

THE Guild Reporter

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, CIO

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San Antonio Guild Wins In Circulation Election

San Antonio, Texas — Drivers of the San Antonio Light chose the Guild as their bargaining representative in an NLRB election held on August 27. The vote was 15 for the Guild, none for the Teamsters union, which intervened after the Guild petition was filed, and 1 for no union.

The drivers had been covered by a Teamster contract until last January. Failing to get satisfaction from the teamsters when they sought improvements in the agreement and better enforcement, the drivers came to the Guild and a majority signed cards. The Guild petitioned for an NLRB representation election and the Teamsters intervened.

At the hearing before the NLRB, the Teamsters sought to have the Guild's petition dismissed on the ground that it still had a contract with the Light

covering the drivers. This despite the fact that the previous contract had expired on January 25 and negotiations were in progress for a new one.

Management joined the Teamsters in an attempt to convince the NLRB that the contract (though it did not so specify) continued since the union had never terminated it and that there was an "understanding" that the old contract was to continue until terminated by the Teamsters. The Board found no merit in their position and ordered the election in the unit for which the Guild petitioned.

The Guild presently has a contract covering the editorial and business departments.

Organization was handled by Ken Byrd, local president; Ray Orr, chairman of the organizing committee, and John Carmichael international representative.

LA Asks Full Reversal Of Exam Case Findings

Los Angeles, Calif.—Protesting the NLRB Trial Examiner's crediting of testimony of a management witness because of his "business acumen and well-breeding," the Guild and the NLRB General Counsel have filed 200-odd exceptions to the Trial Examiner's Intermediate Report recommending dismissal of Guild charges against the Hearst Examiner.

The "new look" in credibility criteria, LANG calls it. The Guild brought unfair practice charges against the Examiner over the discharge of 15 employees who last year sought to form a Guild unit to replace a company dominated "association." After a four-month hearing, Trial Examiner Howard Myers recommended to the NLRB that all the charges be dismissed.

Although it is the policy of the NLRB not to reverse an examiner's findings as to credibility, Myers has been so overruled in a previous case for giving full credit to all management witnesses and discrediting all union witnesses. Presently there are two more such cases, which were heard by Myers after the Examiner case in which the unions filed exceptions for exactly the same reason.

The examiner in his report and recommendation gave full credit to the testimony of a company witness because of his "business acumen and well breeding." He discounted in its entirety testimony of Guild witnesses. This witness the official stenographic transcript reveals, was contradicted not only by other company witnesses but by himself at least twice.

In a 68-page brief in support of 212 exceptions, E. Don Wilson, counsel for the General Counsel of the NLRB has urged the "Board to reverse the trial examiner and to find that all the allegations of the complaint are sustained and supported by a preponderance of the relevant and substantial evidence."

LANG, through its attorney, Robert Rissman, is asking the NLRB to ignore the Intermediate Report and Recommendation and review the record as if it were never heard by the Trial Examiner.

The salient exceptions cited in the NLRB General Counsel's brief, in addition to the one to credibility finding are:

1. Failure to find that a meeting of employees to form a Guild unit constituted "concerted activity" within the meaning of the National Labor Relations Act. The examiner found that the meeting was for the purpose of seeking means to get rid of an unliked supervisor. Previous decisions have held that, even if a meeting were held for that purpose, the employees are under the protection of the Act against discharge for concerted activity.

2. Failure to find that the company had knowledge of Guild organization. The record shows that a "loyal" employee who attended a Guild organization meeting and who testified "I think that the management of the Examiner is as close to 100 percent as any management in the country today..." reported the names of the Guild "ring leaders" to her supervisor. Evidence was also produced that supervisors questioned employees and did all in their power to find out what went on at Guild meetings.

3. Failure to find that the "association" was company sponsored and dominated. The record shows that supervisory personnel were officers of the "association", that meetings were held on company time and property, that the "association" used company materials, such as typewriters, mimeograph and other machines and kept its records on company property.

4. Failure to find that at the time contracts between the Examiner and the "association" were signed, the "association" was not in compliance with the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The record shows that contracts were signed on July

- 14, 1952 and June 29, 1953 and that the "association" had been out of compliance with 9 (h) of the Act since April 7, 1952.

5. Failure to find that the union security provisions of the contracts between the Examiner and the "association" were in violation of Section 8, (a) (3) of the NLRA. The contracts, which were made part of the record, provided that "No one shall be employed... who is not either (1) A member of the Association in good standing as determined by the Membership Committee of the Association or (2) A person whose application for membership is pending with the Association and which application has not been denied; or (3) A person who shall within one week make application for membership in the Association." This constitutes a closed shop within the purview of Taft-Hartley, which outlawed such provisions in collective bargaining agreements. T-H allows a union shop only, under which an employee may be required to join the union after 30 days, and must pay his dues.

6. Failure to find that there was no actual collective bargaining between the company and the "association". The record showed that the "association's" founder and secretary from its inception did not remember ever attending a meeting between the "association" and the company where a contract was negotiated. Testimony also revealed that the assistant classified manager addressed an "association" meeting on company property and "surprised" them by telling them they were getting a raise. Also,

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Wilkes-Barre Impasse

Management Talks, But "Refuses To Bargain"

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—This week saw a second meeting between spokesmen for the striking Wilkes-Barre Newspaper Guild and a management committee for the city's two daily newspapers, but the newest session, like its predecessor a week before, was productive of little more than an apparently stiffened publisher resistance to realistic discussion of contract language in dispute.

Reluctance of the publisher committee, which comprised three vice presidents of the Wilkes-Barre Publishing Company, to commit itself to terms was interpreted by Guildsmen here as due to scheduled arrival today of a representative of the National Labor Relations Board.

Last June the publisher had filed charges of "refusal to bargain" against the Guild, basing part of its supporting case on the fact that the Guild local has been publishing a tabloid newspaper, seeking advertising from one-time clients of the struck dailies. The NLRB regional office at Philadelphia had reportedly been baffled by some aspects of this charge and sought advice from the Washington NLRB headquarters. Rumors as to the purpose of the scheduled visit have ranged widely, and wildly.

Meantime, for the second time that the Guild's tabloid, "The Valley News," put out a 24-page paper, swollen with advertising copy. The first 24-pager appeared August 27 and was a sell-out.

Some of the reader demand stemmed from a local story which called for "breaking out the wood type" for headlines. The press run had been set at 33,500, a new high, but it proved inadequate.

This week's 24-page paper was prompted by the arrival of copy for four full-page advertisements, and the press run was stepped up to 35,000.

Some mechanical limitations make the larger papers a difficult achievement. Four linotype machines are available in the shop regularly used, but for extra material two other machines in a neighboring city are pressed into service, which means time consumed in delivering copy and getting metal back for page-casting purposes.

The newest 24-pager was put out on the 100th day of publication for the strike-duration daily.

Strikers continue to observe regular schedules of picketing, while serving their turns in aiding the production of The Valley News.

