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American Newspaper
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Committee for Indus-
trial Organization.

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CIO to Furnish 10 ANG Organizers Big Program to Answer Publishers

Meeting the challenge of the publishers' convention of June 29, which signaled the most concerted attack yet undertaken against organized newsmen, the ANG is starting a greatly enlarged organizing program.

John L. Lewis, chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, has given the backing of the Committee to

Seattle Circulation Men Threatened; Guild Strike

Paper Would Force Them Into Teamsters—
Many Locals Meet Publisher Attacks

The ANG today is engaged in the most widespread group of struggles it has encountered since its formation.

The Seattle Guild is fighting off an attempt by the Star to force its circulation staff out of the Guild and into the Teamsters Union.

In Decatur, Ill., the Guild has struck for improved conditions and forced the Herald & Review to suspend publication.

Intimidation, including firings, have necessitated Labor Board actions in Atlanta, Ga., Albany and Troy, N. Y., and other actions are on the verge of being started.

A concerted effort to establish company unions or tie up members with "fidelity" petitions is going on in many cities.

Seattle Defends Jobs

SEATTLE, Wash.—The Star unit of the Seattle Guild, embracing editorial, advertising, and circulation departments, struck on July 3 when the management tried to force the district circulation managers to join the Teamsters' Union in spite of their unanimous vote to stay in the Guild.

International Representative Charles L. Irvine has come to help lead the strike. A message pledging the support of all CIO unions was received from John Brophy, director of the CIO.

The Teamsters Union, under the leadership of Dave Beck, brought on the issue by demanding that the circulation men join his organization

16 Guilds Back A Referendum

Accept Columbus Plan
—May Be Reworded

The Columbus motion for a referendum on six points on which the Convention acted, including affiliation with the CIO and admission of the staff is of newspaper commercial offices, has received 4 seconds, or five more than the number required.

A rewording of the questions may be necessitated before the vote actually takes place, in order to put them in a form which would avoid a legal tangle. Their present wording, it has been pointed out by two members of the International Executive Board, would have the effect of asking the ANG to decide questions which it had already decided, in Convention.

This would be particularly important in the case of the CIO-jurisdiction decision since the Convention made specific changes in the Constitution in accordance with it and the Columbus wording does not

the program by authorizing the appointment of ten organizers, to be nominated by the Guild.

At the same time the plans have been made for doubling the frequency of the Guild Reporter, in accordance with the Convention decision, the new publication schedule to start with the Aug. 15 issue; and the headquarters office in New York City has taken new quarters, doubling its space to make room for the increases in personnel that have already occurred and will occur as the program gets under way.

"This is the answer of the CIO and the Guild," Executive Vice-President Jonathan Eddy said, "to the secret 'freedom of the press' meeting of the publishers in Chicago. The Guild will dot the country with competent men and women who have shown that they know how to organize successful Guilds, capable of getting gains for their members while working on a spare time basis. Now we will have, including all, at least fifteen representatives to go out and build an organization big enough and strong enough to make newspaper work the dignified and secure job it ought to be and able to show certain publishers conclusively that the sort of attacks they are conducting now are not good business.

"The job of these new representatives will be to build the Guild as it has never been built before. Where a reactionary publisher chooses to provoke a strike, we will be able to send in an experienced and able adviser. The main job of our new full time men and women, however, will be to build the Guild. And the best way they can do that is to work with and

(Continued on page 6)

Hearst Men Vote Chain Bargaining

Ask IEB to Name Date
for All Local Talks
to Be Opened

CHICAGO.—Moving rapidly toward national chain bargaining for Hearst Guildsmen, the Hearst chain committee, set up at the Convention, meeting in Chicago July 11 voted unanimously to recommend that all Hearst units enter into a nationally-coordinated program of contract negotiations under supervision of the International Executive Board.

International Representative Morgan Hull was elected permanent chairman of the committee.

