

Official organ of the
American Newspaper
Guild, an affiliate of
the American Fed-
eration of Labor.

The Guild Reporter

Entered as second-class matter May 7, 1934, at the Post Office
at New York under the act of March 3, 1879

Published the 1st and
15th of each month
at Guild headquarters,
1560 Broadway,
New York City.

Vol. IV. No. 8

NEW YORK, APRIL 1, 1937

Single Copy 10c; By the Year \$2

TELEGRAM UNIT IN NEW PEACE EFFORT

Push Block Chain for Full Pacts

Two Guilds in Drive; Both
Toledo Papers Sign
Agreements

ON BLOCK CHAIN

Pittsburgh and Newark Guilds are actively pressing the Block chain for full Guild contracts, including the preferential shop. The Pittsburgh Guild decided to reject an offer of city-wide negotiations made by the publishers and to continue its talks with the Block paper.

Both Block papers in Toledo have now signed contracts.

PITTSBURGH.—The Pittsburgh Guild on March 17 rejected the combined proposal of the Hearst, Block and Scripps-Howard managements to bargain on a city-wide basis. The proposal was made on March 11.

Rejection was voted, 3 to 1, after the membership concluded that "definite progress" has been made to date in negotiations with the individual publishers. Any deviation from this procedure offered no visible advantages to the Guild, it was held.

The publishers had said that city-wide negotiations would "facilitate" matters. They contended they should be entitled to the counsel and assistance of other publishers, since the Guild had obtained counsel and assistance from printing trades

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Political Strength Is Urged by Lewis

John L. Lewis, chairman of the CIO, and Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, both placed themselves on record in favor of political self-expression by labor in speeches in the last fortnight.

Lewis, who made extensive references to the idea, added: "The fundamental interests of labor and farmers are interdependent and they should work together for the same democratic and economic objectives."

Lewis brought the subject prominently into his speech in Madison Square Garden, New York, at the anti-Nazi mass meeting of the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee, on March 15. Speaking of the threat of fascism in the United States, he said he knew of "only one means of insuring our safety—the workers of America must find self-expression in economic, in social and in political matters." The Union, he said, was an instrument for expression in these matters as well as for improving wages, hours and working conditions.

Martin, addressing an Auto Workers' rally in Detroit, urged a united labor political front which would oust any public official inimical to labor. He left little doubt that there would be a strong labor slate in Detroit at the next election.

The ANG at its last two conventions has endorsed the idea of a farmer-labor party.

Great Falls Strike Threat Brings Quick Pay Boosts

Cuts Are Restored and
Agreement Promised
in Fast Time

GREAT FALLS, Mont.—Threat of a strike within 24 hours, which the publisher later admitted "would have closed the plant," won for Great Falls Guild extensive wage increases effective at once and a written promise of continued negotiation on the basis of an agreement.

The wage increases, approximating in most cases 10 percent more than the October, 1936, level and representing a restoration of depression cuts, had been sought for nearly six months by the Great Falls Guild. Slight increases had been granted during this period and a statement of policy issued recognizing the Guild and providing substantial wage increases for some members in the lower pay brackets, but this statement never was accepted by the

BULLETIN
Boston.—A year's contract setting a top minimum of \$37.50 for copy desk men, rewrite men, editorial writers and makeup men, establishing the five-day, forty-hour week, and setting dismissal indemnities up to three months' pay at the end of nine years was approved unanimously by the Boston Globe unit on March 24. It was expected that the contract, between the Globe Newspaper Company and the Boston Newspaper Guild, would be signed on March 25.

Guild, which continued to press for an agreement.

At GFNG's request the publisher of the city's two dailies, which are now virtually 100 percent Guild-organized, was interviewed in January in New York by Jonathan Eddy, ANG executive secretary. The publisher, Eddy reported, gave as-

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Tribute Paid To Armstrong

Victim of P.-I. Discharge
Dies of Heart Attack

SEATTLE.—Everhardt Armstrong, one of the two victims of the Post-Intelligencer firings that led to the Guild strike, died of a heart attack on March 18.

City officials, labor leaders and newspapermen of the Northwest were among the thousands who jammed Eagle's Hall here and overflowed into the street at funeral services on March 22. Services were conducted by the Seattle Guild. Richard Seller presided and an imposing list of notables, headed by Mayor John Dore, paid tribute to the drama critic around whom the famous struggle between the Guild and William Randolph Hearst partly centered.

Every labor organization in Seattle was well represented. Armstrong's death was news. The story of his passing was given a banner by both The News, a pro-labor paper weekly,

(Continued on page 3)

Pact In View On N. Y. Paper

Eagle Agrees to Include the
Guild Shop

The joint management of the Brooklyn Eagle and Times-Union has agreed to negotiate a contract to include the Guild preferential shop and to be signed by the Newspaper Guild of New York. The first conference will be held on March 31. The agreements on these points were won by the two staffs, 90 per cent of which are organized, almost without effort.