For the past ten days, management has sought and obtained negotiating sessions with mechanical unions, all of whose contracts expired March 6. The craft unions involved are the printers, pressmen and stereotypers.

Printers had been told shortly after the Guild strike was called, April 8, that management did not wish to talk contract until after its Guild difficulties had been settled.

But from June 7, when management broke off strike settlement talks with the Guild, almost three months — 89 days to

be exact — elapsed before management of the morning Record and the Times-Leader, Evening News again agreed to discuss settlement terms with the Guild local.

At the first session since June, the parties met on Wednesday, September 1, at Hotel Redington, and the discussion centered on possible resumption of negotiations for a new contract. For the Guild there were present Joseph F. Collis, ANGL President who is one of the strikers; Local President Carl Pesavento, and Paul J. Arthur, an executive board member. The management spokesmen were A. DeWitt Smith, John A. Hourigan, Jr., and Joseph T. Murphy, all holding vice presidential posts in the publishing company.

The same group sat again this week, but there was a noticeable atmosphere of refusal to talk. Guildsmen insisted on discussing one of the disputed contract proposals that governing promotion opportunities. Management's attitude was that it intended to retain all prerogatives.

Words Are a Help As Well As Cash

Cash gifts to the strikers at Wilkes-Barre are, of course, the practical way for Guild locals and councils to express their sympathy and aid.

But how about a little "personal note" of encouragement to Local 120, next time a remittance is sent?

Circulation Tangle At Washington Post Is Held Arbitrable

Washington, D.C. — In a 19-page award, James J. Healey, arbitrator, decided that the Guild's contention that the question of whether the management of the Washington Post and Times-Herald had violated its contract when it changed the status of circulation district managers from employees to "independent contractors" is arbitrable.

The dispute was precipitated by the Post last January, before it merged with the defunct Times-Herald, when management began a piecemeal changeover and alleged that the change removed the circulation employees from Guild contract coverage and jurisdiction.

The Guild, after unsuccessful attempts to settle the matter in grievance, moved for arbitration under the terms of the contract which runs to September, 1955, and which provides for American Arbitration Association machinery. The publisher asked the AAA to refrain from processing the arbitration. The Post maintained the matter was not properly arbitrable. The Association's reply was that the question of arbitrability was one for the selected arbitrator to decide since it, the association, is merely an administrative body.

Then began the legal maneuvers. The Post went into the Federal District Court asking for two-fold relief: (1) A temporary restraining order and a preliminary injunction to halt the arbitration; (2) A declaratory judgment finding the issue not arbitrable. The court denied the petition on the ground that it

had no jurisdiction until the merits of the dispute had been decided by an arbitrator.

Next delaying action by the management was an appeal from the U. S. Court of Appeals for the district court's decision to the District of Columbia. By a 2 to 1 vote, that body denied the appeal and sustained the finding of the district court. The effect of the denial of the appeal was to send the matter to the proper tribunal, arbitration.

Arbitrator Healey, professor of economics at Harvard University, asked the parties to submit the dispute in two phases: (1) Is the dispute in two phases: (1) Is the Post violate its contract with the Guild?

He also asked the parties to produce testimony and submit briefs on the first question and then if he decided that question in the affirmative to provide further evidence and additional briefs on the merits of the case.

Word is now awaited from Professor Healey as to the dates for hearing of evidence on the question of contract violation, after which briefs will be filed.

The Washington Newspaper Guild was represented by Attorney Seymour J. Spelman in all proceedings. Spelman will also serve as counsel in what, it is piously hoped, will be the final skirmish of this drawn-out war.

Novak, Murphy Counter NY Publisher's Attack

Daily News Executive Disinters Communism, Mediocrity, Etc.

An all-out attack by the general manager of the New York Daily News against the American Newspaper Guild—its policies, programs, contracts and the integrity of its membership—drew immediate and sharp rebuttal this week from the executive officers of ANG and the New York local.

E. M. Flynn, president and general manager of the Daily News, told the fourth annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism that Guild policies and contracts "all point toward further development of mediocrity." He urged the journalism educators, meeting at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, to give closer classroom attention to the subject of editorial unionism.

"The excellent work you have done and are doing must be preserved," he said. "That which may threaten it, therefore, must be your concern."

Flynn also charged that: "Communists 'wormed into the Guild' to gain control of communications and that much of the Guild's collective bargaining program was developed by 'the left-wing factions.'"

"The Guild contracts move young editorial workers to the top without adequate training."

"The Guild creates and promotes a 'conflict of interests' among newspaper workers."

"Non-editorial workers predominate in the Guild and control the Guild's views."

"The standards of journalism are being 'worn down, and ridiculed' implicitly by the Guild."

"Industrial unionism is not the right answer for collective bargaining for newspaper workers."

To these allegations, ANG Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak replied:

"Communism has not been an issue in the Guild since 1941, when a left-wing national administration was voted out of office."

"There is no communist influence in the national Guild administration or in the administration of any of the Guild's 100 local unions in the United States or Canada."

"As for Mr. Flynn's statement that the Guild is demanding a voice in the operation of editorial departments, we are not trying to run his newspaper or any other and we won't interfere with his right to publish it."

"All we do is to protect our members and to seek better working conditions."

Novak later added:

"It is significant, perhaps, that Mr. Flynn made his speech at a time when the Daily News was entering negotiations with the Guild for a new contract. I can promise Mr. Flynn that the Guild's only objective in

these negotiations will be service to its members employed by the Daily News and obtaining for them just and equitable wages and working conditions in keeping with the skills demanded of them by his newspaper."

Thomas J. Murphy, executive vice president of the New York Guild, wired Flynn, following his speech, a challenge to name any members of the Guild—on the News staff or the staff of any other New York daily—who are communists.

"Were they hired by the News management or management of some other New York paper or papers?" Murphy asked.

"If you know of none, on News or elsewhere, you were making an ideal statement for heads of the industry."

"You must know that the Guild long ago voted all communists out of its councils."

"In response to Murphy's telegram, Flynn wrote the New York local executive that he saw 'nothing to be gained' by engaging in a 'debate by correspondence' without he added that just as he had a right to express his views, so is Murphy entitled to do the same."

He wrote that a full text of his Albuquerque address, which Murphy had requested, would furnish answers to most of the queries which the Guild officer had posed.

One of Flynn's charges—that the Guild fosters mediocrity, promotes dual loyalty, etc.—have been used by newspaper man-

agement since the earliest days of the Guild. These management, however, invariably omit any mention of some 120 Nieman Fellowships and nearly 60 Pulitzer Prizes which have gone to Guild members, or the hundreds of Guildsmen who have been promoted to high executive positions.

Earlier in his talk, for example, Flynn cited the works of his chief editorial writer, Reuben Maury, as models of style and clarity. But he failed to point out that Maury was a Guild member when he brought a Pulitzer Prize in editorial writing home to the News in 1940 or that he received an honorable withdrawal card from the Guild when he was later promoted out of its jurisdiction.