The committee then voted to ask the IEB to set a date, before Aug. 1 if possible, on which all local Guilds embracing Hearst units shall simultaneously request the opening of negotiations with local publishers for Guild contracts.

Basic minimum points to be bargained for in these contracts, worked out at the meeting, included the Guild shop, the five-day forty-hour week for everyone, severance pay ranging up to thirty weeks' pay for ten years' service, and a 15 per cent blanket pay raise for all employees except those more advantageously affected by the institution of contract wage minimums.

Set Wage Minima

In an attempt to reduce, as far as possible, differentials in wage minima between cities, figures were recommended as those below which units, setting up their wage minima

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UNORGANIZED NEWSPAPER WORKERS

Protect Your Right of Genuine Self-
Organization by Joining the Guild Now

The news about attacks on the Guild in this issue of the Guild Reporter and appearing in sketchy, puzzling form in the daily papers shows that intensive efforts are being made to prevent the development of a broad, strong union through which all the now unorganized newspaper workers can bargain effectively with their employers for better conditions.

The publishers are moving rapidly, first, to head off organization, if possible, by getting their employees committed to "fidelity petitions," or, second, to make organization "safe" by turning it into the illegal company union form under the domination of their "loyal" assistants.

Where these plans won't work the AF of L, now "purged" of most of its decent top officials, steps in and organizes small craft unions which will keep the employees divided and weak. They are actually conspiring with many employers to do this. Publishers in Seattle, Akron, and Toledo have already shown their preference for such organizations by hastily entering into "agreements."

These are attempts not to help the employees, but to hog-tie them. Such efforts will undoubtedly be made with increasing intensity in the next few months.

The Guild has shown its ability to defeat such attacks. Today, as a member organization of the powerful Committee for Industrial Organization, with its active assistance through the appointment of ten of our members as organizers, and with the backing through it of most of the progressive forces in American labor, it is in a better position than ever.

But the best way for men and women in newspaper offices to defeat these attacks is to join the Guild before they get started. That time is now. The Guild is ready to help.

If you are not in touch with a local Guild mail in the blank below.

TO LOCAL GUILDS:

Help make these facts clear to the new eligible departments by sending in names and addresses of all potential members for the Guild Reporter mailing list. The paper will be sent free for a three-month period, starting immediately.

SEND THIS FOR INFORMATION

American Newspaper Guild,
1560 Broadway, New York City.

I want to join. Send me necessary details.

Name.....Paper.....Kind of work.....
Address.....

Paper's Spite Story Hits Guild Leader

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — John T. Moutoux, Knoxville News-Sentinel reporter and president of the Knoxville Guild, was arrested and held for two hours shortly after the recent shooting at the Aluminum Company plant at Alcoa, Tenn., last week in which two men were killed and a score or more wounded.

He was released by A. G. Huddleston, company manager, who said he was sorry the incident had occurred. The Knoxville Journal with which the Guild had broken negotiations and charged with bargaining in bad faith and intimidating Guild members, gave big play to the arrest. It told of the arrest in the main story and had a separate story in which Moutoux's past experiences in labor troubles were distorted, and carried a picture of a company guard who made the arrest. The lead paragraph of the separate

(Continued on page 4)

BUILDING: New Attacks on Guild Part of Anti-Labor War

By JONATHAN EDDY

LARGER and stronger today than ever before, the Newspaper Guild is undergoing what is unquestionably the severest attack it has endured at the hands of the employers—and it has endured a good many. Emboldened by the violent denial of fundamental rights by the Girdler steel interests, reactionary publishers have struck at us in Canada and the West Coast, in Atlanta, Knoxville and other southern cities; in addition, Hearst is sacrificing hundreds of thousands of dollars at this particular time to break up and disorganize the Guild campaign for full collective bargaining on his papers, which, all publishers well know, will affect their own scales and conditions in the near future.

Their argument that we threatened a free press having been rejected by their own favorite instrument for maintaining the status quo, namely, the Supreme Court (in the Watson case), they hardly waited until the ink was dry on that decision before proceeding to reorganize and renew the fight.