Consent was announced by E. A. Ruhfel and Lyle Dowling, who represented the publisher, M. Preston Goodfellow, at a conference on March 17 when it was pointed out by the unit representatives that the Guild was not seeking to dictate to a publisher whom he must hire, or the size of his budget, but rather that Guildsmen were merely opposing any lowering of pay scales through firings, thus taking no more "control" than an individual asking for a raise.

Asks Howard End New York Impasse; Opposes a Strike

Unanimously Rejects Paper's Terms;
Knoxville Firm for Full Contract;
Cleveland and Memphis Sign

SCRIPPS-HOWARD SITUATION

The World-Telegram unit in New York sent negotiators back to the management with a request to interview Roy Howard, co-owner of the Scripps-Howard chain, immediately to determine what adjustment of the present impasse in contract negotiations could be made without strike action. The unit voted 91-66 against authorizing a strike. It had previously unanimously rejected the contract as it stood.

Contracts were signed in the last fortnight with the Cleveland Press and the Memphis Commercial Appeal, containing important improvements but not the Guild shop.

The Akron Times-Press Unit was to meet on March 25. The Knoxville News-Sentinel was standing firm for a full contract. A meeting of the national Scripps-Howard Guild Advisory Board was scheduled in conjunction with the International Executive Board session on March 28 in New York.

President William Green and John L. Lewis both sent letters to the Guild supporting the demand for the Guild shop.

Telegram Bid for Peace

An invitation to Roy W. Howard, head of the New York World-Telegram, to offer a peaceful settlement of the dispute over a Guild contract was made by the World-Telegram Unit after it had voted 91 to 66 against a strike March 24.

In a resolution adopted unanimously the unit urged Howard "to explain the steps that may be taken to solve our mutual dispute by action short of a strike."

The unit unanimously rejected the contract offered by the management at the March 24 meeting, but after a five-hour discussion decided not to strike.

The contract was declared unsatisfactory because it omitted the preferential shop, failed to meet demands on pay minimums and denied a blanket 10 per cent pay restora-

tion. The Guild negotiators pointed out the management had made its final offer and had declared further discussion of the major points would be useless.

The report of a committee appointed by the unit to investigate support for a strike from the labor

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IEB Agenda Heavy For Quarterly Meet

The International Executive Board was to meet on March 26 and 27 at The City Club in New York City for its regular quarterly meeting.

The crowded agenda drawn up by Executive Secretary Jonathan Eddy included several questions arising out of the intensive bargaining activity throughout the ANG. The agenda seemed likely to make a third day's meeting, on March 28, necessary.

Bargaining progress on two chains, Scripps-Howard and Paul Block, was to be discussed; as were the efforts by some publishers to impose contracts with company union characteristics. The intensification of the threat to labor unity in the A F of L-CIO controversy and ANG policy in the face of it were other major matters up for consideration.

In addition, several studies and reports of committees arranged for at the January meeting had places on the agenda. The Constitution Commission had obtained an extension of time and will make its report later, but reports were expected from the wire service committee and from the treasurer on wire service funds, on credit unions, legislation, preliminary steps for a survey of hours and wages, on the possibility of starting an employment service, and other matters.

Chicago Times Lifts Payroll By \$33,000; Posts Policy After Guild Rejects Pact

CHICAGO.—Adding an estimated \$33,000 to the annual editorial payroll of the Daily and Sunday Times and considerably improving staff working conditions, the Times Publishing Corporation on March 19 posted a one-year policy statement. Top minimum pay granted was \$50. The action followed refusal of Organizer Don Stevens, spokesman of Chicago Newspaper Guild negotiators, to recommend Guild signature of virtually the same statement in contract form.

This move of the corporation, accompanied by a written threat of firings if forced to raise its newly stated minima, brought a request from the Times unit to the local Guild to abandon Chicago's first big

editorial bargaining campaign which had won concession after concession for many weeks.

The Times policy minimums range from \$20 for first-year men in main channels of editorial work to \$45 and \$50 for three-year-experienced men, on the five-day, 40-hour week hitherto generally in effect. Other new benefits are three weeks' vacations after four years, dismissal indemnities graduated from two weeks' pay after one year to eight weeks' pay after eight years (the paper is eight years old); five per cent higher wage minimums for night work; equal cash or time off for overtime under an elaborate and fairly liberal computing system; dispute adjustment machinery; no anti-

Guild discrimination; freedom for outside work; syndicate rights, expense rights; right of reporter to remove by-line, and other features.

Seventy-five persons received raises as a result of the statement, according to Robert Walshaw, Times auditor, who proved a standard Guild argument by remarking that the firm was forced by the minimums to raise persons already at or above them. He also said that in the "last 12 months" previously the editorial payroll had been raised 15 per cent, not including personnel additions. Most of these earlier raises apparently occurred since the staff trooped into the Guild last December. They occurred noticeably

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SH UNIT MAKES NEW PEACE MOVE

Asks Howard to Propose Solution That Will Make Strike Unnecessary

(Continued from page 1)
movement showed 1,000 pickets had been pledged by various trade unions and telegrams had been received from a number of unions and Guild units promising financial and man-power support. Elmer Brown, a member of the World-Telegram chapel of Big Six, declared he believed members of the printing unions in the plant would not go through a picket line.