"Assuming that Flynn was not making idle talk or irresponsible statements," Murphy commented, "it must then be assumed that he was either talking from direct experience of employee relationships at the Daily News or by specific knowledge of what has occurred in other newspapers. The Guild would like to know from what experience Flynn was talking."

But Flynn apparently wasn't talking about the Daily News. His earlier remarks to the editors indicate that he arrived at his conclusions from observation of other publishers' newspapers. He said:

"The best reporters, the best re-write men, the best editors, the best photographers, and the best all-around staff in all departments of the industry are not in the Guild."

Nor do his opinions of the Guild jibe with earlier opinions held by the Daily News. After agreeing to a contract with the Guild in 1937, the News said in its editorial on March 23 of that year:

"We wish to report that the medicine may taste bad as it goes down, but the effects seem good. We don't detect any bias in our Guild-member reporters;

the contract did cost some money in wage raises and hour-shorting operations—but that was why the Guild was organized."

If, as suspected, Flynn's remarks are in anticipation of Guild negotiations, Executive Vice President Murphy pledged that the New York local "will make every attempt to bring about the high standards of principles which Flynn says are needed."

Murphy continued:

"The New York Newspaper Guild has had contractual relations with the Daily News publishers for many years. It has been a struggle to convince the Daily News publisher to meet the standards of other publishers on working conditions. Many of the newspaper readers throughout the country believe the Daily News to be a forward-looking newspaper on many public issues."

We would like to call upon President Flynn of the Daily News to be as forward-looking in setting the highest job standards and benefits for newspaper workers. We believe that this approach, rather than the kind of criticism Mr. Flynn voiced, will do the best job of guaranteeing the most qualified people entering and remaining in the industry."

Here are some of Flynn's specific remarks about the Guild, coupled with Murphy's answers:

Flynn: "The communists or communist sympathizers wormed into the Guild apparently as a part of the communist program to gain control of communications through labor unions."

Murphy: "The Guild is not a labor union. It is a professional organization of newspapermen. It is not a part of the communist program to gain control of communications through labor unions."

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"Journalism shares with the theater the magnet-like power to attract many young people who feel they will find their chief reward in the work itself. This fascination results in creating a supply of eager applicants far greater than the demand. For years, because of this situation, the starting pay in both journalism and the theater was low. Today, thanks to the American Newspaper Guild and the Actors Equity Association, this situation has improved and a fair minimum wage has been established for recruits in both callings."—From AN INTRODUCTION TO JOURNALISM, pp. 13-14, by F. P. F. Bond (Department of Journalism, New York University), Macmillan Company, New York, 1954.

by the Publishers themselves. Since Publishers should also have the highest standards of ethics in making public statements, Flynn should be required to give names and incidents of communists and their sympathizers who have wormed their way into the Guild and where they have used their influence in the columns of the newspaper."

MURPHY—"On the question of mediocrity, Flynn is very much mistaken. The Guild is very much for freedom of expression in leaving the newspaper industry for more fertile fields of television and writing, and that mediocrity may refer to working conditions on newspapers rather than to the quality of the work. Flynn is not making idle talk or irresponsible statements. It is a professional organization of newspapermen. It is not a part of the communist program to gain control of communications through labor unions."

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AP Contract Talks District Councils Are Urged To Promote Political Action

The five-man AP National Committee has been called to meet in New York on September 25, 26 and 27 to draft contract demands and to elect a three-man negotiating team. Negotiations with AP management have been tentatively set to begin on Monday, October 4.

The current AP contract expires on midnight, November 4. The upcoming talks will cover the entire contract.

The AP committee members are Doug Lovelace, San Francisco, chairman; Dick Coons, New York; Bud Weeks, Boston; Warren Rogers, Washington, and Dick Smith, Cleveland. The committee will work with Steve Ripley, ANG Wire Service Administrator.

AP Guildsmen who have specific recommendations they wish to present to the committee should get them in the mail at once, either to the committeeman representing their region or to Steve Ripley at ANG headquarters.

A suggested minimum program for District Council political action, implemented this week by ANG Director of Research & Information Ellis T. Baker.

The convention did not spell out a procedure for Councils to follow," Baker said in his covering letter, "but the intent of both the IEB and the Convention Political Action Committee was clear: that each District Council function as a kind of booster station, receiving tools and techniques and general guidance from ANG and adapting them for local use so that both the why and how of political action can be brought home to individual locals with increased clarity and force."

"Right now, the single most important thing you can do is help see that every Guildsman in every local in your Council registers so that he may vote in November."

In addition, this minimum ten-point program was suggested:

1. Establish a standing Political Action Committee of the District Council and make available to it funds to cover mailings and, if possible, special literature.

2. Call upon member locals to establish political action committees.

3. Place political action on the regular Council agenda, calling for reports from the Council committee and each member local at each Council meeting, just as for collective bargaining reports.

4. Make political action a special project for at least one meeting each year, with guest speaker, workshop, etc.

5. Distribute political action material to member locals.

6. Work closely with CIO and other political action groups and encourage member locals to do likewise; support and encourage in every way possible the annual national \$1 drive.

7. Concentrate on getting out the vote and setting forth the facts.

8. Keep the ANG informed so that we may learn from one another.

The Research & Information Department, through Tetta Rieker, will continue to coordinate Guild political activity and is prepared to work closely with District Councils in establishing Council PAC programs. The Council PAC members were asked as a first step to advise Mr. Rieker of the name of the Council PAC chairman.

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3. Place political action on the regular Council agenda, calling for reports from the Council committee and each member local at each Council meeting, just as for collective bargaining reports.

The five-man AP National Committee has been called to meet in New York on September 25, 26 and 27 to draft contract demands and to elect a three-man negotiating team. Negotiations with AP management have been tentatively set to begin on Monday, October 4.

The current AP contract expires on midnight, November 4. The upcoming talks will cover the entire contract.

The AP committee members are Doug Lovelace, San Francisco, chairman; Dick Coons, New York; Bud Weeks, Boston; Warren Rogers, Washington, and Dick Smith, Cleveland. The committee will work with Steve Ripley, ANG Wire Service Administrator.

AP Guildsmen who have specific recommendations they wish to present to the committee should get them in the mail at once, either to the committeeman representing their region or to Steve Ripley at ANG headquarters.

A suggested minimum program for District Council political action, implemented this week by ANG Director of Research & Information Ellis T. Baker.

The convention did not spell out a procedure for Councils to follow," Baker said in his covering letter, "but the intent of both the IEB and the Convention Political Action Committee was clear: that each District Council function as a kind of booster station, receiving tools and techniques and general guidance from ANG and adapting them for local use so that both the why and how of political action can be brought home to individual locals with increased clarity and force."

"Right now, the single most important thing you can do is help see that every Guildsman in every local in your Council registers so that he may vote in November."

