council, presented flowers to the queen's attendants, Miss Jane Hudson, of the New Brunswick Home News, and Miss Lenore Rilander, of the Plainfield Courier-News.

Walter E. Corris, local president, greeted the guests, and Joseph C. Famulary headed the general committee for the affair.

The district council held sessions Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning, with a reception Saturday honoring Collis and Miss Bailey on their successful election to National Guild office. Both had been active in council programs. Daniel A. McLaughlin, vice president, conducted the Saturday session and Brislin chaired the following day.

LIU Plans Courses For News Beginners

Long Island University's journalism department has announced spring semester courses in news writing, reporting and editing, slanted especially to the needs of beginners in newspaper work.

Of three courses outlined, one will have day sessions on Thurs days, from 9 to 11.45 A. M., with weekend sessions at courts and police headquarters.

A course in news reporting will be scheduled for Monday evenings, 5 to 9 o'clock, and one in news editing will be held Thursdays 6 to 9 P. M.

Working Guildsmen will teach the courses.



NEWSMEN'S CHOICE—Miss Marion Neeson, of the Elizabeth Daily Journal staff, who was queen of Elizabeth Guild's Page 1 ball, receiving her symbolic crown from ANG President Joseph F. Collis, of Wilkes-Barre.

NLRB Charges Filed Against Utica Papers

Utica, N. Y.—Charges of unfair labor practices have been filed by the Buffalo regional office of the National Labor Relations Board against management of the Utica Observer-Dispatch & Press, on complaint of the Utica Guild local.

The charges are that the Utica publisher refused to furnish the Guild payroll data, and that employes were "interfered with, restrained and coerced" in exercise of their rights under the labor act.

The latter refers to management's circulating questionnaires among employes asking whether each wished to have his pay rate divulged to the Guild officers. Four objected, and management thereupon furnished the Guild figures for the remaining fifty-four employes in the unit, withholding data on four.

SFONG to Help Enforce News Access Statute

San Francisco—SFONG has been asked to assist a State Senate committee investigating the availability of public records.

Last year the legislature passed a bill requiring all local governments to conduct their meetings only after public announcements and with all sessions and minutes open to the public.

An interim committee will hold hearings next year on proposed improvements in the bill, especially the extension of its provisions to cover state bodies.

Newspapermen in SFONG have been asked to meet with representatives of the committee to plan the 1954 hearings, and to provide the committee with reports of any difficulties they meet in obtaining news of meetings and decisions of public bodies.

Columbus Guild Treats Members at Yule Party

Columbus, O.—Columbus Newspaper Guild threw an "everything free" party for all members and their women complements, which received heavy patronage. The informal program included music, dancing and other seasonable items with pretzels.

The big Yule shindig on the night of December 3 was planned by a committee of Earl McBlane, Tom Hufford, Dane Emery, Bob Omohundro, Duke Lambert, Ross Calvert, Dave Secrest and Jiggs Kefauver.

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

NLRB Seeks Enforcement Against Houston Daily

Houston, Texas—The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has before it the enforcement order of the National Labor Relations Board against the Houston Chronicle, held guilty of unfair labor practices and directed to recast its circulation department operation in its former mold.

The hearing on the order is before three members of the court sitting at Fort Worth. They are Chief Justice Joseph C. Hutcheson, Jr., of this city; and Justices Wayne O. Borah, of New Orleans, and Richard T. Rives, of Montgomery, Ala.

The Houston case originated more than three years ago when circulation employes at the Chronicle established a Guild majority by signing application cards.

Only a day after the Houston local sought bargaining rights the Chronicle management announced a sweeping change in that department's operations. Fifty-nine circulators were discharged, then some were rehired as "independent contractors." Sixteen were dropped altogether.

The Guild filed charges of unfair labor practices with the NLRB, and when the case was heard before a trial examiner, he recommended reinstatement of the 16 discharged employes, a cease-and-desist order against management on three counts of unfair labor practices, and a directive to management to open negotiations with the Guild as a recognized bargaining agent.

The Chronicle appealed the case to the full NLRB board at Washington, but the board not only upheld its trial examiner, it went beyond his recommendations. The NLRB ordered the Chronicle to return all 59 employes to their status at the time the Guild sought recognition, discontinue its new method of operation and restore the district manager system it had abandoned.

This order the Chronicle management ignored, and last April 18 the Labor Board filed a petition for court enforcement.

In its defense, the Chronicle disputed the chronology involved. Its brief set forth that as early as August, 1950, three months before the shift was inaugurated, its circulation manager had investigated the possible gains from changing its operations. It cited rising costs, loss of city circulation to competing dailies, and dissatisfaction with the "employe" method of handling the staff, as reasons for changing.

It was admitted that the change was accelerated by the emergence of the union, and by its indicated opposition to such a change. The brief stated that on October 11, "public announcement" of the plan, slated for November 1, was made to circulation department employes. The effective date was moved to October 20 when the union bid for recognition was made.

The Labor Board charged that the change was designed to thwart unionization by the employes, and to circumvent collective bargaining. The Guild said that as early as October 9 management had been asked to discuss wages, and made threats to "go independent" before "allowing" a union to enter its circulation department.

Grievance Decision Puts Bennett Back in LPA Job

Washington, D. C.—Arbitration of the grievance of the Washington Newspaper Guild over the discharge of Edwin Bennett, Jr., from the staff of Labor Press Associated, Washington news service, has resulted in reinstatement of Bennett, a news writer, to his job.

He had been dismissed, last May, when Bernard Mullady replaced Irving Fagan as editor of LPA, and Fagan was given news writer status.

Bennett was the newest staff member, Fagan's changed job rating excepted, and was dropped on the basis of seniority, LPA management held.

The Washington local took exception, and the question was moved to binding arbitration before Carl R. Schedler. The submitted issue was whether the Guild contract with LPA had been violated as to no dismissals except for just and sufficient cause.

Schedler found for the Guild, and directed reinstatement. He ruled that Fagan had been a part of "management," although in the informal atmosphere of a small closely-working staff the distinction between management and union was somewhat "blurred." Moving Fagan to news-writing status created an overstaffing, the arbiter conceded, but he held that such management action did not provide "just and sufficient" cause under the contract's ban on dismissals.

There had, he pointed out, been no criticism of Bennett's work, and management is not entitled to create an over-staffing condition by transferring a member of management into the ranks of the bargaining unit, thereafter relying on the over-staffed condition for discharging an employe.

Such an unrestricted right, he pointed out, "might well give management the privilege of actually eliminating the union members."

As editor, both Fagan and later Mullady did extensive new-writing. LPA management did not allege or show, in arbitration, that another newswriter of Fagan's ability was needed to perform work already done by other staffers.

Further, since Fagan had been a member of management, the aribter holds that as a news writer Fagan, not Bennett, is the newest "employe" in the bargaining unit.

Sacramento's Page 1 Ball Turnout Nearly Doubles Last Year's

Sacramento, Calif. — Sacramento Guild's decision to move its third annual Page One Ball to a downtown club auditorium resulted in almost doubling the attendance. Last year's affair attracted 300, this year's gate was clocked at 540.

Pre-show refreshments and a buffet supper bracketed the evening's doings, with an hour and a half of skits written, acted and directed by Guildsmen, and followed by dancing.

The show lampooned the weather bureau, politics, the "Bored of Education," the copy desk, journalism schools, and the cellar-dwelling Sacramento baseball team.

The show was directed by Bill Glacken, local president, with words and music by Wayne Sargent. Script writers included Vic Blanks, Marybeth Street, Marco Smolich, Al Lyons, Joe Lipper, Art Wood, Bob Markson, Max Miller, Mary Davis, Patti June, Flo Barton, Jerry McDonald and Paul Freye. Charles Driscoll was stage manager, and general chairman for the evening was Ron Dieffenbacher.

The President's Corner—

Publisher Profits Furnish Guild Cue To Contract Gains



By JOSEPH F. COLLIS
ANG President

EVENTS since the Boston convention have demonstrated the publishers long ago planned to attack. Three times—in Seattle, Portland and New York—the publishers have thrown their Sunday punches and we're still absorbing them, even with some merriment at their mistakes.

But let's keep our eye on the ball—or the bill.

In the current issue of an industry magazine are the cues:

* * *

"The (Chicago) Daily New retired $12,800,000 in long term debt over a nine-year period."

No mention made of the other millions paid in interest, because even at 5 percent the first year's interest would have been $600,000 at least.

"A quarterly dividend of 40 cents, representing the second increase in the year, has been declared by directors of Southam Company, Ltd. The 1953 payments will total $1.40 as compared to $1.05 in 1952."

This looks like a 33 percent pay hike in one year for the Southam stockholders.

And, on the next page, this:

* * *

"The estate of the late William Randolph Hearst has paid a California state inheritance tax of $400,610.58, records on file in probate court here showed this week. The accounting listed the present total assets of the estate at $56,329,690.06."

There's gold behind those printing presses, so let's keep our eye on the ball and do some effective collective bargaining.

Toronto's Holiday Dance Attracts Throng of 200



THEY SHARED SPOTLIGHT—International Representative Charles A. Perlik, Jr., adjusts the jaunty tiara of Miss Wendy Needham, Toronto Star unit, the Miss Toronto Newspaper Guild of the local's fourth annual Christmas dance. Both received gifts from TNG. Perlik's being in recognition of his negotiation services for the Telegram unit.

1953 Broun Award

DEADLINE for entries: February 1, 1954.

SEND entries to the Broun Award Committee, 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 outstanding journalistic work "in the spirit of Heywood Broun" done or completed between January 1, 1953, and December 31, 1953.

ELIGIBLE are all newspapermen and women in Guild jurisdiction in the United States and Canada, whether they are members of the Guild or not.

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

JUDGES, a panel of distinguished journalists, will be announced later.

WADE FRANKLIN
Award Committee Chairman.

'Collect-ive Bargainer' Gains $34.75 in Chicago Guild Holdup



ICE-PICK STICK-UP—Four Chicago victims of a Guild office holdup re-enact the crime for a Sun-Times picture. Left to right are Mel Larson, Sun-Times; Justin F. McCarthy, Jr., ANG international representative; Helen Fleming, Daily News, and Dan Smyth, Chicago local's administrative officer.

Chicago, Ill.—A nonmember, who kept order with an ice pick, presided at the quietest meeting ever held in the Chicago Newspaper Guild office.

Daniel T. Smyth, the Guild's new administrative officer, and Justin F. McCarthy Jr., ANG international representative, were working in the office when a young man entered and closed the door behind him.

"I'm in serious trouble," he said, slightly breathless. "You've got to help me."

As his was the conversational gambit of almost everyone who walks into the Guild office, Smyth suggested comfortingly that he sit right down and tell his grievance.

Instead, he produced an ice pick and made a few stabbing gestures towards Smyth's ribs.

"Don't resist," McCarthy advised, from the other side of the room. "It isn't worth it. Give the man what he wants."

Smyth handed over the contents of his billfold, about $20. The bandit forced McCarthy to tie up Smyth, then tied up McCarthy himself. He blindfolded and gagged both men.

The robber remained in the office for more than an hour and a half, explaining he had frightened two girls in another office two floors up, and wanted to stay in the closed Guild office until the coast was clear.

When Helen Fleming, Daily News unit chairman, entered the office, she too was bound, gagged and robbed. So was Mel Larson, Sun Times photographer, who dropped in to use the phone after completing another assignment in the Loop building.

Muffled conversations through the gags was permitted by the acting chairman of the meeting, who warned he would use his ice pick if there were any outcry.

Miss Fleming remarked that any additional increase in the number assembled would tax the existing supply of oxygen.

The robber requested that he be remembered kindly. He pointed out he had manhandled no one. He seemed to expect he would be caught. He wondered aloud where he would spend the holidays.

At 4:45, he slipped out, softly. The four Guild members wriggled loose and called the police. A re-cap found the robber had taken $5 from Miss Fleming, $9 from Larson and 75 cents from McCarthy.

All the dailies carried stories about the robbery. Milburn P. Akers, Sun-Times executive editor, commented the total take-$34.75-was the best argument for a Guild raise he had heard in several years' negotiations.

The Guild's new administrative officer has established a reputation for prudence rather than valor. But nobody was hurt. And the bandit presumably will have a Merry Christmas.

California-Nevada Council Is Host to NLRB Director

Bakersfield, Calif.—The responsibilities and limitations of the National Labor Relations Board were spelled out in a roundtable discussion of the California-Nevada District Council at its Fall meeting in Bakersfield.

The discussion was headed by Gerald A. Brown of San Francisco, director of the twentieth region of the NLRB.

In talking about the board and its functions and in answering questions, Brown emphasized that there has been no change in the law affecting labor unions. He admitted, however, that differences in policy interpretations may have been noted since the advent of the Republican administration.

Brown listed the unfair practices, both for unions and employers, defined the proper unit in a representation election, and described the importance of locals being in full compliance with board requirements for service.

The CNDC, faced with a change in government in California, now has a Political Action Committee for the first time. The committee, named by President Paul Freye of Sacramento after a discussion of the importance of political action on the local level, consists of Ray Bach of Sacramento, chairman; George Meenes of Los Angeles and William Henley, Jr., of Reno.

The Council also adopted a resolution opposing any change in the ANG Constitution which would make mandatory membership of all locals in a district council. The resolution, however, urged all locals to join a district council.

The Council will meet again in February in Sacramento.

Plus Legal Fees

Austin, Minn.—In 1951 a jury awarded James E. Briggs, Oelwein, Ia., $95,000 damages in an injury claim against the Chicago Great Western Railroad. The company appealed and the Minnesota Supreme Court gave Briggs $125,000.

Blair Moody Starts Michigan Weeklies

Detroit Mich. — Former US Senator Blair Moody, one-time Detroit newspaper man, is publishing two weekly newspapers in the printing plant that he and associates purchased a few months ago.

It had been rumored that the purchase would lead to establishment of a new liberal daily in the Detroit area, and labor heads here surmise that the two weeklies are pilot operations in that objective. The weeklies are being circulated in the heavily-industrial suburbs of Plymouth and Livonia, the latter the scene of the disastrous fire in General Motors' automatic transmission plant.

Printers Scales Up 11.1% In Newspapers

Washington, D. C.—Union wage scales in the printing industry rose an average of 4% in the year ended July 1, a Labor Department survey revealed Dec. 2. Approximately 90% of workers in 53 cities gained boosts ranging from 5 to 15 cents an hour, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported. The average was 9.3 cents in commercial shops and 11.1 in newspaper plants.

20 Years Show Startling Contract Improvements

REPORTER IN EARLY YEARS GOT SLIGHTLY MORE THAN GARBAGE MAN

By EVA JOLLOS
Executive Secretary, ANG Contract Committee

Collective bargaining is the life blood of the Guild, the basic reason for its existence. The record of the Guild's first twenty years is best reflected in the history of its struggles to fulfil the purpose set forth in the ANG constitution, "to advance the economic interests of its members." The history of the Guild is the history of its contracts.

The ANG's first constitutional convention in St. Paul spelled out the aim which has continued through the years as the Guild's basic guide:

"The fundamental purpose of the Guild is to bargain collectively with publishers, to preserve the vocational interest of its members and to improve the conditions under which they work and live."

But it was three years before the Guild seriously got down to the business of collective bargaining, with signed contracts the accepted rule rather than the rare exception.

The Guild's early goals were modest and not formalized. In the beginning the chief aim was to seek "redress" for intolerable conditions, and the word "contract" did not appear in the first constitution. But as soon as the Guild was forced to recognize trade union realities, it began to develop formal goals, first as recommendation and guide, later as part of a unified national program.

From the start of real bargaining, among the chief goals was a Guild shop, in recognition of the fact that to get strong contracts and provide for the security of its members, the Guild first had to be strong and secure. The Guild shop along with a 40-hour week became the first constitutional contract requirement, and has continued as a chief goal ever since.

The history of collective bargaining in the Guild is a continuing story of meeting and overcoming obstacles of every conceivable nature, of setting goals often termed "visionary" and "impossible" by the very members who were voting them into the record, and then of achieving those goals.

Some goals, such as the 1945 wage program of a $65 minimum for key classifications, were gained universally in a relatively short time; others first laid down in the early days of the Guild still lack complete fulfillment.

Always there was publisher opposition, often the Guild had to battle government rules, red tape and restrictions, but from hesitant beginnings when small isolated groups took their courage and hats in hand the Guild has grown to where today it is the pace-setter in the industry.

In the light of the background, collective bargaining gains have been tremendous.

* * *

Year by year improvements in wages and conditions have been extended. The Guild was the first union to make severance pay an accepted industry-wide practice; it's now in every Guild contract.

The Guild shop has been extended gradually over the most bitter management opposition to where it today covers the vast majority of organized newspaper workers, although this goal is far from full achievement and still represents the point of strongest management resistance.

From no vacations at all, the Guild has won three-week vacations for nearly all of its members (189 of the current total of 266 contracts now have three-week provisions), four weeks for nearly half.

It has extended job security and made standard wages and conditions literally undreamed of when the Guild began. But it's been a hard fight all the way.

During the first three years of the Guild's existence only 15 contracts were signed, three of them in 1934. Only six of the original contracts still are in existence.

* * *

Low pay, reduced to near starvation levels by repeated cuts, unlimited hours without extra compensation, and complete insecurity had been the motivating factors in the formation of the Guild late in 1933.

While locals, then composed exclusively of editorial employes, mushroomed swiftly all over the country, their original intent was to arrange for "friendly discussions" with publishers in an effort to alleviate the often intolerable conditions found in city rooms. Many shuddered at the thought that the Guild might become a trade union.

But local Guilds soon were forced to learn the facts of life —the hard way. Publisher hostility crystallized swiftly, as soon as demands were pressed seriously, and locals quickly found themselves pressing for real contracts in place of verbal commitments.

Nationally, the Guild at first took a hands-off attitude on collective bargaining. The first constitution, adopted at the founding convention in Washington in December 1933, contained an outright prohibition against national interference in local negotiations.

By the time of the St. Paul convention the following June, complete local autonomy had proved impractical, and the national Guild was given authority to intervene in any negotiations carried on in violation of the constitution.

During the first year, the Guild concentrated nationally on trying futilely to have guarantees on minimum wages and maximum hours written into the NRA code then being drawn, and to get restoration of previous pay cuts on various papers.

As a result of Guild representations, President Roosevelt asked publishers of larger papers to institute the 40-hour week, and the Guild's first success came in getting compliance with this request on some metropolitan dailies.

On the wage front, in order to get data on editorial earnings, the Guild launched a national survey on wages and hours in co-operation with NRA economists. Previously some locals had made their own studies.

The combined results, published in October 1934, gave a devastating answer to the contention of many publishers that editorial employes were specialized professionals who could not be "regimented" by codes setting up minimum employment standards.

In many cities the average pay for veteran newsmen was revealed to be just slightly above that for garbage collectors. The figures also provide startling comparison with conditions today.

The median weekly wage for reporters revealed by the study was $30.70. (Median wage represents the mid-point in the scale above which and below which an equal number are paid.)

While the published results did not include actual average weekly salaries for the various editorial classifications, it did give a breakdown of average hourly rates which showed that reporters earned an average of 71 cents and worked an average 41.6-hour week for an average weekly salary of $29.47.

Moreover, 53 percent of the reporters were found to earn below $32 per week. Only six of the 1,042 reporters covered by the study (0.57 percent) earned $100 or more per week. Twenty percent of the reporters earned under $20 per week, and 84.2 percent under $50.

While no accurate comparison can be made on a salary basis, present minimums alone point up how far the Guild has come in improving wages in its organized jurisdiction.

Editorial departments currently are covered by contract on 169 papers.

On 59 of these, with more than half of the Guild's organized newspaper jurisdiction, the reporter minimum is $110 or more. On 106 papers covering about 90 percent of the organized) the minimum is $100 or more, and there are only 17 papers (total coverage about 900 employes) where the minimum is under $90.

The 1934 study covered 2,352 editorial employes on 158 newspapers in 82 cities.

Besides reporters, classifications included executive, deskmen, photographers, artists, clerks and copy boys. Executives had the highest median weekly salary—$42.05.

They earned an average of 85 cents per hour and worked 51½ hours per week. Median salaries for the other classifications were $30.68 for deskmen, $37 for artists, $33.86 for photographers, $20.13 for clerks and $14.85 for copy boys.

The average hourly rate for all editorial employes was 78 cents, and 83 percent earned under $50. The survey revealed that to earn more than $38 per week, the average newspaperman had to have at least 20 years' experience. Average experience for all employes covered by the study was 8.6 years.

The study also showed that 65 percent received no extra compensation of any kind for overtime work, and of the remaining 35 percent only 5 percent received extra compensation in cash.

The findings of the survey on wages and hours were published in October 1934, and served as a basis for the Guild's demand in January of the following year that the NRA codes provide for a basic $45 minimum for editorial employes throughout the country and a 40-hour week.

Nothing ever came of this, and the Guild soon found that to achieve its aims it had to turn to direct collective bargaining with individual publishers rather than rely on government codes.

* * *

Three contracts were signed during 1934. The first, signed April 7, was with the Philadelphia Record, followed by a contract covering the Capital Times and Wisconsin State Journal in Madison on Sept. 14, and the Cleveland News on Dec. 20.

Madison three years later became the first local to sign a contract covering commercial departments, after the Guild had voted to join the CIO and extended its jurisdiction.

The first Madison contract provided for a $35 top minimum after two years for all editorial employes; a maximum of one month "dismissal notice" after one year; a closed shop and a 48-hour week.

The latter provisions came in for considerable criticism nationally, but for the employes involved it meant improvement from an average 55 to 65-hour week. The contract was silent on vacations and sick leave, provided overtime pay at the rate of 75 cents an hour or equal time off computed on a monthly basis, and provided that work on non-publishing holidays was to be treated as overtime.

(The latest contract provides a $99 top minimum after four years and the starting rate now is about $10 higher than the top minimum in the first contract. Employes now get three-week vacations after 10 years, a maximum of 20 weeks severance pay, sick leave with full pay for the duration of any illness, and double-time pay for Sunday and holiday work. The 40-hour week was established in 1937, and the closed shop converted to a Guild shop in 1938.)

The first Cleveland News contract established a $40 top minimum after four years for the main editorial classifications. It provided the 5-day 40-hour week and an 8-hour day including an hour for lunch; a maximum of 12 weeks severance pay after nine years; equal time off for overtime, settled every six months with the publishers having the option of paying for 25 percent of the accumulated time at straight-time rates; a clause giving the publishers absolute right to discharge any employe at any time, except for Guild activity, and a clause permitting the publisher considerable latitude in making pay cuts above the minimums. There were no provisions for vacations, holidays, or sick leave.

(The latest contract, just settled, has a top minimum of $120 for the key editorial classifications, with $55 to start; 50 weeks severance pay, three-week vacations after one year; newly added job security provisions, and standard holiday, sick leave and overtime clauses.)

Elsewhere that year pressure by local Guilds led to posting of conditions of employment by managements and a number of oral commitments which established the 40-hour week and restored paycuts in some instances.

Severance pay (then called "dismissal bonus") was born early in 1934 when the Newark Guild vigorously protested repeated firings on the Star-Eagle, won one reinstatement and an oral commitment from Publisher Paul Block to pay severance thereafter on a graduated schedule running to six months' pay after 10 years service.

The principle caught on quickly, and locals throughout the country soon made it part of their own demands.

Nationally, the Guild did not adopt a collective bargaining program until 1937. The 1934 convention, which went on record that "it is better to have no contract than a bad one," provided locals with an outline of demands, but was purely advisory.

Negotiations continued on a local basis in many cities during 1935 and 1936. A few more contracts were signed, more bulletin board statements made their appearance, but each local continued pretty much on its own. The lack of co-ordination was so complete that the 1936 convention complained that it could not make a complete report on all agreements in existence because ANG had no records, and ordered the national executive secretary henceforth to keep track of contracts and report on them every six months.

A year later, with 30 contracts and 33 bulletin board agreements on the books, locals had found out that the autonomous approach was harmful, with publishers quick to utilize substandard agreements elsewhere.

The 1937 convention, "for the protection of the majority," therefore rewrote the constitution to require submission to ANG of all contract proposals and final drafts, and national supervision of collective bargaining. These constitutional provisions have remained virtually unchanged since that time.

Sparked by the extension of Guild jurisdiction to the commercial departments, 1937 saw the greatest increase in contracts of any year before or since.

Thirty of the agreements signed that year are still in effect. Of the contracts signed in 1935 and 1936, only those with the Boston Herald and Traveler, Cleveland Press, New York News and New York Post still survive.

While a national collective bargaining program, spelling out uniform conditions and requiring locals to propose them, was adopted in 1937, it was not until 1945 that wages were tackled on a national basis.

The Guild's first national wage program called for a uniform $65 top minimum for reporters and key classifications in the other departments. At that time the highest reporter minimum in the country was $64.75 (in San Francisco), and many threw up their hands in horror, terming it fine for the metropolitan papers but "impossible" to achieve on the smaller ones.

Eighteen months later the minimum goal had been established or bettered on some 60 papers, and the Scranton convention adopted the second wage program for a $100 minimum and a basic floor of $50 for any experienced adult worker.

* * *

This "impossible" has taken a little longer to achieve. While 15 contracts reached the $100 figure during the first year of the program, and many others a short time thereafter and went on from there, it is only now—after nearly eight years of bargaining —that the Guild is on the threshold of securing Scranton figures in all contracts.

Those goals had hardly been adopted when they became meaningless, as successive waves of inflation completely eroded the living standard envisioned by the $100-$150 program. From 1948 on, successive conventions changed the program to reflect the Scranton goals in terms of current purchasing power.

This approach proved unsatisfactory, and this year's Boston convention adopted the Guild's third national wage program calling for a minimum of $150 for the key classifications in the principal departments under Guild jurisdiction, and a floor of $75 for any adult worker.

The Guild's drive for adequate wages began in earnest only after World War II, and did not hit full stride until recent years. Before the war the organization's efforts were centered on winning bargaining recognition and security, getting decent hours and restoring pay cuts.

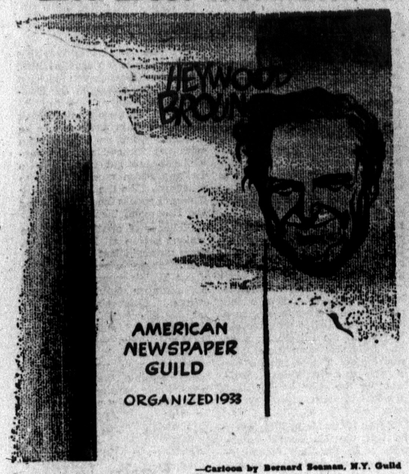
The outbreak of the war and coincident wage freeze stopped efforts for large scale wage improvements. The World War II stabilization program forced locals to devote most of their energies to securing both from the publishers and the government even the meager 15 percent permitted under the ironclad regulations.

The result of those restrictions was a complete wage freeze, brutally unfair to Guild members who were caught in it with universally substandard wages and for four years unable to do anything about them. At the same time newspaper publishers, with their costs "stabilized" at low levels and no restrictions on their revenues, reaped fabulous profits. Thus in the four-year period the average reporter top minimum under Guild contracts rose only from $47.28 to $52.47, or 11 percent. At the same time total advertising revenue for US newspapers rose 15.5 percent and circulation revenue went up 27.3 percent.

Illustrative of the golden harvest reaped by publishers—and not shared by newspaper workers—was the record of Hearst Consolidated Publications during that period. This corporation raised its net income after taxes from $3,980,000 in 1942 to $7,484,000 in 1945, an increase of 88 percent, while net income before

(Continued on Page Ten)

"His Best Column"



—Cartoon by Bernard Seaman, N.Y. Guild

Heywood Broun and the Guild

Life, if well used, is long enough.—Seneca.

* * *

Rome's Stoic philosopher could well have had in mind, when penning the above line, someone of the stature and accomplishments of Heywood Broun.

Broun lived 51 years. His death occurred in December, 1939, fourteen years ago.

* * *

When he died, he had been president of the American Newspaper Guild for six short and crowded years. He had first publicly voiced the need for a newsman's union, he had shared in the toil of bringing one about, he had watched its growth and successive affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and the new Congress of Industrial Organizations.

He had seen the Guild set its course toward "straight" trade unionism, as opposed to a nebulous "professional" status.

He had participated in picket lines, set up to force publishers to recognize the new union and to bargain contracts with it. He had seen first one and then scores of collective bargaining agreements hammered out in bitter wrangling across management desks.

He had witnessed the introduction of a wholly new idea in the field of job security, that of earned equity in a job, translated into severance cash in the event of necessary discharge.

He had seen the Guild broaden its field, double its potential strength and more than double its bargaining effectiveness by enlarging into an industrial type of labor union, abandoning its narrower policy of admitting only news department employes.

He had watched the Guild grow from a cluster of locals, mostly in larger cities, into more than fifty local organizations, including one in Canada.

He had presided at half a dozen stormy conventions, wielding a democratic gavel, outguessing parliamentarians, and lightening heavily ominous passages-at-arms with flashing thrusts of humor.

* * *

Broun himself stood to gain nothing, financially, from all this time-consuming hair-graying, often frustrating activity in the Guild's behalf. Probably the newspaper industry's best-paid columnist of his time, Broun stood untouchable on a quiet simple ideal—justice to the underdog among his fellow craftsmen.

He was that rare and happy coincidence, the right man in the right place at the right time.

As such, the Guild properly hold him in all honor. It names its most coveted annual journalistic award in his memory. Its conventions have discussed ways and means of establishing a permanent tangible memorial to his work.

* * *

But it is quite conceivable that Broun himself would have been bewildered and embarrassed by the stir over his accomplishments.

To him, the existence of the Guild and the direction it had taken were reward enough.

Once in 1938, when he had been soundly berated by an anti-Guild writer, Broun set down his views on the subject. Wrote Broun:

"I was one of the founders of the American Newspaper Guild and it is the only important work I ever did in my life.

"I am proud of the fact that I have been five times unanimously elected as president. That doesn't mean I have made great sacrifices for the Guild. I haven't. In the last couple of years I have loafed shamefully. But once upon a time I worked hard on Guild business. Self-interest actuated me.

"The Guild has given me more than I ever could give the Guild. When the Guild came along I was just a fat slob. Now I'm not all slob.