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, wrote the Guild that he would call on all affiliated units to assist.

John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O., sent a statement declaring the Guild was justified in its demand for the preferential shop and improved working conditions and should receive labor support.

Haywood Brown, ANG president, attended the meeting of the unit, of which he is a member, and urged a strike vote.

Opponents of a strike at the meeting argued that victory was doubtful and that there was no assurance of sufficient financing for a long strike.

Nearly thirty members of the staff who had not been Guild members or had dropped out of the Guild joined just before the meeting and man, others restored themselves to good standing by paying dues so they could vote. Of the 200 members of the unit 178 were in good standing when the meeting was held and of these 160 were present at the meeting.

The voting was by secret ballot. After the vote the members went on record almost unanimously by a standing vote as pledging themselves to maintain their membership in the Guild and support it for a year.

Knoxville Stands Pat
KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Negotiations between Knoxville Guild and the News-Sentinel (Scripps-Howard) management reached an impasse when management refused to grant the proper signatory clause, Guild shop and arbitration board.

The management gave in on five-day, 40-hour week, pay restoration with two exceptions and other points dealing with substance of the contract as distinguished from principles.

Contracts signed in Memphis and Cleveland were cited by the management in support of its position that the Guild shop was not necessary to a satisfactory contract.

The Knoxville Guild's negotiator, Joseph Swidler, pointed to the offer of the World-Telegram management to give in on the signatory clause, but the News-Sentinel management still insisted on making "News-Sentinel employees" the principal rather than Guild.

The Knoxville Guild voted unanimously not to accept a contract that did not provide a Guild shop.

Knoxville Central Labor Union is being kept informed of developments. The letter from William Green, A. F. of L. president, to Jonathan Eddy, pledging his support and that of city, central and State bodies was read at a meeting of Central Labor Union. George Goop, Southern representative of A. F. of L., also spoke to the C.L.U. of the A. F. of L.'s interest in the controversy.

Green and Lewis Statements Support Guild Shop Demand

Support for the Guild demand for a Guild shop in the contract being negotiated with Scripps-Howard papers has come from both President William Green of the A. F. of L. and John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O. Below are their messages.

FROM WILLIAM GREEN
Please be assured that the American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in the negotiations which the representatives of the Newspaper Guild are carrying on with the management of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. I earnestly hope success will attend your efforts to secure a collective bargaining agreement with the management of these publications.

The American Federation of Labor is in thorough accord with the proposal which you and your associates representing the Newspaper Guild made to the management of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance for the recognition and establishment of the Guild shop. Because of the position which the editors of the Scripps-Howard newspapers have assumed in favor of collective bargaining and in support of the establishment of contractual relationships between employers and employees, it seems inconceivable that the management of these publications would resist the efforts of the representatives of the Newspaper Guild to establish the Guild shop.

I extend to you and to the Newspaper Guild full and complete assurance of the support of the American Federation of Labor in all efforts you may put forth to require the management of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance to agree to your reasonable demand.

I will gladly call upon central bodies and state federations of labor to rally to your support and to give to your Newspaper Guild a full measure of cooperation and assistance. These city central bodies and state federations of labor will be instructed to stand by you and to render all help possible.

I am pleased to make this reply in response to inquiries submitted as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward your Newspaper Guild in a conflict which might occur between it and the management of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.

This differs slightly from the version first sent out but is the official letter.

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I believe that the officers and members of the American Newspaper Guild are entirely right in making this demand. The element of freedom of the press does not enter into the question. Indeed, the labor movement yields to none in its concern for the freedom of the press.

The American Newspaper Guild should be supported in every possible way in its efforts to obtain contracts which include a provision for a preferential shop.

The unit vote was in support of the 5 to 1 vote of the Guild executive committee for the immediate signing, which was completed amid office ceremony a few minutes after the "vote of confidence" given the executive committee by the unit.

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The agreement was between the Commercial Appeal unit and the management did not include a closed shop. Both newspapers in the city are Scripps-Howard.

Almost simultaneously with the formation of the Council, which is a co-operating body for its constituent units, with no other bonds of affiliation than those of mutual interest and protection, the Newspaper and Magazine Chauffeurs and Handlers entered into collective bargaining negotiations with the Evening Bulletin and quickly obtained a union contract.

That was the first time in the history of the Evening Bulletin that a union contract was won, and it greatly heartened the Guildmen on that paper, where a renewed membership drive is now in progress.

The chauffeurs and handlers sought a wage scale ranging from \$41 to \$48. The Bulletin management offered a higher scale if no union contract were signed. The workers took the contract.

The Camden section of the Guild has been affiliated for some time with the South Jersey Council for Industrial Organization and the Guild secretary, Albert Jones, has been temporary CIO secretary there.

Membership Doubles in Year
The upsurge of Guild sentiment in Philadelphia and Camden—resulting in nearly doubling the membership in a year, until today there are about 500 newspapermen and women paying dues—has been accompanied by enthusiastic endorsement of industrial unionism.

