THE Guild Reporter

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, CIO

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Convention Call Is Issued; 22nd Meeting To Nominate, Deal With Communist Topic

Official calls for the twenty-second annual ANG Convention went out this week to local Guild officials from the office of ANG Secretary-treasurer William J. Farson.

The convention will open June 27 at the Hotel DeWitt Clinton, Albany and will close July 1. Convention representation, based on per capita dues payments during the fiscal year closing April 30, reaches a theoretical total of 421 throughout the Guild.

It is theoretical, because small and distant local Guilds fail to send delegates, while larger Guilds restrict the actual number of delegates to economically feasible limits.

Eight of the potential 421 convention votes will be held by wire service delegates, under continuation of an arrangement which gave them similar votes at the Boston and Los Angeles meetings. Regardless of the number of delegates sent, each local is entitled to cast its full number of votes in roll call recordings.

Locals will also receive credentials, in duplicate, for each delegate and alternate who is to attend. Signed by at least two local officers, one copy is to be returned to ANG headquarters on or before June 17. The other is to be presented, with the registration fee of $15, at the opening of the convention at Albany.

Farson also notes that requests for specific committee appointments should be in his hands well in advance of the convention, so that the pre-convention meeting of the International Executive Board can more nearly complete the choice of personnel, in line with the wishes of the delegates. Changes or additions may still be made on the opening day of the convention.

As in previous years, hotel reservations must be made directly with the DeWitt Clinton management. Reservation request cards have been sent to locals by the host Guild at Albany.

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This year's convention, on its closing day, will nominate to all positions on the International Executive Board, whose fifteen members are serving terms which expire next November 1. They comprise the three "top" officers—the president, the executive vice president, the secretary-treasurer, the latter two being salaried full-time positions; six regional vice presidents and six vice presidents at large.

Should more than one nominee stand for each office after the nominations are closed, the resulting contests would be decided by membership referendum. The vote would be Guild-wide except in the case of regional vice presidents, where the choice would be by the eligible Guild members in the appropriate geographical areas.

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Potential top issue at the Albany convention is a matter referred to this year's conclave by the 1954 Los Angeles Convention.

Delegates at Los Angeles adopted a statement of policy declaring that communists are ineligible for continuing or future membership in the Guild. It directed the IEB to submit language designed to bring this policy into effect by a constitutional amendment, to the 1955 convention.

At its March meeting, the IEB received from its constitution committee a draft of constitutional language, which the board transmitted to all locals for study and comment. The board refrained from approval or disapproval of the text as drafted.

Among reactions have been a membership-adopted resolution from Toronto, where the local voted to reverse the Los Angeles dictum, preferring to leave the constitution unchanged, with its provision that "political conviction" shall be no bar to membership, and with reliance on the historic ability of the Guild to nullify attempts to subvert Guild aims.

One local at Manchester, Vt., has instructed its delegates to uphold the Los Angeles position. And the Chicago local's membership meeting last week adopted a motion favoring the Toronto stand, that the present language of the Constitution be retained.

Cleveland Local's executive board has sent to the IEB a copy of its resolution stating its agreement in principle that an anti-communist amendment

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Rutland Management Tries Split-Off Move At Hearing

Rutland, Vt.—A national Labor Relations Board representation hearing was conducted here May 3 as management of the Rutland Herald attempted to split off mail room and maintenance employes from the overall bargaining unit sought by the American Newspaper Guild in an election petition filed April 1.

The company contended before Field Examiner George A. Sweeney that the mail room is a mechanical department outside the Guild's jurisdiction and that the janitors are "guards" as defined by law and therefore ineligible for representation.

The Guild, holding signed and paid applications cards from a strong majority of approximately 60 eligibles in all unorganized departments of the morning paper, asked for a unit including the advertising, editorial, circulation and maintenance departments, proof room and mail room —all groups which the Board has consistently held constitute the optimum unit of non-mechanical departments.

The company, however, moved for a separate election in the mail room, claiming it is within ITU jurisdiction. It introduced in evidence the ITU's Book of Laws which "declares" jurisdiction over mailers and a copy of the local ITU contract. At this point, the Guild noted that the contract specifically fails to cover the mail room and brought ITU local president Larry Canfield to testify that he had no objection to Guild representation of the mail room, especially in view of the fact that the AFL Mailers had declined to accept an 18-month-old application of the mail room employes for membership and representation.

The Guild also urged that the mail room is closely allied with the circulation department, since four of the mailers double in brass as city route drivers and helpers. Mail room foreman Frank Perry testified he is under the direction of circulation manager Earle Fuller and that he personally delivers missed copies before completing his shift in the morning.

Last summer, in the New Brunswick Home News case, the Board rejected a similar contention and ordered a Guild election including the mail room after finding it was, in fact, a

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Dr. Hutchins Again Prescribes Critical Agency To Appraise Press

This article contains the complete text of the address by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, chairman of the Fund for the Republic, to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at its annual convention in Washington. Dr. Hutchins formerly was chancellor of the University of Chicago and in 1947 headed the Commission on Freedom of the Press.—Ed.

Twenty-five years ago, almost to the day, I last had the honor of addressing this society. The quarter of a century between has been the longest in history. That was a different world, before the depression, before the New Deal, before the Newspaper Guild, before the suburbs, before they charged for newsprint, before the atom, before television. It was a world in which you were powerful and numerous. You are powerful still; but some 800 papers that were alive then are gone now. Twenty-five years hence, when I am 81, where will you be?

When I was here last, I said, "The greatest aggregation of educational foundations is the press itself . . . Indeed I notice that in spite of the frightful lies you have printed about me I still believe everything you print about other people . . . If the American press does not need or cannot get the leadership of some endowed newspapers, we must fall back on the long process of education through educational institutions, hoping that in the long run we may produce a generation that will demand better things of you. This process will be tedious and difficult, because of the power of the press itself over the minds and habits of those whom the educational institutions produce."

You paid no attention. Well, I would merely remind you that a great many men who paid no attention then are not here now.

I joined in another effort in your behalf in 1947, when the Report of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press appeared. The Commission felt a little sad. It said, "The outstanding fact about the communications industry today is that the number of its units has declined." It expressed a high opinion of your role in life, for it said, "Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are moral rights which the state must not infringe." And again, "We must recognize that the agencies of mass communication are an educational instrument, perhaps the most powerful there is."

You were furious. Your president issued a statement in six paragraphs, in three of which he said that the members of the Commission were "left-wing," and in all of which he stated his conviction that, since most of the members of the Commission were professors without experience in the newspaper business, nothing they said could be of any importance, although it might be dangerous. At the meeting of this society in 1947, to which I had expected to be invited to receive your congratulations, the only thing that saved me from condemnation was the expressed unwillingness of your committee to "dignify" me by such action.

All over the country you attacked the Report. I hope you will read it sometime. But for fear you won't, I shall quote a passage from it that will give you the main idea: "If modern society requires great agencies of mass communication, if these concentrations become so powerful that they are a threat to democracy, if democracy cannot solve the problem simply by breaking them up—then those agencies must control themselves or be controlled by government. If they are controlled by government, we lose our chief safeguard against totalitarianism—and at the same time take a long step toward it."

A kind of neurotic sensitivity is characteristic of the press throughout the English-speaking world. The British papers were outraged by the report of the Royal Commission on the press, which was almost as mild as ours. I don't know what makes you feel this way. After all, in this country you have a special amendment to the Constitution, and the first one at that, protecting you. Perhaps it is this special dignity that sometimes leads you to confuse your private interests with those of the public. One of the most celebrated managing editors in the country told our Commission that the only threat to the freedom of the press was the Newspaper Guild and that all we had to was to adopt a resolution denouncing the Guild and go home. Most papers saw Marshall Field's suit against the AP as the end of freedom of the press. All he wanted to do to the AP was to join it. About once a week you break out in exasperation against anybody who tries to keep anything from you, for reasons of state or for any reason at all. You are the only uncriticized institution in the country. You will not criticize one another, and any suggestion that anybody else might do so sets you to muttering about the First Amendment.

I know that lately life has been hard for you. And it may get even worse; for it may turn out that reading is an anachronism. When I was a boy, reading was the only established and available path to knowledge, information, or even entertainment. But the other day in Hollywood I met a man who was putting the Great Books on records. Everything else has already been put on records or films. One glance at the children making for the television set on their return from school is enough to show that this is a different world. The habit of reading, which my generation fell into because there was not much else to do, may now not be formed at all; it may have too much competition.

The competition may win. Gresham's Law of Culture is that easy stuff drives out hard.

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Asian 'Exchange Editor' Reports

Pakistan Press Fights For Life, Newsmen Share Economic Pinch

By M. H. Auj

A free press and a multi-party system are basic to a democratic pattern of society. The two are, moreover, interdependent. One gains strength from the other. Therefore, in order to estimate the true position of the press in Pakistan, one has to traverse far afield in our national life.

It may not be out of place to mention that we started from scratch. Pakistan did not inherit a strong press although the services rendered to the cause of Pakistan by whatever Muslim press there was are inestimable and crucial. Indeed, its concentrated and single-minded work made up for the lack of organization in the Muslim League, the one and the only political party of Moslems of undivided India.

Today in Pakistan the total number of newspapers and periodicals is 825. Of these 80 are dailies, 317 are weeklies and bi-weeklies, 359 monthlies and fortnightlies and 69 periodicals.

Punjab province leads the other provinces with 366 papers and periodicals. East Pakistan has 212, Karachi (federal capital) 179, Sindh 46, NWFP 33 and Baluchistan 11.

The total circulation of all these is about 700,000.

Languagewise the circulation is as follows: Urdu (our national language) 308,000, Bengali 159,000, English (our official language) 176,000, Gujrati 22,000, Sindhi 16,000, Pashtu the rest.

To many of my readers the total circulation figure of all the papers may sound ridiculous, as in the U.S.A. a single newspaper may claim more than that much. But they should not forget that large circulation can only be built up in countries where literacy percentage is very high, where education is widespread and where the people are politically-minded or news-minded.

The percentage of literacy in Pakistan (according to our 4th grade criterion) is 22.3. But our people are political-minded as well as news-minded. The papers may not claim large circulation. They, however, have wide readership. Many, due to poverty, cannot afford to purchase a newspaper. Usually one newspaper is sufficient for a family, and they read it in turn. Thus every copy is read by at least 10 persons.