"I came into the newspaper business with a brass check in my hand. . . . The Guild is making it possible for all of us to lift up our hands and show that we are no longer palming the base metal of prostitution."

Davy, Guild's First Paid Organizer, Recalls Early Years as "Rough Go"

By WILLIAM M. DAVY
Cleveland Guild

A letter from ANG Executive Secretary, Jonathan Eddy, to this writer dated April 20, 1935, said in part:

"This confirms my last night's wire. The vote was as follows: Nor Strouse and Buck. Buck writes, 'I will never vote for anyone to be employed by the Guild at $20 a week. Pay him a decent salary, and I'll vote yes.' The Yes vote was Eddy, Burks, Evans, Allen, Kessler Watson, Crosier and French, with a promised Yes vote from Broun. Better look for a flivver. Suggest $200. Bill of Sale should be made to the ANG.

"On a separate sheet enclosed are the names of officers and contacts in the territory in which you will be working up to the time of the convention.

"The thing to do is to get to Chicago and size up the possibility of getting a real delegation to the convention. If that proves impossible the job is to dig into the outlying cities and see how many Guilds you can bring into the convention. We can't be there to drink a toast to your success, but we are wishing you, Bill, the best of luck."

What this adds up to is that the IEB felt that the time had come to put on a full-time paid organizer whose job, under the direction of ANG's executive secretary, was to go forth and organize as many members and locals as possible.

It was a rough, tough, go. Storms of one kind and another were constantly kicking up in various places where newspapermen and women were trying to get the organizational harness on the editorial horse.

ANG headquarters was flooded with telegrams and letters asking for help and as soon as it became known that ANG had one full-time paid organizer it seemed that almost every local that was organized and those that wanted to be organized put in a bid for the organizer's services.

Obviously it was impossible to be every place at the same time. What we tried to do was to visit as many places as possible and shore up our ranks

Forerunner of those who make up the Guild's present organizing staff and who go under the unwieldy title of "international representatives," William M. Davy, now executive secretary of the Cleveland Guild, has responded to a suggestion that he set down some impressions of his early labors.

In a letter accompanying his copy, Bill decries the creation of any impression that he "carried the whole ANG" on his back for years.

"What we did do was to succeed in getting the ark across the river," says he. "Now it is up to the younger chaps to keep the reactionaries from pushing us back down the cliff."—Ed.

with advice and a fistful of directives, which, if carried out, would keep the local afloat and moving ahead on a trade union course.

The job of how to keep our members from getting fired and what to do for them if they were smacked with the sack axe called for a lot of skull scratching.

There weren't many restful hours in those early days for the paid help or for the hundreds of loyal members who were contributing hours and hours of free time to the organizing kitty. Certainly the job of welding together a union for the newspaper editorial workers would never have been accomplished without the help of the rank and file members who devotedly carried out the thousand and one organizational assignments which are part and parcel of building an organization such as the American Newspaper Guild.

As I look back across the years I am reminded of days and nights of constant struggle. At times one became disheartened and weary, for then, as now, there were far too many who placed a Good Time ahead of a Good Cause.

Let it be said that there were compensations aside from the weekly stipend, which was slightly on the skinny side. The many, many days and hours I spent with our President Heywood Broun was one of them. Heywood was a powerhouse and he generated the kind of steam that sped the ANG organizational train out along the main line and he kept it there. He was a great story teller and not an easy guy to shove off the picket line. He was burdened with his day to day work but he was always up and coming when the chips were down.

Another facet of organizational effort which was most heartening and should be long remembered was the way we were welcomed all along the line by our older brethren in the trade union movement. We found it necessary to ask them for counsel and cash—time and time again—and when their reinforcements were badly needed they invariably arrived on time.

No question but that it took a bit of doing to get across the river but the advance guard made the crossing, established a beachhead and planted our trade union standards on high ground. Today we have a membership of some 27,000 and across the United States our locals are firmly rooted in good trade union soil. We are carrying out our many tasks in an effective manner thereby rendering to our country and union a needed and essential service.

In support of that contention, I recall an excerpt from a speech made by Louis B. Seltzer, editor of the Cleveland Press. Speaking to the American Newspaper Guild convention in Columbus, Ohio, on June 28, 1949, Mr. Seltzer said in part:

"For twelve years or more the American Newspaper Guild has fought an intelligent and gallant fight to improve the conditions under which newspapermen and women of America have labored. I think these conditions needed improvement. I think it is quite remarkable the progress that the Guild has made in that period of time from virtually a standing start. I think that the Guild, by improving the conditions for American newspapermen and women, has helped newspapers even at a time when publishers and editors were extremely apprehensive about the probable results of those for which the Guild was fighting."

To the younger generation remains the task of improving upon our work, and I for one, am certain, that in their own way they will fully measure up to their responsibilities.

'Guild' Was Broun's Word

It might have been the ANU instead of the ANG.

Why American Newspaper "Guild," and not American Newspaper "Union?"

In Dale Kramer's biography of Heywood Broun, published in 1949, there is a passage explaining origin of the organization's name.

Says Kramer, describing an early New York meeting at Broun's home:

"The idea of a pure union was repugnant to many, who favored something like the American Bar Association. The union supporters charged that this was more of the 'gentleman of the press' attitude and wouldn't fool the publishers a bit.

"Broun favored a frank union, but was willing to compromise, at least on the name. He suggested 'Guild' and it was accepted in the discussions."

Timeless Quality Marks Much of Broun's Output

Much of the writing of Heywood Broun, Guild founder and its first president, could well have been written not fifteen years or more ago, but yesterday.

Take the following samplings from his columns, as they appeared in the World, the New Republic and the World-Telegram:

●

I am not so much interested in the freedom of the press as in the integrity of the press. Freedom means any man who owns a large paper can print or throw into the wastepaper basket what he likes. A man who poisons news is more dangerous than a man who poisons wells and springs.

There can be no such thing as a free press and no such thing as the integrity of the news if the men and women who write the news live in fear of the security of their jobs.

●

The weakness of communism has always been in its basic dependence upon leadership which was far away and unfamiliar with American conditions.

●

Public opinion in this country runs like a shower bath. We have no temperatures between hot and cold.

●

A newspaper is, among other things, a business. And even so, it must be more than that. . . .

A newspaper is a rule unto itself. It has a soul for salvation or damnation. . . .

A newspaper can neither rise nor fall beyond or below its staff. . . .

I've always had the feeling that newspapers most of all were fit subjects for some sort of socialization. I've never known even the most obscure reporter who didn't think he knew more about running a paper than the man who owned it. I've always felt that way myself. And once I was right.

●

With all deference to tradition, I do not think that news, either in peace or war, is limited to the recital of overt acts. True reporting should be a great deal more than a recital of oddities. It should go deeper into the commonplace and ordinary.

Journalism at its best is current history, and in the long run history is compounded out of things which may seem trivial at the moment. There ought to be an eye for acorns as well as oaks.

●

No body politics is in a healthy state until it begins to itch.



Canadian Kudos for "Washington Roundup"

OTTAWA, CANADA.

Editor: Just a few words of commendation for Chalmers M. Roberts, the first writer who has been able to make Washington news interesting to me.

His column helps to make the Guild Reporter the interesting informative paper it is.

Season's greetings.

FRED INGLIS
Ottawa Guild.

Letters shall be limited to 300 words and shall avoid libel and subjects detrimental to the Guild. Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply in the same issue, but publication of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue.

During elections or referenda letters on the question to appear in the edition immediately preceding the distribution of ballots shall be confined to rebuttal of material appearing in the preceding edition.

Statement of Condition of General Fund as at October 31, 1953

ASSETS

CURRENT ASSETS		
Cash in Bank and on Hand	$24,984.96	
Advances Receivable	18,020.62	
Exchanges Receivable	544.44	
Loans Receivable	114.70	
Total Current Assets		$43,684.02
OTHER ASSETS		
Leasehold improvements, less amortization expense	$71.20	
Accounting equipment, less depreciation allowance	12,807.09	
Deposits	1,176.77	
Total Other Assets		14,055.06
TOTAL ASSETS		58,539.08

LIABILITIES AND RESERVES

LIABILITIES		
Exchanges payable	$ 673.15	
Heywood Broun Memorial Fund	135.00	
Payroll Taxes payable	5,258.76	
Due International		
Defense Fund	7,500.00	
Accrued interest	2,385.00	
Notes payable	12,500.00	
TOTAL LIABILITIES	$26,451.91	
RESERVES		
Reserve for Severance Pay		$23,642.05
Reserve for Hearst Negotiations		1,707.79
Reserve for 1954 Convention		5,125.80
TOTAL RESERVES		$30,474.84
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND RESERVES		$56,906.75

Analysis of General Fund Budget and Expenses for the Quarter Ending October 31, 1953

	EXPENDED Qtr. Ending Oct. 31, 1953	BUDGET Qtr. Ending Oct. 31, 1953	BUDGET Qtr. Ending Jan. 31, 1954
1. PER CAPITA TAXES CIO, CCL, IFJ	$ 7,189.40	$ 7,125.00	$ 6,525.00
2. ORGANIZING AND SERVICING			
Salaries—Director and Repts.	$17,678.00	$20,800.00	$20,800.00
Secretary-Stenog.	416.00	416.00	416.00
Expenses—Director and Repts.	6,557.02	6,000.00	6,000.00
Misc. Organizing Expenses	3,219.02	1,000.00	1,000.00
	$28,870.04	$28,216.00	$28,216.00
3. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING			
Salaries—Exec. Sec.-IEB			
Contracts Committee	$ 1,560.00	$ 1,560.00	$ 1,560.00
Contracts Analyst	1,512.00	1,560.00	1,560.00
Exec.-Stenog.	416.00	416.00	416.00
Expenses—Personnel	(.50)	125.00	125.00
Miscellaneous	———	25.00	25.00
	$ 3,487.76	$ 3,686.00	$ 3,686.00
4. WIRE SERVICE ADMINISTRATION			
Salaries—Administrator	$ 1,820.00	$ 1,820.00	$ 1,820.00
Field Representative	1,690.00	1,690.00	1,780.00
Secretary-Stenog.	416.00	416.00	416.00
Expenses—Representatives	691.54	1,000.00	1,000.00
Negotiations	2,447.27	———	5,000.00
Wire Service Council	1,748.73	2,000.00	500.00
Regional Conferences	514.53	500.00	1,000.00
Arbitration of Grievances	500.20	525.00	625.00
	$ 9,447.86	$ 8,051.00	$12,141.00
5. RESEARCH AND INFORMATION			
Salaries—Director	$ 1,950.00	$ 1,950.00	$ 1,950.00
Assistants	2,925.00	2,925.00	2,925.00
Secretary-Stenog.	416.00	416.00	416.00
Expenses—Director	(37.57)	200.00	200.00
Assistants	(4.40)	150.00	150.00
Books and Periodicals	184.18	250.00	250.00
Publications and Literature	1,725.97	700.00	700.00
Training Conferences	852.82	1,500.00	1,000.00
Miscellaneous	(2.91)	100.00	100.00
	$ 8,009.09	$ 8,191.00	$ 7,691.00
6. GUILD REPORTER			
Salaries—Editor	$ 2,015.00	$ 2,015.00	$ 2,015.00
Assistant	1,430.00	1,430.00	1,430.00
Clerical	799.50	799.50	800.00
Printing—Loss Income	4,622.06	4,800.00	4,800.00
Mailing and Postage	1,868.35	1,700.00	1,700.00
News Service	45.00	100.00	100.00
Pictures and Special Material	244.69	250.00	250.00
Engraving	158.05	250.00	250.00
Miscellaneous	87.35	125.00	125.00
	$11,269.91	$11,469.50	$11,470.00
7. ADMINISTRATION			
Salaries—Office Manager	$ 1,430.00	$ 1,430.00	$ 1,430.00
Secretary-Stenog.	2,038.20	2,400.00	2,400.00
Bookkeeping Dept.	2,263.13	2,300.00	2,300.00
General Clerical	736.86	700.00	700.00
Rent and Maintenance	3,148.67	2,125.00	2,125.00
Stationery and Supplies	948.00	1,500.00	1,500.00
Equipment	———	750.00	1,000.00
Bookkeeping Machine Expense	1,026.93	1,062.50	1,063.00
Repairs and Improvements	491.35	600.00	600.00
Telephone and Telegraph	1,731.71	1,000.00	1,000.00
Postage	434.02	800.00	800.00
Auditing	500.00	500.00	500.00
Insurance and Bonding	930.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Miscellaneous	49.00	250.00	250.00
	$14,972.95	$16,417.50	$16,568.00
8. EXECUTIVES			
Officers—Salaries	$ 5,005.00	$ 5,005.00	$ 5,005.00
Expenses	1,994.69	1,000.00	1,000.00
	$ 6,999.69	$ 6,005.00	$ 6,005.00
9. OTHER EXPENSES			
Legal Fees	$ 2,522.90	$ 3,000.00	$ 3,000.00
Payroll Taxes	1,068.72	1,350.00	1,350.00
Contributions	———	250.00	250.00
Steam Award Expenses	———	———	100.00
Defense Fund Expenses	1,500.48	1,500.00	1,500.00
IEB Meetings	11.20	1,500.00	1,500.00
Severance Pay Provisions	2,577.40	2,400.00	2,400.00
Phillip Murray Foundation	250.00	250.00	250.00
1954 Convention Reserve	3,125.00	3,125.00	3,125.00
1953 Convention Expense above Reserve	4,580.91	2,000.00	1,000.00
	$16,184.09	$15,325.00	$14,425.00
TOTALS	$104,671.33	$104,485.50	$106,727.00

( ) Denotes red figures.

Ernie Bayton, 'Mr. Hammond Guild', Constructed of Durable Material

By FRANCIS B. KENT
Hammond Guild

Hammond, Ind.—Five months ago, in Hammond's St. Margaret Hospital, two of the city's most learned medical practitioners strode into surgery to perform a difficult operation. In their capable hands rested the fate of Ernest G. Bayton, "Mr. Hammond Newspaper Guild."

Bayton, whose name is almost legend in Guild circles, emerged from the three-hour ordeal with little more than the suggestion of a pulse.

There were fears that he would not recover. But his presence at the Hammond's November Page One Ball, to accept the Guild local's annual Service Award, attested strongly to his physical condition.

The fears were justified. For Ernie, perhaps more than anyone else, has been responsible for what the Hammond Newspaper Guild is today. No one has fought harder to win and preserve the benefits embodied in the contract linking the local to Times management.

His Guild activities have not been restricted to the local which five times has elected him its president. For five years he headed the Guild's Midwest District Council, a group of regional locals which Ernie helped bring together eleven years ago.

In the fourteen years the Hammond Guild has existed it has repeatedly sent him to national conventions to champion the cause of local autonomy at Boston, Minneapolis, Scranton Columbus and Milwaukee.

Time after time his local had called on him to represent it before the CIO industrial council, or Labor's legislative council, groups that formulate sweeping policy in highly industrialized Lake County.

When Ernie came to the Times in 1926, journeymen ad salesmen were drawing a wage that most copyboys would scoff at today. Thirteen years later, with the signing of the first Hammond Guild contract, they had risen to the fabulous level of $42.50 a week, still a sum that would entice few youngsters away from the open hearth furnaces of Carnegie Tech (on the lake.)

. . . Bargaining

(Continued from Page Eight)

taxes soared 257.8 percent, from $7 millions to $25½ millions.

Following five years of fast and substantial increases in minimums which still barely managed to keep pace with even faster and more substantial increases in living costs, in 1951 another government wage stabilization program for a time threatened to halt the Guild's progress in this field. This time, however, the program turned out not to be a freeze, and thanks to a unified ANG program rigidly followed by the locals, members were able to continue to win gains during the two-year period.

Today Guild contracts provide an all-time high in union and job security, in wages and working conditions—but they are still far from full achievement of the basic contract goals long sought in the ANG's collective bargaining program. No contract—no matter how good—has yet approached perfection, nor perhaps ever will.

But there is no doubt that the Guild has come a long way on the collective bargaining road in its first 20 years, thanks to the courage and determination of the pioneers who, without experience, tackled collective bargaining in the early days, and to the continuing efforts of Guild members across the country today.

porters in the twenties regarded themselves as professionals. Collective bargaining they considered a thing for the masses. Besides, the almost prohibitive federal tax on gin was still a long way off.

Thanks chiefly to men like Ernie Bayton, today's newspapermen earn roughly three times the going wage set out in the early contracts.

Ernie came to Hammond via an extremely circuitous route, beginning 66 years ago in Principeo, Maryland, a village on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, some forty miles from Baltimore.

His first association with the highly perishable stuff of which newspapers are made was as a circulation solicitor with the old Record, in the Pittsburgh area. The following year found him working out of Erie, ranging the country as a circulation consultant for the now long-defunct MacDonald newspaper syndicate.

He hit his stride in 1911, when he left the MacDonald enterprise to be the Gary Post's circulation and promotion manager, a job that developed into considerably more than was indicated by the title. There Ernie not only looked after the purse strings but flirted with the muse as well, covering courts and writing a sports column that made his name a byword in the embryonic Steel City.

Those were the fabled but precarious days when newspapermen changed employers almost as often as they changed shirts, perhaps more often. When things grew unpleasant or dull at the Post, Ernie quit, and went to work down the street for the Tribune. Two or three days later he was back at the Post. Today he can't remember how many times he made the switch.

But he recalls vividly how this idyll of sorts ended, in 1920, when the two papers merged under a single flag, as the Post-Tribune.

In 1925 the urge to move took Ernie to Lorain, Ohio, where he went to work as ad salesman with the Times-Herald. Homesickness brought him back to Indiana seven months later, to what was then the Lake County Times. Readers know it now as the Hammond Times.

Sickness of another far more serious nature all but took him from us again last summer.

But there were no doubts about Ernie's recovery when, at a September Guild training institute in Chicago's LaSalle Hotel, he launched into a junior filibuster on his favorite topic, local autonomy.

Ralph B. Novak, international executive vice president who was wielding the gavel, expressed the sentiments of just about everybody present when he said:

"Ernie's going to be all right."

. . . Early IEB

(Continued from Page Four)

plete collapse — the business departments furnished critical reinforcements to swell the ranks of a weary, famished and tattered little editorial army. They gave us immediately badly needed money, power and prestige, and ultimately fresh leadership.

Within one year after CIO affiliation membership doubled!

The American Newspaper Guild is still and always will be but a minute segment of the great American labor movement.

What this small fraction, engaged vocationally at one of the most troublesome pinchpoints of modern democracy, may now be contributing towards a solution of a major social problem, does not, perhaps meet the casual eye, even of the newspaper worker himself, immersed in his daily task. I thing it is real and considerable, though subtle and imponderable, and that it was made possible when the American Newspaper Guild gave him a certain moral status which he had not previously enjoyed.

Speculation as to that, however, is another matter for tomorrow's Guildsman.

Girardin Tip Led to Nabbing Convict Trio

Detroit, Mich. — Guildsman Ray Girardin, of the Detroit Times city staff, figured in the news this week of the capture of three of the escaped convicts from Southern Michigan Prison.

An unidentified man called at the city news room and asked for Girardin, saying he had information of value. What he told Girardin was the location of the hideout where the trio was waiting out the area-wide man hunt. Girardin called police, and the men were captured within hours, at the hideout, the home of a former convict.

Thirteen in all had escaped, and with the capture of the three, two still remained at large.

Yachting Writers Head Rochester Officers Slate

Rochester, N. Y.—Two writers of yachting columns for their respective newspapers top the list of new officers of the Rochester Newsaper Guild.

Paul E. Tanner, Sunday editor of the Democrat & Chronicle, who tempers his chores with a column for boatmen, is the new president of the local, succeeding Thomas J. Murphy, assistant news editor of the Times-Union.

And Charlie Wagner, T-U sports writer and conductor of that afternoon paper's yachting column, becomes vice president.

New corresponding secretary is Martha Smallwood, D&C news staff. Reelections went to Peter Stutz, D&C reporter, as recording secretary, and to Treasurer Al Nash, T-U copyreader.

On the local executive committee are Edmund F. Peters, Joseph F. Klasen, Gene Gribboek, Ruth Chamberlain, Jean Walrath and Frank Dostal.

For better legislation keep an eye on your congressman.

among ourselves

Newest daddy in Richmond Guild — **Carl Shires**, whose son, Stephen, was born November 22; newest home-owners — **Jim Powers** and **James Elliott**; newest Guild member — **Liz Barnes**; Newest newlywed — **George Wilbur**, AP staffer and and Viola Rinkowitz. . . . **Katherine Warren**, out for several months due to illness, back at her reporterial post.

Guild marriage at Pueblo, when **Doris Blackburn**, Pueblo Chieftain reporter-photographer, became **Mrs. Howard M. Kaplan**. She was one-time member of Denver Post unit, he of Minneapolis AP unit, Twin Cities Guild.

Yuletide Greetings



—Illustration "A Sound of Sleigh Bells," Copr. 1951 by the artist, Whitney Darrow, Jr., from *The Office Party*, by Corey Ford, Doubleday, 1951.

Every Road Has a Turning —Even the 'Glory' Road

Two clauses in the Lynn Guild's new contract with the Telegram-News—reprinted elsewhere on this page—recently drew an editorial attack in the Concord (N. H.) Monitor, edited and managed by James M. Langley.

Mr. Langley is an editor of the old school, which holds that reporters (not editors) should be satisfied with glamor and stop screaming about cash. The key paragraph of the editorial says:

"We (presumably Mr. Langley) were brought up in the newspaper business in the tradition of Richard Harding Davis' 'Gallegher.' A reporter's job was to get the news, regardless of hours of work or pay or anything else, and to get it before a reporter for some other newspaper got it. Maybe part of the reward for such reporting was only glory, but so it still is for the job well done, no matter whether it is reporting or anything else."

Day Book

LABOR BOARD PROCEEDINGS

Hearing resumes, Jan. 5, on unfair practice charges filed against Los Angeles Examiner.

Hearing, Jan. 18, on unfair practice charges against Utica Observer-Dispatch & Press, involving wage data and interference with Guild.

CONTRACTS COMMITTEE

Bay City Times, contract renewal approved.

Chicago Northside Newspapers, wage reopening settlement approved.

Cleveland News, contract renewal approved.

Cleveland Plain Dealer, contract renewal approved.

Denver Post, contract renewal approval withheld because of low general increase ($2), continuing lack of job security and provisions discriminating against part-time employes.

Greensboro News & Record, contract renewal approved.

Hollywood Citizen-News, contract renewal approved.

Los Angeles Daily News, contract renewal approved.

Los Angeles Herald & Express, contract renewal approval withheld because of additional exemptions considered dangerous to other Hearst units.

Los Angeles Racing Form, contract renewal approved.

NY: Consumers Union, contract renewal approved.

NY: Wall Street Journal, contract renewal approval withdrawn because of reduction in some minimums.

Niagara Falls Gazette, contract renewal approved.

Tacoma News-Tribune, restored contract, approval withheld because of compulsory retirement provisions and continued lack of job security.

Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent, contract renewal approved.

ACTIVITIES

Midwestern Regional Wire Service Conference, Milwaukee, Jan. 16-17.

Joint Regional Training Institute, Empire State and New England District Councils, Albany, Jan. 16-17.

Southern Regional Training Institute, Greensboro, N. C., Feb. 20-21.

A New Hampshire Guildsman —a reporter of the old school who recalls the old days—had these comments on the editorial:

"One of the reasons why there is a Guild in Manchester is because of the abuses which existed. Langley says a 'reporter's job was to get the news, regardless of hours of work or pay or anything else.' Back in the pre-Wage and Hour days, my average work week here was at least 72 hours and at an exceptionally low pay rate (about $10 less per week than the unionized Typos). Langley says part of the reward was 'glory.'

"He states there are no provisions which reward the job well done. We have a clause in our contract which permits an individual to bargain for a wage in excess of top minimum. I might add that a publisher is not prevented from granting an increase above scale to one who deserves it. There are several of us here who have had merit increases."

After declaring that the Lynn contract clause would "legitimatize insubordination," Mr. Langley concludes the editorial with the paragraph:

"Incidentally, how free can the press be with Guild members having such an attitude towards their obligations in life?"

From this it might be inferred that Mr. Langley defines the free press as meaning the right to work his employes as long as he pleases for as little as he pleases. As Guildsmen well know, this interpretation is not uncommon among editors of the old school. But perhaps that's what they mean by "free."

Mr. Langley's editorial is appropriately titled "Ludicrous."

Local Copy

A PAGE compiled for local officers, stewards and members conducted by the Department of Research and Information

Tax Rise Means More Security; Don't Let Them Take It Away

Ammunition

"There is talk in the press that the administration expects to produce something for labor in the way of changes in the Taft-Hartley Act. Forget it. Unless I am far off the mark in my appraisal of this Congress, labor can expect nothing except a kick in the teeth, which it will receive administratively if not legislatively."

—From a newsletter by Guildsman Don Magnuson, Congressional Representative-At-Large for the State of Washington.

When you get paid for your first week's work in 1954, you'll find that 2 cents of every dollar instead of 1½ cents are being withheld as your social security tax.

What do you get for the extra ha'penny?

For one thing, you get greatly increased benefits under the old-age and survivors insurance program. The minimum benefit has gone up from $10 to $25 and the maximum family benefit from $85 to $169 a month.

* * *

Already, however, some employer groups, led by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are throwing a smoke screen around these gains, seizing upon the tax increase to try to turn workers against the present social security system.

The Chamber has come up with a social security program purportedly designed to raise minimum benefits to $30 and to cover more people.

This would be an admirable program, if it weren't for the gimmicks. The Chamber of Commerce plan is to:

- Cancel federal money (derived from general taxes) now supporting state assistance programs for the aged, widows, children, the blind and the disabled.
- Extend OASI to aged people now uninsured, giving them a miserly $30 a month (the proposed new minimum benefit).
- Finance these $30 payments by raiding the $18 billion OASI trust fund, instead of using general tax revenues as at present.
- Stop any new insurance programs for the sick or disabled.
- Keep old-age and survivors' benefits at low or starvation levels.

* * *

On the other hand, CIO and its allies are backing the Lehman-Dingell Bill, which would provide much improved pensions and survivors' benefits, cover more jobs and pay benefits to workers disabled by sickness or accident, either temporarily or permanently.

Under the Lehman-Dingell Bill, a worker with full-time earnings of $300 a month would pay higher taxes, but they would buy much more security. He could look forward to a monthly pension for himself and an aged wife of $155 compared with $110 under the present law.

If he dies at any age, leaving a widow and two young children, they would get $200 monthly instead of $145. If he is permanently disabled, this family would get $200 a month instead of nothing. If he can't work for a while because of sickness or accident, the family would receive $45 a week from the federal program.

Workers with different earnings would receive similar improvements, though the amount in each case would vary with actual earnings and length of time worked.

* * *

These opposing groups are headed for a showdown during the coming year. In preparation for the clash and to counteract the propaganda of the enemies of social security, CIO is urging its members to:

1. Explain to others that (a) the present Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance system is sound, (b) the good faith of the government is behind the benefits already enacted, and (c) the nation can afford and must enact a still better program, including higher benefits and disability insurance.
2. Urge senators and representatives to support the Lehman-Dingell Bill and to reject attacks such as those of the Chamber of Commerce.
3. Support improved programs for persons not now covered by OASI but insist these be financed from general tax revenues not out of the OASI trust fund. Oppose the effort to end federal grants to states for public assistance.

"Dont be misled," CIO warns, "by those who want to postpone the increase in OASI taxes in 1954. By paying slightly more in 1954, we can best pave the way for a better program without too heavy taxes later."

Political Action, Colonial Style

The first strike in American history, some historians say, was staged by a small group of freedom-loving Polish glassmakers who settled in the original English colony at Jamestown, Va., in 1608.

Captain John Smith, leader of the colony, referred to them as "the first foreigners in English Virginia, and they knew how to make pitch and tar and glass."

Although they had served their indenture, the Poles were denied the right to vote when the first legislature was set up in America in 1619. The Polish artisans protested by refusing to work until granted the vote. The Virginia company reconsidered and finally recognized them as being "as free as any inhabitants there." The strike ended in May, 1620.

Got A Buck? Guild PAC Goal Still $700 Shy

A year-end appeal for PAC contributions is being made to members and locals to help meet the Guild's 1953 quota. To date only about two-thirds of the quota has been turned in, Director of Research and Information Ellis T. Baker told local presidents and PAC chairman in a letter last week.

"Our goal for 1953 is $1,970," Baker said. "So far, we have contributed $1,279.45. That leaves us $690.55 short.

"Will you please make a final check to see that all contributions collected in your local have been turned in? And if your local has not yet done so, why not propose that it authorize a contribution direct to the PAC Trade Union Fund?

"Like everything else, political action costs money; it's important that we do our part."

Hard Times Near? Not for Publishers

Does your publisher use the line that "times are getting tough?"

If so, several recent surveys show that he's wrong, at least as far as newspapers and other advertising media are concerned.

For example, 75 percent of the companies polled by the Association of National Advertisers said they would spend more on advertising in 1954 than in 1953, 21 percent said they would spend abut the same, and only four percent said they would spend less.

New England Pioneers

Faced with two problems not uncommon in the newspaper industry, the Lynn Newspaper Guild, true to its New England traditions, has pioneered these solutions in its new contract with the Lynn Telegram-News:

"Answering a telephone call from the Publisher during the employe's off-duty hours shall be construed as overtime work. An employe who receives such a call during off-duty hours or who is consulted in any manner on phases of his work during off-duty hours shall for each such occasion be paid a minimum of one day's pay at the overtime rate, in addition to his regular salary."

—Article X, Section 5.

"No employe shall be required to undertake an assignment involving extraordinary hazard to his health and safety. Any employe requested to perform an assignment which in his opinion would constitute an extraordinary hazard shall report such request to the Guild and shall notify the Guild whether he intends to perform the assignment or whether he is invoking his right hereunder to refuse. In the event an employe agrees to undertake a hazardous assignment he shall likewise notify the Guild. He shall be given a minimum of one day's pay at the overtime rate for each day on such assignment, in addition to his regular day's pay, for each day on such assignment. In the event an employe suffers illness or injury, temporary or permanent, while in the performance of a hazardous assignment, his full legal rights of recovery under any sick leave plan in this contract and under any insurance coverage carried by the Publisher shall not be impaired though the acceptance of bonus pay for undertaking such assignment."