Guildsmen, the public in general, and the Supreme Court have rejected this argument in the past, but when the entire press of a nation organizes to obscure and befoul the public mind, results follow. Few will deny that it is a corrupt self-interested press which made possible the Hitler regime in Germany or that the role played by the wire services and the pub-

(Continued on page 4)

REFERENDUM GETS 15 ENDORSEMENTS

Columbus Plan is Accepted—Wording May Need Change to Avoid Legal Tangles

(Continued from page 1)

This was question number one of the group submitted by Columbus. In its present form it reads: "Shall the American Newspaper Guild affiliate with the Committee for Industrial Organization and advertising office employees in membership?"

A legal opinion as to whether the questions should be submitted in their present form or need to be reworded was being obtained as the Roosevelt went to press.

No material delay would be necessitated by taking time for such a step, owing to the fact that due to the customary summer slump only about 20 percent of the total membership is at present in good standing and qualified to vote. While the Constitution specified certain time limits it is assumed that the membership would want sufficient time allowed for getting into good standing to make the vote representative.

A second set of referendum proposals has been put forward by the Washington Guild, one of the secondaries of the Columbus proposals.

Heywood Brown, ANG president, wired both the Columbus and the Washington Guilds asking for an opportunity to address membership meetings on the subject of the referendum. Columbus set July 18 for the date and Washington, July 16.

Washington proposed four points: 1. Whether to affiliate with the CIO without taking in business office employees; 2. Whether to repeal certain provisions of the Constitution regarding automatic suspension of members who lose good standing and part of the reinstatement requirements; 3. The repeal of Sections 3, 4 and 5 of Art. XVI providing for revocation of local charters between Conventions and the substitution of Sec. 6a of Art. IV of the old Constitution; and 4. Repeal of Art. XVIII, governing collective bargaining and substituting Art. XII of the old Constitution.

Washington Plan Explained

In a letter to all Guilds, President Robert M. Buck and Secretary Robert Skinner, of Washington, explain that the questions were supplementary to those submitted by the Columbus Guild. Question number one, they explain, would permit the members to express themselves both on the question of CIO and on the admission of business office employees.

A letter to the Columbus Guild and the early secondaries of its motions was sent by the IEB, shortly after its motion reached headquarters, over the signatures of all the members, citing numerous attacks now in progress against the Guilds and expressing the view that the officers would be failing signally in their duty as the elected leaders of the organization if they did not talk the situation over with you frankly and urge you to call your members together again and reconsider their action.

The letter, printed in another column of this issue, was sent to all local Guilds.

The secondaries Guilds represented a membership of about 1,600, Guilds representing a membership of 5,300 had notified headquarters of specific action against the Columbus referendum or had voted down local referendum proposals. Letters from numerous other Guilds indicated that they were going ahead with the new program.

The Guilds that had seconded the Columbus motions at the time the Guilds Roosevelt went to press were: Houston, Texas; South Bend, Ind.; Washington, D. C.; Winston-Salem, N. C.; Santa Monica, Cal.; Buffalo, N. Y.; (omitting point 3) Youngstown, Ohio; Enid, Okla.; Springfield,

Ohio; Indianapolis, Ind.; Twin Cities (Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minn.); Lake Superior, Minn.; Kansas City, Mo.; (omitting point 2); Memphis, Tenn.; and Toledo, Ohio.

Seconded by the Washington motions had been received from Twin Cities, Lake Superior, and Memphis (omitting point 3). Toledo had seconded Washington's requests on points 3 and 4.

The Guilds that had opposed taking a referendum were: Baltimore, New York, Seattle, Philadelphia-Camden, Newark, St. Louis, Cleveland, Madison, Wis., Birmingham, Ala., Northern California (San Francisco), and San Jose, Cal.

The Seattle Guild sent out a special appeal to all local Guilds, asking for its support, and urging rejection of the referendum because it would give reactionary officials of the A. F. of L. an opportunity to cooperate with publishers in an effort to destroy the Guild.