Large circulation alone is no guarantee for the continuous life of a newspaper. The cost of newsprint, printing expenses, salaries of staff, collecting news and other expenditures make it economically impossible to run a newspaper on circulation income alone.

In Pakistan we have no industries worth the name, and the purchasing power of the people is very low. Therefore, generally speaking, the business men are not advertisement-minded. Whatever advertisements are given to newspapers are at low rate.

The newsprint is very costly; hence the daily newspapers are published on six pages only.

The most crippling aspect of Pakistani newspapers is the lack of finances. Newspapers are not regarded as commercial propositions, such as would be invested in and floated by business magnates and moneyed people. They are for the most part political ventures. Very few papers can thus be said to be self-supporting. Those which are so are mainly because of extraordinary political patronage only, maintaining low scales of payment and expenditure.

The corollary of this general financial weakness is bound to be reflected in the personnel of the newspapers. They are low paid. They are not given annual raises. On the contrary, sometimes they are obliged to accept a cut in their meager salary. They are not given facilities such as vacations, sick leave or casual leave. They work under adverse conditions. Sometimes a working journalist is compelled to work in more than one newspaper to earn a living wage.

There are three Guilds, or unions. Managing editors, who look after business or management of the papers, have organized their own union. Newspaper editors having executive powers are organized in two parallel union, the PNEC (Pakistan Newspaper Editors Conference) and the CPE (Council of Pakistan Editors). The working journalists have a Guild or union of their own. It is known as the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ). The head office of this union is in our federal capital, Karachi. Other provinces have their own provincial unions, such as the KUJ (Karachi Union of Journalists) and the PUJ (Punjab Union of Journalists). These unions are affiliated with the national organization, PFUJ.

The union has a workable constitution, Office holders are elected annually. Every member of the union pays a monthly membership fee, part of which goes to the national union. This union has struggled and is still struggling to better the working conditions of the members. In fact, it was due to the continuous efforts and negotiations of the union that a starting minimum salary of 210 rupees ($70) per month has been fixed for a working journalist.

But many journalists are obliged to accept a salary lower than the minimum. Only the staffs of English language newspapers enjoy high salaries and full rights as the English language papers have a wide circulation, less competition and huge income.

Many a time the union organized strikes in papers as a last resort, but either due to lack of unity amongst the members or to the financial conditions of the papers, the strikes have not been very successful.

Thus the press in Pakistan is working under terrible handicaps and it is a tribute to those who run newspapers, editorially and administratively, that a coherent and vocal press still exists.

* * *

I had the unique honor of attending a meeting of the California-Nevada District Council of the American Newspaper Guild. I am greatly indebted to all concerned, as an exception was made in my case and I was permitted to observe the proceedings and deliberations. I was much impressed by the zeal and enthusiasm of the members, the unity of the Guild and its continuous and patient struggle for the betterment of the working journalists.

I cannot forget the warm welcome extended to me. One of the treasurers which I am carrying back with me to Pakistan is the resolution adopted unanimously by the CNDC commending my "initiative in seeking the attitude and opinions of newspaper men and women in this coutry" and containing fraternal greetings to fellow newspaper unionists in Pakistan. I am sure the Pakistan newspaper men and the union will greatly appreciate this friendly gesture and reciprocate.



MUHAMMAD H. AUJ
of Pakistan's "Afaq"

Muhammad H. Auj is an editor of Afaq, Urdu language daily in Lahore, West Pakistan. He recently completed three months on the news staff of the Sacramento Bee, through cooperation of the McClatchy Newspapers and the State Department's information and education program.

The accompanying article is in response to a request that he tell Guild Reporter readers something of press conditions in his native country.—Ed.

INS Talks In Mediation, Strike Move Supported

Negotiations for a new Guild contract covering employes in Hearst's International News and Photo services moved into the field of federal mediation this week, as Guild members in bureaus across the country responded with solid affirmation of their willingness to strike for a satisfactory contract. ANG strike vote authorization came last week-end when several weeks of diligent attempts to get a responsive counter-proposal from Hearst management failed.

The existing contract expired April 21. Until last weekend, when both the strike vote and mediation recourse were decided, management spokesmen held to a position that the old contract was good enough, if not too good in some respects.

And the Guild proposals for improving it were met with scorn, ridicule and evasion, the last tactic pursued to the point where legally-defined refusal to bargain could have been sustained had the Guild desired to contribute to delay by filing NLRB charges.

Guild negotiators first comprised Max Fine, New York; James Scott, St. Louis; and Harry Bergman, San Francisco, with ANG Wire Administrator Steve Ripley. Ripley was unable to serve, being hospitalized with a vertebral injury, and his place was taken first by Francis S. Rivett, of the ANG staff, and later by William Ray Pitt, assistant to Ripley. Bergman was called home in the middle of the sessions by illness of his mother, and his replacement is J. Harley Murray, Washington.

Last week the committee asked ANG Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak to accompany them to a negotiating session, and the strike vote action was made known to management at the same time.

When mediation was suggested as a means of pursuing all prestrike avenues of approach to a settlement, both parties agreed to revise their stands, and the Guild team was hopeful that a genuine counter-proposal would be forthcoming from management. First mediation meeting was scheduled for yesterday, before Commissioner Bernard J. Forman.

May Meeting Of Board Will Discuss Novak Plan

A four-day meeting starts Sunday at the Abbey Hotel, in New York, for members of the fifteen-man International Executive Board.

Besides details incident to preparing for the upcoming convention at Albany net month, the board will have before it a recommendation from Ralph B. Novak, executive vice president, for board consideration and possible submission to the convention, for the relief of smaller and isolated local Guilds in matters of servicing.

"Servicing" pertains to the important annual function of a local in bargaining for contract renewals, and for handling enforcement of contracts through grievance or arbitration procedure.

The Novak proposal would regularize the assistance now frequently sought from ANG and given by international representatives, who are also—and primarily—charged with extending organization of the Guild.

Novak proposes appointment of a staff whose sole job would be coordinating the efforts of geographically related Guild locals in the servicing field. The Guild Reporter for April 8 gave space to a full exposition of the plan, with maps indicating the suggested location of base points for seven such representatives, and the locals they would reach.

At the same time locals were furnished with details of the plan, and were asked to discuss the feasibility of financing the cost through additional membership levies.

Some locals have already responded and more are expected to do so before the board meeting closes.

Seattle - Tacoma's executive board characterizes the plan as "forward-looking and sense-making."

Albany membership considered the plan at its quarterly meeting, and disapproved on the ground that the areas as outlined would split the territory now covered by the Empire State District Council.

The Elizabeth local membership meeting approved the plan in principle, but considered the extra expense prohibitive.

. . . Rutland Hearing

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non-mechanical department, part of the Guild's optimum unit.

On the "guard" issue, the company argued that its four janitors are "watchmen" because they are under vague instructions to keep certain portions of the building locked at certain times and because two of them ring eight fire watch stations for insurance purposes in between bouts with the broom and mop late Saturday night and early Sunday morning.

The janitors testified that their time is spent almost exclusively in ordinary maintenance duties.

While there was no agreement as to the eligibility of those claimed by the Guild to be true supervisors, the issue was not presented to the Board, and the Guild will challenge their ballots in the election. They include the night editor, circulation manager, classified and local display managers and head janitor.

The Guild was represented by ANG general counsel Irving Leuchter, assisted by International Representative Joe Garland and local chairman George H. Spargo of editorial.

Company representatives were William B. Parry of the New England Daily Newspaper Association, Rutland attorney John D. Carbine, editor and publisher Robert W. Mitchell, business manager L. B. Noble and assistant business manager Gene Noble.

The hearing followed by two days a Guild "brunch" at the Hotel Bardwell attended by both members and non-members. Speakers included ANG director of organization J. William Blatz, New England District Council president Charles E. Dawson of Portland, Me., Albany president Paul Vadnais, local Pressman's union secretary Sid Jasmin and Garland.

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'Way Back To 1940, Is Hearst Program

"A return to 1940." That was Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak's reaction to Hearst general management's proposal in answer to Guild demands for improved job security and severance pay in a renewal of the Hearst National Memorandum.

The Hearst proposal would slash away years of contract protection for the jobs of more than 2,300 employes in eight units.

It also would prevent the Guild from ever again winning the major grievances that have successfully been arbitrated since the current Memorandum took effect. And it would legitimize for the future various local management proposals (and refusals to bargain) which are now forbidden by the Memorandum.

"This proposal takes us so far back into our bargaining history," Novak commented, "that it looks as if the Hearst management would just as soon have no national agreement. Perhaps the years of industrial peace have blinded management to the intense struggle that brought the birth of the Memorandum as a Peace Formula in 1940.

"We would prefer to have peace continue, but if management wants to precipitate war, we will be prepared."

Negotiations on local conditions now are in progress in Boston, Albany and Los Angeles, and in each city the local has reserved the right to reopen the full contract in case Memorandum negotiations do not bring renewal. Reopenings are due within a few months at San Antonio and Seattle. Detroit already has concluded negotiations and Milwaukee and Pittsburgh have only interim wage reopeners.

The Guild had proposed to continue a 15-year march of progress with improved Guild shop, job security and severance pay provisions.

The management proposal would:

- Threaten Guild security, guaranteed since 1940, by allowing members 30 days to resign.
- Remove advance notice, required since 1940, for nearly all dismissals.
- Add new qualifications on payment of severance pay to those which have existed 15 years.
- Withdraw leave of absence privileges that have existed since 1943.
- Reduce 12-year old protection for employes entering military service.
- Remove two-year-old provisions to speed settlement of grievance by arbitration.
- Eliminate payment of severance pay which has been provided since 1947 for long service, advanced age or disability.
- Throw the duration of local contracts back to local option after 15 years of mandatory two-year contracts with interim wage-hour reopenings.

There was a price tag on the alternate benefit severance pay provision: Management offered to bargain on the subject if the Guild would bar its locals from negotiating on pensions. In such a case, management offered to continue to pay severance pay to employes who reach 65 or are disabled, but it wants to have the right to force old or ill employes out with the payment of severance.

The Guild also has dropped specific mention of alternate benefits from its proposal, in favor of payment of severance pay on termination of employment for any reason.