Since the sentiment of the general membership meeting was overwhelming in favor of joining the CIO there was no discussion on the matter before the election of delegates to the approaching Guild Convention. The delegates are Polk, Evening Ledger; McCarthy, Daily News; Paul Comly French, Miscellaneous Unit; Irving K. Fagen, Record; Richard Cornish, Camden Courier-Post; and Alexander Kendrick, Inquirer.

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INDUSTRIAL BODY FOR NEWS UNIONS

Novel Council Starts in Philadelphia—Guild Helps Organize Ad Men

PHILADELPHIA.—The Joint Council of Newspaper Workers, believed to be the first of its kind in the country, has been organized in the Philadelphia and Camden area.

Formation of the council followed the organization of newspaper advertising solicitors into their own guild. Charles Polk, Philadelphia Newspaper Guild president, played a leading role in organizing the advertising men.

The Philadelphia and Camden Guild membership, also, voted on March 21 to affiliate with the Philadelphia Council for Industrial Organization.

The Advertising Guild already has 100 per cent membership in the classified advertising department of the Inquirer and has asked for a wage and hour contract. Its president is William J. Farson of the Inquirer.

Besides the Newspaper Guild, the Joint Council of Newspaper Workers now includes the Newspaper Advertising Guild of Philadelphia and Camden, the Newspaper Carriers Union and the Philadelphia Newspaper and Magazine Chauffeurs and Handlers Union, all A. F. of L. affiliates. Thomas A. McCarthy, of the Newspaper Guild, has been elected chairman of the Council.

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That was the first time in the history of the Evening Bulletin that a union contract was won, and it greatly heartened the Guildmen on that paper, where a renewed membership drive is now in progress.

INDUSTRIAL BODY FOR NEWS UNIONS

Novel Council Starts in Philadelphia—Guild Helps Organize Ad Men

PHILADELPHIA.—The Joint Council of Newspaper Workers, believed to be the first of its kind in the country, has been organized in the Philadelphia and Camden area.

Formation of the council followed the organization of newspaper advertising solicitors into their own guild. Charles Polk, Philadelphia Newspaper Guild president, played a leading role in organizing the advertising men.

The Philadelphia and Camden Guild membership, also, voted on March 21 to affiliate with the Philadelphia Council for Industrial Organization.

The Advertising Guild already has 100 per cent membership in the classified advertising department of the Inquirer and has asked for a wage and hour contract. Its president is William J. Farson of the Inquirer.

Besides the Newspaper Guild, the Joint Council of Newspaper Workers now includes the Newspaper Advertising Guild of Philadelphia and Camden, the Newspaper Carriers Union and the Philadelphia Newspaper and Magazine Chauffeurs and Handlers Union, all A. F. of L. affiliates. Thomas A. McCarthy, of the Newspaper Guild, has been elected chairman of the Council.

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That was the first time in the history of the Evening Bulletin that a union contract was won, and it greatly heartened the Guildmen on that paper, where a renewed membership drive is now in progress.

The chauffeurs and handlers sought a wage scale ranging from \$41 to \$48. The Bulletin management offered a higher scale if no union contract were signed. The workers took the contract.

The Camden section of the Guild has been affiliated for some time with the South Jersey Council for Industrial Organization and the Guild secretary, Albert Jones, has been temporary CIO secretary there.

Membership Doubles in Year
The upsurge of Guild sentiment in Philadelphia and Camden—resulting in nearly doubling the membership in a year, until today there are about 500 newspapermen and women paying dues—has been accompanied by enthusiastic endorsement of industrial unionism.

Since the sentiment of the general membership meeting was overwhelming in favor of joining the CIO there was no discussion on the matter before the election of delegates to the approaching Guild Convention. The delegates are Polk, Evening Ledger; McCarthy, Daily News; Paul Comly French, Miscellaneous Unit; Irving K. Fagen, Record; Richard Cornish, Camden Courier-Post; and Alexander Kendrick, Inquirer.

The Guild, which has contracts with the Camden Courier-Post and the Philadelphia Record, now is negotiating for renewal of the Record contract and has begun collective bargaining with the Evening Ledger.

Such negotiations are expected to start shortly on the Daily News, where the Guild recently has obtained virtually 100% membership.

WILLIAM MARKS, one of the founders and first president of the Columbus (Ohio) Guild, has joined the staff of the Akron Beacon Journal. He was added after the Guild won an extension of the 40 hour week to include "key men."

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**N. Y. TYPOS
BACK CIO**



**"Big 6" Condemns
A.F. of L. Hostility;
Aids Lewis**

Terming the craft union policy "antiquated" and condemning the hostility of the AF of L executive council, the New York Typographical Union No. 6 has just voted to give its full support to the CIO.

The union, popularly referred to as "Big Six," consists of 10,500 newspaper, book and job printers in the city. All printers on major dailies in New York City are members of the body.

The resolution was voted unanimously at the regularly monthly meeting by 700 members.

In attacking the AF of L policies the resolution said that in the past 35 years the AF of L has not made "any appreciable progress in organizing workers in key industries" and that the craft union theory followed has "retarded and stultified" workers in these industries.