The Columbus Guild points out that "it should be clearly understood" that it "does not necessarily oppose any of the actions taken at the recent Convention, but merely wishes to submit certain of the questions passed upon to a vote of the entire membership."

The text of the Columbus referendum proposal is as follows: "Shall the American Newspaper Guild take a stand on a former labor movement?"

Fealty Oath Put Over On Birmingham Staffs

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—James E. Chappel, general manager of the Birmingham News and Age-Herald, fresh from the Chicago publishers' meeting, threw the fear of God and Jim Stahlman into his staff at a meeting of the paper's directors' room, stating the Stahlman fealty oath from more than 30 of his news room employees.

The development on the two powerful locally-owned papers came in the midst of the initial organization attempt of a small but determined group of employees.

Washington Proposals For Referendum

The Washington Guild has submitted the following questions for an international referendum in accordance with Art. XXI of the Constitution:

1. Shall the American Newspaper Guild affiliate forthwith with the Committee for Industrial Organization, without admitted to Guild membership, such employees as have been admitted to the CIO; the IEB to be directed to plan for close federation of the American Newspaper Guild with the CIO and with the mechanical newspaper trade unions; the Constitution to be amended in accordance herewith?

2. Shall the American Newspaper Guild repeal the last sentence of Article X, Section 3 of the ANG Constitution, which reads: "Members who lose good standing shall be reinstated to good standing only upon the specific decision of the governing body of the local"; and repeal the last sentence of Article X, Section 12 of the Constitution, which reads: "Such reinstatement shall not be granted to a member more than once without the approval of the IEB?"

3. Shall the American Newspaper Guild repeal Sections 3, 4 and 5 of Article XVI of the ANG Constitution, providing for revocation of local Guild charters otherwise than by Conventions and without appeal and providing for suspension from the ANG of members of suspended or expelled local Guilds; and substitute therefor Article IV, Section 6a of the old ANG Constitution?

4. Shall the American Newspaper Guild repeal Article XVIII of the ANG Constitution, which provides for a new method of collective bargaining and deprives local Guilds of their former measure of control; and substitute therefor Article XII of the old Constitution?

Since the following letter was sent out more than enough seconds in support of the Columbus referendum proposal have been received. The letter is therefore printed only as a part of the record.

June 8, 1937.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Under machinery set up by the Constitution, you have moved for a referendum on certain decisions of the St. Louis Convention, made up of the elected representatives of ninety per cent of the membership of the American Newspaper Guild.

The principal decision which the referendum would reach was the one determining the basic question of whether or not the newspaper industry would make up the Guild. The decision to affiliate with the CIO and admit the other white-collar men, in the commercial departments, was arrived at by an overwhelming vote of the delegates. We believe you will agree that in a very real sense the delegates were your delegates. Our four years' history has shown just how truly we are all in the same boat.

Publishers Attacking

"At this time of writing," the American Newspaper Guild is hearing the most vicious and concerted attack on its existence by the organized publishers of the United States and Canada which it has yet faced. Newspapersmen like themselves are on the picket line in Seattle, threatened with assault in their defense of the right to choose one's union against the combined attack of a newspaper owner, and an unscrupulous so-called labor leader, with the backing of William Green. In Atlanta a group of publisher Guild leaders have just been fired by the Atlanta Constitution. There have been similar slanders of Guild leaders in Chicago, Ill.; Albany, N. Y.; Atlantic City and Paterson, N. J.; and New York City, all within the last few days.

Underhanded attacks through intimidation, "fealty petitions," or attempted company unions, have been made in Houston and Dallas, Texas; Rockford, Ill.; Nashville, Tenn.; Birmingham, Ala.; San Diego, Cal.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Tampa and Miami, Fla.; Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tenn.; New York City; Toledo and Akron, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wis.; and Sioux City, Ia. These are just the instances which have been reported to us, and the list could be made longer.