Ad Age Finds Hearst Empire Prosperous—Net $10 Million

The Hearst empire of communications, biggest of its kind, is doing all right financially.

So says Advertising Age, which plays as a lead feature in its April 4 issue an "inside story" charting the corporate ramifications of the Hearst enterprises, listing figures—without quoted sources, but described as accurate—on the financial worth of most of the bigger subdivisions, and in general refuting those who opined that after the death of the founder in 1951 the financial status of the Hearst dynasty would suffer reverses.

The Hearst outfit is "making money, adding properties," says the three-col headline; while the subhead adds that the newspaper-magazine-radio-TV combination does an annual business of $350 million, with a net profit in excess of $10 million.

The late William Randolph Hearst was an eccentric whose chief delight was acquisition and expansion; money-making was an accidental sideline with him, says the story. By contrast the five-man team now directing Hearst financial policy, all of them executives trained in the organization itself, is applying strict business principles to the operation, streamlining without restricting growth and giving indication of sound and expanding corporate operation.

The magazine devotes two-thirds of a page to a charted explanation of the complex relationships of the various entities making up the corporate structure, and the story itself points up the baffling inter-relation of the units.

Top control is vested in The Hearst Corporation. It directly operates dailies in Albany, Boston and Milwaukee, and in New York, the Mirror. Also directly tied in to the parent corporation are radio and TV stations in Baltimore and Milwaukee, as well as King Features Syndicate, with INS-INP, and servicing units for features; and nine magazines, with related services.

Principal newspaper subsidiary of the parent corporation is Hearst Consolidated Publications, Inc., which operates the New York Journal-American, and dailies in Baltimore and San Antonio. And a subsidiary of the Consolidated is Hearst Publishing Co., Inc., which puts out the American Weekly, Puck, and dailies in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pittsburgh and Seattle.

Tied and cross-tied to these units are others which handle British publishing interests, paper supply mills, realty, purchasing—even one corporation which serves as a clearing house for the others.

The Hearst Corporation has no funded debt, has ample cash reserves, and a "net quick position" of over four-to-one, says the Advertising Age story.

Typical of the post-1951 attitude of its directors is the disposition made of what had seemed a white elephant among the assets of the elder Hearst's estate, still in process of appraisal for probate.

In northern California Hearst had built a fabulous castle—it burned completely in 1930—together with a complete Bavarian village, set in a 70,000 acre forest of cedar and Ponderosa pine. Hearst used it solely as a retreat, a mammoth guest resort and a museum. The estate executors were asked whether the property, known as Wyntoon, was for sale.

Sniffing an unusual buyer interest in the place, the canny executors had the timber appraised. Cut immediately, the pine and cedar would have cashed in at some $25 to $30 million. But forested scientifically, Wyntoon could yield $2 million in perpetuity. So seedlings will be set where mature trees are taken out, and a potential white elephant will become a handsomely-yielding investment.

The men now running Hearst, says the story, are Richard E. Berlin, president of the Hearst Corporation; Martin F. Huberth, chairman of the board; William R. Hearst, Jr., president of Hearst Consolidated; Harold G. Kern, general manager of Hearst newspapers; and J. D. Gortatowsky, Consolidated's board chairman.

Also high on the totem pole are Richard E. Deems, executive vice president for Hearst magazines, and Fred Lewis, general manager for the magazines.

Stock in the Hearst Corporation is privately held, with nine stockholders listed, who serve as trustees for two foundations set up during Hearst's lifetime, the Hearst Foundation, Inc., and the William Randolph Hearst Foundation. Both are distributors of funds to charitable, civic and educational institutions.

Of the $350 millions received during a year, newspapers account for some $250 millions and magazines $50 millions, say the authors.

And the story attaches significance to the fact that since 1950, when Hearst suspended the Oakland Post-Enquirer, the organization has neither merged, sold nor suspended a daily.

Prospects for good business in 1955 are indicated.

Hearst Report Shows Recovery

Reversal of a downward trend noted a year ago is announced by Hearst Consolidated Publications, the only Hearst unit which publishes an annual report.

In a statement made last week its officers showed a net income totalling $384,000 for the first quarter of 1955, compared with a net loss of $772,000 for the same period a year ago. Upturn was first recorded in the last quarter of 1954, after the first nine months of the year registered losses.

Clergyman Wins Honors At Detroit Guild P-1

Detroit, Mich.—The community award of the Detroit Newspaper Guild goes to Rev. Father Clement H. Kern, pastor of "Old Corktown's" Most Holy Trinity Church, a parish which deals closely with nationality groups which have settled there, many of them in the migrant labor force.

The honors were bestowed at a Page One award luncheon at the Statler, a few days before the Guild's annual Page One Ball. Citations were also announced for 39 newsmen and women for excellence in their work.

Plaques were presented at the luncheon, four to the Free Press and four to the Times, for news and picture coverage of local stories. Judges were members of the Cleveland Guild.

Individual honors went to Ray Courage, Joe Dowdall, Jack Schermerhorn, Bill Chapman, Collins George, Jim Tafoya and Ray Glenks, of the Free Press; Ed Breslin, Jack Crellin, Don Gillard, Ray Girardin, Will Hardy, Tom Joyce, Al Leaderman, Frank Morris, Robert Murphy, Margaret Russell and Elmer Williams, of the Times.

. . . Convention Call

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to the Guild constitution is not required.

It suggests instead that, since the Guild does not control the initial employment of newspaper personnel, contracts with publishes provide that the Guild need not accept proven communists into its membership; and that the Guild have no contractual relations with publishers, owners or employers proven to be communists, fascists or otherwise subversive.

It would safeguard the definition of proven communist by establishing criteria such as admission of party membership or traitorous acts; physical evidence of membership, like an unchallenged membership card of roll, and conviction in a court.

The Elizabeth local membership meeting adopted resolutions calling for convention adoption of a strong reaffirmation of the Guild's opposition to communism and other subversive movements, while leaving the present wording of the eligibility clause unchanged.

Guild Rights, Duties P-O-I Discussion Topic

Lima, Ohio—"Full citizenship in the economic community" is both available and desirable for every Guild member, delegates from fourteen Guild locals concluded at the P-O-I District Council meeting here.

Three sessions were held last weekend at the Barr Hotel on the general theme "What is Guild Membership?" Robert Van Wagoner, Buffalo, council president, was in charge of the program.

Delegates discussed what a new member could expect from the Guild at the local, district and international levels. There followed a discussion of what the Guild may expect from the individual member.

The benefits of "full economic citizenship" were listed as security, collective strength, and dignity; and the individual should be willing to accept membership responsibility by taking part in his local's activities, leading to pride in membership achievement.

The Council adopted a report summarizing the discussions, presented by George Hebb, Cleveland, and Frank J. Klein, Lima.

In part, it read:

"With citizenship the individual has many privileges, rights and benefits which he could not enjoy if his fellow employes were not organized . . . or had a union contract . . . His membership strengthens the union. His union becomes more effective in serving him.

"The area of operation, whether local, council or international, changes the emphasis of the contribution made by the specific body toward the welfare of the member; but continually and and cumulatively increases.

"From councils come educational and leadership training opportunities and exchange of experience and mutual assistance. The international carries the added responsibilities of implementing and coordinating policy within the economic framework of our national economy with the entire labor movement. From the international, the member may expect guidance and assistance, both financial and moral—stimulation for his local.

"His responsibilities of economic citizenship closely parallel those in a political democracy. The member must pay for the support of his institution, participate in the governing bodies, look to, and assist in the enforcement of majority decisions, defend the rights that are his through the organization.

"The extent to which each member fulfills his responsibilities is the measure of his union strength. The extent to which each organization inspires such fulfillment is the measure of its effective leadership."

The group also moved to stress the information and education program on all levels as the greatest inducement to increased and better membership.

J. William Blatz, ANG director of organization, attended the sessions.

Hutchins: Press Must Offer Enlightenment, Not Entertainment

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It is harder to read, even after Dr. Flesch has finished with the printed page, than it is to look and listen. I do not believe that newspapers can do what comic books, picture magazines, motion pictures, and television can do in glorious technicolor. Since they can do this kind of thing better, why should you do it at all?

You may say it is the only way to survive. John Cowles suggests it may be a way to die. In his Sigma Delta Chi speech he said newspapers have realized that complete and fair coverage builds circulation. With few exceptions, he said, those newspapers which "have had the heaviest circulation losses are not papers that regard full and fair news presentation as their primary function and reason for existence." If so good a businessman as Mr. Cowles can think there is any chance that sensationalism and entertainment are not good for business, a layman may perhaps be forgiven for being impressed.

Emboldened by his example, I will say that newspapers should do as well as they can the things that they can do best, and they should leave to others the responsibility of entertaining the public. If you are worried about who is going to discharge that responsibility, read the March 21 issue of Newsweek, which says that television is abandoning "Johns Hopkins Science Review," "Princeton, '55," and "The Search." These programs have won many honors and audiences that look large to people who do not work in advertising agencies.

A couple of years ago Henry Luce was discussing the monopoly newspaper. He said the argument against it was that it deprived the community of differing presentations of news and opinions. He went on, "Like so many high-brow discussions about newspapers [I notice that journalists invariably use the word "high-brow" when referring to criticisms of the press, even when, as in this case, the truth of the criticism is self-evident to the merest moron] this one is fine, except that it ignores the actual nature of a newspaper. Does any one feel strongly that a city ought to have several newspapers in order to offer the community a greater variety of comic strips, breakfast menus, and cheesecake?" If this is the actual nature of newspaper, the fewer papers the better. Certainly the special constitutional protection thrown about them seems no more warranted than such protection would be for acrobats, chefs, beauty parlor operators, and astrologers.

What the framers of the First Amendment had in mind was debate, a great continuing debate, with the people hearing all sides and getting all the facts. If government could be kept from interfering with this debate, nothing could interfere with it; for a man who differed with the existing papers could start one in the field of ideas. Believing "there is nothing you want to do that you can't do, provided you do not complicate your purposes with too many accompanying conditions," I think that these cities could have competing newspapers.

What are the conditions under which such a newspaper could be started? First, there must be desire on the part of the citizens of a city for a new paper. Second, there must be desire on the part of a man or a group of men with a common purpose to support such an enterprise. Third, there must be sufficient money to begin and to keep a newspaper alive until it can pay its own way. No exact sums can be stated or even estimated because conditions naturally will not be similar throughout every city in the country.

