

The Guild Reporter



Vol. XXIV—No. 22 Official Publication of the American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, CIO Washington, D. C. Published the 2nd and 4th Fridays of each month Nov. 8, 1957

Board Organizes For New Term



Inauguration: November 1 marked the start of two-year terms for all 15 members of the Guild's elective International Executive Board. That day also launched an intensive four-day meeting of the newly constituted Board at ANG's Washington headquarters. This formal group was photographed in a recess between business sessions. Seated, from the left, are John H. Thompson, executive Vice President William J.

Farson, President Joseph F. Collis, Secretary-treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and Frances D'Hondt. The standing members, vice presidents, also from the left, are Ed Marcinak, Richard Lane, I. Michael Segel, Jack Howard, Harvey H. Wing, James B. Egan, Wilfred E. Alexander, James B. Woods, Eric R. I. Cawdon and Thomas J. Murphy.

Photo by Nate Fine, Washington Guild

IEB Has Busy First Session

Starting two-year elective terms on the Guild's International Executive Board, its fifteen members met for organization purposes on November 1, and for four days toiled through a heavy grist of Guild business, adjourning Monday afternoon.

The newly-constituted Board comprises nine veteran members and six newcomers. The latter group gained a first insight into the complex responsibilities imposed on the ANG's governing body, which between conventions interprets policies and administers the affairs of this union. Since the Board meets only four times each year, a formidable program awaits each of its sessions.

Among the steps taken at its first gathering were the following:

- Election of committees for the year.
- Adoption of financial budgets for the second and third fiscal quarters.
- Appointment of delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention.
- Reception of departmental

Board Studies ANG Defense Financial Status

Problems arising out of strikes and lockouts on four Guild fronts in recent months were subjected to searching examination by the Guild's International Executive Board at its November meeting. The study was ordered continued, with a view to having necessary constitutional amendments prepared for the 1958 Convention's action.

Lockouts occurred in connection with the Cleveland strike a year ago, with the ANG continuing to aid in financing the arbitration cases now being heard. Guildsmen were locked out in Boston and Detroit, as the result of concerted publisher action in the face of a strike by craft

unions. Detroit has twice faced a lockout crisis.

And in Lima, a Guild strike last May resulted in the employment, as of July 1, of all union employees of the struck paper by the new, successful daily, the Lima Citizen, a community-financed enterprise.

Detailed reports on each operation were submitted to the Board by Executive Vice President William J. Farson, supplemented in some cases by other Board members directly affected by or active in the local situations.

In the multiple-paper cities of Cleveland, Boston and Detroit the Board's attention was directed chiefly to the heavy financial drains on the Defense Fund inherent in having several hundred Guild members thrown out of work by the decision of pub-

lishers jointly to close their doors.

Since such action penalizes all unions, it was agreed that closest possible cooperation between the affected local unions was an obvious need. The Guild has long been on record favoring such inter-union contact, and in many cities the Guild is a leading member of inter-union councils of varying types.

Farson was asked to continue his efforts to have the international bodies of the mechanical craft unions meet to devise type of common defense. He reported substantial progress in this connection.

There was discussion, too, of the schedule of strike benefits, last revised at the 1954 Convention, and now viewed in the light of rising costs in all fields. One suggestion was acceleration of

the rate at which the Defense Fund is moving toward its goal, also set in 1954, of \$1 million.

The Fund now accrues at the rate of some \$75,000 a year, through allocation of per capita payments of 25 cents per member. Increase of that allotment, or imposition of a special series of assessments, were advanced as possible methods of adding to the Guild's chief "rainy day" resources.

The 25 cent allocation to the Fund was an increase over the previous amount so set aside, and was justified by the assumption, since proven true, that special assessments would be less often required. No assessments have been levied in the past two years. Present unaudited status of the Defense Fund is approximately \$340,000. Should the bal-

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reports, with committee recommendations for appropriate action.

- Appointment of a Brown Award chairman.
- Adoption of resolutions asking for rephrasing of the AFL-CIO Code of Ethics, and for recognition of a union organization of AFL-CIO organizers for bargaining purposes.
- Consideration of a group of

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WAGE GOALS: Earnings Reveal Newspapers' Ability To Pay

By MAXWELL E. H. FYLE
Research & Information
Department

Having seen that it is in the newspaper industry's self interest to meet the Guild's new wage goals, let's take a look at the industry's financial condition.

Unfortunately, few of our newspapers' profit sheets are open to public inspection.

But there can be no doubt of the industry's ability to pay. The evidence is unmistakable that the industry is in a continuing prosperous condition.

• Total advertising revenue continues to set records.

• Total circulation continues to climb to new marks, year after year.

• Editor & Publisher's advertising index based on monthly first five months of 1957.

• One-fifth, or \$628,914,169, of

than one-fifth of the nearly \$10 billion estimated total expenditure in U. S. advertising last year.

It was the first time that the 100 leaders passed the \$2 billion mark. The total for all advertisers was the highest in history.

Indicative of our times is the report by Printers' Ink that world advertising investment is approaching the \$15-billion mark.

In line with this, Gilbert P. Swanson, president of the Newspaper Advertising Executives Association declares: "More advertisers will spend more money this year than ever before in history."

Swanson, who is business manager of the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman Review and Spokane Daily Chronicle, was addressing the second annual Newspaper

the total billings of \$3,157,933,471 placed by 319 advertising agencies in 1956 went to newspapers.

• Total national advertising reached \$737,996,000, a new record, in 1956, representing an increase of 6.1 percent over the preceding year. (Bureau of Advertising, ANPA).

The 100 leading national advertisers invested more than \$2 billion in advertising in 1956, we learn from Advertising Age. The investment amounted to more

R.O.P. (Run of Paper) Color Conference in Chicago.

He predicted also: "More people will buy and read more newspapers this year than ever before in history."

"Last year was the all-time high year for newspapers both in circulation, and in advertising revenue," he asserted.

"For the first eight months of this year newspapers have again shattered all previous records."

"Circulation of daily newspapers has moved up to 58,600,000 copies daily, and advertising revenue has again climbed to an all-time high."

Swanson said it was safe to predict that more advertising dollars would be spent in newspapers in 1957 than in radio, TV, magazines, billboards and car card advertising combined.

"Actually, from the standpoint

of volume, we've never had it so good, and it seems safe to predict that ten years from now we will look back on these as lean years, lingo-wise."

"If newspapers only maintain their present share of the total annual advertising expenditure they should, in 1965, expect to do about \$5,000,000,000 business or a 50 percent increase from volume carried in 1956."

"As competition gets tougher, newspapers will get thicker; they have always been called upon to do tough jobs."

Swanson's words were echoed by Charles T. Lipscomb, Jr., new President of the ANPA's Bureau of Advertising, who told E & P that he saw all newspaper advertising climbing in 1957 and again in 1958 to go ahead of the

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Budgets Reflect Growth Of ANG; IEB Handles Other Fiscal Items

Operating budgets for the second and third fiscal quarters of the Guild year were adopted by the International Executive Board as submitted by the outgoing finance committee, which had met last month.

Budget for the quarter ending October 31 totalled \$118,517.50; that for the quarter ending next January 31 amounts to \$120,589. Expenditures for the first fiscal quarter, ending last July 31, were reported as \$115,522.32.

In addition, Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., reported to the board that unaudited figures for the second quarter, ending October 31, show expenditures in the quarter totalling \$105,233.50, as against net income, also subject to audit, of \$117,188.29.

These figures would indicate an increase in the General Fund operating surplus of some \$11,000 over the surplus of last April 30, when the figure was \$20,600.91. The surplus figure of that date had been reduced by nearly \$1,000 during operation of the

Summarized by categories, the two adopted budgets show the following totals:

	2nd Quarter Budget	3rd Quarter Budget
Per capita taxes	\$ 5,750.00	\$ 5,150.00
Organizing & Servicing	29,375.00	31,175.00
Collective Bargaining	3,385.50	3,494.00
Wire Service Admin.	11,802.50	12,819.00
Research & Information	10,296.00	9,788.00
Guild Reporter	13,275.50	12,589.00
Administration	18,633.00	17,774.00
Executives	7,350.00	7,800.00
Other Expenses	18,650.00	20,000.00
Totals	\$118,517.50	\$120,589.00

first fiscal quarter, through excess of expenditures over income.

The committee reported that total assets in the Defense Fund as of July 31 were \$312,231.39, with expenses in that quarter amounting to \$18,915.47. Some of that expense is recoverable,

representing advances to locals where strike emergencies did not materialize. Figures for the second quarter were not yet available at the time of the meeting, November 1.

The committee report, and further unaudited second-quarter figures offered by Perlik, showed that actual receipts of ANG revenue are running close to the estimates made by the St. Louis Convention, which approved a budget for the entire fiscal year.

Membership increases have been steady in the first five months, with the September 1 figures showing 29,900 dues-paying members. During the period, too, the percentage of those in good standing also hit a new peak, at 91.4 percent, the spurt being attributed to the biennial election of Board members.

Besides formal approval of the two quarterly budgets, board action directed its finance committee to retain convention-approved authority to study the ANG per capita structure.

Committee recommendations for contributions were adopted, gifts of \$25 each going to the National Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards, the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, the National Child Labor Committee and Public Affairs Institute; and of \$30 to the United Givers Fund of Washington, D. C.

The Board also approved a contribution of \$500 to the education fund of the Committee on Political Impeachment, an arm of the AFL-CIO.

Discussion revealed that there was a wide variance among locals in the degree of application of the requirement for observers at all stages of negotiations, including the sessions called by conciliation authorities. There was further difference in opinion among Board members as to the purpose and ultimate effect of the constitutional provision for observers during negotiations.

Although the committee report avoided the question, there was also detailed discussion of whether, with negotiators from four units present in all San Francisco bargaining meetings, the local had not actually attained the objective sought—full information to unit membership on negotiation progress.

The Constitution, it was pointed out, distinguishes clearly between observers and negotiators. On the roll call, eight were recorded for the adoption of the committee report. They were: James B. Woods, Eric R. I. Cawdron, Frances D'Hondt, Ed Marciniak, Richard Lane, William J. Farson, Joseph F. Collis and Charles A. Perlik, Jr.

Opposed were Harvey H. Wing, Jack Howard, I. Michael Segel, Wilfred E. Alexander, James B. Egan, Thomas J. Murphy and John H. Thompson.

A subsequent motion by Segel was carried, directing the IEB constitution committee to make a study of the constitutional provisions involved—Article XVIII, Section 2 (e)—with a view to possible changes, for reference to the 1958 ANG convention.

Rahm, St. Louis, Is Chosen As Broun Award Chairman

Adolph J. Rahm, a vice president of the American Newspaper Guild for seven years, has been appointed chairman of the ANG

committee to conduct the Heywood Broun Award competition.

Rahm, a member of the St. Louis Guild, represented the Third Region on the International Executive Board, which made the choice at its meeting last weekend. As Broun committee chairman, he succeeds Edward J. Donohoe, of Scranton, who had voiced the view that the chairmanship, which he held for several years, should be rotated.

The Board directed a letter of thanks be sent to Donohoe for his past service in connection with the award, the Guild's highest journalistic honor, established in 1941 in memory of the Guild's founder and first president.

The award recognizes work done in the calendar year by newspaper industry employees, regardless of Guild membership, best exemplifying the crusading spirit which motivated Broun.



ADOLPH J. RAHM

Group Of Appeals Cases Is Rejected By Board

Eight charges filed by members of The Sunday Independent unit of the Wilkes-Barre Guild against that local were received by the International Executive Board Committee.

That body recommended, and the Board agreed, that the IEB decline to take jurisdiction in one instance, and that in the seven other points the facts as submitted and investigated did not "on their face" warrant a formal hearing under the disciplinary provisions of the ANG Constitution.

The charges were submitted by letter last July, and the IEB meeting at the St. Louis convention directed an independent inquiry into the facts. It was undertaken by former ANG Vice President Daniel A. McLaughlin and ANG Counsel Irving Leuchter. McLaughlin reported their findings to the entire Board at last Saturday's session, and there was extended discussion before referral to the Appeals Committee.

The basis of the complaints lodged by the group of Wilkes-Barre members was a unit meeting last January when conflicting testimony related to whether a quorum call had been raised, affecting the validity of the election of a unit chairman at that meeting.

The group also raised the question of validity of membership meetings conducted in "sections" to accommodate differences in working hours among units or shops; complained that

the local had failed to negotiate a contract for the unit at the Independent, and that the local had failed to conduct a proper audit. Other charges related to these as corollaries.