It further accused the AF of L of "giving moral support to the enemies of labor by its many acts against the CIO," and assailed the federation's

council for its "stab-in-the-back" policy of unlawfully ordering the expulsion of any local craft union body from its affiliation found to be

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**Electric Focus and Finder
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- Makes an old camera as efficient as a new one since it does not depend on absolute rigidity of camera parts.

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- Sharp focus from floor, knee, waist, chest or overhead levels and shoot erect pictures without acrobatics.

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AMERICAN THE URGED

Buenos Aires and Havana Endorse Cooperation

Correspondence looking toward the establishment of a co-operative agency between the working newspapers of North, South and Central America has been received at headquarters from officials of journalists' organizations in Havana and Buenos Aires. In answer to letters sent by Jonathan Eddy, Executive Secretary.

A letter from Rafael de Armas, secretary of the Asociacion de Reporteros de la Habana, explains the social, economic and ethical standards of the group and earnestly appeals for the cooperation of all newspapermen in the Americas. The organization was represented at the recent conference of journalists in Valparaiso, Chile, by the Cuban Minister in Santiago. He was asked to represent the association as being for "entire freedom of thought, expression either by word or writing, and against any government or ruler opposed to democracy."

Luis R. Praprotnik, who, as the representative of the organization of newspaper men of Buenos Aires, attended the journalists' Congress in Valparaiso, describes in his letter his proposal made to the Congress that a provisional committee be formed to study a way of organizing an International Federation of American Newspapermen.

His letter comes at the suggestion of Stephen Vahot, secretary-general of the International Federation of Journalists, with the hope that "in this way we can reach an understanding among all newspaper men who are struggling to create a firm and solid international union."

Pro-Loyalist Groups Not Anti-Catholic

New York City.
Editor, The Guild Reporter:
The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been attacked in the Guild Reporter.

We should like to make a categorical statement that the North American Committee is not fighting Catholicism.

Throughout the United States there are hundreds of thousands of men and women—people who voted for Franklin Roosevelt and Alfred Landon, as well as for Norman Thomas and Earl Browder—who have been deeply moved by the tragedy of Spain. They have looked with dismay and horror upon the Moorish invasion, upon Germany's and Italy's undeclared war on the Spanish people.

These men and women, through fifteen national organizations, have formed the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The committee raises funds to buy food, clothing and medical supplies for Spain. Its affiliate, the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, which has the sponsorship of outstanding leaders of the medical profession in the United States, has already sent two competent, well-staffed ambulance units to Spain, and is sending two others.

We feel that we are carrying on America's noblest humanitarian tradition. Americans who fed the Belgians, the Jews of Russia and Poland, the Germans, the Armenians, the Chinese in times of their need—are trying now to save the helpless people of Spain—feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, healing the wounded and the sick, demonstrating our understanding sympathy with human suffering, and our kinship with the hopeful people of a fellow democracy. Those are the simple facts of our nation's fate.

VARIAN FRY,
Press Bureau, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

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On March 20 the Times had the news that three counties in Georgia had held a referendum on the plan, offering an unusually complete test of sentiment, and voted by overwhelming majorities in favor. The story got six inches at the bottom of page eight.

Seminole County voted 632 in

favor of reorganization and 17 against; Randolph County, 1,092 to 174, and Mitchell County, 1,714 to 355.

This Little Poll Didn't Go to Town

The Child Labor Amendment, recently defeated in the New York State Legislature in spite of spectacular support, came in for its share of news suppression. The Westchester County League of Women Voters Feb. 24, in White Plains, N. Y., passed a resolution asking the New York State League of Women Voters to write the N. Y. Herald Tribune protesting its omission on Sunday, Feb. 21, of the Gallup poll on the Child Labor Amendment ("Youth Control Bill") and the Woman Juror bill. The poll showed a majority favoring both.

Westchester papers, to which League of Women Voters' activities are usually news, did not carry the story.

On Boiled Shirts And Editors

Labor's Non-Partisan League, in its "Supreme Court Calendar," Pocket No. 4, issued in Washington March 6, took a crack at what is "fit to print." It wrote: Cleveland has three daily papers, but not one of them printed the Open Letter to Ohio Senators and Congressmen UNANIMOUSLY voted by 300 delegates to the Cleveland Federation of Labor, representing 130,000 Trade Union Members. A copy was then sent to each editor by special messenger. Again no soap. When a Boiled Shirt sounds off AGAINST THE PRESIDENT, that's fit to print! When 130,000 REAL PEOPLE are FOR THE PRESIDENT the editors toss that in the ash can. Editors still have to be taught what the politicians learned in 1932—that you can't fool the people all the time.

BRITISH NEWSMEN PICTURE SOCIALIST JOURNALISM

Picturing journalism as it would exist in a Socialist state, a committee of the British National Union of Journalists has drawn up a report for submission to the forthcoming annual delegate meeting, or convention, based on interviews with prominent British socialists, including George Bernard Shaw, Harold Laski, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and others, and a representative of the Soviet Embassy in London.