In most all enterprises the two important ingredients are money and men. Of the two, men are naturally the most important. Large sums of money do not guarantee the success of any enterprise. Dedicated men with even small amounts of money generally, if not always, guarantee success.

Let us assume then that there is the desire for a new newspaper and that both men and money are available. The next problem is whether to begin competition at the same level as the existing newspaper. Most of those who have discussed this problem in the past conclude that it is necessary to begin competition at least on a par with the existing enterprise in a city. Again, most having this point of view agree that ultimately one or the other of the enterprises will win, and then we return again to a monopoly situation.

* * *

I THINK CONSIDERATION should be given to the idea that it is not necessary to start a newspaper of a size equal to that of your competitor; that it is humanly possible to build from a small beginning. This is particularly true where there is a difference in the product, a difference readily discernible to the readers. Obviously to put out the same type of newspaper as the competition would be pointless and could lead to failure.

In starting a new newspaper enterprise considerable thought should be given to less dependence on advertising and more on income from circulation. In my opinion, it would be entirely possible to compete even though the new newspaper sells for ten cents and the entrenched competing newspaper for five cents. Except in special types of newspapers, the per copy price is not the compelling reason for people to purchase.

Better balance between the income from circulation and that from advertising would decrease the damage that could be done to a new enterprise by the withdrawal of even one advertiser. A newspaper dedicated to public service will in turn receive from that public concrete support. It may take a little while for advertisers to come around, but come around they will in due time.

Another and most important aid in getting new newspapers under way would be a vigorous research in improved mechanical processing. New and cheaper methods of producing the printed word need to be found, always, of course, with proper safeguards against untoward social dislocation. The field of new newspapers could be very greatly assisted, and could greatly assist in turn in promoting acceleration of research in this field. There have been some small gains in the past few years in advancing newspaper mechanical production to a modern level. However, the surface has just been scratched.

What we need is one project wrapping up a comprehensive study of the costs involved in producing newspapers of varying sizes. This practical problem must be attacked, and soon, if people with ideas and the desire to make those ideas known are to have freedom to express themselves.

I will sound the same political note as other soliloquies in other towns, rendered by other rich men. This is the basis of the phrase, "a one-party press."

Of course we have a one-party press in this country, and we shall have one as long as the press is big business, and as long as people with money continue to feel safer on the Republican side. For sheer psalm-singing sanctimoniousness no statement in recent years has surpassed that of Charles P. McCahill, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, when he was asked to comment on Adlai Stevenson's polite remarks on a one-party press. Mr. McCahill said, and I quote him: "It is the responsibility of the individual editor and publisher to decide what is printed in a particular newspaper. Fortunately, there is no power in this country to standardize the editorial views of any editor or publisher." Here in two sentences Mr. McCahill managed (1) to say what everybody knew already; (2) to be completely irrelevant; and (3) to prove Mr. Stevenson's point for him by making the partisan insinuation that Mr. Stevenson wanted the power to standardize editorial opinion. How you get along with these publishers is more than I can understand.

Lord Beaverbrook, when he was asked by the Royal Commission on the Press what his purpose in life was, replied under oath: "I run the paper purely for the purpose of making propaganda, and with no other motive." (There is apparently less cant among publishers in England than we are accustomed to here.) Lord Beaverbrook's propaganda collides wherever it goes with the counter-propaganda of numerous local and national voices. The popular press in Britain is the most sensational in the world, but an Englishman who doesn't want a sensational newspaper does not have to take the Mirror. Because of the geography of England he can get anywhere, inexpensively, and usually with his breakfast, a presentation of the news as fair as an editor can make it and as full as the restrictions on newsprint will allow, together with serious commentary upon it.

In the absence of some new technological revolution the number of papers per community in this country seems unlikely to increase. Nothing suggests that costs will fall. Television and suburbanization are driving ahead as fast as they can go. As monopoly continues to spread, the ancient check of competition can of course no longer be relied on.

This should lead to the burial of that consoling reference to Jefferson's Second Inaugural; an ever-present refuge in time of criticism, which made its last formal appearance here in the report of the committee reporting on the Report of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press. Jefferson said, in effect, that the people would make their views of a newspaper felt by refusing to read, believe, or buy it. The theory that the daily test of the market-place is an expression of public criticism, and all that is needed, is reduced to absurdity when the public has no option, when it has to buy the newspaper that is offered or go without.

If we cannot look to competition to keep publishers from getting out of hand, what can we do to save their freedom from the consequences of their irresponsibility? My youthful suggestion

(Continued on Page 5)

The State of The Union . . .

Is Press Competition Impossible, In View Of Monopoly Trends?



By RALPH B. NOVAK
Executive Vice President

THE NEWSPAPER BUSINESS has two seasons insofar as its freedoms and functions are concerned. The first is in the spring, generally when the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the American Newspaper Publishers Association meet; the other is the time immediately following election campaigns, particularly national election campaigns.

The spring season is usually opened when someone in public life reminds publishers and editors that the responsibility of the press should equal freedom of the press. Some of these reminders have been particularly brilliant. All of them, so far as can be discovered, have been ignored in practice. Editors and publishers rush into print, defending freedom of the press, citing example upon example of coverage of both sides of a question. And almost every year we see a continuance of the trend toward ownership monopoly in the industry through mergers and sales, and toward editorial monotony of ideas.

After an election, research departments of great universities and the research departments of the political parties, particularly the party which lost, come out with large involved studies showing that between 80 and 90 percent of the press in the United States supported one party or one candidate. You remember this was true particularly during the Roosevelt administration, and yet Roosevelt continued to win elections. Harry Truman, too, had perhaps more of the press opposed to him, and he also was successfully stubborn about being elected.

* * *

THESE RESULTS DID NOTHING TO teach publishers and their editors that perhaps they were not in tune with the people in the country and should examine their operations more objectively. Why do they not change? Simply because there is nothing or no one to compel them to change. In these United States today there is such a complete monopoly in the newspaper industry that an editor or publisher do not fear conflicting ideas, because there are virtually no such ideas.

Almost everyone agrees that monopoly of ideas, particularly in the field of public affairs, is bad. Almost everyone agrees that something should be done. Almost everyone agrees that somebody else should do it.

We have had studies, surveys, commissions and reports on the freedom of the press. All agree that the press should remain free. All agree that gradually its freedom is disappearing because of the lack of the clash of ideas. All agree that this is bad for the United States.

We have had few, if any, definitive studies on the practical aspects of producing a newspaper. If there is a study on the estimated cost of starting a newspaper with a beginning circulation of 10,000, we in the ANG have not seen it. If there is a study on the estimated cost of starting a newspaper at any circulation level, we have not seen it. When people discuss the desirability or perhaps even the need of starting another newspaper, the estimates of the costs required to start it and keep it alive until it begins to pay its own way, vary as much as $9,000,000 for the same operation.

Actually, no one really knows. Much depends upon the conditions under which an enterprise is started. If we are talking about starting a newspaper large enough to compete with the existing newspaper or newspapers in a large metropolitan area, then obviously we are talking about large sums of money, exactly how much no one knows. Again if we are talking about starting an enterprise, in a large metropolitan area, on a modest basis without any thought of competition in physical fashion with the existing newspaper or newspapers, but rather a competition of ideas, no one can tell you the cost of starting such an enterprise either.

* * *

WITHOUT DOUBT there are many cities in the United States which need and desire competing ideas in the daily press. This is true even where nominally such competition exists, but where you will find real competition only in the field of business, not

Says Newspapers Fail To Meet Public Responsibilities

(Continued from Page 4)

of some endowed newspapers was designed to execute some publishers pour encourager les autres. The object was to set some standards that publishers of unendowed newspapers might be held to. I take this proposal less seriously than I did twenty-five years ago. The Christian Science Monitor undoubtedly has a good influence on the press of this country, but the conditions under which it operates, with its foundations in heaven rather than on earth, are so different from the ordinary that any publisher has an adequate excuse for not following the Monitor's example. So I fear it would be with an endowed newspaper.

A trust such as that which controls the future of the Washington Post regulates the selection of stockholders, but gives the editor no explicit protection. The British trusts usually have the same object, that of preventing the ownership from falling into unsuitable hands. Although the British trusts reflect an attitude that an editor would find reassuring, no trust covering a daily newspaper leaves him formally any better off than he would be if there were no trust. The most that the Royal Commission was willing to say was, "A trust does not necessarily convert a newspaper from a commercial to a non-commercial concern or give it quality which it did not possess . . . A trust can be, however, a valuable means of preserving quality where quality already exists. We accordingly welcome the action of public-spirited proprietors who have taken such steps as lie in their power to safeguard the character and independence of their papers; and we hope that the number of papers so protected will grow."

A publisher's willingness to establish a trust shows that he could be trusted without it; still it is a way of extending the benevolence of the benevolent despot beyond the limits of his own life. When you have a newspaper worth protecting, a trust will help you protect it; but a trust does not guarantee you a newspaper worth protecting.

The purpose of a newspaper, and the justification for the privileges of the press, is the enlightenment of the people about their current affairs. No other medium of communication can compete with the newspaper in the performance of this task. A newspaper that is doing this job well is a good newspaper, no matter how deficient it may be in astrology, menus, comics, cheesecake, crime, and Republican propaganda. A newspaper that is doing this job deserves protection against government, and it will certainly need it.

A newspaper that is doing this job will have to bring before its readers points of view with which it disagrees and facts that it deplores. Otherwise in monopoly towns the people cannot expect to be enlightened; for television and radio are unlikely to be in the same class with a well-run newspaper in telling what is happening and what it means. Television and radio are, moreover, controlled by a governmental agency, and one that does not inspire much confidence today.

A good many newspapers take seriously their responsibility to enlighten the people about current affairs. It is generally agreed that the best American papers are as good as any in the world and that the average is high. Our question is how to maintain the good newspapers in the faith and how to convert the others.

I think you should reconsider your opposition to the principal recommendation of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press. That was that a new agency be established to appraise and report annually upon the performance of the press. The Commission said, "It seems to us clear that some agency which reflects the ambitions of the American people for its press should exist for the purpose of comparing the accomplishments of the press with the aspirations which the people have for it. Such an agency would also educate the people as to the aspirations which they ought to have for the press." The Commission suggested that this agency be independent of government and of the press; that it be created by gifts; and that it be given a ten-year trial, at the end of which an audit of its achievement could determine anew the institutional form best adapted to its purposes. The fact that the British commission independently reached an identical recommendation seems to me highly significant.