The Appeals Committee reported that it found no basis for assuming IEB jurisdiction over the quorum dispute, a matter involving local bylaws, and that no "willful or knowing" violations of the ANG Constitution were found in the other charges. Some, the committee reported, were evidently the result of continued and mutual misunderstanding between the unit membership and the local officers.

The Board directed its Constitution Committee to make a study of the problems encountered in "sectional" membership meetings, for future recommendation to the Board and possibly the next ANG convention, if constitutional changes are indicated.

The IEB also ruled that it was without jurisdiction in four other appeals directed to it by or in behalf of individual members. In two cases there was a flaw in the form of the complaint, carrying insufficient signatures to validate them. In two instances the Appeals Committee, with the Board concurring, declared the matters were wholly within local jurisdiction.

IEB Elects Committees

Detailed work of the International Executive Board is for the most part accomplished through a structure of committees, elected by the Board at its organization session. Two of its standing committees are called for by the Constitution—those on finance and contracts. Others have been authorized by IEB rules as they have been found necessary for Board functioning.

The following have been designated for the term beginning November 1, with the first-named board member serving as chairman in each instance:

Appeals—Richard Lane, James B. Egan, James B. Woods. **Collective Bargaining**—Woods, Eric R. I. Cawdron, Jack Howard, Frances D'Hondt, I. Michael Segel. **Pensions**—Harvey H. Wing, D'Hondt, Wilfred E. Alexander. **Constitution**—Ed Marciniak, Egan, Wing, Lane, Woods. **Contracts**—Charles A. Perlik, Jr., Howard, Farson, Stephen Ripley, Harris Monroe. **Organizing**—John H. Thompson, Lane, Marciniak, Alexander, Thomas J. Murphy. **Servicing**—Lane, Thompson, Marciniak, Alexander, Murphy. **Research & Information**—Cawdron, D'Hondt, Segel, Murphy, Thompson. **Guild Reporter**—D'Hondt, Cawdron, Segel, Murphy, Thompson. **Wire Services**—Marciniak, Wing, Howard.



—Photo by Bud Hawkins, Pueblo Guild.
Dress Rehearsal: Miss Tip Guernsey, reporter for the Star-Journal and Chieftain, rehearses her part in the entertainment program for the Pueblo Guild's Page One Awards dinner. The audience, from left to right, consists of Lee Shuford and Phil Mayer.

First Page 1 Dinner Scores Success For Pueblo Guild

Pueblo, Colo.—Local politicians and situations were gridironed at the first Page One Awards banquet of the Pueblo Newspaper Guild.

In the only serious part of the evening, awards were presented to Miss Claire Knox, public librarian, and Mike Choral, police juvenile officer. The awards, said Local President Ken Hudson, "credit those who devote their lives to helping others."

The skit depicted a typical day in an untypical city room. Adman Art Porter borrowed an eyeshade and a cigar to assume the role of city editor, and a stream of reporters, fitfully attired, poured through for a chat with the boss.

Lee Shuford, also an adman, was master of ceremonies. Pueblo's first Page One magazine, issued in conjunction with the dinner, was edited by Joe Stell. Phil Mayer and Fred Odell co-produced and directed the skit. All three are from the Chieftain and Star-Journal editorial department. Mrs. Hazel Goodbar, business office, handled ticket sales.

Max Morath, honky-tonk pianist, was the only professional in the cast.

William J. Farson, executive vice president, will present ANG's "view" of the strike story. Ray Mann, international representative, will report on negotiations with the Hoiles management prior to the strike and the actual engineering of the walk-out. Several local members, including President Eugene F. Perine and Chief Steward Joseph Connor, will outline details of the strike and bring other locals up to date on the progress of the new Lima Citizen.

Olin Zurek, president of Lima Citizen chapter of the International Typographical Union, will discuss the part played by the craft unions in the walkout. Saturday evening, Glenn W. Miller, associate professor of economics at Ohio State University, will speak on the procedure and criteria of an arbitration case from the arbitrator's side. His talk will be a continuation of a POI seminar conducted by Ellis T. Baker, ANG director of research and information, in Cincinnati last September.

Sunday's session will be devoted to reports of officers and other business for council action.

Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio—Harry C. Reckner has been elected Cincinnati Newspaper Guild president, succeeding Irwin Bauer.

Other officers for the year are: vice president, John P. Vincent; secretary, Marie Adams; treasurer, Wanda Strausbaugh.

IEB Asks Labor's Ethics Code Conform To Actual Practice

The AFL-CIO Executive Council is to be asked by the Guild to revise its Code of Ethics to bring its language into unmistakable conformity with the actual practices followed in its implementation. In a resolution adopted by the Board, the Guild points out that in applying the ethics code, adopted last January by

the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the parent labor body is actually following procedures approved by the Guild. There is, however, some ambiguity in the text of the Code itself, which the IEB holds might endanger the U. S. constitutional rights of all.

The reference is to the assertion in the trade union movement who plead the Fifth Amendment to charges of corruption have no rightful place in trade unionism. No provision is made for either investigation or hearing before dismissal from union office.

The resolution was adopted by the IEB was drafted by a special committee composed of Executive Vice President William J. Farson, and Vice Presidents Jack Howard and Ed Marciniak. It read:

"The International Executive Board of the American Newspaper Guild shares the determination of the AFL-CIO to eliminate corruption, subversion and any other improper practices from the labor movement of our country, wherever found, and accordingly shares the concern expressed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in its policy statement of January 28, 1957, regarding cooperation with public agencies investigating racketeering."

The International Executive Board notes that, in applying this policy statement, the AFL-CIO Executive Council has held that the policy statement does not require the summary dismissal of a union official who invokes the Fifth Amendment with respect to alleged corruption on his part, but does require an investigation into the charges of corruption and hearing by his union to determine whether or not the official should be dismissed.

"Such a procedure, in our opinion, is essential to assure due process of law in such cases, for if the invoking of the Fifth Amendment is permitted to en-

tail any presumption of guilt, this basic constitutional privilege will be effectively nullified for union officials and weakened for all."

"We also believe that, present application of the January 28 policy statement notwithstanding, the actual wording of the policy statement on this point is ambiguous and susceptible of other interpretations, including summary dismissal without investigation or hearing."

"Accordingly we believe that the wording of the policy statement should be amended to reflect specifically the procedures now being followed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, as summarized in paragraph two above."

"Such action would not only assure minimum standards of due process, but also would bring the January 28 policy statement

of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee more nearly into conformity with the American Newspaper Guild's official position on the Fifth Amendment and other constitutional rights, expressed unanimously by the 1954 Convention in these words: 'The Fifth Amendment . . . is a right granted by the Constitution and . . . it cannot and must not be allowed to constitute cause for discharge, nor presumption of guilt. Guilt must be proved . . . The American Newspaper Guild instructs its officers and recommends to its locals that they resist by every means possible any discharge or discipline of Guild members on grounds that they refused to sign a loyalty oath, or that they exercised their right of freedom of expression, or that they invoked protection of the Bill of Rights.'"

The Guild's three top officers and one regional vice president have been designated by the IEB as delegates to the second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO, next month at Atlantic City, N. J.

Name Four Delegates To AFL-CIO Conclave

The Guild's three top officers and one regional vice president have been designated by the IEB as delegates to the second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO, next month at Atlantic City, N. J.

The ANG has four votes at the convention. No provision has been made for the designation of alternates, a point which the Board met by naming the president of the Philadelphia Guild as a substitute, in the event one of the first four named should be unable to attend.

President Joseph F. Collis, Executive Vice President William J. Farson, Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., and Vice President for Region One John H. Thompson, of Boston, are the designated delegates, and William Streckfuss is the Philadelphia local president.

The Board adopted a resolution supported by the view Perlik then expressed.

consideration of the AFL-CIO Convention, which states Guild support for the efforts of some 300 organizers employed by the AFL-CIO who seek recognition for a union of their own—the Field Representatives Federation.

The Executive Council has rebuffed an informal attempt by the field men to gain recognition of the FRF as bargaining agent, and the organizers have filed a formal petition with the National Labor Relations Board, under Taft-Hartley provisions. The IEB's resolution urges the Executive Council to reconsider its stand and grant recognition.

Perlik last August addressed a telegram to the Executive Council, then in session at Chicago, suggesting that the council reconsider its announced stand at that time.

The IEB action on the resolution supported the view Perlik then expressed.

First Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)
appeals from individual members and Guild locals for constitutional interpretations or redress.

• Discussion of suggested ways of observing the Guild's 25th anniversary year, in 1958.

• Consideration of ways to combat the strategies of publishers who join forces in citywide strike-lockout situations.

• Review of 1957 convention findings and consideration of methods of implementation.

Thorough debates, marked by occasional explanation of background or procedure for the benefit of new members, characterized the board sessions, the first since the September referendum had decided the board's makeup, in contests which selected six vice presidents at large from a field of ten candidates.

Only once during the four day meeting was a roll call vote recorded, resulting in an eight-to-seven division of opinion on the handling of a constitutional interpretation sought by a member of the San Francisco-Oakland Guild. Although the point was warmly debated, the division was not acrimonious.

A minor change was ordered in the rules of procedure adopted for the Board. There was added to the actions on which the IEB may be polled, between sessions, "such other matters as failure to take interim action would render moot or obsolete." Hereafter, such interim polls have been limited to specifics, on recommendation of the three top officers, such as voting assessments, granting charters, approving contributions up to \$500, and disapproval of strike proposals. The vote of a majority of the Board is necessary to carry such a poll.

As is customary, departmental reports prepared last month had been sent in advance of the meeting to all Board members. The members, too, had been asked to state in advance their preferences for service on the various Board committees, and committee assignments, as far as predictable, followed such preferences.

The single roll call vote came on adoption of a report submitted by the IEB constitution committee, which comprises Ed Marciniak, James B. Egan, Harvey H. Wing, Richard Lane and James B. Woods. The chairman Marciniak, had called the report "non-controversial." It proved to be quite the opposite.



At Philadelphia: Attending the Regional Wire Service Conference, recently in Philadelphia were, front row, from left: Joe Kirkbride, Harrisburg UP; Mildred McManna, New Haven AP; George Taylor, Richmond AP; Sol Horn, New York AP; Bob Crocker, Augusta, Me., AP; ANG Executive Vice President William J. Farson; Sally Stosten, New York AP. Second Row: John Lundquist, Baltimore AP; Bernard Brown, New York AP; Ray Henry, Washington AP; Ray Mann, ANG international representative; George Muldowney, New York UP-Pix; Joe Bradis, Pittsburgh UP; Jim Calogero, Boston AP; O. Knippenburg, Pittsburgh UP; John Lannan, Portland, Me., AP; Joe Cotangolo, ANG international representative and acting wire service administrator; Bill Alexander, Philadelphia AP. Rear: Harley Murray, Washington INS and National Wire Service Council member; James Schoettler, Philadelphia UP; Gene Harris, Philadelphia UP.

New Wilmington Contract Nets \$7.50 Total Package

Wilmington, Del.—An increase of \$7.50 in weekly salary and expense guarantee is part of a new contract between the Newspaper Guild of Greater Philadelphia and the Wilmington Morning News & Journal Every Evening.

Other improvements include a seventh paid holiday and reduction from five to three years of the service requirement for three weeks' vacation. The new agreement, which covers outside circulation personnel, expires Sept. 1, 1958. It has been approved by the IEB Contracts Committee.

The \$7.50 money package is divided into a \$5 increase in the top minimum for circulation dis-

tributors, raising it to \$117.50, and a \$2.50 increase in the weekly auto expense guarantee, bringing it to \$27.50 for city districts and \$32.50 for suburban districts.

Salaries of supervisors were raised \$7, making the new top minimum \$137. They also receive the increase in car allowance.

All increases are retroactive to Sept. 1, 1957, expiration date of the previous contract.

Guild negotiators included Unit Chairman Maurice Bogia, Vice Chairman Edward C. Fortner, Treasurer Frank J. Gleason, Secretary Stephen L. Manista and Local Executive Secretary Dave Schick.



Wm. W. J. Dinwoodie, Jr.
Cleveland, Ohio—William W. J. Dinwoodie, Jr., editor of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild, Local No. 1 of the ANG, and for many years was a member of the local's executive board.



He was also a former chairman of the Guild unit at the News. He joined the News staff as police and general assignment reporter shortly before World War I. After wartime service in a hospital unit, the signal corps and the Cadet Flying Corps, he returned to the News as a rewrite man. In 1922, he again left to work for the St. Paul Pioneer Press and the Minneapolis Journal. He then became associate editor for the Salvation Army publications at national headquarters in New York City.