In this emergency, the officers of the American Newspaper Guild would be failing signally in their duty as the elected leaders of the organization if they did not talk the situation over with you frankly and urge you to call your members together again and reconsider their action.

We sympathize fully with the

desire of members to act directly on any issue. The Constitutional provisions are such as to make referendums possible on the demand of a fraction of the membership. But we believe also that democracy is not inconsistent with effective functioning. And the Convention, elected on as democratic a basis as we can conceive of, provides the democratic means for making important decisions effectively. It has the opportunity for full deliberation. The delegates to St. Louis talked over the questions which they decided just as you discuss Guild problems at home. They had discussed these specific issues before coming to the Convention. Delegates representing huge sections of the membership came instructed to vote as they did. They decided overwhelmingly that a referendum was inadvisable at this time. It is worth noting that under ordinary parliamentary procedure reconsideration may be moved only by those who voted favorably.

Since the Convention delegates which include more than half the membership have taken positive action in one form or another, carrying out the decisions of the Convention in applying our industrial union policy. These local are in every section of the country. Adding local whose actions have not been reported, but whose delegates were instructed, we find a huge majority of the membership in favor of proceeding with the question whether or not you should compel a referendum which most of your fellow members would oppose.

Would Delay Action

We submit also our belief that the intent of the Constitutional provision for referendums was to provide machinery for making decisions, not for the postponing of a completed decision, properly arrived at by a democratic trades union, when it cannot conceivably overturn that decision, but merely obstruct and delay its application.

From the decisions of general membership meetings since the Convention, it is plain that the formal result of a referendum would be an overwhelming ratification of the Convention decision. But what would be the effect of holding a referendum? We believe you will want to consider this.

As a matter of simple arithmetic, it would take at the very least four days to complete the referendum.

Therefore, while the matter hangs in the balance many of the new groups of newspaper employees will delay joining to make sure that they will not be kicked out by referendum. Many local will hold up the organization drives planned by the Convention. The large groups who were waiting for admission and joined when the Convention opened the doors will feel themselves isolated and separated from the main body, with their right to belong under fire. And the referendum finally upholding their right to join will be a bitter example of what the publishers would do with the knowledge that the ANG was about to hold a referendum to decide a basic policy settled at the convention.

At the scene of our most effective strike, over sixty of our members have been forced to strike against the move of the Seattle Star management, in connivance with Dave Beck of the Teamsters' Union, ordering Guild members, district circulation managers organized by the Guild, to join Beck's union or lose their jobs. Even under the A. F. of L. Executive Council procedure, which we do not recognize, the men do not belong in the Teamsters' Union. The National Labor Relations Board has certified the Guild as the bargaining agent for the men. Yet the management, with the aid of Dave Beck and Mayor Dore, and the encouragement of William Green, continue to violate the law and threaten a bloody assault upon the pickets. All this under cover of a barrage of suppression of facts and misrepresentation by the press of the nation, calling the strike a "Guild strike against another union."

We leave it to your imagination what the press and the corrupt politicians would do to our brother newspapers in this or a similar situation if fortified by the statement that the Guild itself was holding a referendum to decide whether or not it really would admit some of these strikers to the Guild. Shall we hold a referendum to decide whether or not we should first line fighters may be with us? See Publishers' Opportunity

The proposed referendum would be the most effective weapon, perhaps the only effective weapon, the publishers can find in their campaign to defeat our organization.

The reasons why the Convention opposed a referendum, reviewed here, are most compelling today.

We believe you will agree with us, after looking over the picture again, that to press for a referendum will have but one effect, to play into the hands of the publishers and of the misleaders of the American Federation of Labor who tried to defeat the first Seattle strike, and are trying again.

We believe you will agree that the democratic thing to do, the thing which will help your fellow members and yourselves, will be to accept the democratic decision of your delegates and move forward with the program of the ANG, on to more of the benefits already received by Guild membership.