—Article VI, Section 7.

THE GUILD REPORTER

Published by the American Newspaper Guild (CIO)

CHARLES E. CRISSEY, Editor

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

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December 25, 1953 — 119 — Vol. XXI—No. 1



WITH THIS ISSUE the Guild Reporter launches its twenty-first volume of publication. Off to the binders go copies of Volume XX, to be laminated and hard-covered, and to join Nos. I to XIX on an impressively-lengthening shelf in this office.

As befitted a labor union of and for newspaper workers, the urge to make proper use of printers' ink was immediately manifest, back in the beginnings of the Guild.

Volume One, No. 1 was actually dated November 23, 1933, so that the Guild Reporter is, by a matter of less than thirty days, older than the Guild itself.

That first issue was a single sheeter, printed on both sides, and ran to standard eight-column width and full depth. It was largely the work of New York members-to-be of the embryo organization. How it was financed doesn't appear from the records at hand, but that sheet, and many subsequent appearances as well, were clearly the work of a volunteer staff. Writing ability early Guildsmen had a-plenty; money was something else again.

It was several years before publication schedules jelled into regularity. In the first year fourteen issues were sent out, next year twenty-three. Volume Three went to twenty-four issues—the present output—but in the two following years there were, respectively, thirty-three and forty-seven publication dates. GR readers—and writers of letters to the editor—were kept busy in those times.

From a present-day editorial standpoint, the feeling here is that the Guild Reporter, throughout its score of years, has held in one respect a position unique in the publishing field.

It undoubtedly has the highest percentage of readers who are themselves experts in one or another publication area, and who hold strong and frequently-expressed ideas of what their union publication should be.

This is not to complain of that situation, nor to wish it changed. It is, nonetheless, well designed to make the semi-monthly press days a matter of prayer and fasting for all who have occupied the editorial chair, down to and including the incumbent.

●

OCCURRED last week one of those incidents which suddenly illumine the landscape with holiday cheer, restore the flagging zeal of vineyard toilers, and inspire hope that this little old world will somehow muddle through with its current crop of woes.

This desk received a news story from Chcago, detailing the horrifying ordeal through which a quartet of Windy City Guildsmen had passed, when they were held up, bound, gagged and robbed by an ice-pick-armed desperado.

One of those Guildsmen was our own Justin McCarthy. With typical aplomb, augmented perhaps by the knowledge that his personal cash at the moment totalled seventy-five cents, he had been quick to counsel non-aggression tactics during the emergency. And the robber cleaned him and the others out, making a successful getaway.

Like all calamitous news, the tidings of McCarthy's depleted finances, with Christmas fast approaching, sped apace through ANG headquarters. A growing cluster of his fellow staffers gathered, scanned the copy, quickly sensed the implications, and just as quickly acted.

"Okay, guys," said one, quietly, "I'll start it," and reached for his change pocket.

A dime, fifteen cents, a quarter, thirty-five cents—the fund grew rapidly. When it became evident that the quota would be reached, and that the McCarthy Holiday Rehabilitation Foundation was an accomplished fact, a warm but modestly diffident glow spread among its charter members.

There was a foot-shuffling and throat-clearing pause. One staffer used a Kleenex resoundingly, explained he had been out in yesterday's rain.

Then eager volunteers drafted a cheering transmissal message, and off went the cash on its errand of mercy and brotherhood.

It was a heart-warming episode, and one, it was soberly agreed, calculated to strike fear in the greed-blackened souls of publishers' negotiators from coast to coast.

Washington ROUNDUP

By CHALMERS M. ROBERTS
Washington Guild

THE GREAT STRUGGLE is about to begin on Capitol Hill, a struggle of the souls. Ike has made it clear the GOP doesn't deserve to win in November unless it enacts that Dynamic, Progressive Program and he's going to push Congress by exerting his Presidential powers.

Hence, it seems to much of Washington, there will be a great struggle of GOP legislative souls when it comes to voting "aye" for a good bit of the program.

This, of course, assumes that the program will be dynamic and progressive. As of this writing the program is a bit cloudy as to a lot of particulars. I suppose it was for this reason that a top story in the Wall St. Journal called the program New Dealish while the N.Y. Times reporter termed it conservative in nature.

It does seem to be agreed among the Republicans that the program will be mighty important to the election, despite the talk of running on the Red issue. It certainly will be in some particulars such as the farm program, for example. It does not seem at this moment as though there will be any vast struggle over foreign policy for Wilson's plan of cutting down on the Army and Navy and thus saving dollars is generally popular and the nation will take Ike's word, as it did last time on Air Force cuts. Foreign aid is a little hard to figure as of now, but there, too, I suspect Ike will get most of his way.

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ALL OF WHICH is a way of saying that to many of us in Washington it appears that national issues will be the real areas of conflict. This is reinforced, it would appear, by the Russian acceptance, if that's what is really is, of the Eisenhower atomic pool proposal. On that it looks as though Moscow has played it smart and not pulled the bobble it did when it rejected the Marshall Plan proposal. At any rate, what the Soviets appear to have done is to lessen world tensions by giving the appearance of a willingness to talk about the atomic pool.

The ultra-right wing of the GOP in Congress has begun to pull in its horns, dropping such ideas as putting social security on a pay-as-you-go basis. Likewise, downtown there have been some changes too. Talk of a sales tax, however disguised, has lessened and there have been some considerable modifications in the field of public power.

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NONE of this means that the GOP members of Senate and House are going to give in gracefully to some of the propositions likely to appear in the State of the Union address in January. It will take Democratic votes and Ike's prodding to put them over.

The big question is the skill and extent of Ike's prodding. He is now committed to a new role (for him) of Presidential leadership but many here look for a bit or two of confusion before it is all over. It certainly is agreed here in Washington that now is the time for Ike to seize the throttle. One aspect of the reason is worth considering.

This has to do with the generally low state of Congressional leadership in both parties. Tafts death robbed the Congress of its last major figure on the majority side. Of those on the majority only Sam Rayburn can qualify to a major role of leadership and it is currently a subdued role.

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I HAVEN'T gone over the ancient rosters but it seems to me that now for the first time in decades the Congress is without a leader—for good or evil—of really major stature. Yes, I know McCarthy's about.

There is no Clay, Webster, Calhoun, no Thad Stevens except Joe, no Sumner, no Jim Reed, Boise Penrose, Borah, Norris, LaFollette or Barkley. Forgive the omissions. At least's here's an idea for a Ph.D. student. Or maybe I'll write a magazine piece some day.

All I'm saying is that the proportion of little men on Capitol Hill seems higher than usual. Yet last session it was an obstreperous Congress. Now Ike is asserting leadership, or saying that he will.

It should make it worth while crawling out of bed after that New Year's eve bender.

Los Angeles Settles Many Election Contests

Los Angeles, Calif—In local elections which saw 645 ballots cast for a field of 25 candidates, Los Angeles Newspaper Guild has elected eleven officers and executive board members for the coming year.

Only two of the offices was filled without contest. George Meenes was elected president by acclamation, and Rose Ann Gutcher was chosen secretary without opposition. Both are re-elections.

Jack "Bob" Abramson was re-elected a vice president, and Don Brackenbury, of the Long Beach unit, ran second for the other vice presidency filled. Five had been in nomination.

Lola Downs, former secretary, won the treasurership in a contest with Bill Chance. She will succeed Horace Blanco, who declined renomination and sought the post of administrative officer instead. The incumbent, George Hutchinson, won the contest with Blanco.

Four were named to the executive board, from a slate of eleven contenders. The winners were Arthur Atwell, Fred Hummel, Mary Rank and Bill Norton.

James Rogokos was chosen sergeant-at-arms, in a three-way contest.

Sidney Meenes and Rose Ann Gutcher were named delegates to the California-Nevada District Council, and fifteen were named as delegates to the CIO Council. They are Lola Downs, Brackenbury, Mary Rank, Rogokos, William Pigue, Henry Santiestevan, Maria Griffin, Rudy Stowell, Henry Lee, Florence Cooper, Mary Joan Breeze, Cyril Peel, Thomas Morgan, Clarence Capps, and Walter Mahony.

The election tallies were handled by a committee of Lois Coates, Thyra Ryan and Florence Duke.

No-Raid Pact Signed By Reuther and Meany

Washington, D. C. — Walter Reuther and George Meany signed the long awaited CIO-AFL no-raiding pact December 16, effective Jan. 1 for two years, and ratified by conventions. It binds CIO local industrial and AFL federal unions and goes into effect on joint signatures of international unions, who reach such agreement.

William Ware Is Promoted

Cleveland, Ohio—William M. Ware, member of the Guild's International Executive Board, has been promoted to the assistant Sunday editorship of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The upward move came as a result of the death of the Sunday editor, and the promotion to his place of his former assistant. The changes go into effect immediately. For some months, during the editor's last illness, both men had been serving in an acting capacity in the positions now made officially theirs.



COLLIS GETS AROUND—Youngstown Guild President William K. Gibson, second from right, welcomes ANG President Joseph F. Collis at the Pennsylvania-Ohio-Indiana District Council session, at which Youngstown was host. Council President William M. Ware, right, and Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak are also pictured.

The Guild Reporter
99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

GUILD REPORTER

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Ware Quits IEB Position, Referendum to Fill Place

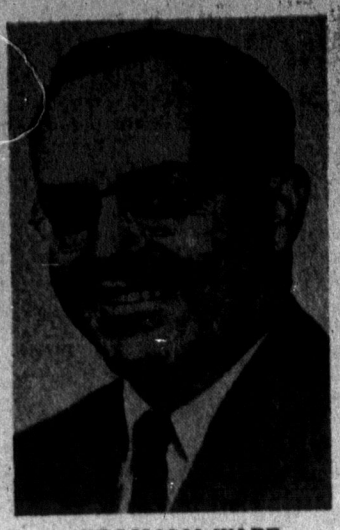
Because of his promotion to assistant Sunday editorship of the Cleveland Plain Dealer—a position excluded from coverage under the Guild contract—William M. Ware has submitted his resignation as a member of the Guild's International Executive Board, effective January 5.

Ware is a vice president at large, serving a second two-year term which started last November 1. He was one of six elected from a field of ten candidates in a referendum election held in September.

In a letter to ANG Secretary-treasurer William J. Farson, Ware says:

"The fact of this position's exclusion from contract coverage raises immediately the question as to the eligibility of its occupant to hold Guild membership.

"This in turn leaves no doubt as to the necessity for departure from Guild office, in which there certainly never can be tolerated the slightest question as to the right of the officer to hold office."



WILLIAM M. WARE
Resigns from IEB

The Guild constitution provides under such circumstances that a referendum election be held on nominations to be made by local governing bodies. Farson has sent to all local presidents and treasurers a schedule of applicable dates.

Referring to Article VI, Section 4(a), Farson notes that it provides that governing bodies of the locals shall nominate candidates, such nominations to close February 8, 1954, thirty days after the date of Farson's notifying letter.

If more than one nomination is made, the election goes to referendum, under the same regulations as pertained last summer, when Ware was chosen as one of six vice presidents at large.

In the referendum, it is necessary for the winner to show a majority of all votes cast. Should no candidate receive a majority, a run-off will be held between the two candidates receiving the highest tally in the original count.

After nominations close, ballots will be mailed to cover all members in good standing as of March 1. The Guild ballots will go out March 31, and balloting will be conducted by locals early in April, returns to be received at ANG headquarters not later than a postmarked deadline of midnight, April 22. Formal tabulation of the ballots is set for April 30, by the same national committee that functioned in September.

Ware's letter of resignation expresses regret at the development.

Says he:

"This is a turn of events completely dismaying to one who has profited so highly by Guild

(Continued on Page Two)

Under the Guild constitution, a member is eligible to vote if his dues and assessments are paid through the month of February. This places him in good standing as of March 1, with the further requirement that returns to ANG be postmarked no later than midnight, March 15.

SCHEDULE

Given two or more nominees for the IEB vice presidential vacancy created by the resignation of William M. Ware, the following referendum dates will be observed:

Feb. 8—Nominations close.

Mar. 31—Ballots and good-standing lists mailed.

Apr. 20—Reminder telegrams to unreporting locals.

Apr. 22—Midnight deadline for postmarking returns.

Apr. 30—Tabulation of ballots.

Two Labor Racketeers Held in Reuther Plot

Detroit, Mich.—Two of the four men indicted here in the shot-gun attempt to murder Walter Reuther in 1948 are revealed in the report of the Kefauver Crime Investigation committee as racketeers connected with Detroit manufacturers in "labor relations."

The two concerns with which the thugs were associated had labor trouble and strike violence involving the Auto Workers, of which CIO President Reuther was then and is now the president.

In the Senate investigation the name of Joe Adonis (of Murder Incorporated) also was in the picture.

The two defendants, named on John Doe warrants, were shown by the Kefauver Committee as having had inexplicable and profitable relations with Briggs Manufacturing Company, and the Detroit, Michigan, Stove works.

Of business relationship, the Kefauver report said:

"The most important fact uncovered by the Detroit hearings of this committee was that manufacturers entered into and are today continuing intimate business relationships with racketeers for the purpose of affecting their labor relations."

The two racketeers accused by Detroit police and also involved in the Kefauver hearings are Santa (Sam) Perrone and his college-graduate son-in-law, Carl Renda.

Adonis had a contract deal with the Ford Motors Co., made when Harry Bennett was labor-relations-chauffeur and personal representative of Henry Ford. Adonis' name, however, has not been mentioned in the Reuther shooting investigation.

Motive for the crime, in which the arrests came within three months before expiration of the Michigan statute of limitations, has not been revealed.

The shooting occurred on the night of April 20, 1948, and was followed by a similar attempt on the life of Walter Reuther's brother, Victor. Both were wounded. Walter's wounds resulted in the impaired use of his right arm, and Victor lost the sight of one eye.

In the 3½-year inquiry, many suspects have been picked up and questioned, but until now police have worked doggedly against what appeared to be the familiar blank wall, characteristic of Mafia-type shootings.

Posting of two $100,000 rewards by UAW-CIO for convicting evidence in the two crimes and an additional $2,000 put up by Wayne County did not immediately break the case.

• • •

Without clearly evident business reasons they received "haulaway" or other contracts from the firms, the Kefauver Committee report points out. They were as follows:

Perrone: Given a contract,

(Continued on Page Two)

Broun Award:

First Entry Is In, New Deadline Feb. 15

A series of articles from the Greenville, S. C., News urging the abolition of chain gangs in South Carolina is the first entry in the 1953 competition for the Heywood Broun Award, given annually by the Guild in memory of the crusading columnist who was its founder and first president.

• • •

Deadline for this year's competition has been extended from Feb. 1 to Feb. 15, it was announced this week by Wade Franklin, travel editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, who is chairman of the Broun award committee.

• • •

The Greenville News series—18 articles and seven editorials—was written by the paper's editor, William F. Gaines, who reported:

"It is a sad and disheartening fact that in South Carolina we often house convicts on our chain gangs in buildings less comfortable, less protected against the elements, shacks colder in winter and hotter in summer than the barns and outbuildings in which we bed down our cattle and swine."

Moves to reform the chain-gang systems developed in several of the state's 46 counties following the appearance of Gaines' series late last summer, and the entire matter is being placed before the legislature this month.

The series from the South Carolina paper follows the pattern of disinterested public service set by the hundreds of entries submitted in past competitions for the Broun Award since it was first established in 1941.

The 1952 award went to Wallace Turner of the Portland Oregonian for a series of articles disclosing fraud in the purchase of Indian-owned timber lands.

In other years, the award has been given for stories exposing corruption in state and federal government agencies, the exploitation of migrant farm workers, hazardous mine conditions and an unjust murder conviction.

The competition is not limited to newspaper men. Wire service and magazine writers, radio and television workers also are eligible, if they are in the Guild's jurisdiction.

A series of institutional advertisements took the award one year—1943. The ads, which dealt with war plants absenteeism, were prepared and developed by a group of Cleveland Guildsmen.

1953 Broun Award

DEADLINE for entries: February 15, 1954.

SEND entries to the Broun Award Committee, 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 outstanding journalistic work "in the spirit of Heywood Broun", done or completed between January 1, 1953, and December 31, 1953.

ELIGIBLE are all newspapermen and women in Guild jurisdiction in the United States and Canada, whether they are members of the Guild or not.

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

JUDGES, a panel of distinguished journalists, will be announced later.

WADE FRANKLIN
Award Committee Chairman.

Drivers Strike Ties Up 2 Twin Cities Dailies; Settled Christmas Day

Minneapolis, Minn.—A six-day strike of 100 truck drivers of AFL Union Local 638 at the Minneapolis Star and Tribune heavily curtailed distribution of the papers, although Guildsmen and members of other craft unions continued normal work throughout the strike. Only one entrance to the plant was picketed.

No attempts were made to deliver the papers. Management announced it would sell papers in the lobby, with a limit of five to a customer, because papers were printed from a limited supply of newsprint in the basement.

The dispute was settled Christmas Day, with acceptance of a "package" offered by federal conciliators. The work stoppage involved wages, overtime after a shift, night differential and added premium pay for holiday work.

Under the settlement, there will be a 20-month contract, expiring December 31, 1955, which provides for a ten-cent-an-hour increase retroactive to last November 1. Night differential went from five cents an hour to ten cents, also retroactively applied. Overtime pay was pegged at a time-and-half rate, and the scheduling of holiday work was referred to a union-management committee to work out.

The union had sought an increase of 12 cents per hour with an additional 5 cents for night differential to make 10 cents; time and one-half after a shift instead of after a 38-hour week; and guaranteed doubletime for a full shift for holiday work. The company offered an 8-cent an hour increase, 3 cents on night differential and rejected the other requests.

Last-ditch negotiations with a federal conciliator, held at the request of other unions in the plant, failed to bring agreement and the stalemate continued through another meeting after the walkout began.

The strike began the evening of December 19, tying up the Sunday run. Some 75,000 papers were run off and sold in the lobby, in contrast to a normal Sunday run of about 620,000.

The December 20 morning Tribune ran off about 25,000 copies compared to a normal press run of 200,000. The evening Star printed about 42,000, in contrast to a usual 290,000. The Star also was cut to 56 pages from a scheduled 70 page paper.

On the fourth day of the strike the company announced that about 250 were taken off the payroll. Declaring this was not a layoff, discharge or termination of employment, a company statement said this was "a temporary interruption in the need for services of a number of Star & Tribune employes, and in the salaries or wages paid those employes for such services." Included were a number of mechanical department jobs which usually face a seasonal adjustment at this time.

It was reported that advertisers were not being charged for the space in the Sunday and Monday papers. Starting with Tuesday papers, advertisers were told of curtailed press runs and sales in lobby only, and while advertisers were not encouraged to buy space, those who wished to advertise were charged half price.

The Tuesday papers were down to 20 pages, with the normal news hole, but advertising considerably curtailed.

The company stated it was "obligated to publish the newspapers as best we can under the circumstances". The union statement noted that the company had said it was seeking to impose a pattern on all unions in the plant of wage in-

(Continued on Page Two)

The State of the Union—

Newspaper Revenue Will Be Unaffected By '54 'Recession'



By RALPH B. NOVAK
Executive Vice President

TO GREET THE NEW YEAR, papers around the country featured lurid headlines to the effect that a business recession—freely predicted for at least 18 months—either already was a fact or surely would materialize in 1954.

For Guild negotiators who, both across the bargaining table and in arbitration proceedings in recent years, have become accustomed to drying management's tears shed on this subject, this intelligence was not exactly startling.

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IT HAD BEEN my intention to devote this column to an analysis of the current crop of dire predictions, and to place them in their proper perspective. However, Editor & Publisher, the organ of the ANPA, has pretty much done the job for me. I shall, therefore, take the liberty of reproducing below in full the lead editorial in the Jan. 2 E & P, entitled "1954."

But before going into the E & P picture of the general economy, I want to make some observations on what this means to the newspaper industry in particular. Translating the doubletalk of the economists, it should be noted that even the gloomiest pessimists foresee no more than the sort of dip from all-time peaks which we experienced in 1949-50. Even with a recession, the experts expect the second most prosperous year in our history. If this be so, such a "recession" should spell the most prosperous year on record for the newspaper industry. Our industry has set new records in advertising and circulation revenues each year for the past decade. 1953 was the best yet.

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CALLOUS AS IT MAY SEEM, a 1949-type recession would insure new all-time revenues for the newspaper industry in 1954. In 1949, when the general economy hit a slight recession, the newspaper industry continued to set volume and revenue records. The table below, which was used in the Guild's rebuttal brief in the current AP arbitration, shows what happened in the newspaper industry in the 1949-50 recession:

Year	Total Revenue Advertising	Circulation	Media Ad Linage	Total Volume Circulation
1948	$1,749,600,000	$1,036,287,000	3,540,661,390	52,285,299
1949	1,905,000,000	1,077,073,000	3,613,951,161	52,845,551
1950	2,075,600,000	1,111,914,000	3,872,993,969	53,829,072
Last year's totals were:				
1952	2,472,800,000	1,274,444,000	4,201,855,136	53,959,615

The 1953 record is not yet complete, but for 11 months advertising linage as measured by Media Records was 4.4 percent ahead of the corresponding 1952 period.

For 1954 all predictions are for new advertising records. A detailed analysis of what a recession will mean to the newspaper industry in terms of increased advertising will be found in a recent column by Sylvia Porter reprinted elsewhere in this issue.

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AS REGARDS the general economic picture, here is what Editor & Publisher has to say about the recent scare headlines:

1954

In the last week all the economic experts have switched from analyzing 1953 and turned to forecasting for 1954. With the American Statistical Association meeting in Washington, newspaper headlines prominently displayed stories from there forecasting a "recession" in 1954.

We don't expect reporters to paint a glowing picture for the future when the figures don't justify it. They must report what the experts said. But many newspaper editors have spent considerable time discussing the need for explanatory and interpretative writing—and we think there was need for it here.

Underneath a two-column head forecasting a "recession in 1954" you found that the economists were predicting a $10 billion drop in "gross national product." The level for 1953 was about $365 billion. You were not likely to find in the story that the anticipated drop amounted to less than 3%. And buried way down in the story, if it appeared at all, was the comment of Martin Gainsbrugh, chief economist for the National Industrial Conference Board who presided at the Washington meeting, to the effect that 1954 would still be the second best year in the nation's history in spite of the drop.

We are fully aware that to most newsmen a forecast of a recession is a bigger story than would be a forecast of continued boom business. But what about the qualifying factors—aren't they important? The *New York Times* story reported: "Objectivity and caution about the uncertainty of all economic forecasting marked all the expressions of analysis and opinion today." Shouldn't such caution be reflected in headlines and heads?

We are moved to these comments by our recollection that early in 1953 there were several unqualified forecasts by "experts" that the last half of the year would see a recession. It didn't materialize.

Newspapers would not be remiss in their duty to the public if they put a little accent on the positive instead of the negative. Later stories from the National Industrial Conference Board in New York predicted a 5 to 7% drop but said it would still be the "second best year." We don't recommend a Pollyanna attitude, but wouldn't it be worthwhile to emphasize the good as well as the bad news for the benefit of the business community which necessarily must base its operations on faith in the future?

No Utopia, So We Have Unions, Says N.Y. Times Sportswriter

By ROSCOE McGOWEN
New York Guild

Roscoe McGowen is a long-time Guild member and by-lined sportswriter for the New York Times. He wrote the accompanying story for Frontpage, publication of the New York Guild local.

WHY are there labor unions?

And why do wage earners join them?

The answer to the first question is that human avarice of employers, as old as the human race, made them necessary.

And the answer to the second question is pretty much answered by the answer to the first one.

If elaboration is necessary, it may be said that had all employers been even slightly diluted with the milk of human kindness, had been even partially imbued with the idea that the servant is worthy of his hire, the urge to organize for collective bargaining—and collective protection—never would have been born.

But that would be an application of the Golden Rule that is practically non-existent in employer-employe relations. That would be Utopia, wouldn't it? And we don't have Utopia—not by several degrees beyond illimitable distance.

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I WONDER if some of the younger members of the Guild—or any other union—have any conception of what it meant to join a union 50 years ago.

At 18 I joined the Order of Railway Telegraphers, while working for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad in Illinois — a move that was considered by the company as sufficient cause for dismissal. Or, at best, an under-cover reprisal that took the form of refusal to grant a justly earned promotion.

That happened to me, although on another railroad I eventually became a train dispatcher—the goal of all railroad telegraphers with ability and ambition.

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DURING WORLD WAR 1, I had quit railroading and, having learned the Phillips code, worked for both the Associated Press and United Press, copying the news report for a newspaper seven hours and twenty minutes a day (double on Saturday night) for $24.25 a week, with seven dollars or so for the Saturday night overtime.

Then I was a member of the Commercial Telegraphers Union, United Press Division. The United Press and the International News Service were closed shops—no telegrapher worked their wires unless he was a member of the union.

Incidentally, the Associated Press still was refusing at that time to recognize the CTU and, in fact, found reason to discharge those telegraphers who openly declared their membership. But for the first time, with the United Press, I was free to be a union man without fear of any sort of reprisal.

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I WAS ALMOST a charter member of the American Newspaper Guild, although I withdrew for several years for reasons that are on the record. The man who sought my membership is now an assistant city editor on the New York Times. One of his soft arguments at the time was that "this is not a labor union, just an organization of newspapermen."

What does it expect to do?, I asked him. Doesn't it seek better working conditions, increases in pay and all that?

Yes, he admitted, that was the general idea.

Then why say it wasn't a labor union, I wanted to know. I had no objection, I told him, to joining a proper labor union because I was, contrary to all dewy-eyed embryo journalists' conception of the business, just a "working jerk", who desired renumeration commensurate to my talents and, more important, my diligent application to my job.

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AND IN THE LAST LINE—diligent application to the job—perhaps is the theme of this piece. I would suggest that it is more mandatory on a Guild member. That is, that he must not use the Guild—or any other union—to protect him in slipshod performance, in so-called "soldiering," or what have you.

If anybody concludes that I am charging that there are such types of members in all unions, then let me say, with the late Bill Klem, famous old umpire:

"Sir, you have the idea exactly!"

...Labor Racketeers

(Continued from Page One)

after violent labor trouble at the Stove Works, to haul away scrap, which over a period of years gave him an income of between $40,000 and $60,000 annually.

Renda: In 1946 Briggs took a contract from a company using $500,000 worth of equipment in the operation, gave it to Renda, who was without experience, cash or facilities, who then subcontracted the work to the ousted contractor, netting $100,000 a year in the transaction.

Of the Perrone deal, the Kefauver report said in part:

". . . the Detroit Michigan Stove works, the president of which is John A. Fry, whose social respectability in the City of Detroit is beyond any question, entered into a relationship with one Santa Perrone, the obvious effect of which was to enlist the assistance of Perrone's gangster friends in Fry's labor problems. Perrone has a criminal record including a six-year sentence for violation of the prohibition laws.

". . . an illiterate manual laborer thus acquired an income sufficient to live in a luxurious mansion in the Grosse Pointe area and to enjoy an income which in recent years has run between forty and sixty thousand dollars.

"Although Perrone testified that he had never heard of any labor difficulty, a serious strike had occurred some years previously which required 75 or 80 policemen to guard the plant. Mr. Fry testified that approximately 25 percent of his employes observed the picket line during the strike. Fry on being pressed by counsel for this committee, admitted that Perrone must have committed perjury when he stated he had worked 40 years at the plant and had never seen any labor trouble.

"He further admitted that he had asked Perrone and his brothers to bring in a lot of strike breakers and that they had done so."

Of the Renda contract with Briggs, the report said in substantial part:

"John A. Fry and William Dean Robinson are close friends. They are presidents respectively of the Detroit, Mich., Stove Works and the Briggs Manufacturing Co. . . . Carl Renda . . . acquired the scrap contract with the Briggs Manufacturing Co.

"The inference is permissible from the evidence before the Committee that officials of the Briggs Manufacturing Co., **deliberately intended to follow the pattern of the Detroit, Mich., Stove Works in connection with labor relations."**

...Ware

(Continued from Page One)

membership and the invaluable associations with Guild men and women for more than a decade.

"It is a step that should not be taken without an expression of sincere appreciation for the privileges of such association and for the helpfulness and cooperation of all those with whom I have had the pleasure of working in ANG.

"It is unfortunate that the sequence of events brings this action so closely upon the heels of my reelection to the IEB, and that it thereby forces upon ANG the problems involved in filling the vacant office. This I regret and for this I apologize.

"Please convey to the officers and to the board my deepest feeling of gratitude for having made my stay in ANG office one of the finest experiences of my life.

"And to the entire ANG family at 99 University Place, my thanks for their help and counsel and cooperation."

...Twin Cities

(Continued from Page One)

creases of 7 to 9 cents an hour.

Meantime, a Guild statement to members urged them to report for regular and normal work as long as pickets were not at regular entrances. If these had been picketed, the executive board suggested that members honor a bona fide picket line, a right provided by the Guild contract.

Bargaining Status Assurance Voiced At Newport News

Newport News, Va.—Members of the Daily Press and Times-Herald Guild unit have received official assurance from management that an independent editorial workers association recently formed was organized without management's knowledge or approval.

In a bulletin board statement, the Guild notes that Daily Press Times-Herald management agrees with it that the Guild has been certified as sole bargaining agent for editorial employes for the year ending next December, and that management cannot bargain with any other organized editorial group during that period.

Guild unit representatives and Joseph G. Colangelo, ANG staff, sought a clarifying meeting with management after the new association circularized staff members with a bulletin attacking Guild methods and inferentially promising better collective bargaining relations.

Several of the leaders of the association are among those excluded by NLRB regulations from the Guild's bargaining jurisdiction.

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'54 BOOM OR BUST? WE DON'T KNOW, EITHER

Soothsayers Hold Forth, But Government Policy Holds Key

Something of the mystical pervades current year-end reviews, analyses and economic prognostications for 1954.

The season's classic example is the following quote from Life's first issue of the borning year:

"Is the boom over? No, far from it. But it has definitely reached its peak in the all-time record year of 1953. After that peak, as *with the men who climbed Everest, there was no place to go but down.* And we are on our way.