He was born in Marquette, Mich., and both his parents were staff captains in the Salvation Army.

In 1925 he returned to the News where he remained until his death. He held several posts in the city room, including that of assistant city editor, before his appointment as church editor in 1941.

His achievements as church editor received recognition in an award of merit by the National Religious Publications Council in 1951, and last year he was awarded an honorary degree of doctor of humanities from Monrovia College and Industrial Institute in Liberia. He was elected first president of the Ohio Chapter of the Religious Newswriters Association when it was organized in January 1956.

Lima Citizen Attracts 14,000 At Open House

Lima, Ohio—When 45 members of the Lima Guild struck the Lima News last May 1, none of them was in doubt as to the attitude of the community's citizens toward their move. And a few weeks ago some 14,000 of these citizens confirmed their feelings by taking part in an open house at Lima's new newspaper, appropriately christened the Citizen.

The new paper was born as a result of the strike and, too, public abhorrence of R. C. Hoiles, his non-union crew at the News, and the paper's best interests at heart Lima's progress in public education and improvement.

The open house expressed to the public the thanks of the Citizen's owners and Guild and craft union employees for helping to launch the publication. Theme of the day was "Visit the Citizen—the newspaper YOU created."

Since July 1, the Citizen's first day of publication, its circulation has climbed to more than 25,000 daily, 27,000 Sunday. Actual circulation figures for the News are, understandably, hard to come by. But the outward signs indicate to Lima Guildmen they may be half those of the Citizen.

Pre-strike circulation was about 34,000. Results of a recent ABC audit are expected to be released soon. In the meantime, the News is offering a year's subscription at \$5.75 and is paying a \$2.50 commission for each 13-weeks subscription brought in by volunteer solicitors.

Citizen display advertising linage is running about twice that of the News for November, while the classified ratio is more than 2 to 1 daily, 6 to 1 Sunday.

Visitors to the new paper's plant during the open house came from as far away as Toledo, Sidney and Elgin, Ill., as well as from Lima and its surrounding rural areas. Lima police, aiding in traffic control, said hundreds of people turned away after viewing the long queues in front of the plant.

Co-publishers Sam Kamin and James M. Howenstein, the Lima industrialists who provided the biggest share of capital for the

It was discovered that as of two years ago the then-retiring members of the Board, right in all, had not been the recipients of the traditional gold emblem. That group was included retroactively in the presentation motion.

They comprise former Executive Vice President Ralph B. Novak, and Vice Presidents Philip H. Price, Adolph J. Rahm, Al Dipman, Roberta Bailey, Ed Easton, Jr., Paul A. Freye and Felix B. Wolf.

Under the Hearst Memo, Milwaukee was one of three papers

With the addition of the Guild-sponsored group life insurance coverage, beneficiaries of Sentinel employees who die will receive both severance pay and insurance. Under the old plan the maximum insurance amounted to \$4,000. A number of veteran Sentinel employees now would leave their beneficiaries a total of \$10,000 to \$12,000 through the combination of severance and insurance.

The new program for Milwaukee provides compulsory insurance in the following brackets: Those making under \$50 per week, \$1,000; \$50 to \$65, \$2,000; \$65 to \$85, \$3,000; and \$85 and over, \$4,000. More than half of the membership will be covered by the maximum amount. Premium is expected to be between 76 and 80 cents per thousand, paid through local dues.

The policy, written by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Co. of Fort Wayne, Ind., also provides double indemnity for accidental death, full coverage regardless of age or retirement status, and waiver of premium in case of total disablement before the age of 60.

Michael Segel reformed himself in the negative on the vote, explaining that he opposes the choice of the Chase Manhattan Bank rather than the plan as such.

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Toronto Star Ad Group Subjected To Election

Toronto, Ont.—The Ontario Labor Relations Board has directed that an election be held Thursday, November 14, among the 170 eligible employees in the advertising department of the Toronto Star, to determine a bargaining agent.

The decision, to which one of the three Board members registered dissent, was on the application of the Toronto Guild, which last May filed membership cards representing a majority of the employees.

Extended hearings ensued, in which testimony was heard of anti-Guild activity among supervisory personnel in the department. A series of petitions had been circulated seeking to prevent the Guild from being named collective bargaining agent. Employees were also interviewed by supervisors on the matter. The advertising department is the sole remaining group in Guild jurisdiction at the Star, Canada's largest daily, which is without a Guild contract.

The dissent was by Board Member G. Russell Harvey, who wrote:

"In view of the widespread anti-union activities of supervisors, I feel that all documentary evidence submitted in opposition to the union should bear no weight. I would have certified without a vote."

The two majority members found that while the Guild held a valid majority of the 171 signed as members, the majority did not exceed 55 percent, the point above which the board automatically certifies without an election.

The majority thus gave certain credence to letters and a petition filed by some 69 employees, opposing the entry of

New Insurance Program In Force At Milwaukee

Milwaukee, Wis.—A Guild-sponsored group life insurance program, providing coverage from \$1,000 to \$4,000, became effective this year for the Milwaukee Guild Oct. 15. The plan coincided with the switch of Milwaukee Sentinel employees under Guild jurisdiction to the Hearst Memo clause providing severance pay on death.

Under the Hearst Memo, Milwaukee was one of three papers

With the addition of the Guild-sponsored group life insurance coverage, beneficiaries of Sentinel employees who die will receive both severance pay and insurance. Under the old plan the maximum insurance amounted to \$4,000. A number of veteran Sentinel employees now would leave their beneficiaries a total of \$10,000 to \$12,000 through the combination of severance and insurance.

The new program for Milwaukee provides compulsory insurance in the following brackets: Those making under \$50 per week, \$1,000; \$50 to \$65, \$2,000; \$65 to \$85, \$3,000; and \$85 and over, \$4,000. More than half of the membership will be covered by the maximum amount. Premium is expected to be between 76 and 80 cents per thousand, paid through local dues.

The policy, written by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Co. of Fort Wayne, Ind., also provides double indemnity for accidental death, full coverage regardless of age or retirement status, and waiver of premium in case of total disablement before the age of 60.

Under the plan alternate benefits may either be taken in a lump sum at retirement or merged into the pension program under several options.

One option, for example, would enable a worker to retire at 65, take his alternate benefits in monthly payments over the next five years, then switch over

to the pension benefits at age 70 when they are at their maximum. In the event the retired employee dies between age 65 and 70, the unpaid balance of his alternate benefits under this option would go to his survivors.

Cost of the pension program is to be met by publisher contributions to the fund negotiated by the Guild. The publishers have been paying \$1.75 per week per employee into the trust fund since March 27, 1956. They will pay an additional \$1.60 per week starting July 1, 1958, for a total of \$3.35 weekly.

These contributions—and the benefits—are subject to future modifications at the bargaining table.

Upon signature of the agreement, the publishers also will

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Landlord-Tenants: The IUD Convention in Washington brought together top representatives of the four labor unions which have their Washington offices in the Philip Murray Building. The structure is owned by the IUE, of which James B. Carey, at the left, is president. Others in the picture, made in the Guild's Brown Room during an open house for IUD delegates, are O. A. Knight, president of the Oil and Chemical Workers Union, ANG President Joseph F. Guller and Secretary-Treasurer Emil Masny, of the United Auto Workers.

Major Points Of Pension Plan Worked Out In San Francisco

San Francisco, Calif.—The major provisions of a city-wide pension plan covering Guild members employed by the city's four dailies have been nailed down by the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild. This announcement to the SFONG membership climaxed nearly a decade of pension study and two years of bargaining by the local.

Chief terms of the plan, some details of which remain to be negotiated, include:

- Monthly retirement benefits, at age 65 and after 25 years of service, of approximately one week's pay at rates current at retirement, in addition to Social Security.
- Funding of alternate benefits, which may be payable in cash on retirement or incorporated in the pension. (Maximum alternate benefits now are 56 weeks pay after 27½ years of service.)
- Retroactivity to the effective date of the plan, January 1, 1952, and coverage of all workers who have retired since that date after meeting the service requirements.
- No compulsory retirement.
- Higher benefits for retirement after age 65 to a maximum at age 70.
- Early retirement at age 55 or later for disability or after 10 years of service, but with reduced benefits.
- Transfer privileges which allow employees to change jobs from one paper to another in the city without sacrificing past pension credits. (The pension agreement, like the local's basic contract, is with the four dailies as a whole.)
- Funding of the pension program under the direction of a trustee.
- Equal Guild-Publisher representation on a six-man board which will administer the program.
- A draft of the plan has been sent to the IEB Contracts Committee for study.
- Instead of a flat pension benefit for all employees, monthly retirement payments will vary and will be keyed to the individual employee's earnings.
- Under the plan alternate benefits may either be taken in a lump sum at retirement or merged into the pension program under several options.
- One option, for example, would enable a worker to retire at 65, take his alternate benefits in monthly payments over the next five years, then switch over

SFONG Voices Opposition To Anti-Labor Candidates

San Francisco, Calif.—A resolution pledging opposition to any candidate who advocates passage of so-called "right to work" laws, either federally or on a state or local basis, has been adopted by the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild.

Such laws forbid the inclusion of union security clauses in union contracts. Sen. William F. Knowland, an announced candidate for governor of California, has said he favors such a law.

Labelling the "right to work" laws purposely "misnamed and misleading" and noting that four out of five union contracts in the United States include the union shop, the SFONG resolution said:

"The misnamed 'right to work' laws do not provide either rights or work, abridge the freedom of employers and labor to negotiate contract terms, make it more difficult for unions to assume responsibility, hurt workers and professional men alike, and depress the entire economy."

"We hereby record our opposition to any such laws, and in the event that such a proposal is

made by candidates for public office, we pledge to campaign against them, to register voters who are now unregistered so that they may vote against these anti-labor candidates, and to vote against them ourselves."

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AMONG OURSELVES

Murray Goldblatt, former president of the Ottawa Guild, is now on the copy desk of the Toronto Star after almost nine years on the Ottawa Citizen. In between was a six-month stint as public relations assistant for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

Terry Ferrer, religious news writer at Newsweek, has moved over to the Herald Tribune as education editor. She was guest of honor at a party and reception given by the Newsweek unit and the Religious Writers' Association at the New York Guild Press Club.

Key Treadway and Ormendo Plater, both of the Knickerbocker News unit of the Albany Guild, were recently wed.

Virginia Leonard, social writer for the Brooklyn Enterprise-Times, was feted by fellow employees and Guild members at an office gathering before ending her service with the paper to marry Eric H. Alkens of Narbeth, Pa., on October 20.

Terry Turner, former recording secretary of the Akron Guild and Sunday columnist on the Beacon Journal, has transferred to the Chicago Daily News, another Knight newspaper, where he will be a general assignment reporter.

George Remington, formerly with the Honolulu Advertiser, left to work on UP night desk at San Francisco.

Martin Millsbaugh, whose articles on slum conditions in Baltimore for the Evening Sun won honorable mention in the 1956 Heywood Brown Award competition, named assistant commissioner, Urban Renewal Administration, in Washington.

From the San Francisco Call-

Bulletin, where he was a copywriter, William A. G. Ingram goes to the city staff of the Albany Knickerbocker News.

Charles Restrop marked 50 years with the Cincinnati Post on September 20. He started as a copy boy at the age of 15 and at a salary of \$2.50 a week. As a reporter he has handled every beat on the Post except police—and he has covered that occasionally. For the past 12 years he has been City hall reporter. Seven years ago, he married a fellow reporter, Mrs. Betty Donovan.

ANG Secretary-treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., was announced at the IUD convention last week at the Statler Hotel, Washington, as the delegate chosen to receive a suit of clothes, gift of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, as part of the union's drive for recognition of the union label.

Carl T. Bewan, of the Twin Cities Guild, has begun work on his third book, a life story of Jackie Robinson, erstwhile Brooklyn Dodger, scheduled by Random House for publication next year.

Al Monahan Heads Boston Press Club

Boston, Mass.—Alfred J. Monahan, city editor of the Boston Globe and a former Boston Guild leader, was elected president of the Boston Press Club at its annual meeting.

Other officers of the club, which is operated by the Boston Guild, are John Thompson, Traveler, vice president; James F. Smith, Associated Press, secretary; and Charles Leveroni, Herald, treasurer.

Hoiles Paper's Story Inaccurate, NLRB Official Finds

Lima, Ohio—The regional director of the National Labor Relations Board has accused the Lima News of publishing an inaccurate account of the settlement of unfair labor practice charges filed against it by the Lima Guild (Guild Reporter, Oct. 11, 1957).