In addition, this minimum ten-point program was suggested:

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2. Call upon member locals to establish political action committees.

3. Place political action on the regular Council agenda, calling for reports from the Council committee and each member local at each Council meeting, just as for collective bargaining reports.

4. Make political action a special project for at least one meeting each year, with guest speaker, workshop, etc.

5. Distribute political action material to member locals.

6. Work closely with CIO and other political action groups and encourage member locals to do likewise; support and encourage in every way possible the annual national \$1 drive.

7. Concentrate on getting out the vote and setting forth the facts.

8. Keep the ANG informed so that we may learn from one another.

The Research & Information Department, through Tetta Rieker, will continue to coordinate Guild political activity and is prepared to work closely with District Councils in establishing Council PAC programs. The Council PAC members were asked as a first step to advise Mr. Rieker of the name of the Council PAC chairman.

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On Courtroom Coverage

Lawyer Hits Back At Press-Gagging Charges

Freedom of the press is of great concern to lawyers as to editors, the New York State Society of Newspaper Editors was told at its Cooperstown meeting, in an address on "Fair Trial and Free Press" by Edwin M. Otterbourg, past president of the New York County Bar Association.

Mr. Otterbourg was replying to some sections of the press which became aroused last year when the American Bar Association proposed that newspapers restrict their coverage of courtroom trials, and which held that such restrictions were an attempt to gag the press.

The guest speaker rejected that charge entirely. He invited the press to enforce its own canons of journalism ethics and to discuss the voluntary code proposed by the lawyers.

His statement follows: Since the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, there has never been such a mix-up between the views of right-thinking men as presently exists on this subject.

Lawyers are just as anxious to maintain freedom of the press as are editors. Some newspaper editors seem to forget that in our Bill of Rights, and long before that in our courts, and still earlier in England, lawyers fought for and established freedom of the press. When they

now write that we want to gag the press or limit either the people's right to know or freedom of information, it is simply not true.

Of course we all know that there are a few limitations which ordinary decency requires be placed upon the unlimited freedom of the press. Some of these are contained in our Bill of Rights. Much more important than that one which is embodied in our Bill of Rights is the fact that we maintain a fair trial to every man, woman, and child in this country.

When some newspapers use freedom of the press to interfere with fair trial, there is something very wrong happening.

Every person is entitled to a fair trial by a jury of his peers in a courtroom according to law, because under our government he has been guaranteed this.

No one is attacking freedom of the press as such, nor the people's right to know and freedom of information. But certain newspaper editors, when they demand that the press guarantee the guarantee of fair trial.

I do not understand the position of some editors who assert they are going to print anything

and everything, whatever it is, under any circumstances, whether it interferes with a trial or not. Why are they so odd about courtroom procedure, when it is a known fact that in other fields of information affecting government, they withhold and keep confidential so-called "off the record" communications given to them by public officials in confidence which they respect?

Right here there is one point which newsmen in general do not seem to have digested.

Most lawyers do their best to prevent the inclusion of false testimony, and this goes for prosecution and defense — but even they cannot always tell what is and what is not the fact. Therefore when a newspaper publishes information received from one side or the other, or, depending, in advance of the ultimate test at trial, how can the newspaper know that it is not advancing the cause of one side or the other?

Once a determinative point about a case appears in print in advance of trial and has been accepted by the public as being so, then it is pretty sure to be accepted as true by the average jury. How can the press, which should sincerely champion fair trial, report a statement made on the witness stand although the judge has ordered it expunged from the record within the rules of fair trial?

If the statement is unfair in the courtroom, then by its publication it is unfair to the public.

location the press has actually thwarted fair trial. A man's good name, his family's future, his freedom, his very life, may be at stake. But if the court's ruling is thwarted by such publication, the effect of such ruling, by which the trial itself may be governed, is practically cancelled.

The chaos which exist on printing everything about a court proceeding are the ones who really threaten freedom of the press. Public opinion has pretty well supported the courts when ever verdicts have been set aside and venues changed because of improper newspaper publicity.

So I have two propositions to lay before the panel: 1. While I was president of the New York County Lawyers' Association, we offered a code with regard to the ethics of fair journalism as to some matters affecting litigation. I presented this at the Boston meeting of the American Bar Association in 1953.

Many editors agreed it was a good idea. But some of them were very angry, even at a peace-loving person as I.

For example, our great newspaper in New York, the Daily News, which I read every day, printed my picture and wrote an editorial in which it said I should get the "Height of Impudence award for 1953." Another paper even accused me of being Russian in my thinking although frankly I never understood that article.

Possibly I have a blind spot because I simply do not understand what is the matter with these editors. As long ago as 1921 the American Society of Newspaper Editors issued a canon of journalism which, unfortunately, have never really been enforced.

Prof. Harold L. Cross of the Columbia School of Journalism wrote in a book recently that newspapers "generally get more news by the sugar of voluntary processes than by the vinegar of compulsion."

Now, although this proposed code was based on the idea of the "sugar of voluntary processes," we lawyers have received a lot of "vinegar" and little cooperation.

Mind you, we do not say that the code suggested is perfect. But there is a lot of good in it and there is no reason why editors and publishers cannot at least sit down and agree to some of it. But so far, nobody representing either the editors or the publishers seems to want to meet and confer. Of course, one of these days we are going to confer. I only hope by then it will not be too old that I will have to attend in a wheel-chair.

2. My second proposition is that we have a certain few lawyers, just as you have a certain few editors and publishers that none

of us are proud of. Even if you are not ready yet to regulate your own industry, we certainly intend to regulate our new professionals.

It is easier for us because every lawyer has accepted certain codes of ethics and standards of professional conduct, and we have courts that can make rules and enforce them. So my second proposition is strictly a matter of cleaning up our own legal house.

We think that if a lawyer gives something out to a newspaper before or pending a trial, in the hope that by his publication it will help his litigation or his own notoriety, he should be condemned by the profession.

To help stop this, the American Bar Association is working on a code with regard to the ethics of fair journalism which seeks to prevent lawyers at least from trying their cases in the newspapers.

My second proposition is simply that we obtain a formal court ruling that lawyers will apply to the enforcement of the Canon of Ethics.

Such rule will not directly reach either the newspaper or its editor, but it will effectively control lawyers and will apply to district attorneys as well as to private lawyers. It will do much to discourage extortion and blackmail which has been held in New York that a newspaper may freely publish the contents or copies of legal papers, whether filed or not, and whether the case is ever tried or has been settled, provided only that the publication is without malice.

This privilege has permitted blackmail by the Fair Trade Commission, the Federal Communications Commission and the like. We lawyers are not going to, if we can help it, let the legislature and the government regulate us and therefore we propose to do it ourselves. More than 200 other professions and occupations are seeking to enforce their own voluntary codes of ethics.