"How far down? Not very far measured by past standards of prosperity. . . . Even the gloomiest . . . foresee a drop of no more than 10 percent (gross national product)."

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The Mt. Everest simile appeared two or three times elsewhere in print. It may have expressed a general feeling among the experts individually inspired, but those of prosaic mind may suspect that Burns, Stewart or Jacoby, the White House economic soothsayers, produced the phrase.

"Ten" seems to be a magic number in the current incantations.

Just WHY it is that when the American economy reaches the point of full employment, it must retreat to something less, as a sort of metaphysical necessity, and why the backward move toward partial employment cannot be more than 10 percent this year, is not stated.

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THE slide-rule fraternity of econometrists again celebrated the New Year tossing figures like confetti at Mardi Gras. Financial pages and sections were categorical. The reader gets somebody's best guess as to what and when, but the who and why is generally omitted.

Life did its year-end job in technicolor to the glory of its art staff, painting the immediate past and future like something not of this world but only of Hollywood.

But why it is in the nature of things that some few millions of workers must be laid off this year, it does not say.

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AWAY back last April, when business was still zooming, a couple of Wall Street Journal reporters signed a column-and-a-half yarn datelined out of Washington under the head: "Administration starts psychological warfare against a business sag" with a tickler line, "Talk vs. Recession." The story related somewhat rudely how the Administration was worried about the effects of a possible armistice in Korea and consequent cutbacks, and how Commerce Secretary Weeks and his under-secretary, Walter Williams, had taken to the road for scheduled pep talks to doubting business men over the country.

The idea was that if the business leaders could be made to keep their chins up, sales would stay up too, and Mr. Weeks was quoted:

"Some trouble could come, however, if a minority of Jeremiahs in the business community or writing profession voice such unwarranted gloom about tomorrow as might create an unnecessary fear-psychology in the spending public."

These two reporters went over to the offices of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce to find, if possible, some of these "Jeremiahs" that Mr. Weeks darkly referred to and "turned up nary a Jeremiah among them."

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THUS the story broke about the Administration's psychological warfare against the American "Jeremiahs," at about the same time the offensive got under way against the Russians.

A few pockets of mental resistance still hold out against terrific administration fire power, as can be discovered by searching through various dailies and periodicals, but up to now the General has kept the offensive, and maintained the front under control.

New York Herald Tribune had the idea of polling a cross section of company presidents and board chairmen, business leaders, and could not get them to quote for publication. As to sales 47.3 percent were Jeremiahs, and as to 1954 profits, 40.5, and roughly a third were extreme optimists.

The business sector is quiet but at year-end there was some sniping along the technical and political front.

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OVER 300 top economists attending the annual convention of the American Statistical Association in Washington predicted a production drop of 5 percent in 1954, with around 4,000,000 unemployed—the current figure is now about 1,800,000, up nearly half a million during December, with some saying that the estimate is low.

At the meeting, Courtney C. Brown, chief economic researcher for Standard Oil of New Jersey, said he believed that the decline would be as large as that of 1948-49, when unemployment reached around 4½ million, and said it was a question whether the economy could make a "painless" switch to a period where there was no large military spending or big consumer "replenishment demands"— a horrible thought around Washington, meaning expenditures for public works, relief, heavy unemployment compensation, loosened credit, and other government programs which would make a Federal budget harder to balance with the income tax base down.

In connection with this meeting U. S. Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), a former university economics professor, who has a weakness for giving a shovel its proper nomenclature, clashed with Gabriel Haugue, economic assistant to the President. Haugue in a radio program with Douglas said the economy was in excellent shape and the outlook for 1954 "optimistic."

Douglas took sharp issue with this, pointing to the drop in farm income, steel and auto output and freight car-loadings, and stating that recession already exists.

"If we are to avert a depression," Douglas said, "it will be necessary for us to recognize the problem and not hide from it as we did in 1931 and 1932."

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PUBLIC Affairs Institute as long ago as last October summarized forecasts of a drop of as much as 10 percent in production of goods and services this year (gross national product), and estimates four million fewer jobs, or even as much as five or six million.

The Institute takes a dim view of the much advertised "backlog" of savings or cash-convertible assets, and reports its study revealing that the $100 billion of family savings, isn't all backlog for the unemployed: That 10 percent of the families hold 66 percent of the savings and that the bottom half in the income brackets have only 1 percent.

It is the lower 90 percent which does most of the consuming, and here is where the purchasing power will quickly shrink in spreading unemployment and shortening of working hours, already in process before the end of the year.

It is one thing to toss statistical confetti around on New Year's eve—quite another when you examine what it all means.

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IN the shadow of this beginning "recession," "adjustment" or "leveling off" of the economy, which is now reliably assured, the length or depth of which are generally deprecated or minimized, can be observed a curious political "adjustment" of Republican politico-economic thinking. Its permanency and deep sincerity remain to be verified.

Not long ago the querulous Raymond Moley, short-shrift first economic advisor of Franklin D. Roosevelt, told how FDR entered the White House equipped with "little Latin and less Greek" on the subject of economic science. With the air of one making a scandalous disclosure, he related how in the early days of the Roosevelt administration some subversive miscreant handed FDR a book by Lord Keynes, the British economist.

Whether this subversive might have been Alvin Hansen, professor of political economy at Harvard, is not revealed.

According to Moley, Roosevelt got crackpot ideas about how to deal with the depression which the voters had taken away from Hoover and given to him. There followed a decade of governmental and economic follies and iniquities, variously interpreted as the New Deal—"lend and spend," "made work," the "dole" and the practice of bribing voters by doing something for them.

The culmination of all this, of course, was the "creeping socialism" of the Fair Deal under Truman.

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The GOP has never altered its avowed views as to Roosevelt-Truman policies.

Recently stories in the "one party press" have pictured the Democrats as being without issues with the Eisenhower administration, and this felicitous situation was summed up in January Fortune under the gleeful head: "The leaderless, lively Democrats—out of power, out of new ideas."

THE stories have a present validity in matters of foreign policy, and are pertinent to the basic question of the federal government's role in a cyclical economy.

There is, at this moment, no apparent issue between the Eisenhower administration and the Democrats on the economy question.

Looking for a weapon against the Jeremiahs, Eisenhower has said the government would handle the "recession" just as FDR handled the deep depression of the 30's (with too little and too late) over the frenetic opposition of Republican primitives in Congress. That was the best assurance he could give the people, now very prosperous, but still bearing scars of political trauma received in the 30's.

James Reston, reporting this week's radio address of the President, said it was "reminiscent of Franklin D. Roosevelt's . . . first inaugural address in 1933 . . ." for among other generalities, Eisenhower said:

"I . . . give you this assurance: **"Every legitimate means available to the Federal Government that can be used to sustain that prosperity is being used and will continue to be used as necessary."**

Fortune, published before the speech, says that the Republican party has taken over a good part of the New Deal program.

This attitude of Eisenhower is discounted by some as another Ike promise, like those now "in commission," the implications of which the old soldier doesn't comprehend, and which his party in Congress won't let him carry out. But there are Republicans in Washington and some old deal writers who take it seriously.

• • •

EX-WILSONIAN David Lawrence is aggrieved at such Republican heresy, and thinks "readjustment" from war prosperity must be "painful." He blames the Truman holdovers, "imbued with the philosophies of the preceding administrations," and writes this week that the President is a "tragic prisoner of circumstances beyond his control."

Ike's Life Magazine, however, is happy. In its New Year ode to 1954 it declaims: **"Anti-Depression planning by Administration includes plenty of stopgap measures just in case the experts prove wrong and the expected moderate decline turns into a full-scale depression. . . . The Republicans say they will spend money faster than the New Deal if they have to. But they don't think they will have to."**

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THIS summary is neither an "economic" analysis nor prognosis. The Guild Reporter does not know what's going to happen to the American economy in 1954, 1955 or 1956.

This much is true: production has already slumped seven percent, and as the New Year entered, men were going out factory doors by the thousands. Another 10 percent on top of the seven in 1954 will provide the "pain," that would qualify the "adjustment" as sound for Dave Lawrence.

The New Deal and Fair Deal left certain 'built-in" stabilizers, which would tend to mitigate to disputed extent the panicky features of the 1929 debacle and what the economists call a mob demand for "liquidity." These include unemployment insurance, various bank deposit and mortgage loan insurance, social security.

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ASIDE from that, the last two paragraphs of a brief Wall Street Journal Editorial, published this week, are in part pertinent:

"The truth is that the economy of America is made up of a bewildering array of pieces in such astronomical combinations that it defies any exact analysis of the present, much less prediction of the future."

WSJ leaves no doubt about what it thinks about the statistics the daily press and slick mags scatter through their pages, nor does it indicate that it too is impressed by the Administration's "psychological" techniques.

• • •

THERE is one favorable certainty.

Eisenhower has as his top economic advisor one Arthur F. Burns, described as a Democrat who liked Ike, a Columbia University economist. **Prof. Burns knows precisely what the Government can and must do with a business cycle on the downswing, and he will inaugurate proper measures, politics permitting.**

Max Ascoli's Reporter magazine, which thinks on its own, is on the stands with an article which purports to have picked the brains of Prof. Burns.

The Reporter attributes to Burns the view that our profit-system "was prone to wide fluctuations." He disagrees with those who believed that the government now has the tools to keep the economy on a relatively even keel. "We know enough," he would say, "to avoid a depression like that of the early 30's, but we would not rule out a slump such as we had in 1938-39."

• • •

BEFORE the 30's the economists didn't know too much about the business cycle. Since that depression they have done a lot of studying of the phenomenon, and have verified some conclusions that influenced the Roosevelt-Truman administrations, which are accepted by an increasing number of politicians, and which quite a few business leaders sneak a peek at in the men's room.

The stuff is deemed not fit for public consumption, and a little familiarity with it will make Jeremiahs for Mr. Weeks to issue Jeremiads about, and the "self-appointed peddlers of doom and gloom," that Ike gloomily warned about in his talk. Exposure to those ideas also makes "fraid-cats" of otherwise cool citizens who lack confidence that the Administration knows what to do and will do it.

Organized labor's economists generally accept the conclusions, which support labor's demands for a heavy cut of business and industry earnings and a share in increased productivity through technology. That is one reason unions are not popular among "widows and orphans" like those who in 1931-33, while 10 million were jobless, banked $6.8 billions in dividends paid by corporations showing book losses of $6.5 billions!

The harsh truth for the coupon clippers and those living on dividend checks is that when their incomes are too much to spend for living, and they don't see fit to invest in new job-making ventures, the government must step in and through taxation shift the cash to the jobless non-consuming and under-consuming majority and thus create a market.

This is not merely a matter of social justice, but an economic necessity if the society is to survive.

• • •

WHAT our economy does this year or next will depend upon whether the administration and congress understand economic arithmetic.

If they think they can get the answer by reducing taxes on big incomes (by direct reduction or quick writeoffs) while the consuming millions pinch their pennies and destroy the market, that will be evidence that they miss the point.

If they believe they can bring back the boom or stop the slump by putting on sales taxes and excises, they are getting the wrong answer.

If they think that currency and credit manipulation will be enough to reverse the downward trend, they will find that this won't solve the problem of the cycle.

How the American economy emerges from the slump now under way, will depend on Governmental policy in the final analysis.

Millions of Americans are now too young to remember, or have forgotten, the great political and economic debate of the 30's, but they will be quick to detect a repetition of Republican performance.

Congress, the President and his millionaire cabinet will find if they procrastinate or fumble in 1954, that a respectable element of the business community now understands the problem too well to support economic nonsense.

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The issues are not clarified by journalistic "economists" bedecking their New Year business supplements with the mystification of uncorrelated and mostly insignificant statistics.

Labor Unions and the Taft-Hartley Act

What's Happening in Revision and Administration of Labor Law

I. The 1952 Presidential Campaign

Newest study of the Taft-Hartley Law, basic code under which, as administered by the National Labor Relations Board, the Guild and other unions must operate and attempt to grow, is that made by the Public Affairs Institute, of Washington. The PAI is a non-profit organization, without axes to grind, devoted to research and publication of its findings. Herewith are the first two sections of its Taft-Hartley review. The remaining three will appear in the January 22 Guild Reporter.

To understand the issues now facing the Eisenhower administration in the labor-management relations field a review of the 1952 presidential campaign is necessary.

The candidates of both major parties supported the platform statements of their parties on the Taft-Hartley act. The Republican platform, in substance, asked that the act be retained. The Democratic platform, describing the act as 'inadequate, unworkable and unfair," called for its replacement.

• • •

Eisenhower — The Republican candidate told the 1952 AFL convention that some of the principles of the act must be continued. He mentioned "the encouragement of collective bargaining; the right to strike; an advance notice before a strike is called; a requirement that both unions and employers live up to their contracts; the assurance that members of unions get a regular report of their organization's finances."

The President further stated that no law licensing union busting can be tolerated. Presumably he meant that the act should be changed to permit workers on strike over wages, hours or other economic reasons to vote in elections to determine the bargaining agent. Another definite point of his labor program was that employers as well as union officers should swear that they are not Communists.

During the course of the campaign, candidate Eisenhower said he believed "in the American fact of organized labor and in collective bargaining." He added that only through collective bargaining could the individual worker compete successfully for his fair share of the business dollar. The candidate said that he was pledged to high levels of employment and wages.

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Stevenson — The Democratic candidate presented his labor program in a Labor Day speech. He recommended repeal rather than amendment of the Taft-Hartley act because "it has become a symbol of dissension and bitterness."

The Illinois governor pointed to the fact that the Norris-LaGuardia act (1932) had "virtually outlawed the labor injunction in the federal courts" but the anti-injunction act "had been seriously cut down by the Taft-Hartley act."

Stevenson's program included five general principles as the basis for a new law: (1) the law must accept labor unions as the responsible representatives of their members' interest, (2) the "labor unions must conform to standards of fair conduct and equal protection in the exercise of their stewardship," (3) it must outlaw unfair bargaining practices by companies or unions, including jurisdictional strikes and the requiring of union members to act as strike breakers, (4) it must reject the labor injunction and (5) secure adoption of new methods for settling national emergency disputes.

Stevenson noted that the Taft-Hartley provisions on national emergencies had been effective in only two of the nine cases in which they had been invoked. The law must recognize, he stated, that each of the emergency cases has its own particular set of circumstances, and no one formula can settle all of them.

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Labor Indorses — The major unions which come under the Taft-Hartley act—AFL, CIO and United Mine Workers — announced their indorsement of Stevenson.

The CIO executive board noted that both the Democratic candidate and platform advocated repeal of the Taft-Hartley act. The board cited the Republican platform, which reaffirmed that party's support of the Taft-Hartley act. They said also that no candidate, "however respected and well-intentioned," could avoid being dominated by the socalled Old Guard of the Republican party.

Governor Stevenson was unanimously indorsed for president by the 71st annual convention of the AFL on the recommendation of the federation's executive council. This was the second such action in a presidential campaign in the 71-year history of the federation.

The convention called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, saying that repeal was "a clear and urgent necessity, not only for the preservation of the rights of labor but also for the maintenance of sound labor-management relations and of industrial peace."

The United Mine Workers' 41st constitutional convention indorsed Stevenson on the ground, among others, that the position of Stevenson and the Democratic party for repeal of the Taft-Hartley act convinced the mine workers and their president, John L. Lewis, that they should back Stevenson.

Organized labor rejected the position of the Republican party on the Taft-Hartley law. It charged that the GOP stood for the retention of the act with only minor amendments, if any. On the other hand, the position of the Democratic party was supported because its program, expressed both in its platform and by its candidate, called for repeal of the labor-management relations act of 1947.

Both parties made certain commitments during the campaign. As the victor, the Republican party's performance is now being weighed against its commitments.

II. The Durkin-Eisenhower Amendments

During the 1952 campaign President Eisenhower promised to seek amendments to the labor-management (Taft-Hartley) act. The controversial 19 Durkin-Eisenhower amendments would have been his first down payment on his promise.

The amendments were never proposed to congress, however. There were a number of reasons. Senator Robert A. Taft died at 11:30 of the day the message was scheduled to go to the Hill. Also, there was reported opposition by the commerce department and Vice President Richard Nixon.

The **Labor Relations Reporter** of the Bureau of National Affairs reported that the vice president informed the White House that the proposed message would have "unfortunate repercussions" among such important groups of the President's supporters as big business, small business and states' rights advocates.

The proposed amendments indicate the general area where the administration would attempt to lessen some of the restrictions on unions. Of the 19 proposed changes two embody specific points made by Eisenhower in the campaign: Economic strikes and non-Communist affidavits.

Following is a summary of the major proposals:

Economic Strikes—Eisenhower had opposed "union - busting laws" during the campaign . . . labor thought this would mean a change in the act to permit workers striking over wages, hours or for other economic reasons to vote in NLRB elections . . . the proposed amendment would simply have prohibited an election for four months after an economic strike . . . strikers would still lose status as employes and the right to vote.

Non-Communist Affidavit—In the construction, amusement and maritime industries, the proposed amendment would have permitted unions and employers to enter into collective bargaining agreements prior to hiring of workers . . . employes would have been required to join the union within seven days . . . this did not permit unions to require membership as a condition of being hired . . . the closed shop was not proposed.

State Right-to-Work Laws—The proposed amendment would have made federal labor laws paramount over state laws . . . would have reversed Taft-Hartley invitation to states to outlaw the closed and union shops . . . an exception to the proposal would have permitted localities to deal with emergency disputes where federal authorities had not acted under the national emergency provisions of the act.

Secondary Boycott—The proposed amendments would limit ban in three ways: (1) would remove from boycott provisions all activities on construction projects where more than one contractor is involved . . . clarification would be sought by statute; (2) permit refusal to work on struck work; and (3) would have eliminated the mandatory injunction where a secondary boycott was presumed to exist.

• • •

The Labor Relations Reporter said the only change generally favored by business was an amendment to protect a party to a contract from being required to bargain during a contract term on subjects not included in the contract.

What were the unions' positions on these proposed amendments?

The AFL annual convention adopted a resolution which called the 19 proposed amendments "a first step in the right direction, but by no means the attainment of the needed revisions we are seeking."

The CIO general counsel, Arthur Goldberg, pointed out that the proposals did not eliminate the injunction in national emergency disputes or the other injunctions (except the mandatory injunction) authorized by the Taft-Hartley act.

There was, moreover, no proposal to correct the abuses under the socalled free speech provision of the act.

On the President's specific campaign promise to eliminate the Taft-Hartley practice of union busting (through the denial of the vote to economic strikers), Goldberg pointed out that the amendment would have only postponed a vote for four months, and did not give economic strikers the right to vote. The CIO general counsel also pointed out that there was no proposal to protect unions from harassing damage suits which weaken even the strongest union.

An editorial in the **United Mine Workers Journal** (Oct. 1, 1953) held that the amendments were inconsequential and did not meet the basic evils of the Taft-Hartley legislation. The editorial said that "Labor must not allow itself to be deluded by screams of certain reactionary elements in politics and the press that these mild changes would have repealed T-H. On the contrary they were but crumbs."

If, as the Eisenhower administration contends, the 19 proposals were intended merely as a trial balloon, they were, at least, successful in obtaining the attitude of both business and organized labor leadership on the adequacy of the proposals.

NPA Makes Some Suggestions For Union-Management Peace

By ED MARCINIAK
IEB Vice President

The following summary of the seven-year study of fundamentals of labor peace was written by National Planning Association's IEB Vice President Ed Marciniak for "Work," the Chicago labor publication of which he is editor.

SUPPOSE you're a boss. You're looking for ways of keeping peace with your union while trying to keep the business profitable. How do you go about it?

Suppose you're a union official. You're trying to get a just share for the employes while keeping the boss happy. How do you go about it?

You wouldn't waste your time listening to some after dinner orator bleat pious platitudes about labor - management harmony.

BUT YOU might try to take advantage of the experience of firms and unions that have lived together justly and peacefully.

The National Planning Association, a non - profit organization of union, business, and public leaders has been doing just that.

For the last seven years it has investigated the causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining. It has made case studies of more than 30 companies and unions where collective bargaining has worked.

This month the NPA published its 13th and last book entitled "Fundamentals of Labor Peace." Drawing on its earlier case studies the NPA listed these fundamentals:

● **Management takes very concrete measures to encourage union membership. In one case personal letters from the company president advised new employes to join.**

● The union fully accepts private ownership and operation of the industry. It recognizes that the welfare of its members depends upon the prosperity of the business.

"You just can't loaf yourself into prosperity," a union official told his members. "You must work yourself into prosperity. You're got to put production in the barrel if you expect me to get money out for you."

● The boss takes the union for granted. The company considers a strong union to be an asset to management.

● The union is strong, responsible, and democratically controlled by its membership.

● Management is willing to develop a "responsible and well-disciplined union" by such means as encouraging union leaders to take part in civic affairs and serve on public boards. One company president even campaigned for a union chief for mayor, although it was "common knowledge" that he wanted the honor himself.

● Virtually all of the companies and unions exclude lawyers from negotiating sessions. Neither party to bargaining adopts a legalistic approach to the solution of problems.

● Management is willing to give the union the information to carry on negotiations reasonably.

● Most of the firms are located in communities where there was no "open shop" climate. If the citizens of the community are friendly to unionism, collective bargaining proceeds much more smoothly.

● Advance consultation by management with the union before taking action which would have effect on employes is the rule.

● Joint union - management committees were formed in some plants to deal with safety, time study, job evaluation, seniority problems, production problems, or just matters related to the "good of the order."

These committees, the NPA report says, had a "profound effect on the general tone" of union-management relations. They made it easier for the parties to understand each other's thinking in discussing key bargaining issues.

The NPA insists that it has not said the last word on union-management peace. It points out, for example, that all of the case studies were made during an era of full employment. What would happen, the NPA asks, during a depression?

The NPA committee making the study was headed by Clinton S. Golden, director of the Trade Union Program at Harvard University and a close friend of the late Philip Murray.

Mel Shapiro Heads Elizabeth Guild

Elizabeth, N. J.—Melville D. Shapiro, reporter for the Elizabeth Daily Journal, has been named president of the Elizabeth Newspaper Guild, succeeding Walter E. Corris, Journal advertising solicitor. Corris had served two years as local president and declined to serve a third term.

Shapiro headed a slate recommended by an elections committee, headed by Robert E. McLaughlin, Journal editorial staffer. No further nominations had been made at last week's deadline, and election is therefore automatic.

Others named: First vice president, Daniel A. McLaughlin, Journal copyreader; second vice president, Guy D. Peck III, New Brunswick Home News reporter; secretary, Firman R. Loree, Journal reporter; assistant secretary, Ernst J. Mueller, Plainfield Courier-News reporter; treasurer, Franklin O. Williamson, Journal circulation. Loree and Williamson were reelected; others will take office at the annual meeting in January.

The President's Corner—

Diversionary Tactics Declared Dangerous To Guild Objectives



By JOSEPH F. COLLIS
ANG President

AS WE GO INTO 1954 let's, for our own good, keep our eyes on the ball. We know where we are going. The Boston convention laid out a program of "$150 per week for experienced employes in key editorial, advertising, circulation and business office classifications, and $75 per week for all adult classifications." This is our goal.

Too often, I find, individuals with selfish interests are trying to divert us from our goals. And some of our good Guild members are falling for these hidden ball plays, by trying to "answer" Editor & Publisher editorials.

Such answers are just a waste of good time and energy which might be devoted to organizing and collective bargaining. "Answers" are looking in the past. Let's keep our eyes front for the next pitches. You can't hit a home run with the ball once it's in the catcher's mitt.

Editor & Publisher is in business to make money, a very laudable objective. We in the Guild are in the union business to better conditions and make more money for ourselves. We both are trying to reach into the publishers' pockets; Editor & Publisher through advertising obtained in some sense by being the publishers' mouthpiece, the Guild through services.

We don't mind the stockholders of Editor & Publisher getting rich, but not at our expense. So we'll continue to fight for what the Guild convention at Boston has considered just compensation for services rendered.

• • •

EDITOR & PUBLISHER, I find, has at least one useful purpose. It is the mirror in which the publishers flash their best smiles at their fellow publishers, in contrast with the scowls Guild committees get when asking for raises.

The publishers' poor-mouth arguments disappear in the boastful articles, such these from the issue of December 26:

Vancouver Sun Profit Doubled; Plan Expansion
Sunday Supplements Continue to Gain
14-Page Section on Super Market
Linage Up 35 Percent (European edition NY Herald Tribune).
Linage Up 4.4 Percent (for 11 months 1953)
Newsprint Usage Up

These are the headlines by which we should adjust our sights in trying to achieve the Guild's program—$150 a week for experienced employes in key editorial, advertising, circulation and business office classifications.

• • •

AND IF ANY GUILD MEMBER feels that he or she has to blow off literary steam, we have a good outlet—the Guild Reporter.

N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals for 1953 lists Editor & Publisher circulation at 18,477 copies.

The Guild Reporter goes to more than 27,000 of the country's best newspapermen and newspaperwomen. You can get your point to a 50 percent larger audience without cost to you, and without your effort helping to build the circulation of the publishers' mouthpiece.

Let's keep our eye on the ball—$150 a week.



WITH ALL THE FIXIN'S—**Omer Sumpter, San Diego Guild president, carves turkey for the local's first annual Christmas party, while former President Glenn R. Dodd, left, and party chairman John Nilsson, help by sampling and supervising.**

Southern Voice Raised in Defense Of Negro's Improved Status There



—Photo from Chattanooga Times.

NEW SCHOOL FOR NEGROES—**Chattanooga, Tennessee, will shortly open this 12-grade school for Negro children, with facilities including, left foreground, library and teachers' lounge; right foreground, the high school section; at the left an auditorium and beyond it the elementary wing. At the right is another two-story wing of the high school and beyond it the vocation school. At the right rear is the gymnasium.**

By FRED HIXSON
Chattanooga Guild

Chattanooga, Tenn.—As a charter member of the Chattanooga Newspaper Guild I naturally feel that I have some voice in the management of the organization, even though it be a small voice, the echo of which probably will do well to penetrate the confines of my own local.

For some time now I have been most sensitive to the unfair and scurrilous articles appearing in some parts of the American Press that malign, falsify and often contain common lies about southern people. Usually the "masterpieces" are the brain child of the most provincial and ill-informed individuals imaginable. They sit in ivory towers and imagine themselves to be great humanitarians, great reformers, and then set about to abuse our section of the nation.

The article in the December 25 Guild Reporter under the byline of Bonham Cross of the Minneapolis Tribune is a sample of what I am talking about.

No doubt Mr. Cross saw the things he wrote about. But he could have found many of the same circumstances in New York, in New England, in Detroit, in Chicago—in practically every section of the country. Why didn't Mr. Cross report the full story?

The South has made more progress in racial relations, despite such rumor-mongers as Mr. Cross apparently desires to become.

He should have reported that the South is on the march; that its intelligent leaders recognize that the Negro must have his just rights, that he is a human being and should not be forced to dwell in slums.

Great progress is being made in every direction for the southern Negro. He has learned that the most certain way to improve his position is to improve his economic status. That is being done. Today Negroes are building and buying better homes, they are owning more and more motor vehicles, eating better food and wearing better clothing.

In Chattanooga, for instance, we have under construction a $2,500,000 school plant for Negroes. There are few, if any, finer plants than this for white children in the south. I think it is one answer to the faulty reporting of Mr. Cross.

We believe that we can handle our affairs in the south, and we believe we have the respect of our colored neighbors. We are certain that agitators such as Mr. Cross can be of no benefit to either race.

Finally, as a Guildsman I want to protest the publication of the Cross article in the Guild Reporter. It has no part in the management of our trade union. There are no issues that involve the Guild and its membership. Its publication in the Guild Reporter clearly is a mistake, and leads me to ask that so much of the whole picture be presented as is possible. That sort of article serves only to inflame southern members of the Guild and cause disunity in our organization.

McKinnon Buys LA News, Voices Honest Press Aim

Los Angeles, Calif.—The Los Angeles Daily News, with which the Guild holds a contract covering full departmental jurisdiction, has been sold by the Stockholders Publishing Co., Inc., to Clinton D. McKinnon, former Democratic member of congress and one-time publisher of the San Diego Journal.

The transaction ends a long period of rumors and reports as to the future of the News, which had shown dwindling circulation figures in the face of heavy competition from the Times and the tabloid Mirror, both owned by Norman Chandler, outspoken foe of organized labor; and the Hearst-owned Herald & Express, and Examiner. The News is an evening paper, opposed in that field by the Mirror and Herald & Express.

McKinnon announced that he is resigning vice chairmanship of the Democratic State Committee to enter what he terms as "more than a business venture—a crusade for a free and honest press."

The News has listed its political affiliations as independent Democratic; the Times is Republican and the others term themselves independent.

In a statement announcing the sale, Publisher Robert L. Smith indicated that many opportunities had arisen to sell to other than a Democratically-inclined buyer, but had been turned down largely because of his conviction that a city as large as Los Angeles should not suffer the blight of a "one-party press."

McKinnon was a publisher for many years before selling his San Diego paper to run for Congress.

He said the News policy will be "reasonably Democratic and friendly to labor."

Collie Is Slated For Another Term At Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.—G. Norman Collie, of the Inquirer editorial staff, has been renominated as president of the Great Philadelphia Newspaper Guild, for election after all nominations close this week.

For vice presidents William Streckfuss and Aaron Rosenfeld, both of the Inquirer unit, have been nominated, and Elizabeth Eilber and John P. Farson, also of the Inquirer, were named for the secretary and treasurer positions, respectively. Rosenfeld is ending a term as secretary, while Farson is slated for the position held by Roberta Bailey, now a member of the International Executive Board.

The local seats two delegates to the city CIO Council, and Frank Reilly and Kay Mott were nominated. To the single seat on the Delaware County CIO Council, Joseph Fitzgerald, of the Chester unit, was nominated. Four will be elected as delegates to the Middle Atlantic District Council, with nominations for Farson, Roberta Bailey, Anna Rosholn and Mitchell Rosenfeld. The local's administrative officer is ex-officio a council delegate.

All the nominations were made at the December general membership meeting. Further nominations by petition were available for inclusion on ballot until this week.