The local had protested that the story published by the Hoiles-owned News violated the Settlement Agreement between the parties approved by the NLRB regional director.

"An examination of the article indicates that it does contain a number of inaccuracies," said John A. Hull, Jr., of the Board's Cleveland office in a letter to News Publisher E. R. McDowell, a copy of which went to the Guild.

The News article was headlined "NLRB DISPROVES 15 GUILD CHARGES AGAINST NEWS." It also asserted that the Guild had been cited for failure to cooperate with the Board's efforts to achieve a settlement.

The Guild had charged prior to its strike against the News last May that management had violated the National Labor Relations Act, Sections 8 (a)(1), which protects an employee's right to join a union; 8 (a)(3), which bars discrimination against an employee because he is a member of a union; and 8 (a)(5), which requires both unions and employers to bargain in good faith.

"Our office fully investigated these charges," said Hull, "and I would like to state that both parties cooperated during the course of the investigation and in the settlement of the charges.

At no time did this office cite the Guild for its failure to cooperate in efforts to reach a settlement as stated by your paper.

"The settlement which was finally entered into by the parties, and approved by our office, was a settlement on the basis of violations by the company of Sections 8 (a)(5) and 8 (a)(1) of the . . . Act.

"At the conclusion of the investigation, we concluded that the evidence adduced was sufficient to warrant the issuance of a formal complaint against the Lima News in accordance with the terms of the Settlement Agreement.

"Furthermore, the 'Notice to All Employees' stated: 'This notice must remain posted for 90 days from the date hereof and must not be altered, defaced, or covered by any other material.' (Emphasis supplied.) Publication of the above-mentioned clause,

made after a formal hearing before a Trial Examiner of the Board.

"While the Settlement Agreement entered into by the parties did contain a clause, as stated in your article that, it is understood that the execution of this Settlement Agreement does not constitute an admission that the company has violated any of the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, this clause was not included in the Notice that was to be posted by the Lima News in accordance with the terms of the Settlement Agreement.

"Furthermore, the 'Notice to All Employees' stated: 'This notice must remain posted for 90 days from the date hereof and must not be altered, defaced, or covered by any other material.' (Emphasis supplied.) Publication of the above-mentioned clause,

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not a part of such Notice, might well be construed as an attempt to alter the Notice which was posted pursuant to the Settlement Agreement."

Contained in the notice which the News was required by the Settlement agreement to post were pledges by the paper that it would bargain with the Guild on request, that it would not "interfere with, restrain, or coerce" its employees in their right to organize and bargain collectively, that it "will not unilaterally change the wages, hours or conditions of employment" of the employees, and that it will make certain employees for losses they suffered as a result of unilateral conditions imposed by the News.

The income due employees amounted to more than \$1,350 in advertising commissions, mileage, and unpaid overtime.

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The Guild Reporter



CHARLES E. CRISSEY, Editor

Published by the American Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO, CLC) the second and fourth Fridays of each month at 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. \$3 per year. Single copy 15c.

Guild Reporter deadline at 1126 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.: letters and features the Friday preceding publication date; news, Tuesday preceding publication; news bulletins, Wednesday preceding publication. Advertising deadline at 35 Mading Terrace, Hillside, two weeks before publication date.

Re-entered as second-class matter July 30, 1956, Washington, D. C., Post Office, under the Act of Aug. 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at the special rates of postage provided for in the Act of February 26, 1935.

Vol. XXIV—No. 22 Nov. 8, 1957

Political Action

Last week's decision by the IEB to contribute \$500 to COPE, and the comments made during discussion of the action, lend emphasis to current happenings in at least three areas where Guildsmen find themselves, willy nilly, engaged in political action.

Among other observations at the IEB meeting was the assertion that this is an "off year" in politics. Another comment noted that the contribution, while it would help bolster a sagging record for the Guild as a whole, came too late in the calendar year to be of immediate effect. Election Day, it was added, was only hours away.

Well, it's no off year for Guildsmen, and all other labor union members, in California, Ohio or Indiana. For the labor unions have been active in all three States, and in one, Indiana, have gained a victory which organized labor will seek to reverse, this year.

The attacks on labor come in the form of union-busting legislative proposals, blandly called "right-to-work" laws by their proponents, or in the smug euphemism of the Ohio State Chamber of Commerce, a law against "compulsory unionism." Such laws have been condemned as being against the public interest by no less an authority in the field than U. S. Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell, a member of the present Republican Cabinet.

The profit motive, which is the drive behind all attempts to shackle the labor movement, disregards party lines as completely as it ignores the long-range adverse effects of its anti-labor policy upon the whole economy.

Hence Guild members inclined to be squeamish about forthright participation in politics may well forget their qualms, in view of nonpartisan or bipartisan attacks on their pocketbook welfare. And a close reading of the observations of Doris Fleeson, Twin Cities Guild lecturer, (text on Page 12) may fortify some waverers as to the character and importance of political participation.

Battle lines are clearly drawn in California, where a gubernatorial candidate makes "right-to-work" laws a major plank in his campaign platform. The approach is a bit more insidious in Ohio, but the issue is identical—the life or death of unionism.

And in Indiana, organized labor proposes to undo the wrongs of the last Legislature by electing a more enlightened group of lawmakers.

Through the IEB contribution, all Guild members can participate directly, even if minutely, in sounding the alarm against such destructive situations.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD

Philip Murray Building

1126 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

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EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT: WM. J. FARSON

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"As I See It, Gentlemen, We Workers Need Just This Kind Of Protection."



IT SEEMS TO US

Of Polemics, Objectivity, Semantics and Dissent

TORONTO, ONT.

Editor: Your editorials on the policy of the Reporter serve a useful purpose, if only by letting the cat among pigeons. It is clear that the editor is no novice at political polemic, otherwise he would not have associated (GR, Oct. 11) opposition to compulsory pension plans with human rights programs and wage goals. I only hope the dialectical method is not misconstrued.

I have yet to learn that a majority approves compulsory pension plans; though most Guildsmen welcome a boost in pay; while contending that human rights include the right to dissent and to dissent publicly.

Most thinking Guildsmen are aware that it is far from easy for the editor of a trade union journal to pursue an objective policy in dealing with the political associations of unionism. Some Guildsmen, possibly the editor himself, will contend that unless one is at least a theoretical sympathizer with socialism (but not necessarily Marxism) one cannot be a good Guildsman. But I doubt if the majority of Guild members think that way.

The trouble is that in this day and age one cannot avoid discussion of semantics as applied to political emotions, and such confusion is likely to increase until such time as the Guild defines its policy with greater clarity than is now evident.

To be sure, the Guild Reporter is not duty bound to present the anti-labor (by which is presumably meant the keep-the-wages-down policy of the American Newspaper Publishers Association and of the National Association of Manufacturers). But many of us contend that our newspaper is duty bound to present the views of members who may oppose the policies of the Guild executive on this and that—even if our views chance to resemble those of the Guild's most bitter opponents.

Meanwhile, back on the ranch, we are still wondering why the Reporter gives more space to "Cheese Specials for October Menus," and a rather puerile cartoon, than to the correspondence of Guildsmen.

HUGH LAMING
Canaan Wire
Services Guild

One purpose of the "It Seems To Us" column is to provide for expression of dissent. The amount of space is limited only by the rules as printed above.

Letters shall be limited to 350 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 referendum 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.

Miss D'Hondt Says Thanks For All Those Election Votes

DETROIT, MICH.

Editor: I'd like to take this opportunity to thank all of the Guildsmen around the country who voted for my election to the

post of ANG vice president at large.

I deeply appreciate their support and shall certainly try my best to justify it during the next two years.

FRANCES D'HOND
Detroit Guild

Retroactivity Goes So Far

EAST WEYMOUTH, MASS.

Editor: What is perhaps a typographical error in the October 25 issue of the Guild Reporter states that increases in the minimums in the new Lynn contract are retroactive to April 6, 1955. Would that they were. The correct date is April 6, 1957.

J. ED ALLEN
International Representative

GUILD BOOKSHELF

STOP, MISS! Whitney Darrow, Jr. Random House, New York City, \$3.50.

Whitney Darrow's cartoons have been brightening the pages of the New Yorker and exposing the more ludicrous aspects of twentieth-century life since 1934. Now, for the benefit of Darrow fans—and anyone else with the ability to laugh at himself—Random House has collected 200 of his best drawings for the magazine since 1949.

Darrow's work is easily recognized by his craftsmanship, his distinctive but unimposing style. But above all, his cartoons are funny—all of them. His field is the contemporary urban and suburban world and he has a knack for distilling humor from the everyday situations which confront its inhabitants—and for piercing their pretensions.

There is the husband, arriving home, who announces to his wife: "Well, I finally saw that psychiatrist you've been pestering me about, and I give you three guesses who's at the root of all my trouble."

And there's the wife who informs her husband: "Henry, I've fallen in love with our marriage counselor."

Occasionally, the barbs have a sharper edge, as when the candidate addressing a political rally shouts: "I have never stooped, my friends, nor will I now stoop, to the kind of vicious falsehoods, mud-slinging, and personal vilification indulged in by my opponent and his Commie pals."

One of the drawings depicts a student painter in the back row of a crowded life class. His paint-

ing consists of a rear view of the student directly in front of him, and he comments to his instructor: "I paint what I see."

If Darrow the artist points what he sees, life for him must be entertaining indeed.

THE WORLD OF DAVID DUBINSKY, Max D. Danish. World Publishing Co. Cleveland, 347 pp. \$4.75.

The none-too-plentiful collection of biographies of notable labor leaders becomes much the richer for this capably handled story of the colorful head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

It is not an "authorized" biography of the hero-worship school, although the author by long association with the subject obviously has the highest admiration for Dubinsky as a man and as an astute master of the art of leadership in what surely must be the most precarious of careers.

Author Danish makes the reader share that admiration, as his narrative threads throughout the decades in which Dubinsky led his group past the deadfalls which a less canny guide might have failed to see.

The book makes clear the deadly hatred which Communists in America (there are no "American Communists," says Dubinsky) hold for the formidable head of the ILGWU. More than any other single individual, says the author, Dubinsky blunted the drive which the Kremlin conspiracy had mounted to take over effective leadership of labor unions in this country.

LET'S BE HUMAN

Anti-Unionism Backfires On Klan

By HARRY FLEISCHMAN

National Labor Service, New York Guild

A segregationist "labor union" using Ku Klux Klan meetings to fight the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union has caused the near collapse of the hooded order in York County, South Carolina. A former high-up Klan insider, reports the Charlotte, N. C. Observer, estimates that the bedsheet brigade in York County has dwindled from 3,000 members earlier this year to less than 300 today.

Here's how it happened. In Fort Mill, S. C., William Somerset, organizer of the "whites only" United Southern Employees Association, told a meeting of the Klan Klavern that any Klansman was automatically a member of USEA and could be sent through an AFL-CIO picket line. This announcement was met by a loud chorus of boos and catcalls—for most of the masked Klansmen were themselves textile workers who immediately walked out of the meeting. Within a few days the Klavern had dropped from 175 members to less than a dozen.

In Charlotte, N. C., when garage workers went on strike and contacted the AFL-CIO American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the same United Southern Employees Association moved in again with the avowed purpose of running the AFL-CIO out of the South. Instead, a whirlwind AFL-CIO organizing drive enrolled 500 city employees.

At the charter meeting for the new union, members of the Durham, N. C. local told the Charlotte city employees that they, too, have a successful, integrated union. The unionists explained that their union was first organized into

two segregated locals, but these proved ineffective in collective bargaining. The two locals then voted to merge into "one big union"—which has since won many gains.

With what result? "Negro shoppers no longer have to stand aside until all whites have been waited on. Frequently, there is no segregation in shoe department seating. The same store rules on trying on or returning merchandise now apply to white and Negro shoppers—whereas, not so long ago, Negroes were not allowed to try on hats or garments or to return anything taken from stores. And, importantly, former rules that made it more difficult for Negroes to get charge accounts have been eased."

And, adds Business Week: "In Atlanta a year or so ago, a new store opened with sales policies that favored white customers over Negroes. There was no organized boycott but Negro leaders in the city explained, 'our people naturally traded in the stores where they were made to feel comfortable and welcome.' Other factors were also involved but the anti-Negro policy is generally considered a big reason the store shut its doors after one year."

The moral is clear. Where businessmen think of dollars as white or black, they'll wind up sickly green.