Such an agency should contain representatives of the press; it should also contain laymen. My guess is that the weakness of the Press Council in Sweden results from the fact that it is composed entirely of representatives of the newspapers. I believe that the British Council will go the same way because the press rejected the recommendation of the Royal Commission that the Council should have lay members and a lay chairman. If its first report is suggestive of its future, this group is likely to manifest its fearless and high-principled character by speaking sternly to newspapers on trivial subjects.

The Nieman Reports, the Press Institute statements, A. J. Liebling's "Wayward Press," Bob Lasch in The Progressive, occasional studies by schools of journalism, these are all we have in this country. They are too casual and limited, and, since most of them are directed at the press, they do not perform one function that the Commission on the Freedom of the Press regarded as essential: they do not "educate the people as to the aspirations which they ought to have for the press."

Your own efforts to act as a critical agency have come to nothing. You appointed a committee in 1949 "to examine the desirability of sponsoring an appraisal of the self-improvement possibilities of American newspapers." The Committee reported in 1950 as follows: "Our Committee recognizes and reiterates that the American Society of Newspaper Editors is, itself, and must be, a continuing committee of the whole on self-examination and self-improvement. But, in addition, we urge the Society to call upon its Board of Directors to take whatever action may be necessary from time to time to clarify understanding of American newspapers by the public, and to keep editors alert to their responsibilities in fulfilling the public's right to an adequate, independent newspaper press."

That sounds as though it was written by a public relations man. In these sonorous sentences we hear the cadence of the psalms.

The great issues of our time are peace and freedom. A new critical agency might appraise the performance of the newspapers in correcting, or contributing to, our vast confusion on these subjects. We know that the peoples of the earth are now equipped to turn one another into radioactive cinders. Can you say that you have given Americans the material they need to reach a conclusion on the course they should follow, on the choice between co-existence and no existence, the choice between seeking peace through purchase and intimidation and seeking it through total, enforceable disarmament, the choice between competing nationalisms and world law?

And what of freedom in the garrison state? Since most of you take the official line, that the only important fact of life is our imminent danger from the international consipracy, most of you have watched the erosion of freedom without a twinge. When the official line permitted, you have sallied forth, as when you gallantly led the troops from the rear in a belated attack on Senator McCarthy. You have filled the air with warnings of the sinister figures on the Left, but have printed almost nothing about the fat cats on the Right. You have allowed things to get to such a pass that some government departments now have guidance clinics in which the employee is taught how not to look like a security risk. Look at the Passport Division, interfering with the travel of Americans on their lawful occasions; at the Attorney-General's list, ruining the lives of thousands on the basis of hearsay; at the Post Office Department, saving us from Pravda and Aristophanes; at the State Department, adding the name of Corsi to those of Davies and Service and countless others. See the blacklist spreading, in industry, merging with proposals that American Communists should be starved to death. Listen to the wire-tapping, to the cry of Fifth Amendment Communist, to the kept witnesses roaming the land. The most distressing part of it is not that these things happen, but that the free press of this country appears to regard them as matters of routine.

You are educators, whether you like it or not. You make the views that people have of public affairs. No competition can shake you from that position. You will lose it only if you neglect or abandon it. As the number of papers per community declines, the responsibility of each one that remains increases. This is a responsibility that is discharged by being a newspaper, by giving the news. The editorial function is to make sure that it is given in such a way that it can be understood. The people must see the alternatives before them, otherwise they cannot be enlightened.

Enlightenment means telling the people where they are in time and space. It means engaging in systematic criticism. The criticism of current affairs has to be made in the light of some standard. This must be something more than a set of partisan slogans. The standard by which the American press must judge current events is derived from an understanding of and sympathy with the deepest aspirations of the American people, those for peace and freedom. A press that serves its country in this way need have no concern about the future.

Canadian Merger Agreed

Ottawa, Ont.—Terms for merging Canadian labor groups into a one-million-member unified labor movement have been hammered out by Canadian union leaders. The agreement, paralleling that between the AFL and CIO in the United States, will be up for ratification by the conventions of the two groups later this year. A joint convention of the new union will be held early in 1956.

Big Money Moanin' Low

Radio commentator and columnist Gerald W. Johnson, of Baltimore, devoted his space in the New Republic for May 2 to a plea to Dr. Hutchins to place the blame for editorial pessimism where it belongs—in the swollen coffers of wealthy newspaper owners. He wrote, in part:

IT SEEMS TO ME that Mr. Hutchins somewhat unfairly ignored the quandary of the editors. It is this: How can the editor of a big-city newspaper be at once politically liberal and financially honest?

Consider his position. He is practically never the owner of the property he controls, but he is its custodian. The paper usually represents an investment of many millions of other people's money, and a conscientious agent is not going to take chances with other people's money, even in circumstances under which he might gamble with his own.

* * *

To put an honest man in charge of $10 million or $20 million worth of highly perishable property belonging to other people and then expect him to lash out boldly in defense of what is right, but unpopular, is to subject human nature to an unbearable strain.

* * *

THIS GOES FAR to explain the namby-pamby quality of much newspaper editorial writing. It is not expressing and is not intended to express the opinion of a Horace Greeley or a Henry Watterson; it is expressing the opinion of $15 million; and $15 million have only one opinion, which is that this is an extremely dangerous world in which caution is the basic virtue to which all others are ancillary.

It is a logically defensive position, but the most brilliant editorial writer can't make it interesting; so editorials are ignored.

* * *

THE HOLLOW SEPULCHRAL TONE of editorial comment on public affairs for a quarter of a century has been noted with bewilderment by every alien observer of American events. For the past 15 years especially, the country has obviously been flourishing beyond all precedent, flourishing prodigiously, yet "Ichabod, Ichabod, the glory hath departed!" has been the constant refrain of a majority of the press throughout those years.

Observers would be less amazed did they realize that the voice of the press, especially the big-city press, is the voice, not of trained, independent thinkers, but of big money. It is doleful because doom perpetually hangs over big money, seeing that riches take unto themselves wings; and it has been ineffective for 20 years because its monotony shows its divorce from reality.

But Mr. Hutchins is wrong in implying that tarrying by the Wailing Wall is the deliberate choice of the editors, many of whom are really blithe fellows. It is their position as hirelings of great corporations, not their personal conviction that all is lost, that restricts their habitual utterance to moanin' low.

Brooklyn Eagle Auction Under Way As N. Y. Guild Seeks Severance

Physical assets of the Brooklyn Eagle, closed since January 28 when Guildsmen struck for wage increases granted previously to all non-Guild Eagle employes, were being auctioned off piecemeal this week as this issue of the Guild Reporter reached its press deadline.

First day of the auction failed to produce acceptable bids for the name, good will, morgue-library and circulation lists of the paper. The Publisher, Frank D. Schroth, said he would not reopen, his announcement coming after 47 days of the strike, and failure of the mediation officers to reach agreement in terms of realistic collective bargaining.

The parcelling of the assets was evidence that none of the offers received prior to this week's sale, for the Eagle plant as a going concern, had been acceptable.

O. Rundle Gilbert, auctioneer, voiced the gloomy comment that "This is hurting the people of Brooklyn. It is ridiculous and unnecessary."

Schroth did not attend the sale, held at the still-picketed Johnson street plant; but was represented by his two sons, who had held executive positions on the closed daily.

Most of the active bidding was by dealers in secondhand machinery, the largest first day's sale knocking down a block of 39 linotype machines for an average price of $1,400, about one tenth of their original value.

Bidders were required to post checks for 25 percent of their bid price, and agreed to remove their purchases from the plant within a week.

No bids were received the first day for two Hoe presses, originally bought for $500,000 each; nor for the equipment included in the business office "package."

Meantime the New York Newspaper Guild, acting for members of its Eagle unit, had gone to court to compel Schroth to arbitrate the issues involved in contractually-guaranteed terminal pay claims. In the State Supreme Court, the Guild's counsel, H. Howard Ostrow, argued that the contract which expired last November 29 contained guarantees of terminal benefits which still carry effective weight even though the Guild engaged in "an economic and lawful strike."

Management counsel held that the contract terms had been nullified by the strike, and that the agreement no longer exists. The court reserved decision.

Last month's annual meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association heard a flat statement, in the report of the association's standing committee (on labor relations) that "the Guild killed the Brooklyn Eagle."

And the New York Guild is readying for publication a documentation of its own version of the strike and its cause. It places responsibility on the publisher, as sole judge as to whether he would continue his publishing venture.

It Seems to Us...

He Writes In Explanation Of Wire Service Candidacy

Portland, Me.

Editor: You may have wondered why Bill Langzettel of the little Portland, Me., bureau is running for AP National Committee against Brothers Jim Calogero of Boston and Ralph Bernstein of Philadelphia.

Here's the story — right from the horse's mouth.

As you may recall, Portland staffers made quite a beef about the way geographical differentials were handled in the new contract. The Portland letter stirred up quite a row and was largely responsible, we fondly believe, for the unusually large "No" vote on contract ratification.

Subsequently the eastern wire service meeting in Philadelphia recommended that the National Committee include at least one member from the lowest class of bureau — adding a member if necessary. Such action would require a vote of the ANG convention. Pending such action, we were told, small bureaus desiring representation should move through normal channels, i.e., nominate and campaign for a small-bureau man this year.

Thus, with considerable encouragement from both large and small bureau men at Philadelphia, I decided to take the plunge.

My chief reason for wanting to be on the committee is to do what I can to eliminate G-D. I am neither so brash nor so naive as to think I can solve this problem alone. Nor have I any illusions that it can be done overnight.

But so-red it can and must be. And I'd like to try to help.

As a 20-year man in the AP and a Guildsman who has been a unit and local officer and now is president of the eastern wire service council, I think I have the requisite experience and judgment to act in the best interests of all AP Guildsmen—in big as well as small bureaus.

I'm not going to rehash here the arguments on G-D, except to say that I'm still very much opposed to "selective upgrading." If elected to the National Committee, I'll do my best to see that something is done next time for all the bureaus at the bottom of the AP totem pole.