San Diego Registers 400 At 1st Christmas Party

San Diego, Calif.—Two former members of the San Diego Newspaper Guild were honor guests at the first annual Christmas party of the local, which attracted approximately 400 Guildsmen and guests.

Maureen Connolly, women's national tennis champion, who was a copy girl while holding Guild membership, was present with her fiance, Norman Brinker.

Harold Keen, now a San Diego radio and television news commentator, attended with Mrs. Keen.

Chairman John Nilsson told the crowd that it was planned to hold a similar affair each year just prior to Christmas. He introduced Glenn R. Dodd, outgoing local president, and his successor, Omer Sumpter.



Martin's "Union Busting" Clarified for the Record

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Editor: It is not my intention to participate in any side-taking over the continuing controversy on the Guild presidency. I've offered condolences to the loser and congratulations to the winner.

But may I object to the member from the People's World who accused Harry Martin of "breaking up" European trade unions. This is just a bald half-truth, for the accuser didn't mention the type of unions Harry Martin was "breaking up" were communist unions, unions which were anti-American, anti-Marshall Plan, and misguided by Stalin. In this work Martin with many others was supported by the democratic, Christian and Socialist trade union movement of Europe in every center from Athens to Oslo and into the Arctic Circle.

The part Martin played in his leadership in establishing the International Federation of Journalists as a non-communistic newspaper organization is a record he can be justly proud of. Backed by the ANG, he carried the ball and called the plays in that remarkable achievement of uniting non-communist journalists in Western Europe.

He took a large part in the beginnings of the International-ist Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and in the direction of further cementing that group, which embraces 35 million free trade unionists in Western Europe and the Middle West, all friends of America.

Men like Irving Brown, Boris Shiskin, Nelson Cruikshank, A. Philip Randolph, and others of the AFL, the late Bill Green, George Meany and Phil Delaney were a major part of this picture. So were Vic Reuther, Elmer Cope, Mike Harris, Alan Strachan and others of the CIO. And labor independents too numerous to mention did a large part in "breaking up" the hold of communist labor unions on their captive members. All were united in one purpose—the common interest of all Labor in a democratic world of free men.

Let us give honor where it is due. There is plenty to go around for all the "shirt sleeve diplomats" in the European theater of the Marshall Plan. Harry Martin deserves credit for the part he played, and he doesn't deserve sniping criticism.

PAT FRAYNE
San Francisco-Oakland Guild.

Deems Story on Race Bias "Stupidity in Newspaporing"

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Editor: May I join the ranks of the hundreds of Southern newspapermen you have offended with the bleeding hearts story you are carrying on Page 3 of the December 25 GR.

For sheer stupidity in newspapering this story takes some sort of award. At a time when the racial issue is at its highest here and at a time when the Guild is trying to organize more solidly in the South, this story is the shortest cut to exploding organization efforts anyone could dream up.

I respect the reporter's right to get the story, his paper to print it and respect Rowan as my professional equal. But I reject in the strongest possible way the GR's cramming this tripe down my throat at my expense. This is one instance in which a reader has a right to tell an editor how a newspaper shall be run. If I could take single-handed action, you'd be looking for another job.

DONN HALE MUNSON
Times-Herald unit.

He Objects to Financing GR's Racial "Propaganda"

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Editor: I've just read the propaganda you have on page three of the current edition of the Guild Reporter. Minneapolis has a perfect right to send any of their staffers anywhere on any story—but I'll be damned if you have any right to print that crap in a paper WE pay for.

Another round of this sort of thing and you have lost at least several Guild members right here on this newspaper—and this is only one of many newspapers in the south—where you are trying to get Guild members.

Good luck—and keep your nose clean.

LEE H. CALLISON
Times-Herald unit.

Letters shall be limited to 300 words and shall avoid libel and subjects detrimental to the Guild. Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply in the same issue but publication of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue.

During elections or referenda letters on the question to appear in the edition immediately preceding the distribution of ballots shall be confined to rebuttal of material appearing in the preceding edition.

Ware Expresses His Thanks For Chance to Serve Guild

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Editor: This is a belated "thank you" to members of the American Newspaper Guild for the honor of having been re-elected to the IEB, and at the same moment a heartfelt expression of regret at having to relinquish the post.

My recent appointment to a newspaper position excluded from Guild contract has made it necessary to request an honorable withdrawal card and to give up official Guild activity which I have found so enjoyable and profitable.

I say "profitable" in the sense that the Guild has brought to me, even beyond the economic blessings of contractual gains, intangible benefits unmeasurable in dollar signs. The privilege of having been permitted to serve in Guild office, to associate with Guild leaders of great and varied talents, to take part in the groundwork of decision-making necessary for the successful operation of the union, has been invaluable.

Arrival at this crossroad, as with other Guildsmen before me, strongly wrenches the sensibilities. It's with no elation that I leave the IEB, for instance, having so enjoyed the last two years and looked forward to the next couple.

The consoling thought is one underscored in various paragraphs of the recent Guild Reporter anniversary issue. It isn't possible to read again of the ANG's history and of the figures striding across its pages, without realizing anew the importance of the organization over the individual. Many have contributed to make the ANG great, many have made their contribution and departed, and the ANG rolls on. It is comforting to know that even today the departure of one individual is of little moment in the over-all picture, and that the state of Guild leadership is healthy and capable of carrying on the union's affairs successfully.

Best of luck, then, to ANG and a sincere "Thank you" to its members.

WILLIAM M. WARE
Cleveland Guild.

NWR Press Is "Free," Just Delayed in Transit

New World Review, New York periodical presently experiencing censorship difficulties with the postal department, has not been "refused" second class mailing privileges, as erroneously reported in the Guild Reporter for November 13.

GR's attention to the error was called by Jessica Smith, NWR editor, in a letter in which she says, "I assume you would wish to publish a correction, particularly inasmuch as the matter involves the right of freedom of the press, in which I know you are interested."

A Post Office solicitor had given an opinion that certain issues of the magazine were "non-mailable", Editor Smith explains, as a result of which recent issues have been delayed by the post office for periods of from 16 to 38 days, while contents were examined.

Thereafter, the magazines were mailed under the usual second-class permit conditions.

The magazine is seeking legal restraint against further interference with its mailing process.

IEB Acts on HWC For Edward Jaffee

Lynn, Mass.—On recommendation of the Lynn Guild's executive committee, the Guild's International Executive Board has granted an honorable withdrawal card to Edward B. Jaffee, city editor of the Lynn Daily Evening Item.

The action followed a vote by the local membership, approving restoration of Jaffee to good standing on payment of all dues in arrears. This condition was met, and the reinstatement was made effective retroactive to the day before Jaffee was appointed Item city editor. That position is exempt from coverage under the Item contract with the Guild. The local vote approving Jaffee's petition for reinstatement was 25 to none, with two abstentions.

The petition from Jaffee reaffirmed his belief in Guild principles and noted his thirteen-year record of Guild membership, including chairmanship of the Item unit.

Walter Maranville

Walter (Rabbit) Maranville, 61, perhaps most famous ballplayer in the fabulous 1914 Boston Braves team died this week at his Woodside, L. I., home.

As director in recent years of the Journal-American's smallest leagues, he held membership in the New York Newspaper Guild. 360.

Blaine Davis Named New President At Portland, Me.

Portland, Me.—Blaine Davis, Press Herald sports editor, is unopposed for the presidency of the Portland Guild, to succeed Waldo E. Pray. Davis once played pro baseball in West Coast leagues.

Harold W. Bulger, as treasurer, will start his eighteenth term in that office; while J. Frances Hapgood becomes secretary, succeeding Frank Moulen, Jr. As second vice president, the local has nominated John E. Byrne, of the United Press.

Contests for the first vice presidency and unit chairman posts will be decided at this month's membership meeting. A. Keith Glasier and Walter E. Martelle are the vice presidential nominees and Frank W. Herrick, Marion M. Davis and Frank N. Bent have been nominated to the unit chairmanships.

Olson, Fight Champ, Carries Union Card

San Francisco, Calif. — AFL Teamsters here mention with pride the fact that Carl (Bobo) Olson, middleweight boxing champ of the world, is also a member of their union. Between fights, Olson keeps in trim pushing the heavy stuff around in the Sears Roebuck warehouse here, and carries a card in the Teamsters' Warehousemen's Local 860.



Gilbert Cant, New York Guild's Time, Inc., unit, is author of the newest Public Affairs Pamphlet, "Medical Research May Save Your Life!" Cant is medicine editor of Time Magazine.

Edward O. Ethell, AP staffer in Denver, New York and Baltimore, named assistant public information director for the Justice Department at Washington.

Wedding bells for **Betty Ann Hayes**, former copy girl at San Diego Union, and Dick Williams. . . . **Belle Klicka** back at Union-Tribune library after a stint in the San Francisco Chronicle library.

A daughter, Mary Kathleen, for **Mrs. Louise Ryan**, of Community Papers unit, Chicago.

George A. Harris, former IEB member from Boston, named publisher of "The Massachusetts Selectman," a publication for Bay State town officials. He's one, being on the municipal committee for his home town of Arlington.

Stan Kupstas, one time Guild international representative, takes an editorial job at the Scranton Times.

Job changes at the Youngstown Vindicator: **Adrian Slifka** from reporter to radio-TV editor, and **Fred Friedman**, from make-up editor to Sunday editor.

Rufus Mack, 75, head of the maintenance staff at the New York Guild's 44th Street headquarters, has been retired on pension by the local executive board. Mack had been employed by the Guild since 1937, when its offices were in West 46th Street.

Morton Yarmon, NY Times' foreign desk, is co-author of a forthcoming Executive Book Club selection for February, "Put Your Money to Work For You." He has also written "Jobs After Retirement," to appear in February through Henry Holt, publishers.

Current Coronet Magazine runs a profile on **Sylvia Porter**, New York Post financial columnist.

New York Local Chooses Unit Officers for 1954

Elections have been held for most of the unit organizations of the New York Guild, including the naming of delegates to the local's representative assembly.

Among the choices made are:

American Weekly: Chairman, John Sturdevant; secretary, Mollie Gambardella; treasurer, William Levinson.

Associated Press: Chairman, Sol Horn; secretary, Joseph Murphy; treasurer, Charles Field.

Atlantis: Chairman, Louis C. Orfan; secretary, James Anaipakos; treasurer, Bessie Gosimidas.

Aufbau: Chairman, Anne Polzer.

Bell Syndicate: Chairman, Paul Duszik; secretary, Mary Ann Bonamo; treasurer, Ray Healey.

Brooklyn Eagle: Chairman, I. Kaufman; secretary, Dolores Castellano; treasurer, Irving Cohen.

Brooklyn Eagle Press: Chairman, Louis Lubin.

Consumer Reports: Chairman, Cornelius Moncher; secretary, Leonard Weeks; treasurer, Henry Clayman.

Cowles Publications: Chairman, William Houseman; secretary, Joseph Roddy; treasurer, Beverly Hewitt.

Herald Tribune: Chairman, Thomas Fay; secretary, Frances Bowman; treasurer, William McNulty.

Il Progresso: Chairman, Alfred Franceschetti; secretary, Inez Giordano; treasurer, Renato Gennaro.

International News Photos: Chairman, Irving Schulman; secretary-treasurer, Joseph Lupino.

Jewish Day: Chairman, Sam Landau; secretary, Hyman Freund; treasurer, Teddy Singer.

Journal American: Chairman, Victor Lee; secretary, Barbara Hubner; treasurer, Margaret Carr.

Labor Press: Chairman, Max Steinbock; secretary, Hilda Sexton; treasurer, Tom Brooks.

Morning Telegraph: Chairman, Edward Johnson; secretary, James Gibbons; treasurer, George Long.

Daily News: Chairman, Michael Andrews; secretary, Lorraine Rodrigue; treasurer, Joseph Ratigan.

Parade: Chairman, Ernest LaFrance; secretary-treasurer, Eugene Seder.

Post: Chairman, Ray Kallmeyer; secretary, Gerry Passarella; treasurer, Vincent Guadagno.

Reporter: Chairman, Bill Reardon; secretary-treasurer, Muriel Friedman.

Saturday Review: Chairman, Zola Dincin; secretary-treasurer, Pearl Catel.

Scholastic: Chairman, Mary Dirlam; secretary, Charles Hurley; treasurer, Nancy Scandrett.

Standard & Poor's: Chairman, Gene Connolly; secretary, Rose Maly; treasurer, Nat Dabrowski.

The Nation: Chairman, Nancy Consentini; secretary, Jane Boicourt; treasurer, George Brandon.

Times: Chairman, Lawrence H. Benjamin; secretary, Nan Edwards; treasurer, Marvin Lipman.

Trade Union Service: Chairman David Girard; secretary, Ethel Lichtenstein; treasurer, Ann Chalfin.

WQXR: Chairman, William O'Hara; secretary, Francis Smart; treasurer, Barbara Meyer.

Richard Riley Youngstown Head

Youngstown, Ohio — Richard Riley has been elected president of Youngstown Guild Local 11 for the new year, succeeding William K. Gibson. Others chosen are: Vice president, William Loch; secretary, Mary Ellen Apuli; treasurer, Earl Loucks; members of the executive board, Richard Platt, David Lewis and James Jolly.

C. A. Landorf was chairman for the local's holiday party, which attracted 100 members and guests to the Hotel Pick Ohio. The program was informal, with brief remarks from Gibson and Riley, outgoing and incoming local presidents.

Local Copy

A PAGE especially for local unit officers, stewards and committeemen conducted by the Department of Research and Information.

Dues Dollar Draws Dividends; Here's What You Get for It

Guild dues are an investment. As such, they bring higher annual dividends than any stocks or bonds now on the market.

ANG President Joseph F. Collis used simple arithmetic to prove this at the Youngstown meeting of the POI District Council during a seminar on the question "What do we get for our dollar-forty?"

Collis gave as an example a Guild member who pays $5 a month, or $60 a year. During that year he receives, or there accrues to him under Guild contract, the face value of six weeks' pay, computed from two weeks' severance pay equity, at least a week of sick leave and three weeks of vacation. If the employe earns, say, $90 per week, these combined benefits would be worth $540 for the year.

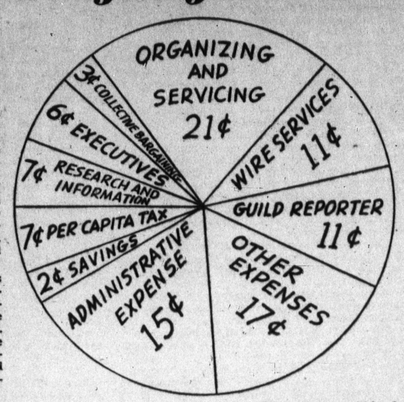
While this figure represents no additional outlay for management, it does mean added protection and benefits for the member to the value of $540. And this total doesn't include such other benefits as job security, holiday pay, guaranteed overtime pay, general wage increase, etc.—all for $60 a year.

"That means the member gets a return on his investment of more than 900 percent," said Collis. "If he put that $60 in the bank, he would be happy to receive 2, 3, 4 or 5 percent interest. And there is a great deal of self respect in the mere fact that you belong to the Guild. You no longer get pushed around, your economic security increased, and the pension line is beginning to crack."

* * * *

Any Guild member may determine what his dues dollar is worth to him by substituting in the above example his own dues, salary and benefit figures. But he still might ask: "What do I get for my dollar-forty?"

He's talking about the $1.40 per capita tax—$2.30, if he's a wire service employe—deducted from his monthly dues and sent on to ANG. His answer was given by Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak at the same POI seminar in the following breakdown, based on the chart of ANG expenditures reproduced in these columns:



This chart breaks down ANG expenses for the fiscal year May 1, 1952, to April 30, 1953, showing how each dollar was spent.

DEFENSE — Ten cents of every employed per capita payment is deposited in the International Defense Fund for use in emergencies.

AFFILIATION—Of each dollar received by ANG, 7 cents goes to CIO and CCL in per capita taxes. ANG pays 10 cents per member to CIO in the United States and 10 cents per member to CCL in Canada. Five to six hundred dollars a year is paid to IFJ on editorial department employes only.

ORGANIZATION — Twenty-one cents of each dollar is spent on organizing and servicing. This covers salaries of $52,000 and expenses of $30,000 for the Director of Organization and his staff of international representatives. When an IR is called into a local to negotiate a contract (other than an initial contract) the local is charged his salary and expenses. Such money received from locals is put back into the organizing budget, making it possible to hire temporary staff members for special organizing projects. When an IR is called into a local strike situation, his salary and expenses are charged to the defense fund.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING — Three cents of each dollar pays the salaries of the executive secretary to the IEB Contracts Committee and the contracts analyst, plus half the salary of a stenographer. The Contracts Committee secretary processes all proposals and finished contracts, prepares material for local negotiating committees, and prepares and presents briefs. The contracts analyst analyzes local contracts to make clear all contract language as an added protection for the membership.

WIRE SERVICE ADMINISTRATION — Eleven cents is spent on wire services to maintain a two-man staff in charge of collective bargaining, organization and contract enforcement on the wire services.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH—Seven cents of each dollar pays the salaries and expenses of this department's staff of three, plus half the salary of a stenographer. Research and Information conducts the Regional Training Institutes. It has issued a two volume Collective Bargaining Manual and is preparing Organizing and Administration Manuals. The department also has done and is doing extensive research on such subjects as pension and health plans.

GUILD REPORTER—Eleven cents of each dollar is spent on the Guild Reporter, ANG's principal contact and most effective instrument of communication with the general membership. The GR has two employes—the editor and his assistant.

ADMINISTRATION—Fifteen cents is assigned to Administration, covering the cost of the office manager, bookkeepers and clerical help, rent and maintenance, supplies, equipment, repairs and improvements, telephone and telegraph, postage, insurance and bonds. This expense has not increased materially since 1947.

EXECUTIVES—Salaries and expenses of the Executive Vice President and the Secretary-Treasurer require six cents from each dollar received by ANG.

OTHER EXPENSES — Legal fees, payroll taxes, contributions, Heywood Broun award, and expenses of delegates and committees are classed as other expenses and cost 17 cents per dollar.

Day Book

LABOR BOARD PROCEEDINGS

Hearing, Jan. 18, on unfair practice charges against Utica Observer-Dispatch & Press, involving wage data and interference with Guild.

CONTRACTS COMMITTEE

Charlotte News, contract renewal approval withheld because of continuing severance pay liability waiver in strikes, exclusion of dismissal grievances from arbitration, failure to improve 3-week severance pay limit on dismissal.

Chattanooga Times, contract renewal approved.

Erie Dispatch, contract renewal approved.

Long Beach Independent & Press-Telegram, contract renewal approved.

Manchester Union Leader & NH Sunday News, contract renewal approved.

New Orleans: Catholic Action of the South, initial contract approved.

NY: Bell Syndicate, contract renewal approved.

San Mateo Times & News-Leader, wage reopening settlement approved.

ACTIVITIES

Midwestern Regional Wire Service Conference, Milwaukee, Jan. 16-17.

Joint Regional Training Institute, Empire State and New England District Councils, Albany, Jan. 16-17.

6th Annual Industrial Relations Labor Conference, University of Minnesota, Feb. 15-19.

Southern Regional Training Institute, Greensboro, N.C., Feb. 20-21.

Staff-Owned Paper Has $350,000 Net

Cincinnati — The Cincinnati Enquirer last week reported net earnings of $349,421 for the fiscal year ending last Sept. 30, the paper's first complete year under employe-stockholder ownership.

The net amounted to $1.34 a share, equal to 13 percent on the 261,189 shares of $10 par common stock. The paper had an operating profit for the year of $1,074,189 before deduction of interest, taxes and other charges.

Dailies Face Biggest Year —This Is a Recession?

What's the economic picture facing the publishing industry as the new year gets under way?

Planners and economists have been talking in recent weeks about "an orthodox recession" for business as a whole. Well, whether we have a recession or not, business writer Sylvia F. Porter sees 1954 as a record advertising year for newspapers and other media. In her New York Post column of Dec. 10, she had this to say about the coming "Assault by Advertising":

"You'll be bombarded by an advertising-sales-promotion barrage in 1954, Mr. and Mrs. Consumer, the like of which you've never seen or heard before.

"Through fierce selling campaigns—rather than price cuts—American industrialists hope to be able to separate you from a whopping percentage of your income in 1954.

"Through offering you new and improved products at relatively stable prices—rather than manufacturing cheaper versions of familiar things—American businessmen believe they can keep their cash registers ringing with their coins.

"Your eyes will be assaulted day after day by newspaper ads, magazine spreads, outdoor posters, etc., etc. Your ears will be assaulted night after night by commercials on the radio, TV.

"There isn't a known selling medium that the giants and the smalls of industry won't be trying to use to its fullest—to SELL their products, not just to publicize their names or just to build good will among present or future customers.

"And it will be all for some exceedingly persuasive reasons.

"For it's generally agreed by businessmen that times probably will be tougher in the first half of 1954.

"It's also generally agreed that you, the consumer, have the incomes and savings to spend huge amounts if you're 'sold.'

"Most manufacturers believe they can beat their competition, come out on top if they go about the job properly.

"And most believe too that the way to do the job is to push the sale of new and improved products, not to cut prices on old stuff.

"Add it up. It comes to a record-smashing advertising and sales drive on your pocketbook in 1954.

"You might think that the expectation of tougher times plus the death of the excess profits tax on Dec. 31 would encourage businessmen to pull back on sales campaigns. Contraction of advertising has characterized most other phases of business retreat in modern times.

"And the theory has been that the excess profits tax has stimulated extravagant promotion because the companies have preferred to spend their top level profits on institutional advertising rather than to hand them over to Uncle Sam. Thus, the death of the tax should cut advertising.

"But a recent survey by the Assn. of National Advertisers turned up the exact opposite.

"Of the companies polled, 75 percent said they would spend more on advertising in 1954 than in 1953, 21 percent said they would spend the same as 1953, only 4 percent said they'd spend less. (And that 4 percent may well change their minds when they learn what their competitors are planning.)

"Another poll by 'Advertising Age' disclosed 1954 would be at least as good a year for advertising as 1953, probably better.

"A third estimate by 'Printer's Ink' put spending on advertising in 1954 at $8 billion or more, up $300 million from 1953's peak.

"And this is just the overall picture. The automobile companies frankly admit they'll meet the stiffest sales challenge of decades by new models and all-out promotion. The gasoline companies are as frank about their competitive fight and their plans to pull in your dollars by promoting higher-quality fuel. And so it goes—estimates of 5, 10, even 25 percent hikes in advertising budgets for 1954—with every campaign designed to get you.

"Will it do the trick? It could, but that's another story for another time. The point that intrigues me now is the confidence in the economy this basically reflects. If businessmen were really scared about the future, they'd be fussing about forced price cuts.

"They'd be worrying about conserving cash. They'd be whispering in terms of slashing payrolls, not producing new products.

"The fact that the emphasis is so overwhelmingly on the positive side is an indirect indication of faith that encourages faith."

Prof. Indicts Management For Red Invasion of Labor

The responsibility for communist penetration of labor rests more with employers themselves than with unions.

So declared Prof. Philip Taft of Brown University, an authority on the American labor movement, at the annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association.

Professor Taft told a panel discussion at the meeting that those industries which resisted unionization for so many years must "share the blame for the communist invasion" because their workers lacked experience as unionists and were easily controlled by skilled communist functionaries.

"It is the non-communist trade unionist who has cleaned house," he declared. "It is the worker who has risked his organization built by toil and sacrifice in his fight against communist penetration. Employers have given virtually no aid, and there is a widespread feeling that some employers have encouraged communist unions rather than the opposite.

"This is undoubtedly based upon a belief that such a policy offers some short-run advantage, that it keeps the workers split among several unions and thereby prevents unified action, and that it might be easier eventually to oust a communist-dominated union."

Organized labor's battle against communism also won the praise of Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell in his address to the CIO convention. He said:

"America can take added strength from the knowledge that it has in the CIO, now, a body of experienced fighters against communism. Many of you have fought in your own local and international unions against communist factions intent upon capturing your organizations. You have fought them in the shops, in the union halls, and in CIO conventions. You have driven them out of your movement and left them isolated and identified, so that everyone can recognize them for what they are."

THE GUILD REPORTER

Published by the American Newspaper Guild (CIO)

CHARLES E. CRISSEY, Editor

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ANG INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

PRESIDENT: Joseph F. Gallis — EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT: Ralph B. Novak — SECRETARY-TREASURER: William J. Farson

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

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS: 1—John H. Thompson, 42 Windsor Road, No. Quincy, Mass. 2—Phillip Price, 12 W. Curtis St., Alexandria, Va. 3—Adolph J. Rahm, 1536 Midland Drive, University City 14, Mo. 4—Al Dipman, 614 Milton Ave., San Bruno, Calif. 5—Victor Leo, 1064 Clarendon Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 6—C. Joseph Beaudery, 150 Indian Road Crescent, Toronto, Canada.

AT-LARGE VICE PRESIDENTS: Roberta Bailey, 139 Drexel Road, Ardmore, Pa. Edward Easton, Jr., 2 East 12th St., New York, N. Y. Paul A. Freye, 3853 Cresta Way, Sacramento 21, Calif. Ed Marciniak, 21 West Superior, Chicago 10, Ill. Felix B. Wold, 149 Taylor, Detroit 1, Mich.

DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION: J. William Blatz.
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AND INFORMATION: Ellis T. Baker III.
INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES: Edna Berger, Joseph L. Campo, John Carmichael, Joseph G. Colangelo, Joseph E. Garland, Robert Greenock III, Alexander Hieken, Ray Mann, Justin F. McCarthy, Jr., Charles A. Perlik Jr., Wm. Ray Pitt III (Asst. Wire Service Administrator), Maxwell E. H. Pyle (on leave), Stephen Ripley (Wire Service Administrator), Robert Van Wagoner.

January 8, 1954 — 119 — Vol. XXI—No. 2



THE LETTERS COLUMN in this issue contains a couple of explosive communications from Washington members who are incensed that the Guild Reporter should print "propaganda" they profess to find in the story of two newsmen, one white and one Negro, and their experience in areas where race segregation cases arose which have now found their way to the Supreme Court.

Elsewhere in this issue is printed a feature story from Chattanooga, written in much calmer vein, and presenting exemplary evidence of the improved status of the Negro as to school facilities in that city.

All three writers seek to make the point that the Guild Reporter is no proper forum for the airing of either facts or opinions on the racial issue. It is with that specific point that we sharply differ.

We don't think that the Negro problem, or any other racial minority problem, will go away if we pretend it isn't there. We don't think honest discussion in the GR columns will delay an eventual solution, any more than we think it will guarantee a prompt cure.

We didn't read into Bonham Cross' text any inference that the Negro problem is exclusively the South's. Since when has Delaware been in Dixie? And the story clearly indicated that the two men were not assigned to cover the whole area of racial discrimination—only those points where the current Supreme Court cases originated.

For Northerners to stand off and point an accusing finger southward is as absurd as the fabled retort of the debate-riddled European communist:

"Yeah, but in your country you lynch Negroes!"

The notion that racial discrimination is no concern of the Guild, and therefore of the Guild Reporter, is untenable in the light of consistent Guild convention findings over many years. Convention committees, interim committees, convention-adopted resolutions—the record is studded with policy-making pronouncements.

The Guild has declared for a square deal for everybody, regardless of his race or color.

The Guild Reporter will continue to reflect that and other policies of the Guild.

•

USUALLY it's organized labor that stages a walk-out, or a sit-down, against management, and thereby rates screaming headlines and anguished editorial comment, together with demands for "tightening" the labor laws.

When it's management that walks out, it's different.

It happened last month in New Orleans, where the Guild took to arbitration a grievance against David Stern's Item, under Guild contract. The Item attorney, irked because an arbiter decided to hear the case over management's objections that the issue was not arbitrable, stalked out of the hearing room.

To have remained, he explained later, would have "prejudiced" management's position.

But Fred Cassibry, Guild attorney, termed the walk-out an insult. "This constitutes a new low in labor relations," he added. "I have never heard of a company which would not listen to a grievance of its employes."

And the arbiter, New Orleans attorney Louis Rosen, proceeded to hear Guild witnesses and prepare his decision.

The grievance arose over management-instituted job descriptions, outside the contract. The Guild held that the descriptions were so arbitrary as to effect a work speed-up by altering the fundamental requirements of the job classifications.

Give a buck now to PAC for practical political action.

Russia Likes Peg For Anti-Unionism

Moscow — Westbrook Pegler, who devotes much of his syndicated columns in American newspapers to attacks on labor unions, has won a new accolade. He's an "authority" to the Kremlin in its attack on Irving Brown, AFL European representative.

Trud, organ of the Soviet company unions, said that in "an article" appearing in the Hearst newspaper New York Journal American "by the noted American journalist Westbrook Pegler it is stated that, during the war, David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers admitted that he and people with him conducted espionage in Europe. Pegler reports that Irving Brown is Dubinsky's 'ambassador,' or, more accurately, an active member of an espionage center set up by American intelligence in Europe."

Trud's newest half page attack on Brown was based to a large extent on Pegler's columns. But American observers here, who keep track of such things, pointed out that Pegler, in his diatribes against Brown and the AFL, frequently had quoted the French Communist newspaper L'Humanite.

Washington ROUNDUP

By CHALMERS M. ROBERTS
Washington Guild

BY THE TIME this appears in print the annual Capitol show will be under way and the political hatchets unlimbered for election year 1954.

Prognostications are for rough political weather, which seems as safe as saying January will be out to include—or exclude—it will make somebody mad and start some fights.

But from the looks of the economic climate in the U.S.A. as of January 1, 1954, it seems to me that the big story in Washington is very likely going to be recession and what is done about it.

• • •

THIS TOWN has recently been crawling with learned economists, in addition to the learned types who normally bed down here year round, and all of them seem to have an opinion. The opinion, as has been widely circulated in the dailies, is for something less in '54 than in '53.

How much less is the '54 dollar question. As has been said in this space before, the politicians, especially the Democrats, daily scan the fever charts of industry and agriculture for a clue to November balloting.

Hazarding a guess along with the rest, it looks from behind this typewriter as though Congress and Ike will start out on a budget-cutting spree which will chip a great chunk from the flood of Federal dollars pouring forth from the Treasury, dollars which stimulate the American economy as well as those of our allies abroad.