A GUTSY TUSSLE

...It's How You Play The Game

San Jose, Calif.—American football games have their points, in addition to those found on the scoreboard. Such is the discovery of English newspaperman John Jay Davies, here on an exchange fellowship which will also send Charles Goodman

of San Jose, president of the Guild's California-Nevada District Council, to Great Britain next spring.

Davies, deputy editor of the Western Mail, Cardiff, Wales, wrote the following impressions of the UCLA-Stanford game for the Mercury-News.

"A traumatic experience, as the psychiatrists say. The combined impact of an MGM epic, all in wrestling done on the hoof, and a leg show."

But first things first. The leg show. The incomparable Pom Pom girls, here on an exchange fellowship which will also send Charles Goodman of San Jose, president of the Guild's California-Nevada District Council, to Great Britain next spring.

Friends, these girls made me feel 10 years younger (Trouble is, I think I need 15 . . .).

There were five of the poppets a side, UCLA comprising—so far as these tired eyes could see—three brunettes, one blonde and one mouse, in blue; and Stanford, four brunettes and one blonde, in red; the Stanford girls showing slightly more of what Nature intended Pom Pom girls to show.

I forgot what color their pom poms were (As if it mattered, you fool. Get on with the story).

Well, let me just say that for me these deft sweeties raised the level of the whole affair. Added tone, in fact, to what would otherwise have been a mere vulgar brawl.

But enough. To the game, and its players. Altogether a gutsy little tussle. I could hardly hear the music for the crunch of pad on pad (do they wear corsets, too?) and the steady roar of sweat coursing down those vast, rugged faces.

Faces? One face: chunky, hard-eyed, slitted, mouthed, mean. (I quote from Professor Umlaut's

"The Football Face," published by University of Chicago Press; \$42.)

I confess to having my suspicions that the above tome is not from an objective source. I couldn't see any faces to speak of. Just blobs of flesh under those astral dome things which made the players on the benches look like a bunch of hominoid space-men pining for their mothers. Perhaps the professor was making it all up.

Once more to the game. I will not disguise from you that I knew Stanford was going to win the moment I saw their Pom Pom girls come on. I trust I will not be thought ungallant if I say I considered them to have the edge on the UCLA cuties. They had that serene confidence which comes from using Flex-U-Up Calisthenic Flexer, brought to you, untouched by hand, all the way from Chicago, the Athens of the West, Flex-U-Up Flexes Better.

And now back once more to the game. Well, there isn't much more to say. First Stanford did things, then UCLA did things, then Stanford and then UCLA. I got quite tired watching them just do things.

By and large, the play went from one end of the field to the other in a series of steamy clinches, stopping in the middle for spelling lessons by the rooters of both sides.

Again, I say, the issue was never in doubt from the time I observed how much more limber the Stanford boys were in their pre-game limber-up Query: where do Pom Pom girls do their limbering up? Query, also: why can't we see it?

Painting, as I have been, on a broad canvas, I have not burdened you with tiresome details. But here is the lawless conclusion to the fourth quarter: Stanford, Rich McMillen at center for five. Jeff McMillen at left guard for 1. Gun sounds. Now wasn't that exciting?

That's all for now, I fear. Except that I want you to guess what I would like for Christmas. Right? First time. A P.P.G. She could keep my wife company in the dark winter evenings. If you believe that, you'll believe anything. Even the score, which (Fleet street, please note) was: Stanford 20, UCLA 6.

ILPA Names Winner Of Scholarship Award

New York City—Richard J. Blood, a former member of the Guild at Rutland, Vt., is winner of the first scholarship award established by the International Labor Press Association. Blood has started his academic year at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University. The scholarship carries a stipend of \$1,500, covers complete tuition charges for the year and a portion of the student's living expenses.

Under its terms, the award goes to a student especially interested in labor reporting, industrial relations and economics. The scholarship gift from the ILPA was accompanied by a grant to the university to cover administration costs. ILPA President Gordon H. Cole, editor of "The Machinist," IAM publication, is a former member of the

Guild's International Executive Board.

Blood is 28 years old, a graduate in 1954 of Boston University, where he majored in Journalism, and lives in New Milford, N.J. He was active in the 1955 attempt to win a contract at the Rutland Herald. He had served two years in the Navy and later was an able seaman with the Army Transport Service and the Atlantic Refining Company.

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

By WILLARD SHELTON
Washington Guild

THERE IS A CHANGED ATMOSPHERE in the country, a critical spirit, that poses serious problems for an Eisenhower Administration which has not yet completed the first year of its second four-year term. The Administration obviously is acutely aware of the danger that, what remains of its prestige will be drowned in ridicule and public impatience.

The President is attempting to stem the flow by his speeches on our status and posture in relation to our allies and the Soviets.

After his first speech many questions remained. It is a forward step to have a special science adviser, Dr. James R. Killian, to keep the President advised on matters in the field of what Churchill even in World War II called the area of the "wizards." The issue remains of how faithfully the President will take Killian's advice and how insistently he will push for programs that cost money.

The President indicates he will ask Congress for revision of the McMahon Act that blocks exchange of information in the nuclear field with our allies. But will he assert the kind of leadership necessary to persuade Congress and the people that all the "security" hocus-focus of the past has done us vastly more harm than good?

THE NATO COUNTRIES have vast scientific resources, including the vital resources of brain power. But we need to do something more than exchange information which, in the President's words, the Soviets already possess. Great advances and breakthroughs depend on the sharing of processes and concepts that the Soviets, at the moment, may not yet possess. A Western community in which the spirit of free inquiry is supreme cannot be built by niggling changes of the restrictions that have hampered progress.

Mr. Eisenhower suggested that the people might be willing to make necessary sacrifices so as to restore security. Here the follow-through is all-important. An Administration that for five years has given the country soothing syrup and the doctrine of economy cannot change the course of events by small, undramatic proposals when the details of programs are sent to Congress.

THE PRESIDENT'S PUBLIC RELATIONS situation is not strong.

The people bear a large share of the responsibility for his delusion of the past that he could run our country as a kind of absentee board chairman of his council of advisors.

His method of operating was made clear in his first term. He gave clear evidence that he required long and frequent periods of recreation, that he gave little attention to details, that he depended too much on decisions made at lower levels than his own.

When he announced his decision to seek a second term, he frankly told the nation that he could never again expect to be as active and hard-working as a person who had not suffered his two illnesses.

This casual attitude apparently fitted the mood of the people—the desire to pretend no problems remained, the treacherous yearning for what Warren G. Harding called "treasure," the exotic assumption that a capitalist economy somehow would inevitably outstrip a planned Soviet economy driving ahead on an aggressive military-diplomatic offensive.

NOW THE PEOPLE ARE TURNING against Eisenhower.

There are contemptuous jokes about him. There is bitter criticism of Mrs. Eisenhower accepting a fur coat to help out the beaver trappers of Maine. The Administration is suffering open derision—the deadliest weapon that can be used against the White House.

The election results in New York and New Jersey suggest that cynical hopes to build Republican Party success on the pretense that the GOP is red hot in favor of civil rights for Negro voters are likely to collapse.

A curious disorder seems apparent in the White House. At the moment when the President's public relations dropped to a low point, the able Press Secretary James C. Hagerty wandered away on vacation and did not return for Mr. Eisenhower's first report to the people on Soviet achievements.

THE ONE UNDENIABLE FACT is that there is no substitute in this country for leadership by the President in any time of crisis. It has been proved many times in our history.

Whether Mr. Eisenhower is capable of reversing the flow of distrust now rising against him, whether he can lift himself to a sustained act of leadership, and dominate events in relation both to Congress and the people, are questions that only he can answer.

New UAW Paper Bows in December

Detroit, Mich.—Publication of "Solidarity," a weekly newspaper which will be the official organ of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, will begin the first week in December, the UAW has announced.

Ken Flester, formerly editor and publicity director for the Textile Workers Union, will be the editor of Solidarity and director of the UAW's newly organized Publications Dept. He is a Guild member and once served as president of the Newark, N. J., Guild.

The Detroit Guild has a constant covering the editorial employees of the UAW.

The new weekly will replace the union's two monthly publications, "The Auto Worker" and "Ammunition," the latter formerly published by the UAW Education Dept.

Solidarity will be published in several geographical editions. An eight-page tabloid, its outside four pages will be devoted to regional coverage as well as the most important national and international news of interest to members. The inside four pages will be largely a magazine section.

Labor's Lighter Side

By LES FINNEGAN

—IN BOSTON, MASS., one of the most memorable incidents of the recent city-wide newspaper strike occurred when announcer Art Smith of Radio Station WEEI read off a full 15 minutes of death notices supplied by one of the strikebound papers. As soon as he finished he was called to the phone. At the other end was an excited female voice demanding, "My God, where was the accident?"

—IN CINCINNATI, IUE Field Representative Carol Brown was deeply gratified at the intense interest displayed in one of his organizational talks by a group of workers in a new plant. At the end of his discussion there was complete quiet. Pleased that his union arguments had made such a deep impression, Brown asked, "Are there any questions?" In the front row a wide-eyed girl in a clinging sweater stood up. "Yes, sir," she said. "Are you married?"

—IN NEW YORK CITY, officials of the AFL-CIO American Guild of Variety Artists were ready to swear on a stack of cast-iron black kettles that this Christmas, for the first time, there won't be a single non-union Santa Claus in New York.

—IN SYRACUSE, N. Y., an electrical appliance plant decided to abandon its absurdly lengthy application and promotion forms after a large number of union members decided that the questions were strictly for the birds. The forms were junked after 23 union employees wrote the same answer to the question, "Do you operate any of the following machines?" The listing of the machines filled exactly three pages and ended with: "Others?" All 23 of the union men had replied, "Slot and pin ball."

—IN LEXINGTON, TENN., the town's entire police force went out on strike, but not for the usual reasons of pay, pensions or other benefits. Police Chief Arthur Roberts and his three-man force walked out because their pride was hurt. People had been making snide remarks about the fact that three stores were burgled in one night, all of them on the town square.

—IN NEW YORK CITY, unions, accustomed to all sorts of criticism from banks and bankers, were slightly stunned at a completely new line of attack thrown at them by Vice President H. E. Dickhut, of the American Trust Co. The net worth of organized labor has grown in just eight years from \$3 billion to \$12 billion, said Dickhut, but even that accumulation of wealth wasn't the banker's real gripe. The trouble is, complained Dickhut, unions aren't investing their money in big business. "They could get twice as much income as they do now," he contended.

—IN STORNAY, ISLAND OF LEWIS, SCOTLAND, the weirdest longshore strike in British history quickly became known as "a war of nerves and thirst." More than 100 Stornaway dock workers, striking for more pay, hit on a unique idea. They'd unload food, cloth, coal, iron and steel—in fact, they'd unload absolutely anything except Scotch whisky and tobacco. It took only a few days for supplies of Scotch to disappear and the isolated islanders faced a major crisis. Before the week was out they were making fuel trolleys from pub to pub around the island but not a wee drop was to be had. At the start of the second week the islanders were as furious as they were thirsty and a number of them decided to take things into their own hands. They circulated a statement to be signed by every resident of the island warning the steamship company that if it didn't settle with the striking dock workers it could expect its island business to be completely wrecked, finished. How? The whole population would emigrate to Australia where "we are promised a program of sensible labor-management relations and non-interference with our Scotch."

Special Finishes Ease Laundering, Extend Life Of Fabric

By SIDNEY MARGOLIS

Quick Reporter Consumer Expert
Fabric finishes you can apply at home, or that are already applied by clothing manufacturers, can help keep clothes and other fabrics cleaner, save laundering and even help fabrics wear longer. These possibilities are especially important to working families who have the problem of laundering work clothes, and to families with small children.

The most common finishes you can apply are starches and related products. Modern starches often are no longer ordinary cornstarch. They also may be plastic or resin starch, by themselves or in combination with another product called CMC. This is a white powder long used in commercial fabric finishing, and now available in household preparations. Even ordinary starch offers possibilities for easing the chore of clothing and fabric care.

Unfortunately, the array of different kinds of starches and special finishes you find on store shelves these days is more confusing than helpful. They have juvenile-sounding coined names which tell you nothing about what they actually are, or their usefulness for different purposes.

The different types of starches and finishes do have varying usefulness and suitability, and should be selected on the basis of your major needs.

The chief types and some of their brand names are:
Ordinary Starch, in either the less costly dry, or more convenient liquid form.

Plastic Starch, available under many brand names, including Glosstex, Pernastarch, and others.

Resin starches, such as Textize and Vau.

CMC, by itself or in combination with plastic or resin finishes, as Glosstex, Textize and Kleer-Blu.