The committee was appointed by the last annual delegate meeting. Its inquiries created such interest in the British Labor Party that the executive referred it to a committee for careful consideration. Highlights of various sections of the report are:

OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

It does not appear to be in doubt that there will be several forms of ownership and control of newspapers under Socialism. There may be newspapers owned by the State, by government departments, by public corporations, by trade unions, by co-operative societies, by registered readers on a co-operative basis and by the producers of the papers.

It seems unlikely that individuals would be permitted to own newspapers except on condition that they were run on strictly non-profit-making lines.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

There was an agreement among all who answered your committee's questionnaire that in an established Socialist State there would be greater freedom of the press than exists today. This would seem to spring naturally from the change in ownership.

A Frank Close-Up of a Farmer-Labor Party in Action

Here is a picture of how one state-wide farmer-labor party has functioned in practice and what it has meant to the local trade union movement. While the ANG convention recommendation to local Guilds to support farmer-labor parties as a means to independent political action was made without reference to any particular State organization, the shortcomings of the one in Minnesota have often been used to attack the whole idea. This article is a partial reprint from the March 13 Nation.

By CHARLES E. WALKER

The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota has functioned actively for more than fifteen years. It has four times elected a Governor; the principal cities in the state have had Farmer-Labor Mayors; and the party has accumulated an impressive number of Senators and Congressmen in Washington. To-day it is no longer a "third party" but the first party of the state. It has lately won every state office save one and has control now of the lower houses.

Today, sitting in state offices over in St. Paul, are scores of men who were fogged, tarred and feathered, and denounced as enemies of society in 1918. They were the fearless and self-sacrificing founders of the Farmer-Labor Party. In the same breath it must be said that the occupants of the state office building and the governor's chambers, though they may have been radicals in 1918, now obey certain rules of the political game that have always governed in Minnesota or anywhere else.

In 1930, when the Minnesota party "came to power," it was quite clear to the naked eye that there had been a transfer of power from the organizers, speakers, and idealists of the "cooperative commonwealth," who had led the movement in its earlier days, to the new "top," the actual office-holders. In any crisis even the "purest" of the rank and file deferred to this practical control.

If a way club of the Farmer-Labor Association charged betrayal of Farmer-Labor principles and threatened to bolt, the men in office held after all an irresistible whip of power. "Your criticisms are a tacit support of reaction. If you don't vote for Candidate Smith, the Republicans will win." For a Farmer-Laborite that was enough. Before the late Governor Olson died, there was a saying in Minnesota that the "pure Farmer-Laborite is a man who tells you in private that Olson should be

shot and Shigstad hung, and who goes out and works like the devil to elect them both."

The problem of disciplining reformist candidates for treason to principles is troubling many practical, as well as idealistic, members of the Minnesota party. The most glaring example of both the problem and its practical effect was the case of Thomas Latimer, Farmer-Labor Mayor of Minneapolis. Elected on a campaign pledge "never to use the police against striking workers," his chief of police shot and tear-gassed hundreds of pickets at the 1935 iron workers' strike. As if to prove that this was no accident, the Mayor in person, under police protection, led a band of scabs through the picket line.

The failure in the party between rank and file and the office-holders has already led to an active inner struggle between the administration and the association. The pivotal struggle has been over patronage. Governor Olson appointed as Director of Budget and Personnel the head of his All-Party Committee, a woman and a Republican, thus surrendering to the enemy the most strategic appointive post within the gift of the party. Under protest he finally replaced her by I. C. Strout, a "rational Dutchman" and strong association man, who discovered that 60 per cent of the state's office personnel were Republicans or Democrats!

Drop All Indorsements

Strout promptly took the position that all appointees should have the indorsement of the association through the candidate's local Farmer-Labor club. The result was a vast influx into the association of "carpetbaggers" who wanted jobs in St. Paul—the association's membership rose in a few months from 5,000 to 30,000. The solution having proved to be no solution at all, the indorsements were dropped. Since 1930 appointees after appointees with no qualifications for office other than vote-getting ability have been given an important policy-making post.

Despite the most strenuous protests from the faithful defenders of Farmer-Labor principles and from competent office-holders who were not open to the charge of office seeking, the struggle throws light on the dual nature of a reformist party, which is pulled in one direction by its constituency of farmers and workers and forced into an opposite one by the exigencies of practical politics.

The Guild Reporter

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"Resolved, that the editor of THE GUILD REPORTER be instructed to so edit THE GUILD REPORTER that it shall promote in every legitimate way the recommendations and mandates of the Third Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild, and that he confine the editorial policy of THE GUILD REPORTER to that specific program."—Resolution of the 1936 Convention.

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GUILD REPORTER deadlines: News stories, 8th and 23rd of each month, at headquarters; bulletins one day later. Letters and feature material, 6th and 21st.

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Vol. IV, No. 8

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April 1, 1937

Mr. Howard Plays His Private Aces

The ink was not dry on the Memphis or Cleveland contracts before the Scripps-Howard national management was using them as weapons to beat down the more insistent demands of other Guilds. If anyone had any doubt that this was precisely the purpose of its haste and pressure in other cities, the management itself has provided proof in the stories carried over the services which it owns.