But along about April, when the indices begin to show that the normal spring pickup isn't picking up—if that, indeed, is to be the case—Congress is very likely to do a 180 degree spin. The legislators, in panic, will begin shoveling out the money in search of votes.

• • •

IN OTHER WORDS, it could well be that the Eisenhower Administration will balance the budget in the wrong year. Well, come within shouting distance of a balance. But in the wrong year, at any rate.

The press and the slick paper magazines have been full of Ike's program to turn back a recession or prevent a depression or flatten out a rolling readjustment or whatever you want to call it. The economic gobbledegook is getting confusing.

Much of what is written sounds like Harold-Ickes-type public works pump-priming, although Harper's turned up the idea that somebody here was thinking of insuring installment credit. Shades of Tugwell, Wallace et al!

• • •

IN THE VIEW of many, the real question is not so much whether Ike and Congress—meaning the GOP leaders there—will do the right thing but whether they will do it at the right time.

Some think the doing should get under way at once. But to stoke up the economic furnace now would foul up the budget just when Messrs. Humphrey and Dodge think they see a light at the end of the tunnel, if I'm not mixing too many metaphors. They've got to have their go first. Query: will that mean action will come too late?

It seems to a good many Washington observers that this issue is very likely to be the crucial test of the businessmen who dominate this Republican Administration. As one economist put it, in times of stress the average businessman tightens his belt, cuts off unprofitable lines, trims expenses and makes ultra sure his business budget is balanced.

But you can't run the government of the United States that way, or at least the lesson of the Hoover Administration is a good indication you can't.

Ike has said, with feeling, that if things get sour he will use the full powers of the Federal government to stem and reverse the downward tide. It is perfectly clear that he means it. But there are powerful forces around town which feel that "readjustments" are good for shaking down the economy from time to time, and anyway the economists have been wrong a good many times. And they have.

• • •

THE NATURE OF AMERICAN SOCIETY requires constant growth, constant shifts of industry, continual flux of labor and population. America will lose its strength if it becomes static or drops back to dead center.

The Soviet Union's turn inward toward consolidation of the Malenkov regime's position, though raising the domestic standard of living at least a whit, seems certain to lessen world tension—in fact already has.

The challenge of 1954 for America in general and for the Republican Administration in Washington in particular thus is very likely going to be how to meet and conquer the current waver in our own economy.

Thirteen Locals Show New Highs In Membership

Thirteen Guild locals attained new high membership figures to aid in establishing the all-time record of 27,000 dues-paying members registered in November. Director of Organization J. William Blatz lists the locals in the group as being Chattanooga, Denver, Eugene, Grand Rapids, Kenosha, Lima, Los Angeles, Pueblo, San Diego, San Jose, Sheboygan, Toronto and York. Of these locals, Denver appeared in the listing for the tenth straight month, Blatz said.

Five other local records remained at previously established high marks. They were Bay City, Canadian Wire Services, Dallas, Sacramento and Scranton.

Retroactive Bonus Pay For SFONG Classifieds

San Francisco, Calif.—Settlement of a long standing grievance at the Examiner will mean about $2,000 retroactively for classified sales department workers.

The grievances grew out of the Examiner's refusal to allow any credits for bonus pay in vacation checks.

After a number of sessions with Guild officials, the Examiner has agreed that in the future vacation will be computed on the basis of the average of bonus earnings plus the minimum pay.

10-Month News Blackout Lifted in Taunton, Mass.

Taunton, Mass.—Freedom of information exists in this city again, as far as the chief of police is concerned. That official had imposed a news blackout for a period of 274 days, refusing reporters access to police blotters and other departmental news sources because he was displeased at the manner in which the Taunton Gazette had reported a court proceeding in which the department was involved.

Four Taunton citizens appealed finally to the Boston Herald-Traveler, which published a detailed story.

The situation was drawn to the attention of the American Newspaper Guild by John H. Thompson, of Boston, regional vice president, and ANG Secretary-treasurer William J. Farson outlined the Guild's views in a telegram to Thompson, which the Herald-Traveler also published.

Said Farson:

"Chief (T. Joseph) Galligan has achieved by unilateral, administrative action what the Congress and the Massachusetts legislature are forbidden to do by the Constitution. He has effectively abridged the freedom of the press to report to the citizens of Taunton on the operations of one of the major departments of the government they control by their votes and support with their taxes."

Two days after the Herald-Traveler expose, Chief Galligan ended the news ban, on condition that the Taunton Gazette print his statement concerning the court case in question. The Gazette agreed, reserving the right to comment on the statement editorially.

The Guild Reporter
99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Boyle, Sevareid, Lerner Are Named As Judges for Broun Award Entries

The GUILD REPORTER

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HAL BOYLE


ERIC SEVAREID


LEO LERNER

BROUN JUDGES — Following custom throughout the thirteen years since the Heywood Broun Award was established by the American Newspaper Guild, three prominent leaders in the field of journalism will serve as judges of the entries. They are Hal Boyle, AP columnist; Eric Sevareid, head of the CBS Washington staff; and Leo Lerner, editor-publisher of the Chicago Northside community newspapers.

Three outstanding newspapermen will judge the 1953 Heywood Broun Award competition. They are Hal Boyle of the Associated Press, Eric Sevareid of Columbia Broadcasting System, and Leo Lerner, editor of a group of Chicago community newspapers.

Announcement of their selection as judges was made by Wade Franklin of the Chicago Sun-Times, chairman of the award committee.

The three will meet in New York early in March to select a winner from among the entries submitted before the deadline of Feb. 15.

Each year the American Newspaper Guild gives an award consisting of $500 in cash and a Guild citation to the newspaperman or woman who has done the most outstanding job "in the spirit of Heywood Broun." Broun was a founder and first president of the Guild, and a crusading reporter and columnist who fought for the underdog. He died in 1939.

Each of the three judges has won national distinction in the journalistic field.

Boyle, who served a term on the Guild's International Executive Board, writes a daily column for the AP which is published in some 400 papers across the country. He calls it "The Poor Man's Philosopher."

In 1945 Boyle won a Pulitzer award for Distinguished Correspondence as a result of his stories from the battlefields of Europe. He covered Allied campaigns in the Mediterranean and European areas, and also served for a time as correspondent in the Korean war.

Boyle began his newspaper career with the AP in Kansas City, and later moved to the New York City office where he served as a reporter and night city editor before being sent to Europe during World War II.

Sevareid has won wide recognition for his work in radio and television, but he got his early training on newspapers in Minneapolis and Paris. After several years on the Minneapolis Journal and the Star as a reporter, he went to Paris where he became city editor of the Paris edition of the New York Herald-Tribune and night editor of the United Press before going with CBS as a correspondent when the war broke out.

Sevareid was with the French army when it capitulated, and he broadcast the news from Tours and Bordeaux. Later he also broadcast war news from England, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and has covered assignments in many other countries around the world.

In 1950 Sevareid was the win-

(Continued on Page Two)

1953 Broun Award

DEADLINE for entries: February 15, 1954.

SEND entries to the Broun Award Committee, 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 outstanding journalistic work "in the spirit of Heywood Broun" done or completed between January 1, 1953, and December 31, 1953.

ELIGIBLE are all newspapermen and women in Guild jurisdiction in the United States and Canada, whether they are members of the Guild or not.

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

JUDGES are Hal Boyle, Eric Sevareid and Leo Lerner.

WADE FRANKLIN
Award Committee Chairman.

IEB Stops Assessments Effective February 1st; January Payment Stands

The Guild's International Executive Board this week voted, by a count of eleven to two, to discontinue the defense fund assessments ordered last month, as of February 1.

The two dissenting members of the board were Philip H. Price and Roberta Bailey. Secretary-treasurer William J. Farson did not vote, being absent on vacation, and the recent resignation of William M. Ware left the board membership at fourteen.

The vote came after Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak notified the board members that the three assessments of last fall had actually yielded in excess of $152,000 in revenue, and that as of December 31 the defense fund cash balance stood at $51,463.92.

"With the collection of the January assessment," Novak wrote the board, "providing it maintains the same average as the three previous assessments, and I see no reason why it should not, we will have in our defense fund in excess of $100,000."

In notifying the board members on December 1 that the Defense Fund was endangered by the demands of the New York engravers strike, Farson had set $100,000 as the goal to be attained before the assessments should be canceled.

In a letter sent to all local presidents and treasurers, Novak this week noted:

"On December 9, 1953, you were notified by Secretary-treasurer Farson that the International Executive Board of the ANG had voted to levy assessments at the constitutional rate on the membership in support of the members of the New York Guild, who were unemployed as a result of the photo-engravers' strike.

"Today (January 18) the IEB

(Continued on Page Three)

Five Are Nominated to IEB Vacancy, Referendum Is Set for Early April

As of this week, four nominations had been received at ANG Secretary-treasurer William J. Farson's office for the position of vice president at large on the Guild's International Executive Board, a vacancy created by the resignation of William M. Ware, of Cleveland.

The nominees listed with Farson are:

Robert C. Stafford,
Cleveland Guild
W. Howard Clifford,
Seattle-Tacoma Guild
Jim Richard,
Toledo Guild
James D. White,
Tri-City Guild

In addition, Boston's executive board reported that at last night's meeting it entered a fifth name, that of John R. Wright, who had been a candidate in last year's referendum, finishing seventh in a field of ten, of whom six were elected.

Nominations close February 8. Balloting for the office will occur in April, by members who on February 1 are listed in good standing, that is, whose dues and assessments have been paid for the month of January.

To win the election, the successful candidate must obtain a majority of all votes cast. The ANG constitution provides that otherwise, the low man is dropped from the ballot, and a run-off is held, balloting to continue until the leader is given a clear majority.

Ware's own local, Cleveland,

(Continued on Page Two)


ROBERT C. STAFFORD
Cleveland's Choice


HOWARD CLIFFORD
Northwest Candidate


JIM RICHARD
Named by Toledo


JAMES D. WHITE
Tri-City Bid


JOHN R. WRIGHT
Boston Entry

'Friends' Worst Enemies Of Private Enterprise

Robert P. Vanderpoel is financial page editor of the Chicago Sun-Times. His column of recent date is reprinted here by courtesy of that newspaper's management.—Ed.

By ROBERT P. VANDERPOEL

SOMETIMES I FEEL that many of those who profess to believe that the Republican Party is the only hope of preserving the private enterprise system are really intent upon murdering the GOP.

Take this matter of the taxation of dividend income. An intensive campaign has been under way to have Congress, in its new tax bill about to be unveiled, give special consideration to dividend income. Seldom have I witnessed so intensive a campaign. The propagandists literally have been beating the bushes. Organizations sprang up that no one ever heard of before, protesting "the injustice of the double taxation of dividends." Speeches were made. Stockholders were circularized until the unthinking person quite likely came to believe that an injustice has been done and should be corrected.

As just one small example, an organization which calls itself the National Associated Businessmen Inc. of Washington, D. C., has sent me a copy of a speech delivered by William Jackman, president of the Investors League Inc. (financed largely by big business), before the Bond Club of Louisville.

Jackman demanded relief for stockholders "now overburdened by the inequitable double taxation of corporate earnings." The FACTS, of course, are that there is no double taxation of corporate profits. The corporation pays a tax on its income (which, for the most part, is passed on to its customers as just another cost of doing business and is thus paid by the consumers) while stockholders pay taxes on dividend income at exactly the same rate as interest income or wage income.

* * *

RELATIVELY SPEAKING, stockholders have fared very well during these years of inflation and prosperity. Dividends have risen to all-time high levels and in addition profits have been plowed back in a record-breaking amount to the credit of the shareholders. As compared with bondholders, mortgage holders, owners of insurance or those with savings accounts in banks or savings and loan associations, stockholders have been handsomely treated indeed.

If this great wave of propaganda with which the country has been deluged results in Congress giving stockholders a 5 percent tax credit on dividend income this year, 10 percent in 1955 and 15 percent thereafter, as presently intimated, it will represent a "steal," the repercussions of which almost certainly will rock the Republican Party.

Jackman, recognizing the difficulty of getting special tax favors in view of the precarious position of the federal budget with a prospective deficit, according to Sec. Humphrey, of between $8 nad $9 billion for the fiscal year to begin next July 1, declared that he had found a way of making up this loss of revenue. He would tax the savings and loan associations, the mutual banks, the insurance companies and the various co-operatives.

Whether or not these organizations should be taxed more than they are now is a controversial subject, but it might be worth noting that the mutual banks and savings and loan companies, for example, have been paying returns ranging from around 2 to 4 percent to the thrifty people who have entrusted their funds to them.

* * *

THIS CONTRASTS with an average dividend return on all dividend-paying stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange last year of approximately 6 percent plus another 6 percent plowed back into the properties for the benefit of shareholders, or a profit on stockholders investment that has ranged between 11 and 16 percent throughout the postwar period.

In other words, the grand idea is to hit those who had been getting the least for the benefit of those who already have fared the best.

Of course, Jackman has still another idea of where the government can obtain additional money so as to frost the cake of the favorites a bit thicker. Once again he advocated a 5 percent sales tax at the manufacturer's level. This, he says, would not be "the answer to a maiden's prayer," because such revenues as he would obtain from those in the lower income levels in this manner he would give back to those in the higher income scales through elimination of the so-called luxury taxes. The tax rate on a mink coat would be exactly the same as on Johnny's pair of shoes and Billy's jeans and Mary's cotton dress or sweater.

Isn't it obvious that unless Congress turns a deaf ear to such selfish, greedy, grasping urgings, the Republican Party, egged on by false friends, will commit a disgraceful suicide?

...Five Named to IEB

(Continued from Page One)

was first to take action. Cleveland until last November had two members on the IEB, and with Ware's unexpected resignation found itself with none. Its executive board advanced Stafford's name, and broadcast an invitation to other locals to join in Stafford's nomination with seconding resolutions.

By this week, such seconds had been received at the ANG office from Twin Cities Guild, from Milwaukee, Columbus, Washington, D. C., New York City, Denver, Buffalo and Hammond.

* * *

Stafford has worked for Scripps-Howard newspapers for 27 years, the last 20 being on the Cleveland Press.

His Guild membership goes back to the earliest years of the organization, when he became a charter member of Akron Local No. 7. He has been consistently active in Guild affairs. He has been president of Cleveland Local No. 1, chairman of its Press unit and executive board member or vice president for many terms, besides serving on numerous local and unit committees. At the 1949 Columbus ANG convention he headed the committee on race relations. He has also served on the Scripps-Howard Council.

In Cleveland he is a governing committee member of the municipal branch of the Civil Liberties Union, which he helped organize; is a director of the Consumers League of Ohio; was one of the organizers of and holds membership in the Cleveland Clearing House on Civil Liberties; is active in the Cleveland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and in the Urban League, for the latter organization having served on national committees.

He was a member of a War Price and Rationing Board and served as price enforcement panel chairman prior to volunteering for 22 months' World War II service.

His news experience has included work as a reporter, telegraph editor and assistant news editor; his current Cleveland Press assignment being military editor and specialist on civil liberties and race relations.

He was born in Toledo 47 years ago, spent his boyhood in Florida, attended Ohio State University at Columbus, and lives with Mrs. Stafford on a small farm 20 miles from Cleveland. They raise chickens, turkeys, hay and garden produce.

* *

Howard Clifford was born in Wisconsin in 1912 and has been an employe of the Tacoma Tribune Publishing Co. for the past eighteen years. He joined the Guild in the late thirties when the old Tacoma local was organized. He is the immediate past president of the Seattle-Tacoma local and was in that office during the Seattle Times strike.

He was chairman of the Tacoma Unit in 1952 and led his unit through the Tacoma strike that year. During the Tacoma strike he served on a policy committee which brought together all of the unions involved. He was elected president and publisher of the Newspaper Unions Publishing Co., Inc., which published the Tacoma Reporter during the period of the strike. He is still president of the corporation which is kept in existence for emergency use.

He has also been local vice-president and executive board member for several years, and served on negotiating and grievance committees.

In World War II Clifford served in the Pacific with the U. S. Marines. He is a licensed airplane pilot with commercial land, sea, and multi-engine ratings and a certifed ski instructor and former member of the National Ski Patrol.

He is chief photographer and aviation editor of the Tacoma News Tribune and is a director of the paper's free ski school. He has been general assignment reporter and sports writer and is a member of the Washington State Press Club and Aviation Writers Association. He is a graduate of the College of Puget Sound. He is married, has two daughters and resides in suburban Tillicum in a house he constructed himself.

* * *

Jim Richard, 31-year-old Toledo Blade sports writer, has been an active Guildsman for nearly eight years.

Richard, who writes golf, football, and basketball for the Blade, worked on the Bellevue, O., Gazette; attended Kent State University, Kent, O., and served four years in the U. S. Naval Reserve and U. S. Maritime Service before coming to the Blade in 1946.

Jim has been a bargaining committee member in Toledo every year since 1949, has been an executive board member four times (twice as editorial department representative and once as secretary) counting his present term as local president.

He also was chairman of last year's Page One Ball and directed the first annual Bill Hall Memorial Lecture at the University of Toledo last month. He also has been a member of the grievance committee.

Richard has been a delegate to three ANG conventions (Pittsburgh, Portland, and Boston), serving on the collective bargaining committees at Pittsburgh and Boston and the resolutions committee at Portland. He currently is a member of the interim collective bargaining committee authorized by the Boston convention.

The Toledo candidate is secretary of the Toledo Council of Newspaper Unions and a delegate to the CIO Toledo Industrial Union Council. He has been a delegate to several POI district council meetings.

Richard is married and is the father of three children. He has a long family union background. His late father was a Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen member for over 35 years. Jim also belonged to the Seafarer's International Union, AFL, while in the Maritime Service, and served as ship's steward.

* * *

James D. White has for the past 17 years been on the copy desk of the Knickerbocker News at Albany, and looks back on more than 40 years of newspapering, mostly as reporter, makeup editor and copy reader.

A native of Ohio, he worked in that state, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Massachusetts before his Albany employment. He has been a Guildsman since it first was possible for him to be one, joining Tri-City Local 34 as soon as he arrived in that city in 1937. He has five times been elected president, and once secretary, of the Albany local. In 1944 and 1945 he served as an international representative of the Guild, on leave from his newspaper job for that purpose. He has attended six ANG conventions, those at St. Paul, Milwaukee, Sioux City, Scranton, Pittsburgh and Portland.

His Guild work for Tri-City has also included unit chairmanship for several terms, service on negotiating committees and on the local executive board. As an international representative he negotiated in Utica, Newburgh, Kingston and Plainfield, N. J.

* * *

John R. Wright is a display ad salesman in the Herald-Traveler unit, the Boston local's largest.

He has served twice as president of the Boston Guild, eight years on its executive board, and eight consecutive years as ANG convention delegate. He has also been chairman of his unit.

He was three years a vice president of the Greater Boston CIO Industrial Union Council, and one year in the same position in the Massachusetts CIO Council. For many years he has been a member of Boston's Guild negotiating committee, and has headed negotiations committees for smaller locals near Boston.

More recently Wright assisted in the organization of the Boston Post commercial unit.

* * *

Wright's candidacy arose, according to a letter signed by him and Fred Bowler, of the Lynn Guild, because of requests that either or both seek the board position, coming from several Guilds in New England and elsewhere.

The two New Englanders conferred and issued a jointly-signed statement, circulating it to a number of Guild leaders:

"This is our position on filling the vacancy which has occurred on the IEB through the resignation of our good friend, the very capable William M. Ware, of Cleveland.

"We appreciate the desire in some quarters to avoid the expense and effort of a referendum election contest at this time.

"If it is the will of a substantial number of local executive boards that there be a general agreement on filling this vacancy without contest, we are inclined in that event to concur.

"We suggest, however, that the fair and logical way to avoid a contest is for local executive boards to support the candidacy of the runner-up in the last national election, John Wright of Boston, and for other proposed candidates to decline nomination.

"It is our conviction that Wright is entitled to this seat which has unexpectedly become vacant. More than half of the Guildsmen who cast ballots in the last ANG referendum election voted for Wright, an indication of a substantial desire on the part of the rank-and-file membership that he be elevated to the IEB.

"We see no merit in any proposal to elect WITHOUT CONTEST any brand-new candidate who has not hitherto been presented for the consideration of the entire membership. In taking this view, we do not necessarily imply lack of merit in the qualifications of any such candidate.

"We suggest situations like the present one could in the future be avoided by amendments to the ANG Constitution providing for (1) the automatic designation and succession of the runner-up candidate for any IEB position which similarly becomes vacant and (2) action by the next subsequent ANG convention (in accordance with usual nomination and election procedure) to fill any vacancy which may occur through the resignation of a vice president who was elected to office without contest."

Good radio listening habit—CIO's Vandercook on ABC.

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UP Talks Start Feb. 1 at N.Y.C.

Negotiations under the wage-reopener clause of the ANG contract with the United Press will start February 1 at the New York headquarters of the wire service.

In preparation for the sessions, the UP National Committee of Guildsmen will meet in New York this weekend, when proposals will be drafted in accordance with suggestions asked from all sectors of the membership. The committee comprises Jim Donovan, Washington; Sol Fox, New York; Sheldon Garber, Chicago; Ben Sreré, Los Angeles, and Ray Webster, St. Louis.

Negotiations are expected to occupy about two weeks' time.

PAC Gifts Help Boost Guild Quota

PAC contributions from St. Louis and New Orleans received this week will go a long way to bolster ANG's national PAC quota. St. Louis collected $164 in voluntary contributions.

$100 from New Orleans goes to the campaign of Fred Cassibry, attorney for the local and for the majority of CIO and AFL unions in the city. Cassibry is running for a seat on the city council and has the support of CIO and AFL in the area.

Earlier this year New Orleans had contributed $250 to the PAC Trade Union Fund. For a local its size, its efforts have been greater than many of our largest locals.

Labor Unions and the Taft-Hartley Act

What's Happening in Revision and Administration of Labor Law

Because of recent developments in the field of labor-management relations, the Public Affairs Institute has extended to six the number of articles in its series on the Taft-Hartley issue. The first two appeared in the January 8 Guild Reporter.

Herewith are Numbers 3 and 4 of the series. The remaining sections will appear in the February 12 Guild Reporter.

III. Prospects for Revision

There are two courses of action which the Eisenhower administration could take to revise our labor-management laws. One course lies in congress actually amending the Taft-Hartley act. The other is through administrative decisions, especially by the national labor relations board.

What are the prospects for revision in each field?

Legislation—Lengthy hearings were held early in 1953 by both the senate and house committees on proposals to amend the Taft-Hartley act. For the first time since the adoption of the Wagner act in 1935 the secretary of labor did not attend the hearings.

The secretary at that time was Martin Durkin. He did not testify because the administration was unable to agree on any program for revision. The controversy over the 19 amendments which President Eisenhower stopped short of proposing to congress illustrates this disagreement. The continued official silence indicates that there is still no agreement.

In the past the secretary of labor has always presented the views of the administration on labor-management laws. The views of the new secretary, James P. Mitchell, then, are of considerable importance.

The secretary has had experience as director of personnel or of industrial relations with Western Electric, R. H. Macy and Bloomingdale's and similar management activities. He is on record as opposed to repeal of Taft-Hartley.

At the recent CIO convention he pledged a "sympathetic audience" and an "open mind" in the matter of Taft-Hartley amendments. He said there would be changes but the nature of the changes was still under discussion.

He did tell the convention he would oppose any proposal which would "leave the government powerless to deal with national emergency strikes." He also opposed legislation which would encourage unions or union officials to be irresponsible.

Secretary Mitchell's statements to date have still not thrown any new light on possible amendments to Taft-Hartley. An administration in which many executives of business and industry hold important posts is having a difficult time obtaining agreement on a program of amendments which will please labor.

There is considerable discussion in congress on amendments. However, there are few prospects that Taft-Hartley will be amended to ease restrictions on labor without strong White House support. And there is no evidence this will be forthcoming.

The **United Mine Workers Journal** states plainly that "it remains a fact that a majority of congress is not yet ready to repeal or even modify the central punitive sections of the law."

Administrative Decision—The national labor relations board administers most of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley act. Its decisions can actually serve to revise the act.

Prospects for changes are seen in the membership of the five-man board. To date the President has made two appointments: Guy Farmer, whom he named chairman, and Philip Rodgers, formerly assistant to Senator Robert A. Taft. There is one vacancy and when this is filled the President will have appointed a majority of the board.

Farmer has been counsel for the board both in the regional offices and as associate general counsel in Washington. Since 1945 he has been engaged in private practice of labor law in the District of Columbia.

The Labor Relations Reporter states that during the past eight years Farmer was an attorney for management specializing in labor relations. He was a member of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the Washington Board of Trade.

What is Farmer's attitude on the administration of the labor-management relations act of 1947? It is possible to get an indication of the nature of important future board policies by analyzing Farmer's speeches and early dissenting opinions. He will undoubtedly be representing the majority viewpoint.

The new chairman told the National Conference of Business Paper Editors, for example, that "there is no place on the board for a partisan, be he pro-labor or pro-management."

The chairman told the business editors that the board is "by nature of its widespread activities and its own remoteness from the actual world of labor relations constantly exposed to the real danger of losing touch with the realities of industrial life and with everyday problems of working men and women."

The NLRB is an administrative agency, staffed by experts, continually reviewing industrial prblems. Just how it could lose touch with industrial reality was not clarified by the chairman.

He said he would not air his views on "a number of critical decisions of the old board" on the ground that it would not be appropriate to air them prematurely any more than a judge would express an opinion on a case which is coming before him for decision.

"I can assure you, however," he added, "that there will be a careful re-examination of existing board precedents." He denied that he or any other board member had any "preconceived or unalterable position" on the issues that were bound to come before the board.

Prior decisions of the board would seemingly carry limited weight with the new chairman. The practice in English common law of deciding disputes by reference to earlier decisions is known as the doctrine of *stare decisis*.- Farmer said *stare decisis* has lost much of its force in common law where it originated and now "has less weight in the dynamic and ever changing field of industrial relations."

"We do not propose," he said, "to treat a prior decision as a straitjacket, binding our discretion and unduly restricting us in the exercise of independent judgment as to congressional intent."

The general approach of the new NLRB chairman of not being bound by previous opinions, plus his pledge to review board precedents, indicates that reversal of some past critical board decisions may be expected.

●

IV. Revision by Administrative Interpretation: Part One

Two dissenting opinions by Chairman Guy Farmer of the National Labor Relations Board are indicative of prospective changes in the impact of the Taft-Hartley law on the activities of organized labor. One dissent is indicative of a considerably narrower scope in the jurisdiction of the board. Another foreshadows a refusal by the board to accept authorization or membership cards as evidence of a union's majority status.

Jurisdiction of the NLRB—Mr. Farmer said shortly after he was named NLRB chairman that "philosophically I favor as much decentralization as possible." Again, in a speech to the Business Paper Editors (October 21, 1953) he said that "at the proper time" the jurisdictional plan of the board would be reexamined. Mr. Farmer believes the board has been interested in too many local problems which should be settled on a local basis by the citizens of the community in which these problems arise. In a newspaper interview he is reported as saying that the board should have discretion to cede jurisdiction by agreement with the states.

The chairman has dissented in one case (Klinka's Garage) involving a small agency of General Motors. He held that this enterprise was too small for the board's attention. Mr. Farmer would not, as a matter of administrative self-interest, exercise the authirity which we have over his employer-employe relationships."

On the other hand, the board majority held that the business of this dealer in vehicles and accessories was "an essential element in a nation-wide system of manufacture and distribution." The board held that its policy on jurisdiction had been announced several years ago and was not an instance of overreaching by a Federal agency but "adherence to settled administrative and statutory criteria."

In a recent case involving the same company and a similar relationship with a local distributor, the Supreme Court upheld the jurisdiction of the Board over the small distributor. The court emphasized the interdependence of the activities of the local dealer and the national organization of General Motors. One newspaper commented that lawyers were of the opinion that this ruling put 40,000 franchised automobile dealers throughout the country under the NLRB. The same source also said that the decision affected thousands of dealers in refrigerators, home freezers, air conditioning equipment and other appliances made by automobile manufacturers.

Another recent Supreme Court decision emphasized that the jurisdiction of the NLRB under the Taft-Hartley Act excludes state jurisdiction where the industry in question is within the jurisdiction of the act. An exception is the Taft-Hartley provision which permits the union shop but provides that state laws on the subject are controlling. Under this exception 14 state "right to work" laws outlawing all forms of the union shop, including that permitted by the Taft-Hartley statute, are valid.

One of the so-called 19 proposed amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act—which at one time was thought to have the support of President Eisenhower—would have made the federal authority paramount "in the interest of uniformity throughout the United States." The proposed amendment would have permitted the form of union shop authorized by the Taft-Hartley statute in all states by making the state "right to work" laws null and void.

Evidence for Union Majority—In another dissent (Brown Truck and Trailer Manufacturing Company) Chairman Farmer refused to accept signed authorization cards as evidence of the union majority despite the fact that there was only one union involved which had been designated by 22 of 29 employes and the employer had not questioned the majority status of the union. Mr. Farmer believes that such authorization cards are an unreliable method of determining the bargaining status of a union. The chairman would limit the acceptance of authorization cards to cases where an employer, by unfair labor practices, has made it impossible to hold a "free and uncoerced" election.

The board stated that "In the 18 years that this board has administered the act, it has consistently—and with judicial approval and legislative acquiescence—held that a union's majority status can properly be determined by membership or authorization cards." The majority said that to adopt Chairman Farmer's position would be to engage in "administrative legislation, a practice which the Supreme Court has enjoined."

The outlawing of the card check as a means of determining a union's majority status seemed only to await an Eisenhower majority on the board.

...Judges

(Continued from Page One)

ner of the Peabody Award for outstanding news reporting on radio. He is now with CBS in Washington.

In the Midwest Lerner is known as "the poor man's William Allen White." Under his editing the Myers papers won the John S. Herrick Award in Americanism and democracy. The award was voted by the National Editorial Assn. which is composed of 5,200 papers throughout the country.

Lerner also won the Decalogue Society Award in 1945 for his contribution to human welfare and democracy, and in 1937 was given first prize by the Illinois Press Assn. for the year's best editorial.

In the spring of 1947 he made a trip through Europe and wrote a book called Continental Journey. He has been with the Myers papers for 27 years.