The situation was complicated by several local factors. Although the Coast longshoremen had recently voted to affiliate with the CIO, the general labor movement in the city had been so militant and effective that the need for the industrial form of unionism had been less apparent than in most other cities.

More Help Beck

The situation also gave Mayor Dore an opportunity to side with the employers and at the same time appear to be favoring organized labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., and he seized the chance. The Central Labor Union, which is under Beck's domination, declared the strike illegal and Dore announced that the city police would not recognize any strike not sanctioned by the Labor Council. This would vote out any CIO union's strike. As soon as the Council had acted, Dore sent police to break up the Guild picket lines, and the Guild withdrew them rather than submit to certain bloodshed.

The paper had suspended publication during the picketing, during which time the printers refused to walk through the lines. It resumed publication with a skeleton staff after Dore's action.

An apparent settlement broke down on July 9, after a forty-hour conference, when the management's representatives "went to get the signatures of their principals" and returned twelve hours later asking that the Guild submit future questions to the A. F. of L. as arbiters.

At Guilds' Bureau publication time the management was reconsidering the repudiated agreement and the Guild was awaiting its decision.

Meanwhile, the Guild campaign against the paper's circulation and

publishers would do with the knowledge that the ANG was about to hold a referendum to decide a basic policy settled at the convention.

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SEATTLE PROTECTS CIRCULATION STAFF

Publishers Pressing Attacks on Locals In Many Cities

(Continued from page 1)

on the ground that they used cars which many local newspaper employees, including reporters, use—and by refusing to allow his members to haul papers to Guild district managers. Beck strongly hinted at violence to enforce his demands.

After a joint conference between the Guild, the management and the Teamsters' Union representatives had failed to reach a settlement the management conferred separately with the teamsters' officials and agreed to discharge the Guild members and replace them by men from the other union.

The Guild had already offered to allow the question to be settled by a consent election of the men concerned to be conducted by the Labor Board, but the teamsters' officials declared they did not recognize the Labor Board, and the management walked out on the agreement.

William Green, of the A. F. of L., intervened in their behalf, telegraphing to the management that the A. F. of L. had awarded to the teamsters the jurisdictional right to represent those who handle and distribute newspapers.

Plan Late Early

This position was taken despite the fact that the circulation staff had organized some weeks before the ANG Convention, under Guild leadership, and had voted to affiliate with the local Guild and later to join.

In the face of the management's position, the Guild had no alternative but to strike to save the circulation men's jobs. So nearly the entire editorial and commercial group walked out.

Exclusive bargaining rights for all employees in the plant except those in the mechanical unions were recognized by the local Labor Board as belonging to the Guild when the Board determined that 88 out of 94 employees in the plant had shown their preference for the Guild. Of the 88 members out of 94 employees in the business office, editorial and circulation departments and in the disputed circulation department, 23 out of 24.

The Star management ordered

Out for the Right to Join the Guild

Publishers Pressing Attacks on Locals In Many Cities

(Continued from page 1)

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20 Out in Decatur; Broun Answers

Plant Closed Down

DECATUR, Ill.—Following seven conferences in a futile effort to obtain a Guild contract with the Decatur Herald and Review, the local Guild struck on July 10 and the paper has remained closed since. Twenty members are at strike. The Guild represents 70 per cent of the staff.

The Guild was determined to obtain a contract, particularly because of repeated intimidation. While the management came around to a promise of security it wanted the Guild to agree not to seek to discuss improvements in wages or working conditions until next year.

advertising was having heavy effect. Prepared for a long siege, if necessary, the strikers were confident of ultimate victory.

The efforts of many publishers to defeat or head off the Guild by promoting company union or "fealty" petitions are reported in the IEB letter to local Guilds, printed in another column.

In Akron an A. F. of L. local union has organized the business offices of the Times-Press, a Scripps-Howard paper, and the management quickly signed a contract. In Toledo the Blade and News-Bea have both signed contracts with a new A. F. of L. circulation department union.