What good does it do for the attorneys to announce to some of the journalists as they did in 1921 unless the publishers agree to enforce it? I suggest that self-regulation by concerted industry action is worth while considering by the American Society of Newspaper Editors and their various affiliates. Why wait for the government to act as it did in the case of other great industries?

Guildsman Magnuson Faces Stiff Reelection Campaign

Seattle, Wash. — Don Magnuson, the Guildsman who ran as a Democrat for Congressman at large two years ago and surprised everybody by getting himself elected, is in a stiff fight for reelection.

Generally regarded as Magnuson's most likely opponent is Republican State legislator Al Canwell of Spokane, who was chairman of the legislature's "Un-American Activities Committee."

Magnuson's trouble is lack of campaign funds, which is usually the grief of Congressmen who chalk up a progressive and liberal record in Washington.

The CIO in an on-the-scene report by Milton Plumb states that Magnuson will be up against "raw money" from Texas oil millionaires, who are in the market to buy a few key Congressmen.

Says the CIO report: "Informed people in Washington say that Canwell recently made a trip to Texas as part of the nationwide pilgrimage there

by GOP reactionaries seeking the backing of Lone Star State oil millionaires. The State Republican Committee said early this spring that it had set aside \$20,000 for the congressman-at-large race."

As Magnuson is active in the campaign now starting, but shy of cash as usual. The CIO Council has voted to increase per capita payments from 7 to 10 cents, so that November will find PAC financed.

As Western PAC Director George Roberts put it: "Don Magnuson just possibly could lose despite his perfect record in Congress. But you can be certain that CIO-PAC will be doing everything it possibly can to prevent that from happening."

New Welker Law Requires Registration of Presses By "Subversive" Groups

Washington, D.C. — Everyone in the publishing business, including the trade journal of the newspaper industry, Editor & Publisher, was caught flat-footed by enactment, and subsequent signing into law, of the Welker press registration act, to which President Eisenhower set his name July 29.

The new law is deceptively simple, so much so that Congressional records show no debate on its provisions. It requires registration of all printing equipment of organizations listed by the Attorney General as subversive or "front."

So little attention was paid to it that not until Eisenhower had the bill before him for signature did Editor & Publisher point out that the measure "threatened breach of the First Amendment."

The measure was sponsored by Sen. Herman Welker, R., Idaho.

ACLU Offers To Test Commie Outlawry Act

The American Civil Liberties Union announced last week that it stands ready to test the constitutional provisions of the Communist-Control Act outlawing the Communist Party.

Before President Eisenhower signed the bill into law, the Union's executive director, Patrick Murphy Malin, addressed an appeal to the President to veto the bill. The ACLU called it "an unconstitutional and unwarranted restriction of the free speech and association which are the mainstays of our Bill of Rights."

Confusion has reigned since the bill was signed by the President as the text of the final version is still unavailable in Washington, and a full analysis of the law cannot be made.

In its letter to the President, the ACLU said: "The new Act is new only in the sense that it brings additional persons and groups within the scope of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and adds to the penalties prescribed thereunder. And, like the 1950 Act, it does not strike at actual acts of subversion which may be committed by members of the communist conspiracy—such as espionage, sabotage and treason."

It strikes only at the open speech and association of the communist movement, which is today more completely than ever defeated in the free American marketplace of ideas.

Greensboro Is Hit By Economy Firings

Greensboro, N. C. — Four Greensboro News Co. staffers have been discharged and more firings are in prospect as the result of a drastic economy move by management.

The paper's economic situation was described as steadily deteriorating, and the Guild was given assurances that the company would make its cuts in reverse order of seniority, as nearly as "practicable."

The local contract provides for reverse order economy firings, "ability being equal," by job classification.

First to receive notice were two wirephoto operators—a married couple with five small children—and two reporters on the dayshift. A relief committee has been formed by the Guild to set up job contacts for the displaced staffers and to seek to relieve hardship wherever possible.

Information on possible jobs, particularly in the Southeast, is urgently needed. The relief com-

mittee is headed by William R. Weaver of the Daily News.

The discharged Guildsmen are: Mr. and Mrs. Bob Courley; Courley has 2 1/2 years experience on dailies, plus public relations work in the Marine Corps. His wife, Alma, operated a wirephoto receiver for one year.

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Toronto Unit Eugene, Ore., Photo-Reporter Rejects Pension To Try Hand At Free Lancing As Unilateral

Toronto, Ont.—The Star unit of the Toronto Newspaper Guild has instructed its membership to refuse to participate in a management-instituted pension plan which falls short of Guild minimum standards.

The Star has refused the demands of the Guild and other unions to conduct negotiations on its proposed plan, although in a letter to the Guild in June, 1953, management stated: "Retirement or pension allowances are matters for negotiation which can and should only be dealt with when the present contract matures."

The Star Guild unit passed a resolution, Aug. 31, instructing its members to refuse to sign up for the plan and to withdraw any pension check-off authorizations already submitted. The unit also instructed the negotiating committee to insist that Star management engage in true collective bargaining on the subject of pensions.

The retirement plan contains both contributory and non-contributory provisions. It would compel all new employees to join and make contributions. Present employees would have option of joining and contributing or not joining and receiving a smaller, non-contributory pension.

One of the major Guild objections to the plan is that it provides for retirement at age 70. Reduced pensions are provided for retirement after 60 with the agreement of the company. The plan also contains provisions for disability payments. Maximum pension would be \$60 per month for 10 years of service.

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R. HARLOW SCHILLIOS
Double Talent

Eugene, Ore.—Taking an honorable withdrawal card from the Eugene Guild local, of which he has been a member since 1947, R. Harlow Schillios has resigned as chief photographer and feature writer for the Eugene Register-Guard. He plans to enter the free-lance field, making use of both his pictorial and writing skills for magazines and newspaper in the northwest.

The Register-Guard staff knows him as a "perpetual award winner," for he has during his stay with the newspaper (circulation 35,000) brought some fifteen trophies home from State and area competitions.

Last year he made a clean sweep of the Associated Press northwest competitions by winning three first-place awards and the sweepstakes trophy. And in 1952 he won top honors for feature writing in the Oregon Press Club's annual contest. He is author of a book, "Top o' the Valley," depicting Lane County documentary pictures.

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Among Ourselves

Roland Gelatt, feature editor of the Saturday Review, has resigned to become New York City editor of High Fidelity magazine for music listeners, effective October 1.

He is author of Music Makers, published last year by Alfred A. Knopf, and is now completing a history of the phonograph, to be published next year by J. B. Lippincott.

William L. Barto, of the Hazleton, Pa., Guild local, has left the editorial staff of the Standard-Sentinel to become managing editor of the Lehigh Valley Evening Leader.

Hart Meschery of the New Brunswick Home News unit of the Elizabeth Guild, leaves this month for a vacation tour of Great Britain.

Stevenson Criticizes GOP Labor Policies

Chicago. — Adlai Stevenson sharply attacked the Eisenhower Administration for its labor policy and declared that "politics dropped to a new low plane, indeed, in connection with the matter of revising the Taft-Hartley Act."