A recent test by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station provides useful information on the suitability of the different finishes for different purposes. Here are the findings:

SOIL REMOVAL: Fabrics finished with CMC were easiest to clean, followed closely by fabrics finished with plastic starch containing CMC. The fabrics with ordinary starch gave up soil about the same as fabrics that had no finish at all. Resin-finished fabrics ranked lowest in ease of soil removal.

WEAR RESISTANCE: Judging from these tests, resin and ordinary starch give most protection from abrasion. In fact, fabrics with these finishes resist abrasion about twice as long as those with no finish at all. CMC proved to be almost as good in protecting fabrics against abrasion, while plastic starch gave less protection.

But abrasion is only one form of wear suffered by your family's clothes. In shirts, the most visible wear often is found in the folds of the collar and sleeve hems. In this case, the survey found the least worn were shirts finished in plastic starch, ordinary starch, no starch at all, and resin, in that order.

CREASE RECOVERY: Plastic starch produced best recovery from creasing, followed by resin, CMC, and ordinary starch in that order.

EASE OF IRONING: Plastic starch proved best here, followed by ordinary

starch, CMC and resin.

COMFORT: Plastic starch led in the opinion of wearers, followed by no finish at all, CMC, ordinary starch and resin in that order.

CLEAN LONGEST: CMC led in wearers' preference, followed by starch and plastic starch.

EASE OF LAUNDERING: The tests found solutions of plastic and resin most easily prepared, followed by starch. Also, fabrics don't have to be treated as often with plastic and resin as with starch. Some brands of plastic starch in the stores are claimed to last eight to fifteen launderings. This may be a slight exaggeration, but you should be able to count on the finish lasting through several launderings. In the Texas tests, the resin finishes were renewed only at the fifteenth and thirtieth wearings.

While each of these finishes ranks best for different qualities, it would be a nuisance to try to arrange launderings for different types of finishes. In general, the plastic starches or plastic with CMC, appear to have the most all-around usefulness with the fewest disadvantages. They last relatively long if not the longest, are convenient to apply, relatively good in ease of soil-removal, and while they won't protect the kids' pants against abrasion, they won't wear out shirt collars as fast as some of the other finishes. But where appearance is most important, as for your husband's and boys' dress shirts or your own and children's cotton dresses, CMC is helpful, and so are ordinary starch and long-lasting resin starch.

Ordinary starch, if not for the fact that it has to be renewed each time, still has some advantages over the newer products. It provides neat appearance and as much stiffness as you want, but doesn't help as much in soil removal.

For clothes that get very dirty, a product with CMC can be a good help. It both repels soil and helps pop off the soil in the laundry water.

Actually the usefulness to a family of these finishes need not stop with clothing. They can be used to help curtains, washable drapes and slip covers achieve more soil resistance, better appearance and ease of launderability. Commercial linen-supply houses even use CMC on sheets to give a protective finish without stiffness.

Where stiffness is desired don't use CMC or plastic starch. Ordinary starch will give most stiffness. Where you want a finish that still gives a soft "hand" or feel, CMC and plastic starch are useful. They're also useful for rayon garments and oxford-weave fabrics that absorb too much ordinary starch and become too stiff.

Another new finish suitable for non-washable fabrics as wools is called Scotchgard. It's colorless liquid derived from fluoropar ruck. Fabrics treated with it repel oils and water. This is an improvement over the present repellents which can make garments water-repellent but not able to shed oily liquids without staining. So far Scotchgard is being used only by some manufacturers of men's suits and furniture upholstery fabrics. But laboratories are experimenting with a spray can for home use so you can finish your family's garments and upholstery fabrics yourself. The finish is reported to last through at least five dry cleanings.

TV Team Offers \$3 Million For Pawtucket Times

By JANE GOODSSELL

Pawtucket, R. I.—A recently formed corporation whose officers are prominent in network television production has offered to buy the Pawtucket Times for \$3 million if certain conditions are met, according to reports received here.

Officers of the new corporation, New England Newspapers, Inc., are William J. Bratter, New York attorney, president; Vincent Colangelo, radio and television producer, treasurer; and Mark Goodson and William Todman, television producers, both vice presidents.

Goodson and Todman produce the TV show "What's My Line?" Also reported to be involved in the deal are Ralph Ingersoll, who for a time published PM in New York, and Ernest Cuneo, president of the syndicate North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.

Conditions reportedly set by the group are that the sale must be agreed to by owners of 80 percent of the Times' common stock by November 15 and that all officers of the Times Publishing Company resign except publisher Stanley Black.

The Times, an evening paper with a circulation of 39,717, has been on the market for about a year. Last month, Edward B. Aldrich, president of the Times and Publishing Company, died at the age of 86.

The Guild's contract covering Times employees expires December 22. When the Guild a few weeks ago first proposed that renewal negotiations be opened, management pleaded for a postponement. Shortly thereafter the negotiations for the purchase of the paper were revealed. Officers of the new corporation have parried all Guild attempts to discuss the status of the Times and the Guild's contractual relations with it.

ARE YOUR UNION DUES PAID UP?

SOUP TO NONSENSE Bring On The Bees

By JANE GOODSSELL

With the possible exception of Business Week, it is almost impossible to find any publication that doesn't devote at least one article a year to the subject: What To Do When Your Child Asks Questions. What the authors of these articles invariably have in mind is just one thing: SEX.

It is taken for granted that the toughest questions posed by children relate to sex, and that no other line of inquiry could so embarrass their parents.

Grateful as I am for the advice contained in these articles (be honest and direct . . . Don't tell the child more than he wants to know . . . Don't evade) I never really needed instruction in this field.

When it comes to the facts of life, I am on safe ground. The reason is simple. It is one of the few subjects on which I am reasonably well informed. I know where babies come from.

What I do not know are the answers to such questions as: Why don't the stars fall down? How big is a tuna fish? How do you build a bridge? How long do ants live? What is an atom? Why are there holes in Swiss cheese?

It is questions of this type that make me blush with embarrassment, and fall back on such evasions as: "Run along, darling. I'm busy now." Or "Ask your father when he gets home." Or "Go look it up in the encyclopedia."

My nine-year-old daughter is fascinated with the system of the universe, a subject which confuses me to the point of hysteria. I can never remember what goes around the sun or vice versa? And what does the moon have to do with the tides? And how do the stars and planets and light years and satellites

and heaven-knows-what-else fit into the picture?

It is too involved an apparatus for me, and merely thinking about it makes me dizzy and gives me a ringing sensation in my ears. To make matters worse, I am ashamed of my ignorance of so basic a subject.

My upset condition is visibly apparent to my daughter, Katie, when she asks me, "Mommy, why does it get cold in winter?" I say nervously, "Don't ask so many questions, darling. Can't you see I'm busy?"

The poor child probably thinks there is something vaguely shameful in talking about stars and weather.

But when it comes to sex, I have a chance to gain back some of my lost status and to act like an authority! Here, at last, is a subject on which I know the answers.

Well, maybe not all the answers, but enough to get by. I'll admit I don't know much about birds and bees and unicellular forms of reproduction. There was a period in my life when I was so confused that I thought that, in order to have a baby, you had to keep bees. But I got that straightened out.

And now, even when they ask me something tricky like "How can you have a baby when you aren't married?" I sigh with relief. At last I'm being asked a question I can answer!

Newburgh-Beacon

Newburgh, N. Y.—Edward Lown is the new president of the Newburgh-Beacon Newspaper Guild. He replaces Francis P. McCloskey. Other local officers are: vice president, Ruth Wilsey; secretary-treasurer, Eugene Boisseau.



—Photo by George Hall, Chattanooga Guild.
Coffee And: Time out for refreshments at the recent meeting of the Southern District Council, which featured a workshop conducted by ANG Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr. and Ellis T. Baker, director of research and information.

Perlik, Baker Head Program At Southern District Council

New Orleans, La.—A discussion of leadership responsibility and membership participation was the feature of the recent Southern District Council Meeting at New Orleans. Representatives of seven Southern Guild locals took part in the talk, led by Ellis T. Baker, ANG director of research and information.

Baker emphasized the need for initiative on the part of local leaders and increased activity by rank-and-file members. He set the theme for the discussion with the Biblical quotation: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare for battle?"

ANG Secretary-Treasurer Charles A. Perlik, Jr., reported on the many problems confronting the new International Executive Board, stressing the ANG's need of a retaliatory position against the pattern of newspaper coalitions in strike situations in Cleveland and Detroit.

The Council was welcomed by Fred Cassibry, a member of the City Council and attorney for the New Orleans local. He discussed the possibility of new anti-labor legislation and a split within the labor movement arising out of the McClellan Senate Committee's investigations and suggested that such developments "could set labor back 50 years."

The Council also heard reports from International Vice President Richard Lane of Memphis, who is chairman of a committee to publish a "Disse Guildsman" for distribution to Council members, and from Council Secretary Fred S. Holley, who is chairman of a college journalism awards committee.

Lane distributed Vol. I, No. 1 of "The Disse Guildsman," a mimeographed sheet announcing the current Council meeting and other news of the activities of locals belonging to the Council.

Holley reported progress toward the awarding of a plaque to the best college newspaper in the area covered by the Council. Three judges—Lenoir Chambers, editor of The Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk); Paxton Davis, acting director of the Lee Journalism Foundation; and James Markham of the Journalism School of Pennsylvania State University—have undertaken to judge the first series of entries early in 1958, Holley reported.

George Hull of Chattanooga was appointed by SDC President Willard Yarbrough to work with Baker in compiling a complete contract analysis of agreements between Council members and Southern publishers.

The Council also heard a report from Robert Morris of New Orleans on the grievance arising out of the dismissal of Ewing Poter from the New Orleans Item. The Item, Morris said, has taken the position that arbitration is not a mandatory part of a contract and the issue is now on the docket of a Federal court.

Holley, representing Hampton Roads, described encouraging efforts to achieve a local alliance with the Norfolk-Portsmouth Typographical Union and submitted the text of a proposed agreement which the Hampton Roads local has approved. It awaits ratification by the printers' group.

The Council also accepted an invitation from the Hampton Roads local to meet at Virginia Beach in the spring.

In attendance at the meeting were: Ed Desobry and Bob Morris of New Orleans, Bill Stubben and Fred Holley of Hampton Roads, Dick Lane and Forrest Morgan of Memphis, George Hull of Chattanooga, Everett Bouldin of Houston, Bud Cox of Charlotte, Willard Yarbrough of Knoxville, Baker and Perlik.

The report of the committee, which followed 18 months of study, will be considered by the organization's policy-making body, which meets in Atlanta, Ga., next February 24-25.

SPEAKING OF PICTURES Canons & Captions

By LEO SOLOMON

A column of this type is something new for the Guild Reporter, and putting a column together is entirely new for us. But we're starting out boldly. Frankly we're not quite sure where this will lead you and us. Pictures, not photos, in the title is deliberate. Neither the editor of the Guild Reporter nor we think this space should be limited to the technical and other aspects of news photography.

Rather, we think that for such crafts among ANG members as photographers, artists and picture editors, there should be a platform for exchange of information about the non-photographic aspects of publications. Our role will be that of moderator. We'll toss out ideas for your information and reaction.

If we sound off with an opinion you consider cockeyed, we'll expect you to set us straight, but we'll appreciate agreement once in a while, too. Either way, we hope you'll speak up.

Without intentionally duplicating items in the photo columns and journals, we'll be on the alert to pass along tips on what's new and practical. That goes for anything we run across in the fields of newspaper art and picture editing, as well.

Of primary importance to all of us, concerned as we are with freedom of the press in the widest sense, is the current drive to lift the bars against photography in court rooms. (See story elsewhere in this issue.)

The restrictions imposed by the Bar Association's Canon 35 were understandable when efficient news cameras were bulky, lens shutters noisy and flash was needed for illumination. Objections to the click of shutters, photographers milling about for vantage points and intermittent flashes of intense light had some legitimacy.

The very quiet, miniature cameras and ultra-fast films that provide satisfactory exposures with a minimum of available light have answered those objections.

Recent tests sparked by the National Press Photographers Association, and individual photographers with the backing of picture editors, have proved rather conclusively that the main obstacle to this reform is judicial and legal reluctance to modify the rules of courtroom procedures.

At the risk of contempt citations, news photographers have made pictures during trials without the judge, the jury or the spectators being aware of their activity. Despite the watchful eyes of bailiffs ordered to enforce the judge's ruling, Kip Ross, then a charter member of the Guild at the New York Journal-American, now National Geographic Illustrations editor, smuggled a miniature camera into the last days of the trial of Hauptmann for the Lindbergh kidnapping. There were other such tests in that trial, and later in many other courts. In no case was the court aware of the camera until after publication of the resulting pictures.