BILL LANGZETTEL
Portland, Me., Guild

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Inelegant Brevity

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Editor: In re the letters and proposals from the Canadian Wire Services Guild urging the abandonment of the proposed "commie" ban, printed in the April 22 Guild Reporter:—

The beauty of the four-syllable rhetoric contained in these editorial masterpieces is without doubt the epitome of sheer journalistic grace and fluency.

Unfortunately I'm not a student of political science; neither was I blessed with the wonderful gift of multiloquous writing. My writing qualifications are limited to classified advertising, where of necessity we condense reams of equally beautiful copy into one-syllable words occupying only two lines of space.

Past experience holds me good in this case; because one word centered on one line should be sufficient answer to such diatribe.

The word I have reference to was used most effectively during another extremely crucial battle, such as this one may become.

May I take the liberty of referring you to the Battle of Bastogne, and with the utmost fervor repeat Anthony McAuliffe's very eloquent

NUTS!!
PAT STAFFORD
LOS ANGELES GUILD

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Confesses Puzzlement On Commie Ban Issue

NEW YORK CITY

Editor: Here is one usually opinionated guy who freely concedes he is confused on the issue of barring commies from the Guild. Lord knows, the s. o. b.'s are entitled to no personal consideration. They are for the most part traitors to the nation, foul everything they touch, and did their best to wreck the Guild by turning it into a Party arm.

Yet the fact remains it is repugnant to every concept of basic Americanism to penalize a man in any manner for his views. For actions, Yes. For ideas, No.

And, as Bill Shakespeare once said, "There's the rub." Is joining the CP an "act" within that definition, or merely an expression of an idea? It is so easy for people to yell "Yes" and "No," to proclaim everything Black or White. Me, I'm not so sure.

There are, of course, other problems, practical ones, such as the Taft-Hartley Act and what happens where we have a complete Guild Shop. Those I'll leave to the leadership, paid and unpaid. It is the moral principles involved that have me in a dither.

BERT GUMPERT
New York Post Unit

P.S. Willard Shelton's "Washington Roundup" piece on Truman and Eisenhower (GR., April 22) belongs in the hands of every person in the U. S.

●

Novak's Service Proposal Called Big Dollar's Worth

Greensboro, N. C.

Editor: From the viewpoint of the small and medium-sized locals, it seems to me that the bargaining service plan outlined by Brother Novak in the April 8 GR is the best thing to come to light in several years.

Particularly the presence of bargaining IR's would do much to relieve the feeling in a lot of locals that they are prodded by the bargaining department, but never helped. A lot of local negotiators (I among them) have had the feeling during negotiations that the contracts committee is hovering in the offing, completely out of touch with the local situation but ready to raise a howl when the contract is written.

No amount of telephone talk with New York can provide the contact that is needed to make local negotiators feel that they are working with the contracts committee, rather than trying to outguess it.

At regional gatherings we constantly hear negotiators of various locals, after comparing notes, moaning because they weren't in touch during contract talks. A man who was in constant touch with all the locals of a region, aware of their contracts and local situations, and listening to all the managements, would have, I think, tremendous advantages in bargaining and would be able to dispel the recurring local fear that "we are unique and nobody up yonder understands us."

The contract IS the local. If there's any time the local needs all the strength and knowledge it can raise, it's when that contract is being written.

Further, in one-unit locals there is always the problem that the negotiator is dealing with his own boss—which sometimes leads to uneasy nights wondering: "Should I have said that?" An outside negotiator can let his conscience be his guide.

As for details of the proposal, I only wonder if seven men can handle the job. Some of those IR's might find themselves spread pretty thin, particularly when a number of locals were negotiating at the same time. As I remember, almost all of the locals of the Southern District, for instance, negotiate between September and May. Of course, a certain flexibility in territories might take care of this.

The bargaining IR's would provide trained, experienced negotiators and an integrated bargaining program. That seems like a big dollar's worth.

JACKSON BURGESS
Greensboro 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.

LA News Plant Brings $382,500, Assets Total Is Now $617,168

Los Angeles, Calif.—Liquidation of the bankrupt Daily News, closed last December when Publisher Clinton D. McKinnon sold part of the firm's assets and this city's only liberal daily into extinction, brought $382,500 into escrow under Referee David B. Head, named by the court to conserve the tangled remains of the McKinnon year of publication. The physical assets of the company went in a single package to a firm of professional liquidators, when the auction was held April 27.

Prominent among Daily News creditors are the former Guild-organized employes, representatives of whom filed the necessary bankruptcy petition.

Together with accounts receivable, there now is a total of $617,168 available to meet the claims of more than $1,000,000.

George T. Goggin, receiver, said that first claims will be honored for the Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Co., holders of a $350,000 mortgage; taxes amounting to $26,000, and about $150,000 in priority labor claims.

One matter still pending is whether the receiver can recover the $125,000 represented in a personal contract which McKinnon received from the Chandler interests, buyers of the name and circulation lists of the News, a few days after the paper suspended.

Chandler's Times-Mirror Co. paid $275,000 for the name and lists.

It has also to be determined by the courts whether $39,000 in accounts receivable can be recovered from Robert L. Smith, to whom McKinnon assigned them after deciding to suspend. Smith was publisher of the News when McKinnon bought into the business, a year before he folded.

Delegates Elected

Portland, Ore.

Portland, Ore. —The Portland Guild, local has elected three delegates to the ANG convention in Albany. They are Buford Sommers, local president and copyreader at the Oregonian; Stan Weber, City Hall reporter for the Journal, and Matt Kramer, AP bureau. As alternates the local selected J. Lynn Wykoff, Stan Nast and Gordon Macnab.

Manchester

Manchester, N. H.—Richard A. Shepard has been elected by the Manchester Guild to be its Albany delegate. After discussion of the proposed constitutional amendment which would bar communists from Guild membership, and debate on the Toronto resolution opposing such a ban, the local instructed its delegate to vote for the amendment.

Lima

Lima, Ohio—Chester F. Swegan, police reporter for the Lima News, and Stuart Borden, dispatch department have been chosen as local delegates to the Albany convention. Swegan was a delegate to the 1954 convention, but Albany will be Borden's first. He was chosen under a plan which would send one veteran delegate and a newcomer. Alternates are Richard Moffat, telegraph editor and former convention delegate; and Eugene F. Perine, desk man.

Albany

Albany, N. Y.—The host local for the Guild's 22nd annual constitutional convention will have four delegates to cast its vote on the floor, together with four alternates whose duties will chiefly be to aid in convention arrangements, it was decided at the local's quarterly meeting last month.

Edward Healy, of the Knickerbocker News unit, a local vice-president; B. Paul Lyman, of the Times-Union unit, and James Gallagher, also of the T-U unit, were chosen at the meeting. Wire service members were asked to name a delegate from among their number.

As alternates were chosen Paul Vadnais, local president; George Kearney, T-U; Katherine Treadway, KN unit and Marie Brown, T-U units.

Seattle-Tacoma

Seattle, Wash.—Mabel Riedel, local president, and George Lambert, executive secretary, are to be the delegates of Seattle-Tacoma local at the Albany convention. Mrs. Riedel is in the classified department of the Post-Intelligencer. Lambert is the newly-elected administrator for the local and attended last year's Los Angeles convention.

Memphis

Memphis, Tenn.—Four delegates have been named as the Memphis local's group at the Albany convention. They are Tom Pappas, local president; Dick Lane, former local president; John Rogers, of the Press-Scimitar, and Jack Everett, of the publishing company's business office.

As alternates, the local chose Leroy Steen, Louis Silver, Noralea Brown and Mrs. J. J. Patterson.

Stockton

Stockton, Calif.—Two Stockton members will attend the Albany convention. Vince Vandre, editorial, was unanimously chosen at the April membership meeting to accompany Bill Rogers, previously chosen as a delegate from the California-Nevada District Council.

Washington

Washington, D. C.—Elections to determine delegates from the Washington Guild to the Albany convention next month resulted in the choice of Ray Henry, local president, and Wes Barthelmes, of the Post & Times Herald unit.

The local will send but two delegates. Third contender in the balloting was Philip H. Price, who as a member of the International Executive Board will be at the Albany sessions in that capacity.

Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.—Chosen by membership election from a field of thirteen candidates are six members of the Greater Philadelphia local, all from the Inquirer unit, who will be delegates to the Albany convention. They will be augmented by the choice of one delegate each from the units at the Daily News, at Chester and at Wilmington, and David S. Schick, administrative officer, has been named a delegate ex-officio.

Those elected are Kos Semonski, local president; William Streckfuss, first vice-president; John Farson, treasurer; G. Norman Collie, J. Edward Klein, and Joseph Martin.

Elizabeth Eilber, local secretary, was named an alternate.

Portland, Me.

Portland, Me. — Four delegates will attend the Guild convention at Albany next month as representatives of the Portland local. They are Blaine E. Davis, local president, J. Frances Hapgood, secretary, Charles E. Dawson and Margaret Brink.

Columbus

Columbus, Ohio—The Columbus Guild has named five delegates to represent the local at Albany. They are Leon Roettger, treasurer of the P-O-I District Council; Robert Havel, local president; Marvin Epstein, Orville Moccobee and Eugene Grove.

As alternates, the local chose Harold Page, Steve Howick, Ed Reingold, John Tankovich and Robert Boughton.

Ashcraft Leaves Guild Position

Garland Ashcraft, assistant editor of the Guild Reporter since September, 1952, has left the employ of the American Newspaper Guild, effective May 1.

Ashcraft was taken ill last fall, and increasingly was unable to report for duty until January, when he last came to the ANG office. In mid-March he went to live with relatives in Indiana, and reports gradual recuperation there. He is a charter member of the Cleveland Guild, and served two terms as first treasurer of the ANG when the present International Executive Board was known as the National Executive Board.

Advertisement

The Toronto Newspaper Guild

is receiving applications for a new position as

Administrative Officer

Applications will be considered from anyone in the trade union movement capable of local administration and servicing.

Applications should be addressed to Fred Jones, President, Room 432, 73 Adelaide Street, West, Toronto, Ontario, and should contain detailed description of qualifications and salary expected.

Dailies Post Record First Quarter Gains -- More to Come

Newspapers have entered a period of increased prosperity which may reach unprecedented heights when the final figures are tallied for the year 1955.