The 1952 Democratic Presidential nominee told 3,500 delegates to the annual convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that "this has been a year of futility — or worse — in meeting what may be considered the particular problems of labor-management relations."

Recalling that President Eisenhower told the voters in 1952 that union-busting provisions of the Taft-Hartley law should be removed, Stevenson said:

"Well, they have been."

He declared "there appears to be Idaho Court Holds 'Right to Work' Unfair Law Title

Boise, Idaho. — A far-reaching decision by the Idaho Supreme Court has upheld charges that "right to work" is a misdemeanor for the "right to work" laws now being proposed in many states.

The decision came as a result of a suit filed by the A.F.L. Idaho State Federation of Labor and the Idaho C.I.O. working jointly. The unions appealed to the Supreme Court to prevent the proposed law from going into effect.

The unions attacked the measure on the grounds that it was improperly titled for presentation on petitions which, under the law, must be signed by sufficient citizens before an initiative measure can go before the voters.

The short title given the measure by Attorney General Robert E. Smythe was "The Right to Work Initiative Proposal."

In a hearing before the court the unions contended the title said nothing about union membership and hence did not satisfy the initiative law's requirement of a "distinctive" title.

Justice Raymond L. Givens upheld this in the majority opinion.

The court in its 4 to 1 decision ordered the Attorney General to prepare a new title which would meet the specifications it laid down.

The proposal was launched by a self-styled "Peoples Right to Work Committee, Inc." of Blackfoot.

The Idaho Supreme Court decision killed the proposal for this year.

Twin Cities Wins \$1 to \$4 Boost, Security Gains

Minneapolis, Minn. — The Twin Cities Guild has added a prohibition on dismissals pending review by arbitration to its contract with the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, which carries a two-step increase in minimums.

The two-year contract raises minimums by \$1 to \$4 retroactive to July 1 and guarantees raises of \$1 and \$2 next July.

Besides bolstering job security, the contract adds arbitration of a UP grievance. . . . Ray Pitt, Ripley's assistant, will head for three-week test cur of his own, Ripley's return.

Self-styled new members of the "Parents' League" are Mr. and Mrs. Joe Oravec, to whom a daughter, Kathleen, was born August 6. He's of the New Kensington, Pa., unit of the Pittsburgh Guild.

New editor of the Jefferson County (Col.) Sentinel is Forest Amundsen, formerly of the Denver Post, where he served as Guild unit collector.

Protection against pay cuts has been extended to all employees; formerly only those receiving more than the minimum were covered.

Top minimum for reporters, \$119.50 in the fifth year, with a photographers goes from \$118 to \$121.50 next year. Starting minimum goes from \$58 to \$60 this year and to \$61 in 1955.

District manager top minimum is increased from \$83 to \$87 and then to \$90. Stenographer top minimum matches that of starting reporters.

Justice Dept. Queries As To Capital Merger

Washington, D.C. — The Federal Government is so concerned with the recent flurry of business mergers that it's even asking newspapers "how come?"

Stanley Barnes, assistant attorney general who heads the Justice Department's anti-trust division, told the Washington Post that the Washington Times-Herald last spring had been asked for various details concerning the consolidation.

The anti-trust division is concerned because the Clayton Act forbids a company's acquiring the stock or assets of another firm if this would "tend substantially to lessen competition."

"What this current official attitude reflects is not only apparent satisfaction with the present state of affairs but also a feeling of indifference to the fact that these 'yesterday answers' are inadequate; that yesterday is to-day a measure not of success, but of failure."

Michael J. Cox

Philadelphia, Pa. — Michael J. Cox, former chairman of the Inquirer unit of the Newspaper Guild of Greater Philadelphia, died Wednesday at his home, of a heart attack. He was 45 years old, and for the past eleven years had covered the Central and South Philadelphia police beats.

He started newspaper work as an office boy for the old Public Ledger when he was 15 years old, and for the past eleven years had covered the Central and South Philadelphia police beats.

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It Seems to Us..

THE BIG BOOZLE. Robert Sylvester is a feature writer for the New York Daily News, and served his writing apprenticeship in New Haven before coming to New York in 1927. He did service in press agency for movie and radio stars, and for the Palace Theater in the dying days of vaudeville. Three years in the Navy were his only other interruption to his newspaper work. His job at the News started seventeen years ago, and has allowed him time to turn out four other books as well as magazine articles.

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The 83rd Congress—'Wait 'til Next Year'

Just how good was the record of the 83rd Congress? Before they elect an 84th Congress, the voters of America will want an answer to that question—especially in view of President Eisenhower's repeated statement that the Republicans would merit victory or deserve defeat in November on the record of the 83rd, the first GOP Congress in 20 years under a Republican Administration.

The voters are likely to get more than one answer. President Eisenhower himself, for example, credits the 83rd with passing 54 of 64 bills sought by his Administration.

"Now, that, after all, is a balancing average of 83.0," the President told the nation. "And any baseball fan will tell you that's pretty good going in any league."

But any baseball fan also would expect a "team's" box score to answer these questions. How many errors were made? How many intentional passes? How many times at-bat did the team really have? President Eisenhower says 64, but the non-partisan Congressional Quarterly research staff, last March, said the President had gained enactment of only five of some 214 requested measures. By the end of the session, the total was about 54 with a little more than half of them passed.

And, as the New York Post asked, how many women and children were left on base? Here's how a New York Times story by William S. White summed up the record of the last Congress, via a visit to the President's own program.

"The President in this second and final session of the Congress has won outstanding victories in these basic fields:

"Finance, where Congress has cut taxes rather closely to his plan. "The farm subsidy program, which has been reduced as he demanded."

"The Social Security system, which has been greatly expanded as he asked. "He has won qualified and somewhat doubtful victories — that left the essential controversies still to be fought out, in — in world trade policy and in housing."

"He has suffered substantial setbacks: "In labor legislation. "In health legislation. "In his effort to have the Territory of Hawaii admitted to the union."

"In his proposal that the voting age be lowered by constitutional amendment to 18. "In some aspects of his anti-subversion program, notably in the death speaking Congressional inaction of his plan to legalize wire-tapping in espionage and similar cases."

"He has largely maintained command of foreign policy, through only narrowly so in some instances and only at the cost of successful Congressional insistence of materially cutting foreign aid."

The aims of the President's State of the Union Message which was delivered on Jan. 7, 1954, to the assembled Senate and House of Representatives in a stirring scene, have in part been realized.

"In general, the more liberal of the President's proposals have suffered; the more conservative have everywhere prevailed."

Too, the President's "won and lost" claims were compiled on the basis of his own requested program. Still to be answered is the question: What do the voters — or fans — think of this program?

Did he OK the strategy of loading bases for the oil interests when they grabbed some \$50 billion in offshore oil belonging to all the states?