The courts have not been on record against pictures as differentiated from photographs. As far back as we can remember—and that's quite a distance—artists have been allowed to

make sketches during court proceedings. The contemporary news cameraman, using Contax, Leica or equivalent without flash, is at least as unobtrusive as the artist with sketch pad and pencil.

Federal jurisdictions have been tougher than state courts in regard to photography. And federal procedures are fairly uniform. There is no country-wide uniformity, however, in state courts or even among all the courts in a single state. In some jurisdictions, television cameras have covered court proceedings; in others, news photographers and their editors have been cited for contempt for courtroom picture-taking.

These columns will be open to reports of progress in this fight. It should help all news cameramen and picture editors to know what steps are being taken by your city and state, especially what success has been achieved. If you are permitted to take courtroom photos, speak up. Let the rest of us know how that favorable ruling was obtained. Maybe the same tactics can be employed in other jurisdictions.

While we're stirring up controversy, here's something else: Why are news cameramen so reluctant to supply captions with their photographs? Picture editors, including this one, have been fighting this battle for years.

But photos still reach picture desks with the barest of details—sometimes none at all. Even the basic left-to-right identifications are often hard to come by.

I've known too many news cameramen to believe that any of them are illiterate or can't find the right keys on the typewriter. None that I know ever lacked for words in writing in for a raise or to explain his expense accounts or why he missed the shot that was blown up for eight columns by the opposition.

A photograph without a caption is just a picture, without news impact. Until someone invents a means of recording words and sound with stills, it will take a photograph plus the written caption to add up to a news picture.

If there is any reason besides habit or a deep-seated mental block, those of us who have never operated a camera professionally would like to hear it. So start bating them back. I'll keep mark and chest protector handy, but I hope picture editors will come to my aid on this one.

New Records Predicted In Newspaper Prosperity

(Continued from Page 1)
 record \$3,235,600,000 for 1956.
 Similar confidence was expressed by William F. Carr, president of the Association of Newspaper Classified Advertising Managers.

To the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers convention in Harrisburg, he predicted that within the next five years classified will have an annual total of one and a quarter billion dollars.

"It is estimated," he said, "that in five years, \$15 billion will be spent for all advertising, and if the newspapers retain their share, and I predict they will, we have five billion in advertising revenue."

"If classified progress and penetration of the total newspaper advertising expenditure continues, and again I believe it will, and receives 25 percent of this total, classified will be getting a total of one and a quarter billion."

Concerning the effect of one competitive medium—TV—Bruce Barton, the advertising executive, had this to say to the California Newspaper Advertising Managers Association in San Francisco: "And what effect has the fantastic growth of the cyclops (TV) in our living room had on other media? Of course, many studies have been carried out. One of the most interesting is the Videotown study, first begun in 1948 by Cunningham and Walsh, which deals with TV viewing habits of New Brunswick, N. J."

"This study showed that newspaper reading is the only form of mass communication in the home which showed no downward reaction when TV sets were purchased."

"Daily circulation over the

past 10 years has grown from 51 to more than 57 million—about 12 percent—and Sunday circulation has grown from 45 to 47 million.

"The number of newspaper advertisers has increased and the line rate has gone up 54 percent."

"So you see, newspapers have more than just weathered the storm."

The rise in advertising lineage and revenue since the Guild revised its wage goal to \$150 in 1953:

Year	Lineage	Revenue
1953	2,610,698,761	\$2,644,800,000
1954	2,581,175,971	\$2,685,500,000
1955	2,543,397,974	\$3,087,000,000
1956	2,910,780,505	\$3,305,000,000

Note that while the lineage increase in 1956 over 1955 was 2 1/2 percent, advertising revenue, on the other hand, increased 7 1/2 percent, or almost three times as much.

In this same period, the average open line rate increased more than 5 percent. The maximum rate (the rate representing the cost of one line of advertising per million circulation at the open flat rate, which is the maximum charged for national or general advertising) increased almost 5 percent. (Association of National Advertisers.)

These figures once again underline the fact that decline in lineage volume does not necessarily mean a corresponding decline in revenue.

Many newspapers have raised their advertising rates. One of the latest to do so is the New York Times. Effective September 1, the Times increased its rate for retail store advertising approximately 4 percent, week days and 6 percent on Sunday.

An example of this rate increase found to lineage decline is

study of a small town newspaper of 12,650 circulation.

In 1956, the magazine reports, an increase in local advertising revenue of 8.32 percent was made possible despite a lineage loss of 1 1/2 percent because of a rate increase in that category of approximately 15 percent. Over a 5-year span a 46.87 percent increase in revenues occurred.

Thirty-seven percent of America's daily newspapers today charge more than five cents a copy.

That's the information George W. Hicks, president of the International Circulation Managers Association and circulation manager of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, gave the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers' convention in Harrisburg.

"The five cent newspaper," he declared, "is fading so rapidly that it will soon be completely a thing of the past. That's the pure and simple truth."

Pennsylvania, he said, as a state has more dailies over five cents than any other state in the Union.

"Smaller newspapers," he pointed out, "are actually in a better position to justify and put across rate increases than are the metropolitan dailies."

"If you've been vacillating about increasing your price, I must say that the day will soon come when it will not be whether—but how much. Now is the time to increase. The public is conditioned to it."

An increase of almost 2 percent over 1956 had been recorded as of March 31, as U. S. and Canadian daily and Sunday newspapers set new all-time highs.

The figure was 111,683,042, an increase of 2,070,811.

The totals were announced by the Audit Bureau of Circulations for 1,690 ABC-member papers and 709 non-ABC papers.

At the same time, Editor & Publisher said of its annual cross-section circulation study of 500 papers in the nation's major cities:

"Again... ABC totals clearly indicate U. S. daily and Sunday papers are stronger than a year ago in circulation totals for each category—morning, evening and Sunday."

"These overall gains have been made in the face of competition from other media and in many cases at higher subscription prices."

Meanwhile, Dr. George Gallup reported the public is willing to pay even more for its newspapers.

Addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors in San Francisco, Dr. Gallup summarized the results of a study of the press undertaken by the American Institute of Public Opinion, Princeton, N. J.

"The reader must be asked to pay more for his paper," he said. "The question is, will he pay more, and how much?"

"It may be of some comfort to you that 66 percent of all adults interviewed said they thought newspapers were entitled to an increase in price."

"In short, there is a favorable climate for raising circulation rates."

The evidence, Dr. Gallup emphasized, "is overwhelming as to the basic strength of the newspaper with the American public. In the years immediately ahead, it is hard to see how television, radio or any other means of communication can materially change this situation. The press has a flexibility and an impact difficult to match at the local level."

The number of daily newspapers sold in the United States increased by almost a million copies per day during 1956.

The total was a record-breaking 57,101,510. And this year it has already climbed another million to 58,600,000.

Newspaper circulation, according to E&P, has risen more than three million copies per day in the last four years, showing a 5.8 percent gain since 1952.

The revenue from the sales of daily and Sunday papers in the United States and Canada—\$1,344,236,000—as reported by the ANPA's Bureau of Advertising, was in 1956, for the first time computed from the actual prices charged by individual newspapers. In previous years, average prices for morning, evening and Sunday papers were used.

In analyzing a five-tenths of 1 percent boost in the overall cost of living in June over May—as measured by the Consumers Price Index—the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Labor Department, found that an increase of 1 percent in the "reading and recreation" category was primarily the result of higher prices for newspapers in several cities.

And what of our national economy?

And the recent shakeout of the stock market and the launching of Sputnik?

Well, during the second quarter of this year, the gross national product—the total value of all goods and services produced—soared to a record annual rate of \$435.3 billion.

Between the first and second quarters of 1957, according to President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisors, the gross national product rose by \$4.4 billion (annual rate).

Our rising productivity, says Fortune magazine, "enables a nation to increase its output faster than its population and so to increase its living standard."

The U. S. productivity trend is toward an annual increase of 3 percent or more.

From Arno H. Johnson, vice president and senior economist of J. Walter Thompson Co., comes a forecast of a \$650 billion

lion economy for the U. S. within the next decade.

Speaking to the Premium Advertising Association of America in New York City, he foresaw doubling of today's advertising expenditures to match that economy.

To support this \$650 billion production economy, in 1968, according to Johnson, means an expansion in consumer sales of \$140 billion, or 50 percent over mid-1957 and calls for "from \$12 billion to \$21 billion of total advertising—or nearly double the present" outlay.

Meanwhile, corporate profits in the first half of 1957 were level creased above the high level achieved in the first half of 1956.

A survey of 741 leading corporations, conducted by the First National City Bank, reports that their combined profits in the first half of this year were 6 percent more than in the first half of 1956.

Recently, Publisher Donald Cromie gave out some good news. The Sun and its competitor, the Province, have agreed to affiliate as a morning-evening combination, and both will be published in a brand new, jointly-owned plant.

Under the terms of the deal, the Southern Co., owner of the Province, will pay the Sun \$3.8 million. Book value of Sun Publishing Co. stock, consequently, has jumped from \$5.19 to \$14.16 per share. As for the Province, Mr. Cromie announced an increase in the annual dividend from 20 to 40 cents a share.

Such dramatic progress admittedly is rare. Yet holders of Canadian newspaper equities have fared remarkably well in the market.

Canadian newspapers, however, see the present cost squeeze as temporary, and expect an early resumption of the long-term upward trend of profits.

The first TV station in the Dominion began operating late in 1952. In that year, 70 Canadian newspapers carried 617 million lines of advertising.

By 1956, the number of lines of advertising had increased to 1,353 million, or \$3.50 per share, on revenues of \$32 million in 1955.

Similarly, the Thomson Co., earned about \$600,000 last year, up from \$424,069 in 1955. The Sun Publishing Co. in the year ended Aug. 31, 1956, showed a change.

What happened to manufacturing wages in that same period?

"Wages in 1957, weekly wages, take-home pay wages were \$60.90," Reuther pointed out. "Weekly average take-home pay in 1957 in the first quarter was \$74.20."

"If weekly take-home pay of manufacturing workers had increased in the same proportion as did the take-home pay of these giant corporations, then the take-home pay of every manufacturing worker in the first quarter of 1957 would have been \$40 a week higher than it was."

Reuther concluded: "Now, these are the brutal economic facts of life. And we can ignore them only at our peril, because only as we recognize the economic facts as we begin to deal with them, realistically, can we hope to find answers that will bring into the kind of dynamic balance greater productive power and greater purchasing power, which must form the basis for a full employment and a full productive economy."

Now, this is not profit before taxation. This is profit after taxation, although wages are paid before taxation.

"But taking take-home pay parallel to take-home profits, the profits of these corporations in 1952 were \$1,464,000,000. In 1957, based upon an annual return using the first quarter as the basis for computing that, it was \$2,781,000,000, or an increase of 90 percent in that period."

As it has done often in the past, the Madison Newspaper Guild utilized a booklet to present its wage case. Here is how the cover served as a key.

THE GUILD CASE '56

IT NOW COSTS MORE THAN EVER TO LIVE

Food and Rent Up... Dollar at a Record Low

Living Cost Leaps Again

RAISES ARE BIGGER IN '56

Pattern 10 Cents or More

Nat'l Linage Hit Record \$695 Million

Reuther Sign for 10-Cent Boost

5% Pay Hike Won At MCE

Grocery Clerks Win Pay Hikes

Only Two Cents Sell to Booth

Building Raises Over \$1.3 Million

30-Cent Hourly Boost Over Two Years for Bricklayers

Teamsters In Settlement

And Another: As it has done often in the past, the Madison Newspaper Guild utilized a booklet to present its wage case. Here is how the cover served as a key.

One Way: The Seattle-Tacoma Newspaper Guild graphically presented its wage position and its reason for seeking to better that position in dollars like the one above.

20000

A PLACE IN THE SUN

There's A Long Trail A Winding

HOW FAR DO YOU WANT TO GO?

Wishing Won't Help At All

ATTEND THAT GUILD MEETING

Let's stop fiddling on Poverty Flats And get on the trail

We are 75¢ in the RED and 24¢ behind St. Louis

SEATTLE 120.50

*** AGREED UPON TO GO IN EFFECT BETWEEN NOW & SPRING**

One Way: The Seattle-Tacoma Newspaper Guild graphically presented its wage position and its reason for seeking to better that position in dollars like the one above.