Always active in civic life, Lerner is now chairman of the board of Roosevelt College, and formerly served as a member of the Chicago Board of Education. He is now active also as chairman of the Abraham Lincoln Monument Commission which is planning a memorial to the Civil War president in Chicago.

Lerner's "First Column" in 23 Myers papers circulating throughout Chicago's north side is one of the city's outstanding contributions to journalism.

Entries received this week include a series of cartoons by John Pierotti of the New York Post, a story of the efforts of Reporter Sandra Pesmen of the Chicago North Side Newspapers to raise funds to pay for an operation to remove scars inflicted on the face of a young girl by a thief, a series by Frank Party and Neil Whitney of the Scranton Times investigating the Scranton Electric Company's request for a utility rate increase and a number of reviews of the year's controversial and important books by Emerson Price, book reviewer of the Cleveland Press.

...Stops Assessments

(Continued from Page One)

has voted to discontinue assessments on the membership effective February 1, 1954.

"The assessment levied for the month of January is still in effect and must be remitted to ANG headquarters, postmarked not later than February 15, 1954, in order to keep membership in good standing.

"Treasurers who have collected February assessments and have forwarded them to ANG will have them returned as soon as possible."

When Novak discussed the situation last week with ANG President Joseph F. Collis, the latter suggested that the IEB members be polled on three queries.

They were:

1. Do you favor cancelling, effective with the assessment levied as of February 1, 1953, the series of assessments during the New York emergency?

2. Do you favor an assessment for the month of February?

3. Do you favor assessments beyond the month of February?

Novak recommended a vote for Question One, since the conditions of the motion made December 1 by Ware and seconded by Victor Leo, would be met by the collection of the January assessment.

Collis replied to the poll that he would vote at this time for Question 1, but that "if the situation in New York changes for the worse" would change his vote to favor No. 2, calling an assessment for February.

Adolph Rahm replied that he had believed that assessments are "self-continuing until, and self-ending when, the defense fund is rebuilt and no emergency exists. If a vote is necessary, record me in favor of proposition one, which is apparently in line with the original proposal."

Price wired that he votes "No on Question One, yes on Two and Three. I favor assessments for February and March."

Roberta Bailey wrote:

"Since I sincerely believe the Guild needs an adequate defense fund, even in excess of $100,000, which we have found to be inadequate on many occasions in our history, I cannot go along with you in cancelling the February assessment, especially in view of the fact that Bill Farson is out of town on his vacation.

"Your figures quoted are of December 31, and since Bill did not leave New York until very close to that date, I am sure he was cognizant of the facts set forth in your letter. If he had felt that the assessment was not necessary, I am sure he would have gotten in touch with the members of the IEB before he left. Therefore I must say 'No' to this proposal and leave this matter in the hands of the Secretary-treasurer upon his return on February 1."

Paul Freye voted for Proposition One, adding that his next choice would be to continue the assessments for another month, "in an effort to build up the defense fund to a more comfortable total."

Ed Marciniak wired:

"Am against February assessment and any further assessment if defense fund contains one hundred thousand dollars."

Good Clean Union

Osaka, Japan.—Union employes of a privately owned bath house discovered a new way to picket most peacefully, albeit effectively. They bought tickets, went in, hung out a "house full" sign and splashed 24 hours a day.

Guild Locals Name '54 Officers

Denver

Denver, Colo.—Thor I. Severson, reporter for the Denver Post, has been named president of the Denver Newspaper Guild, succeeding Robert F. Collins, assistant sports editor of the Rocky Mountain News.



SEVERSON

Severson is an Ohio native, and worked in Arizona, Montana, Oregon and for the Associated Press before coming to Denver. He covers politics, government and labor. He joined the Guild in 1947, and has served on the executive committee, as a negotiator and on special events committees for the Denver Guild.

Others named to office are: Vice presidents, Collins and Jack Gaskie; secretary, Randy Halley; treasurer, Ruby Mattern; and executive secretary, Donald W. MacMillan.

Wilkes-Barre

Carl Pesavento, Wilkes-Barre Record reporter, has been re-elected president of the Wilkes-Barre Guild. Other officers chosen were: Vice presidents, Daniel Delaney and Michael Drugach; secretary, Thomas Hart; treasurer, Arthur Albertson; corresponding secretary, Martha Hadsel; sergeant-at-arms, Benjamin Kupstas.

District Council delegates will be Joseph F. Collis, ANG president, and Nicholas Krill, with Thomas Merolla and Gerald O'Brien as alternates. To the CIO Council Edward Rogers and Daniel Walters were named as delegates, and Constance Lizdas and Drugach as alternates.

Wesley Boyle was named chairman of the Times-Leader-Evening News unit and Gerald Stout was elected chairman of the Record unit.

Hazleton

All officers of Hazleton Guild local were renamed at its annual meeting. They are: President, Stanley A. Caughey, sports editor of the Standard-Sentinel; vice president, Dominic A. Antonelli, Plain Speaker reporter; secretary, Wilson L. Barto, Standard-Sentinel reporter-photographer; treasurer, Joseph J. Maggio, Plain Speaker reporter-photographer.

Portland, Ore.

James H. Ferguson, Oregonian copy editor, heads the Portland local for the new year. Other officers chosen without contest were:

Vice presidents, Stanley E. Weber, City Hall reporter for the Journal, and Matt R. Kramer, AP bureau; secretary-treasurer, J. Lynn Wykoff, Oregonian assistant news editor.

Hammond

Francis B. Kent, Hammond Times rewrite man, is president of the Hammond Newspaper Guild, succeeding Jack Feczko, display salesman. The local has also named Ernie Bayton and Charles H. Cruttenden as vice presidents, Agnes Harper as treasurer and Robert J. Hickey as secretary.

Bayton is a display salesman, Cruttenden and Hickey are rewrite men and Miss Harper is in the display advertising office.

Muskegon

Muskegon Guild has elected James F. Henderson, Chronicle sports editor, as local president. The other officers are: Vice president, Thomas A. Fallon, state editor; secretary, Agnes Huber, editor of society and women's page; treasurer, Luella Shafer, wirephoto and Fairchild operator.

Sioux City

Clarence Olson has been named to a third term as president of the Sioux City Newspaper Guild. Elected as vice president is Dick Van Ordstrand, and Dean Oggel replaces John E. Carey in the secretary-treasurership, a post Carey held for three years.

Others named at the annual meeting: Chairman of negotiations, Jack Letellier; comptroller, Ray Goodson; executive board members, Mac Taylor, Hazel Coury and Tom Fennell; CIO council delegates, Margaret Cussen, Bob Dodsley and Bob Sammons.

Rockford

John P. Scholler and three other officers of Rockford Guild gained reelection for 1954. Scholler serves again as president, and Edward Caplan was returned as vice president. Robert Seger was again named research and information director and Mrs. Alida Johns is returned as CIO council delegate. Newly named are Byron Baxter as treasurer, Edwin P. Nelson as secretary and James T. Quinn as a delegate to the Inter-Shop council.

San Francisco-Oakland

SFONG still has no president, but will elect one next month from a field of eight candidates. Nominated are Ed O'Connor, Harvey Wing, Jerry McClean, Al Dipman, Davy Jones, John Keyes, Barney Peterson and Ed Mahoney.

The naming of a president by special election is necessitated by withdrawal of former candidates after the date for closing of nominations.

Other SFONG officers elected this month were:

Vice presidents, Ernie Rapley, Mike Jay and Joyce Jansen; secretary, Ed O'Connor; treasurer, Joe Rosenthal, and executive secretary, Sam B. Eubanks.

Tri-City

Warren Flood, sports writer and columnist for the Knickerbocker News, was elected president of the Tri-City Guild at its annual meeting. Flood, who succeeds Paul Vadnais of the Times-Union, was one of the first presidents of the Tri-City local and has been a unit collector for a number of years.

Vadnais, the outgoing president, was named first vice president, of the local, and John Archer of the Times-Union was elected second vice president. Secretary Ann Bolich, Knickerbocker News, and Treasurer B. Paul Lyman, Times-Union, were reelected.

Delegates to the Empire State District Council are Walt Mordaunt and George Kearney of the Times-Union and Kay Treadway, Knickerbocker News. Vadnais and James Davey of the Times-Union will represent the Tri-City Guild on the Area CIO Council.

Installation of officers took place at a local meeting following the ANG Regional Training Institute, Jan. 17.

Kansas City

The Kansas City Guild has elected Rene J. Cappon as president, with the following others chosen:

Vice presidents, Delmas Escoe and Raymond Corey; secretary, Harry F. Rosenthal, and treasurer, Kenneth H. Clark.

Woonsocket

Robert T. Gray heads the Woonsocket Newspaper Guild, succeeding Edward Berman in the presidency. Other officers elected without opposition include:

Vice president, Normand Chamberland; secretary, Mrs. M. Lorraine Fontaine; treasurer, Edgar J. Allaire; members of the executive board, Daniel J. Kelleher and Berman.

Terre Haute

Joseph W. Junker has been named president of the Terre Haute Guild local, with the following other officers:

Vice president, Elvin Mahan; secretary, Mildred Wiesbeck; treasurer, Robert Bruner.

Washington

Ralph Seebold, Washington Star advertising salesman, has been re-named president of the Washington Guild through unopposed nomination. Others chosen without contest are:

Vice president, James Graham, Times-Herald unit; secretary, Ray Henry, AP; treasurer, C. W. (Bill) Gosnell, Jr., Star commercial office. Graham and Henry had been members of the executive board, Gosnell's is a reelection.

A field of eight sought the seven places to be filled on the executive board. Those named in balloting tabulated Wednesday night were Alex Bilanow, Daily News; James F. Donovan, United Press; Clifford Kohlman, Post; Rose McKee, INS-INP; Hector McLean, Times-Herald; Donald Olesen, Post, and Philip H. Price, Star. The eighth candidate was Donn H. Munson, Times-Herald.

Utica Local Backs Play, Elects Officers for '54

Utica, N. Y.—The Utica Guild will sponsor The Players' production of "Stalag 17" Feb. 19.

The plan was announced at the Guild's annual meeting, during which six of the seven officers were reelected.

Sponsorship of The Players' production will be on the third of a four-night run in the theatrical group's New Hartford theater. Included on the program will be presentation of awards—basis for selection of which is to be announced by Chairman Howard Silbur.

Officers reelected:

President, Ray Warner; Observer-Dispatch unit chairman, John Urbanek; Press unit chairman, Philip Spartano; secretary, Charles McCarthy; O-D unit treasurer, Arthur Pflanz; Press unit treasurer, John Merna. The unit chairmen serve as local vice presidents.

Elected to succeed Kenneth Schaaf as Guild treasurer was Roger Nadeau.

All but Nadeau will be serving their second term. Urbanek preceded Warner in the presidency.

The Guild authorized Warner to select five others to serve as an advisory council, pending formal action on a proposal to provide for a 10-member executive committee.

A strike contribution of $100 from the treasury was voted to the New York Guild, which paid strike benefits to members unemployed as a result of the December photoengravers strike. The gift is in addition to assessments levied by the ANG.

Named as delegates to the joint Empire State Council meeting and American Newspaper Guild training institute in Albany this Saturday and Sunday were Warner, Urbanek, McCarthy, Nadeau and Robert Delaney.

For the Feb. 19 presentation of "Stalag 17," the Guild will have complete charge of ticket sales. Profits above the guarantee to The Players will go to the Guild.

Detroit Credit Union Declares 4% Dividend

Detroit, Mich. — Guildsmen shared in the 4 percent dividend declared this month by the Detroit Newspaper Industrial Credit Union, which with its more than $3 millions in assets rates the title of the largest credit union in the newspaper industry.

The Detroit venture started in the depression years on a financial shoestring.

Depression Talk, Political Changes Cited As Base for Publisher Bargaining Strategy

The collective bargaining climate, exemplified in the recent strikes in Portland (Maine) and New York City, very likely will get worse before it gets better, ANG Director of Research & Information Ellis T. Baker told the joint Empire State-New England leadership training institute in Albany last weekend.

Fifty delegates from eleven locals attended the institute, next to the last of the 1953-54 series. The final institute of this series, sponsored by the new Southern District Council, will be held at the O. Henry Hotel in Greensboro, N. C., Feb. 20-21.

The 1954-55 institute series will begin after the convention.

Baker suggested that the intensified publisher resistance encountered in recent months results from an attempt by publishers to capitalize on two things:

- The fear of a depression.
- The change in political climate.

"The first, of course, is a phony," Baker said. "Experience shows, as Executive Vice President Ralph Novak noted in the last Guild Reporter, that during 'orthodox recessions' of the kind now predicted by economists the newspaper industry prospers. As competition for sales increases so does advertising.

"The second is real, however. For the first time in its history the Guild is faced with a national administration hostile to labor. Already, Eisenhower appointees form a majority of the National Labor Relations Board. I received a routine memo on legal developments from counsel only last week. It discussed six cases. In five of them, the NLRB either abandoned or narrowed previous doctrines; in the sixth, the Supreme Court ruled that if you publicly criticize your employer's product you are disloyal."

Baker suggested several ways in which locals can combat the rising publisher offensive.

"First," he said, "take the offensive yourself.

"Organize your full jurisdiction and drive home to all your members exactly what they are up against.

"Sharpen your bargaining tools and take the lead in building closer cooperation with the mechanical unions.

"Step up political action.

"And, while you are about it, take a good look at your financial structure — and that of the ANG—and make sure they are equal to the demands you may have to make upon them."

The institute itself was designed to help locals sharpen their tools and perfect their techniques. It included sessions on job security, economy dismissals and how to combat them, what constitutes just cause for dismissal and how to combat unjust dismissals and the attack on severance pay.

The sessions were conducted by J. William Blatz, director of organization; John Barry, of the Department of Research & Information, and Baker.

The Tri-City Guild was host at a party Saturday night.

At its annual meeting, the Empire State council re-elected Walter J. Mordaunt, of Albany, president; M. Michael Potoker, of New York, secretary, and George W. Kearney, of Albany, treasurer. Ray Warner, of Utica, was elected vice president to succeed Thomas J. Murphy, of Rochester. The council set April 3-4 for its next meeting, to be held in Utica.

Those attending the institute included:

Walter J. Mordaunt, George W. Kearney, Paul Vadnais, Warren H. Flood, James M. Gallagher, Ann Bolich, Marge Hamecher, Kathleen Treadway, James D. White, Marie K. Brown and Daniel Goldberg, Tri-City.

John F. Prendergast, Patrick J. Brasley, Thomas J. Murphy, Joan Lynn Schild, Richard P. Davis, Charlene T. Linnell, Mitchell Kaidy, Jean Walrath and Alan Nash, of Rochester.

Roger G. Nadeau, Ray Warner, Jack Eden, Charles M. McCarthy, Arthur E. Pflanz and Robert A. Delaney, of Utica; Charles R. Douglas, Charles J. Tiano and Jack Crawford, Jr., of Kingston.

M. Michael Potoker, Harris Monroe, Marvin L. Lipman, Joan Felix, Kay Hendry, Edward Easton and Michael Andrews, of New York;

George P. Dwyer, Timothy F. Ford, John H. Thompson, John J. O'Malley and William F. McGrath of Boston; Fred Bowler, of Lynn; Roland C. Drouin and Richard A. Shepard, of Manchester;

Charles E. Dawson, of Portland; Jim O'Neill, of Salem, and Alton Caldwell, Jr., of Boston.



ALBANY FOURSOME—Empire State and New England Guild leaders check the agenda for the training institute last weekend at Albany. From the left, M. Michael Potoker, secretary-treasurer of the New York City local; Charles E. Dawson, delegate from Portland, Me.; Walter Mordaunt, Tri-City representative; and John H. Thompson, Boston, regional IEB vice president.

Tri-City Guild Reverses Action In Janet Scott Discharge Case

Albany, N. Y.—By a vote of 34 to 13 the Tri-City Newspaper Guild has reversed its original decision to take to arbitration the discharge by the Knickerbocker News of Janet Scott on grounds of "gross misconduct."

The vote came after a petition had been circulated by Guildsmen asking that the proposal to reverse be placed on the January membership meeting agenda. The petition set forth that attendance had been light at the December session when the original action was taken. The petition gained 56 signatures.

The December vote had been unanimous, to seek arbitration in the Scott case if ANG approval was forthcoming.

Miss Scott had been a reporter for the Knickerbocker News for 27 years. Last summer she was called as a witness by a Congressional investigating committee, and refused to answer questions as to her political beliefs and associations.

She was discharged the following day. Readers of her newspaper read of that fact before she herself knew about it. She was on vacation at the time, and received her notice by mail.

Under the Guild contract, "gross misconduct" is an offense for which discharge may be made without two weeks' notice, although with payment of severance. Miss Scott received her severance.

She had been a member of the local's executive board, elected by her fellow-employes at the K-N, and she resigned that post at once, noting that as an ex-employe she could not properly represent her constituents.

The January membership session had before it a letter from Ralph B. Novak, ANG executive vice president, which among other points quoted Irving Leuchter, ANG counsel, on the merits of carrying the case to arbitration.

There was hot debate, with Miss Scott present. Spokesmen for both sides argued that if the opposition prevailed, the Guild contract would be endangered. Fears were expressed that an arbitration case might not win; and others voiced the view that if the case were won through arbitration, "the Guild would be classed with the communists," whether or not Miss Scott was a member of that party.

K-N management is on record, in testimony before State unemployment compensation officials, that Miss Scott's work as a reporter had never been in question, as to its objectivity. But as a result of the newspaper stories of the congressional hearings, the Knickerbocker News encountered a flurry of circulation cancellations and threats of withdrawal of advertising.

The Tri-City Guild gained publication of a statement from its officers that the local is not "communist - dominated" and that it, as well as the American Newspaper Guild, has a long record of successful resistance to communist influence.

Miss Scott had no comment on the outcome of the meeting. She had written an article for "The Nation" published in the December 12 issue, which outlined her personal views, she said, and at present is busy jobhunting.

St. Louis Hits $130 Top In New P-D Agreement

St. Louis, Mo.—The St. Louis Newspaper Guild has negotiated for Post-Dispatch, KSD and KSD-TV employes a new contract which includes a $2.50 to $5 general increase, greatly improved severance pay, increased auto allowance and various other improvements.

The general increase will mean approximately $130,000 annually for 627 employes and is in addition to $42,744 given 94 employes in the first 11 months of 1953 under a merit survey agreed to in the last negotiations. Average pay for employes represented by the Guild was boosted to approximately $109 a week.

The new top minimum for key classifications was raised to $130 a week. Other top minimums attained were: stenographers, $70.50; junior clerks and typists, $64.50; classified outside salesmen, $112; classified phone salesgirls, $87; secretaries, $79.50; maintenance workers, $64.50, and office boys, after one year, $41.

Radio and television script and promotion writers got an $11 boost to $112 and classified adjustors a $9 boost to $70.50 in reclassifications.

Severance pay was put on a one-week-for-each-six-months-of-service, with a maximum of 60 weeks.

Auto allowance guarantee was increased $1.50 a week to $13.50 minimum up to 120 miles after which 10 cents a mile is paid. Photographers get $18 minimum up to 160 miles, plus 10 cents for additional miles.

A new article was written for part-time and temporary employes, giving temporary employes all the benefits of the contract except those which obviously would not apply to them, and giving part-time workers doubled acceleration of experience credit up to 40 hours a week.

Employes called in on their day off will be guaranteed a full day's pay at overtime rate. Incapacitated veterans will get severance pay. And in almost every article there was tightening up and improvement of language.

Also added to the benefits of the last 12 months was payment of Blue Cross and Blue Shield, Hospitalization and Medical, amounting to $2.80 a month.

The contract will be for two years, reopenable on wages after one year.

The negotiations were completed after 11 sessions, two days before the contract expiration on Jan. 1.

Those who negotiated the contract were Morris Tenenbaum, chairman; Ray L. Kringer, local president; Adolph Rahm, who is a member of the IEB; Gus Wepfer, unit chairman; Rollin Everetts, local executive secretary; Harold Gregory, Frank Eckhardt and Paul Burke.

Lima Guild Votes Election Changes

Lima, Ohio.—Officers for the Lima Guild will be named in May, and installed in September, under the provisions of a by-laws change approved by the membership. Present officers will accordingly serve almost a two-year period, having been originally named in November, 1952.

The change was dictated by the desire to allow incoming officers plenty of time to prepare for contract negotiations, set for next month with the Lima News management.

Negotiating committee members include C. E. Miller, Henry Arline, Robert K. Harrod, Wayne Current, Richard Moffat, James Cramer, and William Peppler.

Arbiter Grants $2.50-$4.50 Raises, Top Minimum of $135.50 in AP Wages

An arbitration award in the mid-term reopening of the two-year Guild-Associated Press contract will mean approximately $300,000 a year in increased pay to 1,540 AP employes in the Guild's jurisdiction, it was computed this week by Steve Ripley, wire service administrator.

Submitted to membership vote across the country, the settlement was approved by a large majority vote of Guildsmen affected. AP management also notified the arbiter that it was accepting the award.

The arbitration award was by William E. Simkin, chairman of the five-man panel to which the issue of a general increase, increased minimum pay and a special increase for photo printers had been referred last month. The Guild members of the panel were Ripley and Richard Coons, of the New York AP staff. Both concurred in the award, management dissenting.

The general increase award ranges from $2.50 to employes earning less than $70 a week, up to $4.50 for those earning $130 or more.

New minimums for top-experience newsmen in major AP centers go to $135.50, applicable in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Washington. District beat men in New York have a minimum of $129.

The minimum of $124 will apply to newsmen in Atlanta, Kansas City, Minneapolis - St. Paul, Pittsburgh and St. Louis.

Remaining bureaus across the country have a top minimum of $119, under the award terms.

Photo printers in New York are moved to a top minimum of $121.50, attained after six years' experience; the job in other bureaus being moved up to $119, also after six years. All bureaus had previously had a top minimum of $112.50 for the classification, reached after five years.

Library assistants in New York and Washington bureaus are granted a top minimum of $73, after four years; moving from a top of $67.50 after three years.

The award provides for retroactivity to November 5, 1953, date of the wage reopening.

In preparation of the wage data briefs for the Guild, the committee was aided by Eva Jollos, executive secretary of the IEB contracts committee.

Frank Murray New President At Twin Cities

Twin Cities, Minn.—New officers have been installed to lead Twin Cities Newspaper Guild, Local No. 2, for the coming year.

President is Frank Murray, staff writer for the Minneapolis Star, who succeeds Marshall Genshow, St. Paul Dispatch Pioneer Press advertising solicitor. Genshow was not a candidate, stating he was stepping down after seven years on the executive board "to give new leadership a chance."

Vice presidents are Irving Lipove and Daniel Herridge, both of the St. Paul papers. Secretary is Donald Voigt of the Dispatch, and Harold Chucker of the Star is treasurer. Executive secretary is Wilbur E. Bade.

Six directors were elected from a field of 10. They are Miriam Alburn and William F. Brooks, Jr., of the Minneapolis Tribune; Adolph Johnson, AP unit; Earl Almquist, Ted Randolph and Bob Eddy of the Dispatch Pioneer Press.

Walsh Settles Libel Suit Award

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Settlement for $1,500 of a $2,500 award he won in a libel suit has been accepted by Joseph M. Walsh, CIO regional director and a former member of the Guild's International Executive Board.

Walsh sued Local 125 of the United Electrical Workers' union for defamatory comment against him in a leaflet put out by the UE after that union had been ousted from the CIO for communistic leadership. He won the suit, but the union appealed from the jury verdict. With the cash settlement, the appeal has been discontinued.

Brockton Reelects Its 1953 Officers

Brockton, Mass. — All officers of Brockton Local were reelected to 1954 terms at this month's membership meeting.

They are: President, Stanley A. Baumann; vice president, Howard Foster; recording secretary, George M. Dalton; corresponding secretary, Mrs. H. Corinne Thompson; treasurer, Malcolm S. Dalton; directors, Thomas E. O'Brien, Pauline L. Wagner and Margaret P. Parker; collectors, Florence U. Peterson, Edgar Huntress and Pauline L. Wagner.

Serious News Emphasis Asked by Ohio Editor In Toledo Guild Lecture



START LECTURE SERIES—Toledo Guildsmen sponsor the first annual Bill Hall Memorial Lecture, addressed by Grove Patterson, Toledo Blade editor-in-chief, left; with Mrs. Tom Hall, widow of the charter Guildsman, and Jim Richard, Toledo local president.

Toledo, Ohio — Newspapers in this era have a responsibility to devote less space to trivialities and more to the "transcendent matter of peace among nations," Grove Patterson, editor-in-chief of the Toledo Blade, said at the first national Toledo Newspaper Guild-sponsored Bill Hall Memorial Lecture.

Mr. Patterson said that the search for a durable peace should be the greatest objective of the press today and criticized "many editors" who have "lost sight of this amid an over emphasis on trivial news."

"What is needed," he declared, "is a realization that circulation does not come from second-class performance."

Mr. Patterson, a veteran reporter and editor of nearly 50 years' experience, listed three additional responsibilities facing newsmen in this hydrogen bomb age:

1—"A moral responsibility to adhere to objective writing, as far as possible, in news columns."

This means the purveying of uncolored facts free of the writer's bias, he explained, adding, "No practice is more inexcusable than slanting news to meet the publisher's policy."

2—"Rising above partisanship on the editorial page."

Never before in history, he said, have newspapers been called upon for a more vital task of leadership "on a plane above political partisanship."

3—"Making an effort to raise the standards of American journalism."

He cited the sponsorship of the American Press Institute at Columbia University by the publishers as a step in this direction.

But the primary responsibility confronting editors, he stated, is devotion to news of importance and de-emphasis of trivialities such as Hollywood gossip and other minutiae.

The late Bill Hall was a charter member of the Toledo Newspaper Guild. He was a reporter and associated editor for 40 years at The Blade before his death last year. He also was an instructor in journalism at the University of Toledo where the lecture was held.

The Toledo Guild plans to sponsor the free lecture, bringing in outstanding men from the field of journalism, each year. More than 200 attended the first program.

6 WS Bureaus in Midwest Session

Milwaukee, Wis.—Wire service Guildsmen from the three major services in six midwest centers participated here in a regional conference directed by Steve Ripley, ANG wire service administrator and his assistant, William Ray Pitt.

The two-day session covered administrative details, negotiation procedure, the handling of grievances under the contracts, and extension of Guild membership.

The delegates constituted themselves into a regional council, electing Sy Friedman, Chicago INS, as chairman. The council adopted resolutions asking the IEB to approve adding an assistant to the ANG wire service staff, together with extra clerical help.

United Press delegates included Sam Newlund, Indianapolis; Sheldon Garber and Terry Reese, of Chicago, and Wayne Klein, Detroit.

AP Guildsmen were Adolph Johnson, Minneapolis; Jack Varick and Robert O'Meara, of Milwaukee; Ron Gilbert, Indianapolis; and Felix Wold, of Detroit. Gilbert and Wold attended as National Wire Service Council members.

For the INS membership were Friedman and John Stevenson, also of Chicago.

It Seems to Us...

GR Customers Always Write

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

Editor: Your president has no ambition to be a regular columnist. When he thinks he has something to write, he'll write it; and when he has no message, he'll not write.

I am interested in the controversy among Brothers Rowan, Cross, Munson, Callison, Hixson and Columnist Random Shots. I waive my space in this issue for the customers who may want to contribute to "It Seems to Us."

JOE COLLIS
President, ANG.

Some Midwest Observations On Racial Discrimination

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Editor: I noted with interest the reaction of three southern brothers to Bonham Cross' piece (GR, Dec. 25). In spite of hesitation to get involved in a recount on the outcome of the Civil War, these thoughts may be pertinent:

1. Brother Hixson says "no doubt Mr. Cross saw the things he wrote about." He then reverses neatly and calls him a "rumor-monger" guilty of "faulty reporting."

2. He suggests the story could have been written in the north. But the Supreme Court cases (subject of the Tribune articles) were brought in the south. A reporter goes to the source, unless he occupies what Bro. H. refers to as an "ivory tower."

3. Brother H. refers to "a $2,500,000 school plant for Negroes" in Chattanooga. He thus goes to the heart of the matter: The court must rule not on the *equality* but on the *separateness* of such facilities.

4. On the propriety of printing the article, all three might hearken to President Collis (same GR issue): ". . .If any Guild member feels that he or she has to blow off literary steam, we have a good outlet—the Guild Reporter." The writers should also read Article 2, Section 1 of the ANG Constitution.

5. It is charged that the article hurts southern organizing efforts and thus injures the union. Wasn't there another Union that was supposed to collapse if people insisted on offending southern sensibilities?

No sane northerner (certainly no reporter) claims the south has a monopoly on segregation, let alone prejudice. We have a compulsory FEPC in Minneapolis, and we need one. But our southern brethren seem to speak in far-off, hollow, tired old tones: tones that seem to drift down the long, Spanish-moss-hung drive from the Ol' Plantation—and the Li'l Ol' Slave Quarters.

CHARLES W. BAILEY
Twin Cities Guild.

Confines His Comment to One Declarative Sentence

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Editor: The howls of anguish from some of our southern brothers sound suspiciously like the squeals of a guilty conscience.

GERVASE N. LOVE
Labor Press unit.

Opposes "Censorship" For Guild Reporter

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Editor: Washington is still on the unionist side of the Potomac.

Far from the brickbats hurled at the GR editor for making some mention of progress toward democracy in American race relations and the problems still ahead, the Guild Reporter deserves commendation for its December 25 issue, with its several noteworthy features on the 20th anniversary of the American Newspaper Guild.

Lest the protests from the two brother Guildsmen of the Times-Herald unit be interpreted as reflecting Washington Newspaper Guild opinion generally, please be advised that no particular local ruckus can be observed because the GR published a noteworthy news feature.

The suggestion that the GR be censored and barred from considering in its columns a news situation of continuing national importance sounds strange from working newspapermen. The argument that such censorship would aid Guild organization is not worthy of serious consideration.

As another of the dues-paying members, I say more power to the GR. The brothers from the Times-Herald might take a look at the ANG 20th anniversary features and consider what this union means. And they might remember that verbal hypertension doesn't help their constitutions—or our Constitution.

BILL MILLIS
Labor Press unit.

Separate Facilities for Redheads—or Riordans?