Was he really happy when big business was allowed to run wild without a throw, getting the bulk of the tax cuts through "accelerated depreciation" allowances and special benefits for stockholders?

Further, even those enacted measures which could be classified as "hits" from the wage earners' point of view, left something to be desired.

* Social Security coverage was extended but with far-from-adequate increases in benefits, and no provision for disability payments.

* Unemployment compensation coverage was extended but with no increase in payments or federal standards as to duration and minimums.

* A St. Lawrence Seaway Bill was passed, but the measure considerably curtailed the extent and usefulness of this water highway and left out all hydro-power development.

So despite the Administration's claims, the 83rd Congress might well be described with the words: "Good field, no hit."

And if the fans decide that "The Republicans are dead" they may well demand a new manager as well as a new team.

(For further details of the 83rd Congress box score, see the adjoining column. Also see the story in this issue on EAC suggestions for District Councils.)

1. Beneficiaries were increased. For example, an already retired worker who is receiving the present maximum benefit of \$85 will draw \$88.50. Workers who retire in the future may draw as much as \$108.50, against the present maximum of \$85.

2. Starting Jan. 1, 1955, earnings up to \$4,200 yearly will be counted as the wage base on which payments are made and benefits computed. Instead of earnings up to \$3,600 a year as at present.

3. Coverage is extended to nearly 10 million additional persons, including farm operators, state and local government employees and self-employed professionals, some of them on a voluntary basis.

4. Some years of lowest earnings or no earnings or unemployment, disability or unemployment will be dropped when calculating each person's benefit rate. Formerly, the inclusion of these periods served to drag down the rate.

5. A new formula will be used for computing benefits, taking 55% of the first \$110 of a beneficiary's average monthly earnings and adding 20% of the rest of his average earnings up to \$240. The old formula was 55% of the first \$100 and 15% of the rest up to \$200.

Old Monthly Payment: Worker \$25.00, Wife \$20.00, Child \$15.00. New Monthly Payment: Worker \$30.00, Wife \$25.00, Child \$20.00.

Local Copy

WHAT THE LAST CONGRESS DID

For Big Business

1. Voted "accelerated depreciation tax cuts for big corporations and gave their stockholders the bulk of the other tax cuts in the new tax law."

2. Turned over to the oil interests some \$50 billion dollars in oil lying under Federally controlled waters off the Texas, California and Louisiana coasts.

3. Accepted the Administration's "hard money" policy and authorized higher interest rates on government-insured mortgages, to the benefit of bankers and insurance companies.

4. Killed off rent controls under pressure from the powerful real estate lobby.

5. Satisfied the power interests by throwing the \$16 billion public investment in atomic energy open to private exploitation, cutting funds for TVA and other public power projects and letting the Federal Power Commission give away Niagara Falls hydroelectric power.

6. Gave wool growers 120% of parity in exchange for votes of sheep state congressmen to put through reduced price supports on wheat, cotton and other crops.

7. Gave the publicly-developed synthetic rubber plants to the rubber industry at a fraction of their cost.

For the Wage Earner

1. Rejected a proposal to increase the individual income tax exemption from \$500 to \$700 which would have meant benefits for all instead of a few.

2. Failed to provide an adequate program of Federal aid to education and school construction to alleviate overcrowded classrooms, which might have been financed by Federal exploitation of off-shore oil lands.

3. Failed to come up with any legislation to check the rising unemployment in many areas.

4. Killed off the Federal housing program by virtually wiping out public housing.

5. Failed to make the Taft-Hartley law "fairer" to labor by removing the "union-busting" provisions of the Act as promised by President Eisenhower.

6. Ignored "full production, high consumption, good income" farm programs by reducing price supports when the farm recession was already so severe that workers in farm-equipment plants were unemployed.

7. Failed to take action on Labor Sec. Mitchell's boasts that minimum wage laws should be boosted and coverage increased, and failed to make good on the President's promise that the Labor Dept. would be "built up."

Social Security: the Old and the New

Although the new Social Security bill recently signed by President Eisenhower to measure up to the improvements sought by labor, it did contain many changes and reforms which will affect nearly every person in the United States.

Here are some of the changes in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance System passed by the 83rd Congress.

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THE GUILD REPORTER

CHARLES E. CRINNEY, Editor

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September 10, 1954

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Vol. XXI—No. 18



PAYCHECKS and working conditions are important matters to Guild members, as they are to all those who work for an employer, but they are far from comprising the full scope of common Guild interests.

Joe G. Velna, chairman of the Lerner newspapers unit of the Chicago Guild, makes the point by supplying a partial check list of the civic activities in which his unit and other Chicagoans have pooled their efforts during the past year.

Says he: "Our members have participated in many community programs and campaigns. They collected money in the March of Dimes drive against polio. They campaigned. Many gave their time and blood for the Red Cross program for the armed services. And it never got publicity, but our members also gave dollars to the Community Fund and to many other worthy charities."

Which adds up to what the CIO Community Services leaders have always avowed, that the most effective labor union is one which attempts far more than the basic chores of collective bargaining and membership extension.

And CIO-PAC would fervently append an admonition to all union members to be certain they are registered, and certain they know what candidates stand for when the balloting starts.

SELDOM does the general press editorialize on the subject of labor union operations, and still less frequently does the general press editorialize on labor union virtues.

An exception occurred this week, when the Toronto Star undertook to discuss union democracy in the light of comments by a Supreme Court Justice.

Says the Star "leader": Mr. Justice A. M. Manson of the British Columbia Supreme Court claims that democracy is lacking in labor unions. There is some foundation for this complaint, but Mr. Justice Manson misplaces the blame when he assigns it entirely to the industrial relations committee of the Canadian Bar association, meeting in Winnipeg.

Unions run on autocratic lines, where the leader is undisputed "boss" are probably few in Canada. But in far too many, policy is controlled by a minority of members.

The responsibility for this situation rests squarely with the rank-and-file members of unions, not with their leaders. Practically all unions are equipped with democratic machinery for debating and voting on questions, and for the election of officers. All the majority need do is sit in to take over the controls. Minority rule in unions is almost always the result of majority indifference. When most members are too apathetic to attend meet-

ings or inform themselves on union issues, they are in effect voluntarily delegating their powers to the conscientious or purposeful minority. This is not democracy at its best, but it is still democracy. It is the sort of democracy observable every year in Toronto's civic elections, when fewer than 50 per cent of eligible voters bother to exercise their right.

While far from flawless, union democracy is not in so sorry a state as Mr. Justice Manson makes out. Recent union history in Canada abounds in cases where unpopular policies were reversed and unpopular leaders were unseated by an aroused majority.

Instances of minority control in unions have their counterpart in business and industry, as was pointed out by Arthur Mauro of Winnipeg in replying to Mr. Justice Manson. The latter said that unions are controlled by 10 per cent of their membership; but the policies of great corporations are often controlled by persons owning less than 10 per cent of the stock.