Meanwhile, the Guild campaign against the paper's circulation and

Background Facts of Seattle Struggle

The Seattle Guild has never argued with the Teamsters' Union their right to represent retail teamsters in the circulation department. At all times, before and after the strike was called, the Guild offered to allow the National Labor Relations Board to determine who was the collective bargaining agency for the nineteen circulation men.

The Star management and the Teamsters' Union have defied the Wagner Act and violated its provisions. The Star is the prize paper of the Scripps League of newspapers which is notorious among West Coast newspapers as the proprietor of a string of editorial assaults.

Agreement Broken's Blot

Pursuing a policy of attempting to avoid any fight which had the appearance of a jurisdictional struggle, the Guild offered after closing down the paper to accept a compromise settlement. The management also agreed. Then the management walked out on the agreement.

The Guild is being victimized by the power-hungry, boss-loving Dave Beck of the teamster hierarchy, which has conducted a bloody assault on the Brewery Workers Union for years in a jurisdictional fight.

20 Out in Decatur; Broun Answers

Plant Closed Down

DECATUR, Ill.—Following seven conferences in a futile effort to obtain a Guild contract with the Decatur Herald and Review, the local Guild struck on July 10 and the paper has remained closed since. Twenty members are at strike. The Guild represents 70 per cent of the staff.

The Guild was determined to obtain a contract, particularly because of repeated intimidation. While the management came around to a promise of security it wanted the Guild to agree not to seek to discuss improvements in wages or working conditions until next year.

advertising was having heavy effect. Prepared for a long siege, if necessary, the strikers were confident of ultimate victory.

The efforts of many publishers to defeat or head off the Guild by promoting company union or "fealty" petitions are reported in the IEB letter to local Guilds, printed in another column.

In Akron an A. F. of L. local union has organized the business offices of the Times-Press, a Scripps-Howard paper, and the management quickly signed a contract. In Toledo the Blade and News-Bea have both signed contracts with a new A. F. of L. circulation department union.

Meanwhile, the Guild campaign against the paper's circulation and

publishers would do with the knowledge that the ANG was about to hold a referendum to decide a basic policy settled at the convention.

At the scene of our most effective strike, over sixty of our members have been forced to strike against the move of the Seattle Star management, in connivance with Dave Beck of the Teamsters' Union, ordering Guild members, district circulation managers organized by the Guild, to join Beck's union or lose their jobs. Even under the A. F. of L. Executive Council procedure, which we do not recognize, the men do not belong in the Teamsters' Union. The National Labor Relations Board has certified the Guild as the bargaining agent for the men. Yet the management, with the aid of Dave Beck and Mayor Dore, and the encouragement of William Green, continue to violate the law and threaten a bloody assault upon the pickets. All this under cover of a barrage of suppression of facts and misrepresentation by the press of the nation, calling the strike a "Guild strike against another union."

We leave it to your imagination what the press and the corrupt politicians would do to our brother newspapers in this or a similar situation if fortified by the statement that the Guild itself was holding a referendum to decide whether or not it really would admit some of these strikers to the Guild. Shall we hold a referendum to decide whether or not we should first line fighters may be with us? See Publishers' Opportunity

The proposed referendum would be the most effective weapon, perhaps the only effective weapon, the publishers can find in their campaign to defeat our organization.

The reasons why the Convention opposed a referendum, reviewed here, are most compelling today.

We believe you will agree with us, after looking over the picture again, that to press for a referendum will have but one effect, to play into the hands of the publishers and of the misleaders of the American Federation of Labor who tried to defeat the first Seattle strike, and are trying again.

We believe you will agree that the democratic thing to do, the thing which will help your fellow members and yourselves, will be to accept the democratic decision of your delegates and move forward with the program of the ANG, on to more of the benefits already received by Guild membership.

The situation was complicated by several local factors. Although the Coast longshoremen had recently voted to affiliate with the CIO, the general labor movement in the city had been so militant and effective that the need for the industrial form of unionism had been less apparent than in most other cities.