The industry's economic forecasters last January generally agreed this year would be a "good one." But none of them foresaw the advances already made with but three months of the year completed.

The first-quarter indicators show:

● Total advertising linage as measured by Media Records surpassed all other first quarter totals to date.

● The Printers' Ink Index measuring national advertising dollar expenditures registered a 15 percent gain for newspapers over the first three months of 1954.

● Newsprint consumption by the 525 papers reporting to ANPA rose 7.1 percent over the total for the first quarter of last year.

● Profits of two newspaper chains — Hearst Consolidated Publications and the Southam Company Limited — increased sharply over the corresponding 1954 figures.

* * *

March linage scored a 12.2 percent gain over March 1954, according to Media Records' survey of 52 cities. Linage for the first three months was 9.2 percent higher than for the first quarter of 1954. Linage was up in all categories, with automotive showing the biggest March gain —34.9 percent. Gains in other categories were: display, 11.2 percent; classified, 15.5 percent; retail, 11.9; department store, 9.8; general, 1.0, and financial, 13.9.

The Printers' Ink National Advertising Index showed a 16 percent rise for newspapers in March over March 1954. This followed increases of 11 percent in January and 18 percent in February for a cumulative rise of 15 percent.

And the total national advertising expenditures in newspapers last year, as announced by ANPA's Bureau of Advertising, was off only 1.2 percent from the 1953 all-time record—$594,120,000 in 1954 against $601,224,000 the previous year.

The increase in newsprint consumption during the first three months of 1955 contrasted sharply with 1954 when consumption rose only .03 percent over the previous year.

And newsprint producers continued to reap heavy profits. The Coosa River Newsprint Company, for example, reports a profit after taxes for 1954 of $2,535,622—about $100,000 higher than in 1953.

Newspaper publishers are the chief owners of the company.

The Southam Company, which owns a string of Canadian papers, including the Ottawa Citizen, had such a profitable first quarter that its directors voted to increase the dividend payable June 28 from 40 to 45 cents a share. Increased revenues have more than offset increased costs, the president reported, and net earnings for the quarter were 26 percent above a year ago.

An account of Hearst Consolidated's improved financial position will be found elsewhere in The Guild Reporter.

Other signs of prosperity were evident in the rosy annual reports of the three major wire services issued during the annual ANPA convention.

Associated Press boasted a net gain of 112 radio-television members in 1954 and 390 foreign subscribers.

United Press reported a total of 4,541 clients for a net gain of 32 over 1953, and announced that the number of its picture service clients had increased by 70 percent since 1952.

International News Service announced a record increase of 205 new clients in 1954—74 newspapers, 33 radio stations, 22 special service clients.

Local Copy

N. Y. COURT:

Having To Join The Union No Different From Having To Get To Work On Time

A requirement that employes join a union in order to hold their jobs is a simple condition of employment comparable to the requirement that they get to work on time and have the proper tools and clothing.

So ruled the New York State Supreme Court, Appellate Division, Third Department, in a recent decision.

An employe who loses his job by refusing to join the union does so through a voluntary act and is not entitled to unemployment benefits, the court held.

The case involved a machinist who was dismissed for failure to join the union, after proper notification, as required by the contract between the union and management. The court upheld a local insurance office which denied jobless benefits to the worker, on the grounds that his action constituted a voluntary leaving of employment without good cause, and ordered reversal of a contrary decision by the Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board.

In an opinion written by Judge Francis Bergan in which other members concurred, the court declared:

"We cannot wall ourselves off from the realities of the present-day industrial scene to decide unemployment insurance cases as though we dealt in abstractions. We must look at the world around us the way it is. The labor union is a legitimate and quite universally utilized instrument by which labor and management live and work together. When there is an effective union agreement with the employer by which membership in good standing is a necessary ingredient to continued employment, a man who chooses not to have union membership necessarily chooses not to have work in that shop.

"This is quite as voluntary an act as most choices between one course and another. One must foresee the clear sequential effects of one's choice. This choice amounts to an election by the employee not to meet a condition of the work.

"The refusal to pay a bus fare to get to work on time in the face of a foreseeable discharge; or to get tools, clothing or equipment where they were required as the employe's part of the arrangement; or to secure needed technical preparation to continue the work, where it was open to the employe to do any of these things or not, would be treated as 'voluntary' separations if they had the result of ending the employment.

"We are not dealing here with a case supposing a condition beyond the reasonable reach of the employees, or a case where, in controversy with the union, he could not continue or keep up his membership. We are dealing, merely, with the case before us where the claimant did not pay the union fees as required by union regulations and failed after a probation period in the work to obtain union membership required by the labor agreement with the employer.

"This, in our view, is such a voluntary separation from employment that the Industrial Commissioner was right in holding that the claimant is not entitled to benefits under the statute."

Day Book

LABOR BOARD PROCEEDINGS

Representation hearing held, May 3, Rutland (Vt.) Herald, (60 eligible, all depts.).

Representation hearing held, Apr. 27, New Orleans Item, on petition filed by Independent Circulation Association for outside circulation dept. (26 eligible). Guild intervening.

Move by New Orleans Item for rehearing of 5th Circuit Court of Appeals decision upholding NLRB order to supply payroll data to Guild.

Decertification hearing, May 4, Ottawa Journal editorial and circulation depts. (62 eligible).

Recertification granted, Apr. 25, Toronto Globe & Mail editorial dept. (108 eligible).

Recognition demanded, Akron Beacon-Journal, maintenance dept. (22 eligible).

Representation hearing, May 17, Beaumont Enterprise & Journal editorial dept. (45 eligible), to prove established majority.

CONTRACTS COMMITTEE

Bakersfield Californian, contract renewal approved.

Chicago: Wall Street Journal contract renewal approved.

Cincinnati Post, contract renewal approval withheld for failure to add next year's general increase to minimums and this year's increase to starting rates, and for low increase in second year.

Cleveland Press, contract renewal approval withheld for two-year closed contract with contributions to retirement fund in lieu of wage increase in second year without details of plan provided, and weakening of alternate benefits provision.

Lansing Labor News, initial contract approved.

NY: Antiques, contract renewal approved.

NY: Post, contract renewal approved.

NY: Scholastic, contract renewal approval withheld for weakening notice and maternity leave, continuing requirement for unpaid leave to match overtime, split classifications, and Guild Shop escape period.

NY: Staats-Zeitung & Herold, contract renewal approved.

SFONG: L'Italia, wage reopening settlement approved.

Sioux City Journal & Journal-Tribune, contract renewal approved.

Terre Haute Tribune & Star, contract renewal approved.

Woonsocket Call, wage reopening settlement approved.

Youngstown Vindicator, wage reopening settlement approved.

ACTIVITIES

Empire State District Council quarterly meeting, Utica, May 14-15.

ANG International Executive Board meeting, New York, May 15-19.

$6,000 INCOME?

An average family income of more than $6,000 a year by 1960 is within easy reach if American productivity continues at present rates.

The prediction comes from a new major economic study to be issued shortly by the Twentieth Century Fund.

A Strike Paper That Grew Up

One of the world's largest newspapers, The London Daily Herald, started out as a strike paper.

The fabulous story of the paper's growth was recounted at a recent banquet honoring the 25th anniversary of the Daily Herald; now the official newspaper of the British Labor Party.

The first Daily Herald was issued Jan. 25, 1911 as a small strike paper. After several revivals, it began publication in 1930 as a modern daily competing with 12 other London dailies. ABC now lists its circulation at 1,810,911.

SURPRISE?

Should reporters be paid as much as printers?

There seems to be a difference of opinion among the people who do the paying.

The question was discussed at the ANPA convention clinic for papers in the 10-50,000 circulation bracket. A few publishers answered in the affirmative but one told Editor & Publisher that he was surprised to find that it wasn't more generally agreed that reporters should be paid more than printers.

$100 Check Bears Thanks To Guild

"Thanks to the Guild" came in the form of a $100 check for the Philadelphia local's defense fund from a fashion writer whose job was saved by prompt Guild action (Local Copy Page, March 25, 1955).

In the course of fighting the dismissal of Inquirer fashion writer Helen Lowe as unjustified, the Guild uncovered an 18-month history of unpaid overtime and obtained a settlement of $1,000 from management after the dismissal was withdrawn.

Miss Lowe's feelings are expressed in the following letter to the local:

"Enclosed is a check for $100 which I wish to contribute to the Defense Fund, or to whatever use the Guild may wish to put it. I wish it could be more (but the money was spent before I even received the check for overtime—a very normal state of affairs).

"Not only do I owe the Guild a debt of gratitude for keeping me from unjustly losing my job, but personally as well. I had no idea that a whole organization will rush to the defense of an individual. I can only base my innocence on the fact that I never before found myself in such a situation. But when Dave Schick, Kos Semonski and Norman Collie sat with me and discussed my problem, it was an eye-opener! Neither they, nor the R. A. which met in my behalf, know what an impact that had upon me.

"For their time and effort, along with the demonstration of the Newspaper Guild's strength in preventing a capricious firing —(how often it occurred to me that it might have been someone in greater need of the job than I) —for personally showing me how much the world has changed since I began battling my way up alone, I offer my unstinting loyalty to the Guild."

Unconscious Parallelism

"I have the unpleasant duty to inform you that the department of Justice is about to initiate an anti-trust action against the ANPA, charging it with having conspired not only with other trade association groups but with its own members to do things which each, acting individually, is lawfully entitled to do.

"The theory back of this proceeding is that if a number of publishers happen to pursue similar courses or adopt similar policies as a result of their evaluation of the information they receive, then they are engaged in a conspiracy to restrain others.

"This is known as the theory of 'conscious parallelism' of action. But the Court has never held that proof of parallel business behavior conclusively establishes agreement or . . . constitutes a Sherman Act offense."

—Elisha Hanson, general counsel of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, addressing the annual ANPA convention in New York, April 25.

"It is a shameful blot on the record of normally stable newspaper unions when their membership joins in 'concerted action,' in violation of contractual commitments, particularly so when the immediate result is the death of a voice of expression to the people.

"It is time for union leadership at all levels to quit pussyfooting on this issue; this looking the other way when their members are not living up to their contract work conditions. They are kidding no one when they seek to avoid responsibility by saying such action has their disapproval, is contrary to their instructions or represents action of individuals fearful of bodily harm."

—Richard W. Slocum, president of the ANPA, addressing the annual ANPA convention in New York, April 27.