It is a well-known fact that stories about the Guild carried in Scripps-Howard papers are scrutinized before printing by leading executives. Therefore, exaggerations or misleading statements do not just "happen."

The fact that stories of both contracts as carried in the World-Telegram stressed the absence of the preferential shop might be attributed to good news sense except that it appeared unfavourably whereas other good news pegs were ignored. For example, the fact that the Memphis preamble was in company union form would have been real news to many of the paper's readers, but it would have been the wrong news, so the story neatly dodged it. Moreover after mentioning the absence of what the story (by United Press) called the "Guild closed shop," the piece continued:

The Commercial Appeal was one of a group of ten midwestern Scripps-Howard newspapers represented at the general Guild conference in Cleveland last Sunday to discuss whether the contractual relationships between the Guild and the Scripps-Howard group should be on a closed or open-shop basis.

The boys just didn't want it, eh?

Exhibit B is a collection of three stories on the Cleveland Press contract, the one run by the Press itself, and which, of course, was available to the various services; the story sent to nearby papers of the chain by the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance—and still fairly close to home; and the story as it appeared in the World-Telegram under the SHNA slug.

The story went through amazing transformations. In Cleveland it was straight and objective. For the state wires it began to be different. The absence of the preferential shop came up into the lead, and there were such statements as this:

The contract is similar to the contract under which the Cleveland Press and its employees as represented by the Cleveland Newspaper Guild operated for the year ending Feb. 10, 1937, except that changes were made in the working conditions and minimums as a result of several months of negotiations.

What was that verbiage supposed to convey? The most notorious provisions of the previous contract were those tending to separate the Guild from the rest of the labor movement, to make the Guild seem to be consciously holding itself apart. The previous contract was so used against us in the Milwaukee strike. Actually the new contract was largely cleansed of these provisions. To say it was "similar" is simply misleading. This is only one of a succession of such general statements in the state story.

In the New York story the real fancy work was done. Here the story said, "The contract does not provide for the preferential or Guild shop or any other restrictions on the management's direction of the staff." (Italics ours.) Here is the next paragraph:

The contract as finally signed was in essence as agreed upon two months ago. Signing had been held up by the national Guild leadership which sought to have the Cleveland Press unit of the Guild include the preferential or Guild shop in the contract. Final action came when the Cleveland Press unit demanded that the Cleveland Newspaper Guild sign the contract so that Press editorial employees might get the benefits of the agreement.

The Reporter story on the contract in this issue, written by one of the Guild negotiators, is a flat contradiction of the opening statement. It took two telephone calls in the final hours of negotiations to get Howard's consent to the contract form without which the unit would not budge. The slur on the Guild's national leadership is also noteworthy. If the Guild operates on a national plan, that is because of the self-seeking of its leaders. The fact that throughout these negotiations the local papers

Questions and Answers:

ANG Favors Progressive Unionism, But Fights Split In Labor Ranks

Question: The A. F. of L. here is purging the Central Labor Union of all CIO Locals. How has this step been met in other large cities? What have the Guilds done where these locals have been ousted?

Answer: The opportunity your letter provides to state how our general policy on A. F. of L.-CIO applies to a specific local manifestation of the split is more than welcome. Here is what happened in one city.

The division came to a head over a large strike. On all issues on which the reactionaries divided from the progressives, the Guild supported the progressives. Observing that the progressives were increasing in strength and bade fair to become a majority, the reactionaries resorted to their usual tactics: obstructions of democratic vote through phony parliamentarism and by resort to intimidation and virtual gangsterism. In self-defense, the progressives were obliged to caucus.

The purpose of their caucus was naturally not only defensive but to support the strike and other progressive movements. In these caucuses, the majority of the progressives moved in the direction of establishing their group under a name of its own and of operating under a constitution of its own. The Guild argued against this, but the progressives voted to call themselves the Labor Congress, and adopted a constitution.

Guild Opposes Dualism

During the adoption of the constitution, the Guild took a position in opposition to measures that might lend substance to accusations from the reactionaries that it was a dual central labor body that was being set up. The Guild was instrumental in having the caucus gain the official sanction of at least some of the non-progressive leaders of the city-wide federation. The effectiveness of the Guild's policy in fighting for the Guild's policy may be criticized, but undeniably the Guild supported the progressive elements in the labor movement, while insisting upon its rights as an autonomous affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

It kept to the forefront the fact that the CIO unions are affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, which have been illegally deprived of their autonomy. When, in desperation, the reactionaries put through the official exclusion from the CLU of the progressive unions, the Guild was not thereby intimidated into abandoning its support of the CIO group. In fact, an officer of the Guild has served as secretary of the new Labor Congress and is still so serving.

Situations similar in substance though varying in form have arisen in most of our Guilds. This office, whenever consulted, has pointed to our position as stated in the AF of L Convention and at various times by the IEB, and has advised local Guilds of the logic and necessity of striving for unity within the labor movement, nationally and locally.

Back Industrial Unions
We have recommended that our locals, like the national, lend full support to the drive to organize the mass industries on industrial lines; that they pursue a course calculated to narrow rather than to widen the breach; that the leadership of the American Federation of Labor be not confused with the interests and rights of the membership; that in fighting for progressive policies we make no compromise for the sake of expediency.