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Editor: First, I want to congratulate GR Editor Charlie Crissey on publication of the Bonham Cross article, telling of that white photographer's trip through the South, including Washington, D. C., and Delaware, with Reporter Carl Rowan, who happens to be a Negro.

Second I want to express my amazement and consternation at the protests against the article, by Guildsmen Fred Hixson, of Chattanooga, and Donn Hale Munson and Lee H. Callison, of Washington.

Hixson unwittingly puts his finger on one keystone of the problem of segregation when he boasts that "in Chattanooga, for instance, we have under construction a $2,500,000 school plant for Negroes. There are few, if any, finer plants than this for white children in the South."

What the hell is so wonderful about that? It wouldn't matter if that school were made of gold, it is still segregated. American citizens are put into separate facilities merely because they have a different color skin from the rest of us.

There is no moral justification in this. If there were, what would prevent the States, either South or North, from having separate schools for blondes, and brunettes and redheads? Or for those with Polish, Irish, Lithuanian or Anglo-Saxon names? Or separate schools for the Collises, Novaks, Farsons, Riordans, and yes, maybe the Hixsons?

I am proud of the editor's reply in "Random Shots." I am proud that my Guild Reporter continues to carry out the policies enunciated by the various conventions.

Keep it up, Charlie.

ARTHUR RIORDAN
Washington Guild.

He Holds Ugly Facts Should Be Faced

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Editor: Like some of your recent letter writers and other contributors, I am opposed to propaganda in my Guild Reporter. I mean propaganda such as that in the January 8 issue, denouncing the GR's expose piece of anti-Negro bias in this or that part of the country. I don't object, of course, to their publication. But propaganda of this sort, which seems to say that if we only don't mention an ugly fact it will go away, makes me squirm. It reminds me of the days of old when reporters with $18-$20 weekly pay kept their "salaries" a strict secret. It wasn't until we started talking openly of low pay that that ugly fact started to recede.

Sure we have Negro discrimination in the North, too. In housing, in jobs, even in churches and schools. How many Negro reporters, advertising men and the like, for example, do we have on even New York's dailies? You can count them on the left-handed thumbs of a one-armed paperhanger. But if that is mentioned in print, I doubt that there would be an uprising of Guild members from north of the Mason & Dixon line, protesting such "propaganda." It would seem our southern brothers could afford to be less geographically sensitive too.

As for leaving the South's problem to the South, I might be for that if the Negro South in this case were included. I once heard a Caucasian lady protesting that she came from the South, had lived there a good many years, and she hadn't noticed anything unusual—any discrimination—against Negroes.

"Isn't it true," asked a tricky devil of a Negtherner, "that when you approach a Negro coming toward you, you have to step off the sidewalk and out of his way?"

"Nothing of the sort," she replied indignantly. "He has to get out of our way."

It is just possible that some of us, not unlike that lady, have lived so long with and so close to an Ugly Fact that we have forgotten it exists.

I. KAUFMAN
Chairman, Eagle unit.

Twin Cities Guildsman Recites a Proverb

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Editor: The squawks of Donn Hale Munson and Lee H. Callison of the Washington Times-Herald unit against publication in the GR of experiences with jimcrowism in the south remind me of this adage, well known to clinical psychologists:

"The ship in the fog makes the most noise."

WESLEY DOW
Twin Cities Guild.

Deplores Misconstruction Of Race Bias Story Intent

HAMMOND, IND.

Editor: Washington reaction, if two letters constitute reaction, to the GR's piece on the Negro's plight in the South was astounding—and regrettable.

What was palpably an attempt to point up conditions in the five areas that have instituted Supreme Court action on the issue has been construed to be "offensive" and "propaganda", to say nothing of a less palatable noun.

A point in **Random Shots** is well taken: "We don't think that the Negro problem, or any other racial minority problem, will go away if we pretend it isn't there."

Heartiest thanks, not only to the two able Minneapolis staffers responsible for the piece, but to the GR editor who saw fit to print it.

FRANCIS B. KENT
Hammond Guild.

Discrimination, Prejudice Injurious to Labor Unions

NEW YORK CITY

Editor: The letters from two Washington Guild members attacking the Guild Reporter for printing Bonham Cross' objective report on segregation are proof—in themselves—of the need for more such articles.

Joining a union is a means of economic self-defense, first and foremost. But we have learned painfully, through years of combatting diversive tactics of employers and short-sighted workers, that Unity is Strength. We know that discrimination and prejudice weaken our forces, invite scabbing and help destroy unions.

The CIO and the Newspaper Guild have fought for justice for all not only because it is economic wisdom but also, to borrow an old song title, it's just the human thing to do.

Both communism and nazism denied justice to workers and discriminated against all religions — Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Moslem. If we are sincere in our opposition to all totalitarianism, we must root out every vestige of anti-democratic practices at home.

More power to the Guild Reporter in carrying on this task.

HARRY FLEISCHMAN
Labor Press unit.

Letters shall be limited to 300 words and shall avoid libel and subjects detrimental to the Guild. Members subjected to personal attack shall be given opportunity to reply in the same issue, but publication of either attack or reply shall not be delayed longer than one issue.

During elections or referenda letters on the question to appear in the edition immediately preceding the distribution of ballots shall be confined to rebuttal of material appearing in the preceding edition.

A Personal Footnote To ECA Personnel Letter

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Editor: Somehow or other the name of Joseph F. Heath was left out of my letter (GR, Jan. 8) anent those who gave their talents to democratic free labor in the European Marshall Plan program and the Mutual Security Agency follow-up. He is an AFL-er.

Joe Heath was the most recent director of the labor division, ECA-MSA, was active in the field with European labor chiefs, probably did more toward facilitating influx of American materials through the trouble-spot of Marseilles than any other American, and as deputy labor director in Greece he aided Greek labor and contributed to the conduct of the Tenth Pan-Hellenic Congress of Labor, a rejuvenating affair.

In fact the Greeks have another word for labor and it is "joeheath."

Similar footnotes could be written also about the others who contributed to international labor understanding.

PAT FRAYNE
San Francisco-Oakland Guild.

Calls Segregated School Monument to Blind Racism

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Editor: Professional newspapermen frequently learn that keeping the mouth (or typewriter) shut is a good way to avoid self-bitten foot.

Apparently this is not true of Chattanooga Guildsman Fred Hixson, who objected to a Guild Reporter article on segregation of Negro school children in the South.

By way of opening his mouth, Brother Hixson wrote glowingly of the South's "progress in race relations" and condemned critical reports as "unfair and scurrilous articles . . . that malign, falsify and often contain common lies." Then he inserted his foot, by pointing proudly to Chattanooga's expensive school plant for Negro children.

Some day, I hope soon, the Hixsons will learn that segregation *is* discrimination. No matter how fancy, a segregated school is just a monument to blind, undemocratic racism. And the fact that Chattanooga is now constructing a $2,500,000 school plant for Negroes merely demonstrates that the city is determined to reinforce old, vicious practices, rather than move forward with the enlightened elements of America.

There is just one reason for segregation: to pin the badge of inferior status on the sleeve of each Negro American. Brother Hixson would do better to direct his criticism toward this poisonous pattern rather than toward those who expose it.

Should he help destroy discrimination (including segregation) he would earn the thanks of those who wish to see America live up to the promises of democracy. Further, he would earn a civic medal from Chattanooga by easing the impossible tax burden of a dual education system. Finally, he would earn the respect of his fellow-craftsmen, by demonstrating a newly-found ability to view facts objectively.

PAUL L. KLEIN
Cleveland Guild.

Leave It to Texas

Austin, Tex.—Attorney General John Ben Sheppard is recommending a state board which would bar from the state a union organizer evidently suspected of being a subversive. Texas labor organizations term the law a union-busting dodge. A Texas "un-American" legislative committee, master-minded by Sheppard this year, failed to uncover a single commie union member in the state.

Bookshelf

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS. Edwin H. Ford and Edwin Emery. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn. 398 pp. $6.50.

This collection of largely unfamiliar writings on press personages, trends, and origins suffers not at all from the diversity of its authorship or the breadth of its scope.

Its editors dipped into seventeen periodicals, some no longer published, to cull out twenty-seven articles which fit into a chronological framework extending from "ballad journalism" of the Sixteenth Century to the mass circulation era of the Twentieth.

The continuity and coherence are heightened by grouping into sections, to each of which the editors have written introductory essays.

One of their professed aims was to select material for its readibility, another was to give ready access to data "buried" in limited circulation sources, a third was to avoid repetitive inclusion of already familiar matter available in book form. In all three objectives they have been successful.

There is a nice balance between biography and history, between narrative and appraisal. It is a book to supplement the courses of a journalism student, to orient and enlighten the working press and entertain those who wish to look behind the front pages at those who helped make the newspaper what it is today.

Labor Scholarships Offered in Britain

Four scholarships for study in Great Britain will be awarded this year to American trade unionists through the Transatlantic Foundation, the Institute for International Education has announced.

Three of the 1954-55 scholarships will be for study at Ruskin College, Oxford, the fourth at Coleg Harlech, Wales. They cover full tuition, board and residence, but students must provide travel and pocket money. Additional scholarships may be available in workers' college centers in the north of England.

Candidates will be chosen from active trade unionists who show promise of leadership and a talent for continued study at the university level. Applicants should be between the ages of 20 and 35. Both men and women are eligible, but husbands, wives and children of students cannot be accommodated at the colleges or in Great Britain. Deadline for receipt of applications is April 15, 1954.

Interested Guild members may obtain further information and application forms from the ANG Department of Research and Information.

The "Mal-Adjusted"

"Nothing is more certain than that improvement in human affairs is wholly the work of the uncontented characters."—**John Stuart Mill, "Considerations on Representative Government."**

Day Book

LABOR BOARD PROCEEDINGS: Hearing rescheduled, Jan. 23, on unfair practice charges against Utica Observer-Dispatch & Press, involving wage data and interference with Guild.

CONTRACTS COMMITTEE
Cleveland: Catholic Universal Bulletin, contract renewal approved.
NY: Jewish Telegraphic Agency, contract renewal approved.
Plainfield Courier-News, contract renewal approved.
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, contract renewal approved.
Sheboygan Press, contract renewal approved.

ACTIVITIES
United Press negotiations open, New York, Feb. 2.
4th Annual Industrial Relations Labor Conference, University of Minnesota, Feb. 10-19.
Southern Regional Wire Service Conference, Memphis, Feb. 20-21.
Southern Regional Labor Institute, Greensboro, N.C., Feb. 20-21.

Ike's Great Retreat

President Eisenhower's message on the Taft-Hartley Act is the latest step in his Great Retreat from the solicitude for labor expressed by him on the eve of his election.

Addressing the AFL in September 1952, Mr. Eisenhower said:

"I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed."

A year later, the President had his first message on Taft-Hartley prepared. It said:

"The time has come, I believe, for less rather than more restrictive legislation in the field of labor management relations."

But before the message could be delivered, it was discovered that only three of its 20-odd recommendations were pro-management.

Business screamed. Vice President Nixon and Secretary of Commerce Weeks went to work, the message was withdrawn, Martin Durkin resigned as secretary of labor and James Mitchell, a management man, was appointed in his place.

Last week, the President produced a new message for Congress.

This one got there. Instead of seventeen concessions to labor and three to management, it contained seven concessions to labor and six to management, including the request for Government-conducted strike votes.

Not only were a number of pro-labor recommendations in the first message omitted from the second, the second actually reversed the first on several points.

● The first message, for example, would have increased the area in which Federal law rules; the second would increase the area in which state law rules.

● The first would have abolished non-communist affidavits; the second would extend them to employers.

● The first would have relaxed controls over union welfare funds; the second would tighten them.

● The first would have relaxed restrictions on checkoff agreements; the second would increase them.

● The first would have narrowed the area of unprotected strike activity; the second would widen it.

Even Secretary Mitchell was surprised.

WOMEN'S PICKET LINE

First recorded strike of women was at Dover, N. H., in 1828.

A Reminder For Treasurers

Beginning February 1, it will cost the Guild Reporter three cents instead of two, to receive notice of undeliverable copies from local postmasters. With a press run of more than 30,000 each issue, this seemingly small penny can eat heartily into the item for mailing, in the GR budget.

Local treasurers can help to hold the cost at a minimum by keeping the Guild Reporter informed each month of known address changes, "starts and stops" and other circulation data. Form 113C is available from ANG Secretary-treasurer William J. Farson, for the purpose.

Local Copy

A PAGE especially for [illegible] of interest to and [illegible] conducted by the Department of Research and Information

N. Y. STRIKE

Press Freedom at Stake? Even Editors Don't Agree

Taking a second look, editors across the country aren't so sure that the New York Photoengravers' strike interfered with freedom of the press.

During the strike, many of them rushed into print charging the newspaper unions with abridgment of the constitutional protection of the free press.

Now that the strike is ended, the American Society of Newspaper Editors is soliciting the opinions of its members, and, from the early returns reprinted in the current issue of the ASNE Bulletin, a lot of them don't agree.

To be sure, none of the editors is really happy about the strike. But here's what James Kerney of the Trenton Times had to say:

"Those who suggest the strike was a blow to freedom of the press are talking nonsense.

"Every time newspapers get a pain in the pocketbook somebody hollers for the constitutional cops.

"The biggest city in the country found it could exist without newspapers, however uncomfortably.

"Those avid for news bought out-of-town newspapers and magazines or listened to the repetitive newscasts. Those avid for comics turned on television.

"Of course, the strike was unfortunate. Both the newspapers and the strikers lost money and prestige."

At the other end of the spectrum is Frederick Sullens of the Jackson Daily News, who said:

"Steps should be taken in the form of statutory enactments to prevent a repetition of such strikes. The newspaper is a quasi-public institution. It performs a definite public service. It has helped to build modern civilization and is a part of that civilization. It deserves to be protected from selfish man-made schemes that in any way handicap or destroy its usfulness."

Then there are those who belabored the newspaper unions on other points but refrained from comment on the freedom of the press question. Said Wright Bryan of the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

"The chief problem underscored by the New York strike is that of engendering greater respect for contractual obligations than for picket lines. How that can be done, I am sorry I do not know. But perhaps if the thinking of all concerned could be focused in that direction, some progress might be made.

"I am wary of proposals for compulsory arbitration, based on the public necessity of keeping open the communications industries' and classification of newspapers within that group. Any government action tending to establish newspapers as a utility would almost certainly create more new dangers than it would overcome old ones."

* * *

Other editors who challenged the thesis that the strike affected freedom of the press had these comments:

"It seems unwise labor tactics when slightly more than 200 union men can close down plants employing 20,000 and thus deprive a community of newspapers. I know of no law, however, that can force Americans to work against their will and I do not believe the constitutional provision for freedom of the press in its proper interpretation was involved."—*J. D. Ferguson, Milwaukee Journal.*

"One of the responsibilities of a newspaper editor particularly in a one-newspaper community, is to expose special privilege. Editors should not seek for themselves that which they attack in others.

"The First Amendment to the Constitution does not protect newspapers against strikes or violations of contracts. It states there shall be no law 'abridging the freedom of speech or freedom of the press.'

"The problems of the editor are different in many respects from the problems of the publisher. We make a mistake if we seek to cloak ourselves in a robe of special privilege we do not have and should not desire." — *Fritz S. Updike, Rome Daily Sentinel.*

"The cause of the shutdown, if I understand the issues correctly, was a disagreement over wages which the union refused to submit to arbitration plus the refusal of other unions to cross the picket lines. It may be that restraints should be placed on this type of union activity, but I don't think it should be done in the name of press freedom. Stretching our traditional concept of freedom of the press to cover economic problems is, in my opinion, unwise. In saying this I in no sense minimize those problems or the need for adequate solutions."—*Kenneth MacDonald, Des Moines Register & Tribune.*

"It is difficult for me to see how the issue of a free press was involved in the New York strike. This newspaper, in 1945, experienced a strike of much longer duration, but it never occurred to us that the issue of a free press might be involved.

"The people of New York were prevented, by a strike, from being able to avail themselves properly of their right to be informed and newspapers were prevented from properly exercising their duty to inform the people; but the prevention stemmed from a failure of management and employes to agree upon the matter of compensation. If a union succeeded in closing down a newspaper with the intent of directly preventing the fulfillment of the newspaper's primary purpose as an institution, then I think the issue of a free press might properly be raised.

"There seems no evidence that the union tried to do more than get a pay raise, its primary intent. The estopping of the newspapers was a secondary matter, resulting from the first. Had the unions aimed at closing down the newspapers as a primary intent, then the matter could be judged in a different light.

"I don't think newspapers should raise the free press issue except when they have a reasonable case. It is the old business of crying 'wolf' at the wrong time." — *Clifford B. Ward, Fort Wayne News Sentinel.*

"Does the strike suggest the need for government intervention? I think not. Any possible action by government would jeopardize fundamental rights of the publishers and their employes in a way that in the end would be against public interest."—*Edward Lindsay, Decatur Herald & Review.*

Funny thing, none of the editors mentioned the fact that the New York Herald-Tribune wasn't struck and didn't have to shut down.

A Free Press and Free Men

"The publisher of a newspaper has no special immunity from the application of general laws. He has no special privilege to invade the rights and liberties of others."

—**U.S. Supreme Court, ordering AP to reinstate employe fired for Guild activity, 1937.**

* * *

"Congress did not exclude the newspaper industry from the scope of the National Labor Relations Act, although other classes of employes were excluded. Was this not a demonstration by Congress that in balancing the social advantages it was felt that the right of newspaper employes to organize and bargain collectively and to seek security for their unions by lawful agreement was more important to preserve than the right of the publishers to be immune from the incidental burdens consequent to such agreements?"

—**War Labor Board, granting maintenance-of-membership to Guild, 1944.**

* * *

"The freedom guaranteed by the Constitution is freedom of expression and that will be scrupulously respected—but it is not freedom to work children, or to do business in a firetrap or violate the laws against obscenity, libel and lewdness."

—**President Roosevelt, approving NRA code for newspaper industry, 1934**

The Shape Of Things To Come

Whether or not publishers think the press will remain free (see adjacent column), they agree on one thing:

It's going to be prosperous.

New York State newspaper executives at their annual convention in Albany last week were asked to comment on the economic outlook for the next 12 months. Here's what some of them said:

Burrows Matthews, editor, Buffalo Courier-Express — "I hope it will be as good as the past year. I'm a little skeptical because last year was almost too good to be true. I look for this year to be very good also with no signs of any recession in either advertising or circulation in our industry."

Joseph T. Adams business manager, Rochester Democrat and Chronicle—"The 1954 outlook in Rochester appears very favorable. Employment there is at an all-time high. We've not been hit by spotty layoffs such as have been reported in other areas. The entire year looks good. Rochester has a huge building program in progress, both governmental and residential, and there's a revival of civic spirit."

Richard H. Amberg, publisher, Syracuse Post-Standard —"I think we're going to have another good year in Syracuse. We had a good one last year, and I think 1954 might be even a shade better. Employment is high, and Syracuse is one of the fastest growing cities in the country. It has had a phenomenal growth in the last decade."

James H. Ottaway, publisher, Ottaway Newspapers, Endicott "Basically I think 1954 is going to be a good year. The only way I see that we can get into an acute recession is to talk our way into it. Despite the cutback in military procurement, I think civilian production is going to take up a good part of the slack."

At their concluding session, the publishers were told by W. Stanley Dellimer, advertising director of the Rome Sentinel:

"The year ahead is loaded with opportunities. A year of competition is dawning, and in which newspaper advertising can play its greatest role."

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

What Price Arbitration?

Ever since last month's walkout by the New York Photoengravers, publishers have been screaming for arbitration to prevent such strikes.

So what happens when a union does agree to arbitrate? It has nothing coming to it, says the N.Y. Times, because it has surrendered its right to strike.

In other words, you don't get a wage increase unless you can take it away from us.

Here's how it was put by John Daly, attorney and chief management spokesman, at the Times-Guild arbitration of a wage reopening:

"Here the Guild made a two-year contract. It saw fit to do that. Apparently it thought it was an advantage in making a two-year contract. In doing that they provided that there should be no strike while there was an arbitration pending on wages. In other words, they gave up what is a recognized great advantage in any union——the right of bringing economic pressure on the employer to effect a settlement—and in doing that they must have realized that they could not put themselves in the same position as a union that had the right to strike. They were disadvantaged to that extent. They did that by contract with their eyes open.

"They should be disadvantaged in this arbitration because of their contract and they should not have the same rights as a craft union or any other union has to obtain results by strikes. They should not be given that advantage and it is unfair of them to ask for it, because they knew when they made this contract, which provided that they could not strike and that they would have to go to arbitration, that they were giving up something and that they were going to be disadvantaged."

THE GUILD REPORTER

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CHARLES E. CRISSEY, Editor

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PROMPTED perhaps by the fact that the American Newspaper Guild has just observed its twentieth anniversary, the Brockton, Mass., local comes up with an interesting statistic and an inquiry. The former is here recorded, the latter passed on for possible answer by GR readers.

Brockton was an early comer among Guild locals. It holds Charter No. 27—the newest is No. 219—and was organized in 1935, with 20 charter members. The interesting statistic is that of the original 20, nine are still on the membership rolls, still working for the Brockton Enterprise-Times. Six of the originals have since died, and the remaining five have moved on to other fields of employment.

But the nine charter members, who for 19 years have stayed on the firing line, constitute 45 percent of the original local membership.

The query: Can any other Guild local show as high a percentage of job-and-Guild stability?

Anybody know?

●

THIS month's Bulletin of the Ottawa Press Club tells of the harassed business man who couldn't sleep. His trouble: Strikes, taxes, high payrolls. His doctor prescribed the limit in sleeping pills and sedatives, but they didn't help.

Suggested the patient: "What about some of that twilight sleep I've read about?"

"That's only for labor," smiled the doc.

"That's the trouble," yelped the sleepless b. m. "Everything for labor, and nothing for management!"

●

STAFF cooperation in a management promotion venture has reached a new high at the Minneapolis Tribune, where the Trib's Sunday roto magazine, Picture, is conducting a "Match the Twins" contest.

Ken Carley of Picture's staff reported in that Mrs. Carley had presented him with twin daughters, Susan Ann and Sharon Lee, born Christmas Eve at St. Barnabas Hospital. Prenatal expectations had been for a single birth, and the Carleys had to buy a second set of infant paraphernalia.

●

GUILDSMAN Harry Hertz, of the Detroit local, adds his contribution to Heywood Broun lore, his recollection being inspired by the recent 20th anniversary edition of the Guild Reporter.

Broun was in Toledo, circa 1937, just after the Guild had decided to "go CIO", and Hertz met him with other Toledo Guildsmen in Broun's room at the Commodore Perry.

Says Hertz:

Most people remember Heywood Broun as a columnist.

Some are aware that at one time he was a general assignment reporter, rewrite man and reviewer.

A tiny minority—after so many years—still recalls that Broun once earned his living as a sports writer.

But few indeed know that he once did a stint on the copydesk, editing others' copy and writing headlines.

Mostly, Heywood preferred to forget about that episode in his life. He said he didn't like the work. However, when the copydesk cropped up in our Toledo conversation, Heywood—a little proudly—recalled a headline he once wrote.

The story on which he had to write a head was an interview with a young lady who had just been located after her family had reported her missing for a week or so. She told the reporter that she had run away with a fellow who had promised to marry her, but the rascal failed to live up to his pledge. She had left him and given herself up to the nearest policeman.

The headline Broun wrote, and of which he modestly approved, was:

MISSED MISS
MISSES MRS.

●

REGARDLESS of his stated views on such matters as the Taft-Hartley Act—a bread-and-butter item for those affected by Guild contracts—Washington newsmen "liked Ike" immensely at his first 1954 press conference last week.

The reason for their affection was also a bread-and-butter item.

Eisenhower opened his press conference with the remark:

"I hope each of you gets the salary raise that's been so long overdue."

Then he gave permission for direct quotes, "if anyone thinks it would influence the publishers."

When the UP text of the story hit the copydesk at the World-Telegram & Sun, an enthusiastic copyreader headed the story "Ike Greatest Man of All", and an indulgent management let it stand, for publication.

Washington ROUNDUP

By CHALMER M. ROBERTS
Washington Guild

THE OTHER DAY for the first time, it seemed to me, Ike was in command of the facts at his press conference. Last year he was a man of conviction on foreign affairs and of uncertainty on matters domestic.

The year has developed a program, now spread on the record, and in developing it the President has immersed himself in the details. That showed clearly. To the reporters he looked good.

* * *

IN TRYING TO JUDGE the program, the first point to be made is that it recognized what the New Deal did to the United States. The social and economic gains of the 20 years of Democratic rule are to remain and be built upon. Of course any new administration claims it will better administer the program of its predecessor.

The ultra-right wingers of the GOP are bitter. Their attitude is simply that the pseudo-Republican in the White House hasn't done a damn thing, not even taken Roosevelt's picture off the dime.

* * *

THE EISENHOWER PROGRAM is not a New Deal program but is built upon the New Deal. Social security will be expanded, more health insurance is in prospect, the labor law will be left substantially as it is, and so on.

The program is not a New Deal program because the health insurance idea is not Government insurance, but a guarantee for the private insurance firms. The housing program is along the same line. Tax adjustments will touch the masses but cater to the thesis of releasing capital for job-making investments and so forth.

These points are all subject to criticism from the New Deal and Democratic side of the aisle and there will be plenty of political talk about them. I do not wish to dismiss such criticism, but I do think that those of us who have been fearful of what this first GOP Administration in so long might do ought to stand back a moment and take a gander from the perspective suggested here.

* * *

IN SOME WAYS the Eisenhower approach may, in fact, alter basic concepts. I haven't cased the program enough to know. But government runs in cycles and I am glad that this cycle is avoiding the bottom of the graph. Of course there will be efforts at the Capitol to pull it down there, but this is an election year and Ike has said the boys don't deserve to get the X on the voters' ballots if they don't pass his constructive program.

Which goes to the next point. What will Ike do to force through his program?

The cynics say he won't really hassle. I have said in this space that he wouldn't descend into the political pit. The Capitol press galleries figure he'll be lucky to get a third of his program through this session.

Asked about this the other day, Ike said he wasn't going to tip his mitt in advance. He left himself free to bunt or slug. But it takes a lot of knowing when to do which, and the general tenor of thought here is that there will be some mixed signals, to say the least. There already has been a minor case about the strike vote matter.

* * *

IN ALL OF THIS I have been thinking of domestic matters, the area of most marked conflict of opinion. What of foreign policies?

Well, we appear to be in the midst of a major shift about which the country realizes too little. The growth of what is called the family of atomic weapons, plus the GOP demand for a big budget cut, has made atomic arms "conventional." Which came first, the chicken or the egg, is material only to the historians, I guess.

On top of this, the Administration seems convinced that the new gents in the Kremlin are so busy with consolidating their own power (Beria purge, more consumer goods for the masses) that their aggressive intent is in the closet for the time being. The theory that the generals, especially Zhukov, are on the rise is well held in Washington, along with the corollary that the professional soldiers are less interested in world revolution.

Conventional atomic weapons, a smaller armed force in terms of numbers, less fear of a massive Soviet sweep across Europe, all of these things go well with a policy of disengagement. Hence two divisions drawn back from Korea and more of the same in Europe when it is politically feasible.

All of these points are arguable but the weight of argument, it seems to me, is on their side. Yet there is a very real danger.

Isolationism is not dead. We are fed up with French dalliance over the European Army (EDC) scheme and everybody wants to cut down on foreign aid. The new strategy can go too far. Peripheral defense looks dandy on the schoolroom map but the Western World is made up of people, not territory, and we are defending continental United States alone. The danger is that we find our new military posture so attractive we think we can dispense with allies.

* * *

MUCH WILL DEPEND, I think, on what happens at the Berlin foreign ministers conference. Russia will try to divide the West, to woo France especially. But that is another problem. And another column.

Chal Roberts' employer, the Washington Post, this week assigned him to cover the Berlin conference of foreign ministers. He has agreed to continue sending his column material for succeeding Guild Reporter issues from wherever he may be.—Ed.

Healthy Growth of Guild Shown in '53 Statistics

Guild growth during 1953 made that twelve-month period one of the organization's most successful, it is noted in a memorandum to IEB members and local leaders, sent out this week by J. William Blatz, director of organization.

Computation of December 1 dues-paying membership figures showed that on that date the total stood at 27,064, thus placing December on the list of nine other months last year which saw new all-time high records established.

Blatz notes that the 26,000 mark was passed last April 1, and that on November 1 the figure was exactly 27,000. It was on August 1, 1952, seventeen months back, that the total exceeded 25,000 for the first time.

Eighteen locals were listed on December 1 as showing record levels of membership. New highs were registered on that date by Bay City, Detroit, Erie, Greensboro, Lehigh Valley, Sacramento, San Diego and San Jose. Regaining or holding steady at all-time peaks were Chattanooga, Elizabeth, Eugene, Kenosha, Lima, Newburgh-Beacon, Ottawa, Pueblo, Scranton and Sheboygan.

Nearly half, 44 of 95, locals reached peaks during 1953. Besides those listed, they were: Akron, Baltimore, Boston, Brockton, Buffalo, Canadian Wire Services, Charlotte, Columbus, Dallas, Denver, Gary, Grand Rapids, Great Falls, Hammond, Hazleton, Knoxville, Lansing, Los Angeles, Memphis, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Stockton, Terre Haute, Toronto, Tri-City and York.

Membership increases were not confined to these locals, says Blatz. Thirty-three others showed a net gain for the year, including New York, up 212 members, and Chicago, up 111.

Amazon Union Board

Holyoke, Mass.—Local 541 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has elected a new board of seven, all women.

Goodman Renamed To Head San Jose

San Jose, Calif.—Charles Goodman, reporter and rewrite man on the San Jose News, has been reelected president of the San Jose Newspaper Guild.

Elected to serve with him were Vern Manning, vice president; Florence Ross, secretary-treasurer; Eleanor Lockyear, recording secretary, and Frank Freeman, sergeant-at-arms.

Named by the membership to the executive board were Tom Sherris, Joan Moeller, Bert Wil-Martin, Arthur Stokes, Bert Willard, Frank Sauliere, Phyllis Stokes, Ralph Condon, Joe Fazio and John George.

The Guild Reporter

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