Mr. Justice Manson's strictures on union leaders generally are much too harsh. Most of them are not the selfish power-seekers he pictured them to be, but responsible men who have sacrificed a good deal personally to promote the welfare of the workingman.

Akron Guild Chooses Hal Fry as President

Akron, Ohio—Hal Fry, editor of the Sunday roto magazine for the Akron Beacon Journal, has been elected president of the Akron Newspaper Guild, succeeding Art Cullison.

Fry has been one of three vice presidents of the Akron guild for several years and recently has been head of the grievance committee.

Cullison, Beacon Journal radio-TV and motion picture writer, who represented Akron at Boston and Los Angeles conventions, was elected a vice president. So were Mort Leggett, retiring treasurer, and Dick Ditz.

Other officers for 1954-55 are Mrs. Sally Miller, recording secretary; Hal Taylor, corresponding secretary; Craig Wilson, treasurer, and Lloyd Stoyer and Louis Stone, executive board members.

Hammond Loses Two Officers

Hammond, Ind.—Two officers of the Hammond local vacated their posts this week when they resigned from the staff of the Hammond Times. They are Francis B. Kent, president, and Robert J. Hickey, secretary. Both are rewriters and both plan to move to the west coast.

Ernie Bayton, first vice president, will serve in Kent's place pending elections to fill the vacancies.

Washington ROUNDUP

BY CHALMERS M. ROBERTS
WASHINGTON GUILD

WELL, IT WAS NICE to sit on the beach Labor Day weekend and note that the tides, at least, seemed to be working on normal schedule and that this generation of kids has as much fun in the surf as our own did. It's always a tonic to get away from Washington and to rediscover the eternal truth that the rest of the country is a lot less excited or worried or what-not about any current state of affairs, foreign or domestic.

But when you get back to Washington there are the same vast stacks of Governmental hand-outs on your desk and the same chilling dispatches on the tickers from all over the world. Debacle in Europe. New threats in Asia. Mr. Dulles flying hither and yon once more, signing new treaties, issuing a new batch of stiff words.

And the underlings of all size and category at the State Department struggling to find some way out of the German miasma and trying to work up the papers on what the U. S. should or shouldn't do about the Chinese Communist threat to attack Formosa and especially the batch of small islands Chiang Kai-shek holds just off the China coast. Not to mention all sorts of other matters.

WHILE I SAT ON THE SANDS I read a little volume which I would like to heartily recommend to those who want to get some sort of perspective on American foreign policy and some understanding on how our relations seem to have soured in so many parts of the globe.

This is "Realities of American Foreign Policy" by George F. Kennan, our long-time Soviet expert and former Ambassador to Moscow who was unceremoniously dumped by the Dulles regime. It's not hard to understand, after reading the book, the vast gulf between the Kennan and Dulles philosophies and approaches.

One of Kennan's main themes is particularly important today and I'd like to kick it about a bit at this point. I hope it will arouse your interest enough to read the whole (120 pg.) book. P.S. I get no cut or kick-back!

THIS THEME CONCERNS the aim of the gents in the Kremlin. There is, first of all, "a deep historical and political logic" to Soviet "hostility" towards the United States that cannot be evaporated by top level meetings of statesmen over cocktails and vodka. But "hostility is one thing; intentions another."

Soviet leaders, Kennan says, recognize that military victory alone does not solve all problems. But their commie ideology tells them that the U. S. will be driven, as a capitalist state must be according to the book, to want a war with Russia. Still, "they comfort themselves with two reflections"—that atomic and hydrogen weapons probably cancel out and hence probably will never be used and, secondly, before we really get to the preventive war stage the "contradictions" of the capitalist world will make it impossible for us to launch such a war.

Now here is a key paragraph: "Of all the hopes in the Soviet breast, the most businesslike and serious ones, the ones most formidable to us, center around this prospect for sowing disunity everywhere in the Western camp, and particularly in every relationship that has anything to do with Western strength. That means disunity within our own country as between classes and races and outlooks. It means disunity between ourselves and our allies. It means the disruption of the confidence of others in us, of our confidence in others. It means, above all, the disruption of our confidence in ourselves. Here—not in elaborate blueprints and timetables of military conquest but in hopes for the demoralization and disintegration of our world—is the thing that we are really entitled to describe as the major Soviet design."

EVENTS OF LATE certainly bear out the commie tactic, and success, in spreading disunity in the West. And our own internal pre-occupation, a la McCarthy et al, certainly plays into the commie hands.

Kennan says that the question is not what Russia could do to us, militarily, but what she might decide to do. He contends that "a push-button attack on this country actually makes little more sense from the standpoint of our adversaries than would a similar attack by ourselves on someone else."

And, he adds, "I have never detected any suicidal tendencies" in the Soviet regime for "these people are not ogres; they are just badly misguided and twisted human beings, deeply involved in the predicaments that invariably attend the exercise of great power."

Hence Kennan's theme is that the danger to America is not basically from without—for we have the intelligence and strength to meet it if we will—but from the fact that a large part of our people "find it impossible to accept the relatively minor and almost routine problems presented for us by the phenomenon of external penetration and subversion in our life without permitting it to become for them a source of loss of confidence in the integrity of our society as a whole."

WHAT WE NEED TO DO, then is "to teach ourselves again to act like what Americans really are and not like what we fear they might be."

Which is a way of saying that the principal battleground is the fight against what is now tagged McCarthyism. For "this is not just a question of the spectacle of a few men setting out to achieve a cheap political success by appealing to primitive reactions, by appealing to the uncertainty, suspicious little savage that lies at the bottom of almost every human breast; it is more importantly the spectacle of millions of our citizens listening eagerly to these suggestions and then trotting off faithfully and anxiously, like the victims of some totalitarian brain-washing, to snoop and check up on their fellow citizens, to purge the libraries and the lecture platforms, to protect us all from the impact of ideas."

I wish I could have said it as well.

Portland, Ore., Authorizes Strike

Portland, Ore. — Membership of the Portland Newspaper Guild has unanimously adopted an authorization to its executive committee to call a strike against the managements of the Journal or Oregonian or both, if negotiations for a new editorial contract are not satisfactorily concluded.

The publishers of the Journal

had been in negotiation for renewal of the contract which covers editorial workers for both newspapers.

Agreement had been reached that an escape clause in the article on maintenance of membership would be dropped. The members had voted acceptance of the contract on those terms. Then the Guild negotiators were told that the management spokesman had exceeded his authority in agreeing to drop the clause.

Reported to the next meeting

of the membership, this development led to the secret ballot for the strike authorization. Also unsettled are wage minimums for the newly-included promotion department employees. The Guild holds that key wages there should be on a par with editorial artists and copy-desk men, a point disputed by management.

The local has notified proper State and federal officials of the situation, and an inter-union session was scheduled for this week, to acquaint craft unions with the situation.

The Guild Reporter

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