The International, in aligning itself with the program of CIO, and our local Guilds in co-operating on a local basis, do not do this in a spirit of defiance towards the American Federation of Labor, but merely as a matter of normal exercise of democracy and autonomy. I assume that if there be a CIO Council in your city, the Guild will find its proper sphere therein as it has everywhere else where the issue has come to a head.

At the Tampa convention the Guild delegate was credited (or discredited), by many delegates with

having incurred the most bitter attack of any delegate at the hands of President Green after having made clear our policy and position from the Convention platform. The ANG has not withdrawn from or been suspended by the AF of L any more than has the ITU, whose president is secretary of the CIO. We still have official dealings with Mr. Green, who is still official head of the American Federation of Labor, and have no apology or explanation to make therefor. We will continue to fight his splitting tactics and to oppose those who abet them by pretending to support progressive policies while actually proposing nothing but a widening of the breach.

Publicity Workers Not Eligible for ANG

Question: Are we correct in our understanding that all publicity men are ineligible?

Answer: Publicity men are definitely not eligible for Guild membership. Possibly certain types might come in under some provision of the ANG Constitution. I refer in particular to Art. I, Sec. 4e, which admits "unemployed newspapermen working on relief projects in an editorial capacity" who, of course, must have had three years' newspaper experience as provided by Sec. 4d.

If an applicant is at the same time a publicity man and a newspaper editorial employee, the determining factor as to his eligibility would be which job took up the major part of his working time.

It is up to the local to rule on the eligibility of its applicants within the provision of the Constitution. However, the underlying idea of the eligibility provisions is that newspapermen doing other than newspaper work belong in the Guild only if they expect and are likely to return to newspaper work. Evidently the Guild has no protection to offer in a trade union sense to men permanently employed in publicity work.

WNG Invited to Explain Charges at IEB Session

The IEB ordered that the Washington Guild be invited to send a representative to the International's expense to appear at its meeting on March 26 to explain the Guild's charges against the Board concerning wire service organization. The motion was made by Julius Klyman on March 11.

The secretary of the Washington Guild, Carlton Skinner, has written to the Reporter about the page of letters on this subject printed in the March 15 issue, and the executive committee of the Guild voted to request that the text of the letter be printed.

The letter, of some 2,000 words, objected first to the wording of the introduction. No "complaint" was made about the use of the fund, he said, because his Guild had not yet been able to find out how much was in it.

Skinner also said the round-up omitted some of the most important letters.

Answering some of the points in the letters as printed, Skinner closed with the statement that "in referring to failure to establish the fund as a 'misappropriation of funds,' there is, of course, no imputation of lack of personal probity."

STREAMLINED NEWSIES

"Little Merchants" Neatly Done Up

State legislatures may fume and fight about him, but the "little merchant" is moving into dignified business circles in the mid-West, where publishers belong to the Inland Press Association.

The business status of the "little merchant" (newsie to you) is attested to by a formal contract offered to the youngsters by members of the association.

Embellished with "parties of the first and second parts," a batch of whereases, clauses, articles and the usual number of blank spaces, the "carrier salesman contract" provides that the "little salesman" shall own for duration of contract the list of subscribers given him by the publisher.

However, lest skulduggery injure the interests of the party of the first part (publisher), the "little merchant" agrees that at the termination of said contract, should said lists have been communicated to others, he ("little merchant") and his bondsman will be responsible for

damages in the sum of (blank) dollars.

And just to help the little merchant to realize the responsibilities of his position, and to secure the property rights of the parties involved, the contract has at the bottom a space in which the youngster's parent or guardian may sign his name guaranteeing full performance of the contract.

... In the event of his (little newsie's) sickness or absence from his duties, the contract stipulates further, said "merchant" agrees "to appoint some other competent person to perform his duties, and said Second Party shall hold himself personally accountable for the actions of said appointee, and in the event of his failure to properly perform, he reserves to the party of the First Part the right to immediately revoke this contract; same to be done by said First Party, when it is the opinion of said First Party that said appointee (substitute) has failed to perform any of the articles of this agreement."

Books Received

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE, or a MONTHLY VIEW OF THE POLITICAL STATE OF THE BRITISH COLONIES. Columbia University Press, New York City. 141 pages. \$2.00.

THE OFFICE WORKER—I.A.B.O.R.'S SIDE OF THE LEDGER. By Orrie Pell, L.I.D. Pamphlet Series. League for Industrial Democracy. 112 East 19th St., New York City. Ten Cents.

have not been able to move without Howard's consent is just part of the workings of Providence.

It comes down to this: Howard plays the game to win. If he can use his papers to discredit, isolate or disrupt the Guild, that is his good fortune. If the units can be played off against each other, if some can be split off when their unity becomes expensive, so much the better for him. So long as we who confront him in negotiations lack singleness of purpose and ability to stand together his tricks will be successful. They will be futile when we become really unified.

We think his exhibition of the last few months has pushed us a long way in that direction.