NEWSWEEK TIME 165.00

LOOK 162.50

NEW YORK 151.50

WIRE SERVICE 150.00

ST. LOUIS 145.00

WE WERE WITH YOU IN '46 AT 65¢

Now Seattle is the low bidder.

BUFFALO 140.00

PHILADELPHIA 137.00

SAN FRANCISCO 136.00

SCRANTON 135.39

CHICAGO 139.00

WE WERE WITH YOU IN '46 AT 65¢

Now Seattle is the low bidder.

DETROIT 134.69

BOSTON 133.25

SACRAMENTO 131.75

CLEVELAND 131.00

WASHINGTON 131.00

LOS ANGELES 128.90

LONG BEACH 128.90

STOCKTON 128.50

LANSING 126.00

SAN JOSE 124.77

TACOMA 125.90

PORTLAND 125.50

ST. PAUL 123.25

KENOSHA 124.00

VALLEJO 121.50

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SAN FRANCISCO 1

Fleeson On Politics: An Art To Be Practiced

By DORIS FLEESON

All of life is of course an art to be practiced. But as I am only an amateur philosopher and indeed often find it difficult these days to be philosophical at all, I shall be speaking tonight of that particular area where I have claims to competence. It is politics.

My own happy breed of men and women are political reporters and the special flavour of their work arises from the fact that their identity with their subject becomes with the passage of time absolutely total.

It is fortunately possible for reporters to cover crime without acquiring the criminal mentality. They are able to make the trial of a spy or a divorce or a spectacular case of larceny live in deathless prose and at the same time lead blameless lives, at ease alike with their bankers and with Dorothy Dix. Not so the political reporter.

If his political coverage is to have any depth—and no other kind is worth writing or publishing—he must become saturated with his subject and intimately acquainted with the true nature of the politicians he deals with.

He must know them and the political imperatives they are bound to obey. These political imperatives take many forms and they are different for each politician. They include geographical considerations, social and economic forces and the interests of his party, both local and national.

Such knowledge is vital because the political reporter on occasion comes very close to being judge, jury and lord high executioner of the politician. To undertake this assignment without proper information is worse than unfair, it is base.

No Secrets

Eventually reporter and politician grow into that relationship which is such a cross to every President and the bureaucrats around him; that is, they have no secrets from one another. Possessing as they do, a complete mutual understanding of political situations and the forces creating and operating upon them, how could it be otherwise?

I consider this relationship one of the great bulwarks of the republic quite apart from my personal stake in it. My one real complaint about it is that reporters—and their publishers—tend to become too kind to their favorite politicians and Presidents. Too often they find it difficult to maintain that detachment which combines in correct proportions understanding with critical analysis.

The pampering by the press of politicians, no matter how exalted their status, is a crime so heinous it should be forbidden by law.

When I was younger and more sanguine, I used to make certain suggestions for remedying any such bent on the part of my colleagues. I proposed for example that Washington correspondents should be returned to their home offices at stated intervals and made to cover police and department of sanitation, both excellent experience for political coverage. I argued that this would re-acquaint them with reality, shake them loose from connections which had grown too comfortable and generally restore their perspective.

I was fond also of quoting Parnell to the effect that the greatest enemy of Irish freedom was the English dinner napkin.

I soon learned that I was not destined to win any popularity contests at the National Press Club. I have settled long since for a column of my own where my efforts to practice what I preach have earned me a few figs—with this, I am indebted to that notable phrase-maker, Adlai Stevenson, for the title I have attached to my remarks. Mr. Stevenson's favorite definition of the difference between the two major parties of the United States is this: "For Republicans, politics is a status to be maintained; for Democrats, it is an art to be practiced."

Mr. Stevenson of course gave his own party the best of it since it is always more interesting to watch a man trying to walk across a tight rope than to see him immobilized in the center of it. Reporters generally will agree that the

Presented in these columns is the text of the Eleventh Annual Newspaper Guild Memorial Lecture given in Minneapolis, October 24, by Doris Fleeson, Washington political columnist for United Features Syndicate.

Miss Fleeson, who was a member of the Guild's first national executive board elected in 1933, chose politics as her subject and titled her address "An Art To Be Practiced."

The lecture is jointly sponsored by the Twin Cities Newspaper Guild and the University of Minnesota School of Journalism in tribute to three Twin Cities Guild members who died in World War II: Carroll Bon of the Minneapolis Tribune and Lawrence Cragg and Riley McKay of the Minneapolis Star.

Dr. Ralph D. Casey, director of the school, headed the lecture committee. Guild members serving on it were John C. McDonald of the Tribune, Bernard Casserly of the Star, Bob Eddy of the St. Paul Dispatch and Adolph Johnson of the Associated Press.

arts of politics seem to come more naturally to Democrats than to Republicans. The reasons suggested are many.

One is that throughout its long history—and it is the oldest political party in the western world—the Democratic party has tended to identify itself with causes affecting people. People arouse a greater and more bewildering variety of emotions than property and they do not stand still. People's causes attract reformers who are often wrong but rarely unpicturesque.

Again, Democrats make good stories because they tend to be rather more romantic about the party of their choice. Harry S. Truman actually believes that it is better to be a Democrat than a Republican; he is willing to give a Republican his civil rights but in Mr. Truman's view the party that will make your teeth white, your eyes shine and your hair curl is Miss Democracy. Former Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey would probably agree with him on that last point but for different reasons.

When the late Veep, Alben Barkley, described the golden thread which ran through his party from Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Jackson to Grover Cleveland, et cetera, he almost talked poetry—for the first hour, that is, I could never seem to interest Dear Alben in my constitutional amendment forbidding speeches longer than 20 minutes.

For some curious reason Democrats also are more impervious than Republicans to the patina imparted by worldly success. I have had this put to me in various ways. My favorite comes from a disgruntled Republican who pointed to some indubitably rich Democrats including a shirt-sleeved Averell Harriman and said disgustedly: "Look at 'em! No matter how rich a Democrat gets he still sweats."

Will Rogers expressed the fun of watching Democrats many times. He explained that he was not a member of any organized party, he was a Democrat. A Democrat, he said, will shoot at Republicans only when he can't find another Democrat around to work on with his knife.

GOP Complaints

Republicans rather wistfully complain that their array of sterling qualities does not command the same memorable descriptions. They quite genuinely deplore the Democratic party and with some justification regard it as the Auntie Mame of politics. What seems to baffle them is that she can be a best seller. They are quite touchingly sensitive too about their presumed devotion to private property and can tell you in some detail how much of it remains in Democratic hands.

Certainly no one can take it away from Republicans that they too have had their moments as with the Bull Moose and the sons of the wild jackass. But unquestionably theirs is a superior talent for hiding the family skeletons in the closet. It is no accident that "the team" emerged in January 1933 as a hallmark of the new management at the White House.

In all seriousness and leaving the partisans to their fun and games, the objective observer desecries in Mr. Stevenson's

definition the dividing line between the successful politician and those whom history delights to forget. The difference is not a party matter.

Men who have come alive for the voters, including Republicans and Democrats—T.R. and F.D.R., Al Smith and Fiorello LaGuardia—have all treated their trade as a creative art. They practiced it untiringly and they got results largely commensurate with their efforts.

Every corner of the governmental machine and the programs which these politicians directed and controlled felt what Walter Lippman has so well described as "the brooding presence of impatient men." They were impatient because they recognized the scope of their responsibilities and knew how much depended upon them personally.

Urgency, Excitement

Such men communicate a sense of urgency and excitement to politics. Their crowd to energies release in turn the creative energies of those around them and of the nation. Suddenly people cease to feel that to muddle through is the best that can be hoped for. It not only seems important to act, it appears possible that good will flow from it.

The command to practice politics as one of the highest arts and noblest sciences has been laid down by writers, philosophers and rulers since recorded time. They have pronounced it necessary to the happiness of mankind and they have admitted to no limitations on its importance.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines politics as the science and art dealing with the form, organization and administration of a state and with the regulation of its relations with other states. Note the inclusion of "the regulation of its relations with other states." Disraeli called it the art of governing mankind. Webster typically brought it down to earth. Politics, he wrote, is the theory and practice of managing or directing the affairs of public policy. The key words are "managing or directing."

To Gouverneur Morris politics was "the sublime science which embraces for its object the happiness of mankind." Morris had a right to speak, being associated with that immortal band—politicians all—who wrote the American Constitution and founded this republic.

De Tocqueville speaks of "the agitation of mind" common at that period. It is past time for a fresh outbreak of that valuable disease.

Man's Function

People who denigrate politics are perverting its meaning and failing to understand its purpose. For it is through politics that man by the exercise of his will can dominate his public fate. Politics uses all the knowledge that can be assembled for man's most important function which is to get along with other men both within his own nation and outside its borders. It is a function noble and almost divine in its suggestion of loving fraternity.

We can elect to choose our national destiny by way of the art of politics or we can sit down and let fate overwhelm us. If we merely cling to status we shall only put ourselves at the mercy of the leaders of other states who are resolutely managing and directing their public affairs for the benefit of themselves or their nations.

The most formidable of such leaders are acting from motives we hate and for purposes we abhor. They have cynically created the problems we now are facing. We can expect them to go on creating more problems within the limits of their ability to confuse, to harass and eventually to destroy us.

But these men are not ten feet tall. The Russians, the Red Chinese, the Syrians, are not bigger, brighter, fiercer or smarter than we are. They are merely men in a world of men. Contrary to a popular misconception their police state governments are not more efficient than our democracies. What is in truth really frightening about their operations is that they are so inefficient. It is possible that the stupidities of a few men or even one man may bring total destruction on us all.

The Last Days of Hitler by Trevor Roper is recommended to anyone who doubts this and there are companion volumes to drive the lesson home.

What is lacking here is the determined will to manage and direct the overwhelming forces at our disposal. Somewhere along the line we have been overtaken by a perverted definition of politics. We have ceased to expect the best from our politicians; we have sometimes seemed to demand the worst. We are tolerant when they abdicate their true functions and when they cater to our national faults. We have driven our best minds from politics because of the low esteem in which we hold it. We have ridiculed the intellectuals who sought to guide us by the light of reason and we have allowed them to be accused freely of treasonable purpose. Happily the swinish climate of anti-intellectualism has moderated but we are by no means rid of its legacies of conformity, inertia and timidity.

In our commitment to a materialism which puts comfort ahead of all other considerations we have allowed our young people to forget the rewards of public service. It is an attitude which infects American life at all levels. At the same time the multiplicity of our society has led to the proliferation of the experts. Two kinds in particular now hold high place: The professional manager and the scientist. Yet both of these, because of their enforced specialization, have in large part removed themselves from the ordinary hopes and fears of mankind and are no longer qualified for the ultimate leadership. The worlds of science and technology are making great contributions to our well-being but they rarely yield men capable of managing and directing mankind's affairs.

What are our principal problems today? In human terms our greatest is race relations. Inflation is a growing cancer in our economic life. The rapid growth of the population of the United States and its flight to the cities are drastically changing the whole face of the nation. These changes have brought a whole train of enormous difficulties in their wake of which a crisis in education and the proper use of land, water and resources are outstanding.

Heart of the Matter

The avoidance of war in the face of a determined, implacable and evangelistic enemy is and must remain the heart of our foreign policy. The task grows more difficult by the day. It bristles with such thorns as the maintenance of friendly relations among our allies and the search for an approach to colonialism in new nations which by a sad irony of fate demand freedom from outside influences while committed to feudal or authoritarian social systems.

One has only to state the problems to show that they lie in the realm of politics. The alternative to our slow destruction is to recognize this and put the national will to work.

I have not heard it suggested anywhere that this country could not have put a satellite into outer space. The failure was a political failure, it was the lack of vision to see what it would mean to our world leadership to be surpassed in so striking an endeavour.

The Russians used their dictatorial power over their subjects to win that triumph. Our victories must be voluntary. They always have been and they will be again when the American people are made acquainted with the facts.

The cruel embarrassment of Little Rock was well within the capabilities of wise men to foresee and to avoid. Politicians practicing their art could have mobilized forces within and without the South. The real troublemakers have never at any time represented more than one percent of the people but that one percent had leaders.

The iron truth of today's dynamic world is that nobody can maintain status by standing still. This is a hard lesson not always learned in high places.

There will be decisions in the world—political decisions—and they will determine our fate. Whether those decisions are made by us or by the Russians depends upon our ability to make our politics achieve the ends we seek.

I wish I had some magic formula to suggest to you. There is none. There are no wonder men or wonder women. There are only you and I and others who believe in freedom. There is only what we are able to get out of ourselves for our children, our country and our God.