THE GUILD REPORTER

CHARLES E. CRISSEY, Editor

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OF 129 CONTRACTS listed in a new tabulation for the ANG Collective Bargaining Manual, and operative as of March 31, only three of the agreements show a top reporter minimum wage of less than $90 per week.

Another 31 of the contracts show a reporter top minimum of from $90 to $99.99. In the bracket between $100 and $110 reporter minimum levels there are 36 contracts, and the same number show reporter minimums between $110 and $120.

Fourteen contracts call for minimums of from $120 to $130 and eleven are in the group above $130.

The 129 contracts cover a total of 166 newspapers.

In 1946, when the Guild formalized its wage goals by adoption of a standard of not less than $100 a week for experienced reporters, no contract in the country guaranteed that much in pay.

And the satisfaction naturally felt that as of 1955 nearly three-fourths of the Guild's agreements have reached the $100 mark is tempered by the knowledge that the 1946 dollar's buying power was far greater than its 1955 counterpart.

Which is by way of noting that the Guild's quest for the wage dollar, commensurate with the work done and the cost of living, is far from completed.

●

NEWSPAPERING is big business, it's generally agreed; but occasionally there is evidenced some minuscule motive that makes our publishers look very small, indeed.

The case in point is the Columbus pair of dailies, the Journal and Dispatch, owned by the Wolfe family and carefully edited to injure none of the tightly-held interests of that clan in banks, radio and TV stations, an investment firm and a shoe company.

Last month the competing Scripps-Howard Citizen chronicled a neat little feature which taught a lesson in economic cause-and-effect. The Wolfe papers ignored the story completely.

The story was that the nearby Naval Air Station had been paid off in two-dollar bills, and that the area-wide distribution of those conspicuous greenbacks in the ensuing few days constituted an effective example of how the city of Columbus was tied in business-wise with the presence of the federal training center.

And why did the Wolfe papers waste-basket the Navy releases? They didn't say, of course. But more than one Columbus reader got the point. Seems the Navy made the mistake of picking up their supply of two's from the wrong bank. Instead of patronizing Wolfes' Ohio National, the unsuspecting Navy went to the untouchable Huntington National, which simply doesn't exist in the news columns of the Journal or Dispatch.

●

IS IT SPELLED Mohammed or Muhammad?

That question was asked of Pakistan Editor M. A. Auj, author of a story which appears elsewhere in this issue, when he called last week at Guild headquarters on his way home from Sacramento, and presented his business card.

The answer is Muhammad, but that's not all there is to it. The explanation reveals a touch of "white supremacy" and perhaps a little religious snobbery as well.

For "Muhammad" in Urdu means "praiseworthy" while "Mohammed" means "the aggressor."

"Our earliest white visitors," said Auj, gravely, "preferred the second meaning to describe us, and the spelling stuck."

Among other "muhammadan" traits the Guild office guest exhibited was a twinkling sense of humor.

His last name, he said, is pronounced exactly as an American would respond to being pinched on the arm!

Auj had high praise for the freedom of expression allowed him in "writing as he pleased" while he served his three months as a Sacramento Bee staff member. To his surprise, he said, there was no management objection when he wrote critically of controversial matters; and his byline brought him an amazing assortment of fan mail, most of it appreciative of the writer's frankness and point of view.

Sid Meenes Named To LA Guild Post

Los Angeles, Calif.—Sidney Meenes, one of the job casualties when the Daily News was suspended, has been named as an employed organizer for the Los Angeles Guild. He took over on May 2 the duties of Sol London, of Compton, whose newspaper job had been regained through NLRB action.

Meenes, a DN circulation manager, recently returned home after hospitalization for ulcer treatments. He was elected local president last December.

Washington ROUNDUP

By WILLARD SHELTON
Washington Guild

SOMEBODY INVENTED A PHRASE to describe the Eisenhower Administration just a couple of years ago, after watching the loose controls the President exerted in his early months. We had government, this phrasemaker decided, by a Council of Regents—a group of shifting but powerful behind-the-scenes figures who made up Mr. Eisenhower's mind for him on various issues.

I think that this Council of Regents still exists and is still sending up one-page decisions that the Presidents accepts as the best staff judgment. But Eisenhower gives an appearance of participating more largely in the decisions because, on occasions, he tangles rather publicly with powerful GOP congressmen, He has learned something in two years, and in his news conferences he can generally be depended on to come up with some challenges to the Republican right wing.

* * *

THIS GIVES RISE to some extraordinary differences of opinion between acute and sensitive reporters. Thus Richard L. Strout of the Christian Science Monitor was impressed with the "virtuoso" performance of the President in one recent conference, the ease and relaxation with which he answered questions, the uncoiled power with which, as Babe Ruth used to do, he hit "home runs." James Reston of the New York Times was moved at the same conference to marvel at the casual manner in which Eisenhower repudiated the registered majority opinion of GOP legislators—or, at least, the opinion of the leaders on whom the White House must depend to put over what in a confused sort of way is entitled its "program."

One basic question, one supposes, is whether a little bit of leadership asserted at a news conference is enough.

This "leadership" is not exerted very firmly. The President blandly tries to "reconcile" two contradictory State Department declarations on negotiations with Red China but finally admits, with equal blandness, that possibly the earlier declaration was overstated. He makes Sen. Knowland, his Senate floor leader, angry, and stirs up Sen. Jenner (R., Ind.), and he takes another firm position in regard to his foreign trade bill. He makes Sen. Bricker angry on the Bricker amendment. Then the "leadership" is forgotten for a few more weeks.

It may be Mr. Eisenhower's sole destiny to drag the Republican party kicking and screaming, in Adlai Stevenson's phrase, into the 20th Century in regard to foreign policy. But the process is painfully protracted, and this observer can't help thinking that a more continuously asserted, courageous leadership would do better than the President has done so far.

Knowland's fangs could be pulled in five minutes. He could be tacitly but publicly invited to carry out his bluffs and "resign" as GOP floor leader and campaign across the country, as he has threatened, against the apparently cautious Eisenhower Far Eastern policy. The Council of Regents doesn't encourage the President to make the break with Knowland, even though the California senator's public support is now notoriously weak.

* * *

A SECOND BASIC QUESTION is about Eisenhower's domestic policy. The Council of Regents, in this field, doesn't trouble to cloud the President's vision by giving him both sides of every question.

I have been told that when some mayors went to the White House to discuss the pending natural gas bill, which would weaken federal regulation of prices, Eisenhower sternly ordered an aide to see that the pro-regulation side was recited to him if and when the bill came up.

Anybody who believes that Eisenhower will emulate Harry S. Truman, and veto a bill in order to protect gas consumers, is nevertheless entitled to a booby prize.

The pro-consumer side may be stated to the White House, but it won't be stated very loudly or effectively—not when the Federal Power Commission itself, packed with Eisenhower appointees, has twice insisted that it shouldn't be asked to protect consumers.

* * *

SOME OF THE UNION SPOKESMEN are reluctantly coming to the conclusion that Eisenhower and Labor Secretary Mitchell "look pretty good," in regard to minimum wages, in contrast to the National Association of Manufacturer' notion that minimum wages should be abolished completely. This is a counsel of despair. A sensible program of the old daring Roosevelt pattern, presented with enthusiasm and with full White House support, would overmatch the paltry, grudging Eisenhower-Mitchell program for a rise from 75 to 90 cents an hour.

If Eisenhower is "remaking the Republican party," as one allegation reads, he is taking a long time about it, and he isn't pushing the GOP congressmen very hard, and he isn't taking full advantage of the fact that he is about the only asset the Republican party has.

It isn't hard for his Council of Regents to adopt the inherited foreign policy of Roosevelt and Truman; they are businessmen and they are used to doing business realistically. But they did not like the New Deal domestically, and they are whacking away at farm programs, at rural electrification, at public power, at labor unions, at the whole concept of a federal government responsive to the demands of the general welfare.

* * *

THIS OBSERVER IS ACUTELY AWARE that the major issues of our times involve peace and war, the survival of democratic self-government against either marxist infiltration or the Red Army.

It seems plausible, however, that the example America gives in its domestic affairs, its concern for the lowly and the still-underprivileged, may have an enormous effect upon our world influence. We are not giving a good example now.

These are issues regarding which the Council of Regents fails Eisenhower. And the President fails himself.

A historian wrote of Gen. U. S. Grant that in the presidency he trusted no one except his old military comrades and the millionaires, whom he accepted simply because he thought the fact they had millions established them as smart and trustworthy. The parallel is not extreme, although the boodlers probably are absent this time.

The real government of the United States is the Council of Regents—White House Assistant Sherman Adams, a few Cabinet members, and the bankers whose views they represent. Mr. Eisenhower doesn't seem to be even a member He doesn't look personally stronger, or more decisive as an individual, than he did in May of 1953.

Divide-and-Conquer Seen In New Orleans

New Orleans, La.—The New Orleans Newspaper Guild appeared as an intervenor at a hearing April 27 before the National Labor Relations Board, called to consider a petition by the Independent Circulation Association to represent Item district managers for bargaining purposes. The circulation men are covered under an existing Guild contract, which includes editorial, circulation and maintenance employes.

Circulation bargaining history goes back more than five years, the board was told in Guild testimony, with strong lines of relationship linking the department with the editorial operation at the Item. Such relationship should serve to deter the labor board from splitting off and creating a separate bargaining unit, as proposed by the association, the board was told. It was also pointed out that neither Guild membership nor the association area of activity cover the full personnel of the circulation department — the "optimum unit" contemplated in recent Board decisions.

The Guild has made small headway in organizing others in the circulation group, because of open hostility of management to the Guild, it was said. Appearing in behalf of the association's petition were the general manager and the circulation manager of the Item. Guild witnesses included International Representative John Carmichael, Al Johnson and Billy Richards, together with ANG Counsel Irving Leuchter.

The board asked that briefs be submitted.

* * *

Management of the New Orleans Item has taken legal steps to avoid complying with an enforcement order of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which directed the Item to furnish complete payroll data to the Guild for bargaining and contract enforcement purposes.

A formal request to the circuit court to re-hear the case has already been filed, and management has indicated that an appeal to the US Supreme Court will follow failure to win its first move.

The Supreme Court last month declined to review a North Carolina case of almost identical nature.