More Help Beck

The situation also gave Mayor Dore an opportunity to side with the employers and at the same time appear to be favoring organized labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., and he seized the chance. The Central Labor Union, which is under Beck's domination, declared the strike illegal and Dore announced that the city police would not recognize any strike not sanctioned by the Labor Council. This would vote out any CIO union's strike. As soon as the Council had acted, Dore sent police to break up the Guild picket lines, and the Guild withdrew them rather than submit to certain bloodshed.

The paper had suspended publication during the picketing, during which time the printers refused to walk through the lines. It resumed publication with a skeleton staff after Dore's action.

An apparent settlement broke down on July 9, after a forty-hour conference, when the management's representatives "went to get the signatures of their principals" and returned twelve hours later asking that the Guild submit future questions to the A. F. of L. as arbiters.

At Guilds' Bureau publication time the management was reconsidering the repudiated agreement and the Guild was awaiting its decision.

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Expanding in Other Fields While He Scraps Papers

philosophy of rugged individualism, which is buttressed by the law of the land, to do what he wishes with his private property. On the other hand, his employees say that he should not be permitted to exercise his individualistic rights by causing much needless distress to his workers.

As yet we have seen, there is probably no driving financial necessity for Hearst to inaugurate wholesale dismissals. His organization is large, and is expanding in some directions while contracting in others under the pressure of new laws and new social and technical necessities; and this organization could easily be reorganized to make provisions for shoring up, etc.,

A large slice of Hearst profits have gone into extravagant living. Hearst's employees, are, therefore, insisting upon nothing unfair if they insist that the Hearst management add to its problem of making profit and

concerning the stoppage of the Gannett newspaper in Albany, is that two big publishers met in secret and agreed, for their own convenience, to barter away the jobs of hundreds of employees. A Gannett newspaper was suspended in Albany, leaving the morning field to a Hearst paper, and a Hearst paper was suspended in Rochester, leaving the town entirely to the Gannett press. Amid

in an early issue.

LABOR BILL DANGEROUS

Michigan Act Veto Is Being Urged On Governor Murphy

Michigan's new Industrial Relations Bill (HB 861), nominally patterned after the National Labor Relations Act, has so many dangerous anti-labor features that all Guilds and unions should bring all possible pressure to bear on Gov. Murphy to veto it, in the opinion of A. J. Iserman, attorney now advising the ANP in preparation for the United Front election to be conducted by the Labor Board and other legal matters.

The United Automobile Workers are strongly fighting the bill and it has been condemned by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The bill will soon become a law, with or without Gov. Murphy's signature, unless he specifically vetoes it.

The bill, sponsored by Gov. Murphy, started out badly by failing to recognize two basic conceptions behind the Wagner Act, according to Iserman, namely that labor was being coerced and restrained by employers by violent unfair, and in many cases illegal methods, and was not receiving proper assistance from the courts, and second, that the courts had exercised the power to "restrain labor inequally, without trial or hearing, from engaging in peaceful and constitutional organizational activity."

Hamstringing Increased

Gov. Murphy, in a recent speech, pointed out that the "property rights of the employer are carefully delineated by law" and that it might be "just and fair" to incorporate into the law "the workers' property right in his job," but his bill apparently sought to please both sides because after prohibiting unfair employer practices it proceeded to give the courts additional power to hamstring unions.

In the course of passage the bill became horribly emasculated.

Company unions are defined, but in no wise prohibited. Employers may sponsor, aid, and support them as before.

The Board has power to conduct elections, to determine the representative of employees. A majority determines the exclusive bargaining agent of all. The employer's refusal to bargain with the representative, however, is not made an unfair practice as in the Wagner Act.

Any benefit this provision confers on labor is cancelled by the fact that the employer can initiate the controversy which gives the Board the right to call the election. This provision thus becomes an invitation to the employer to call for an election when the union is weak or beginning its organizational drive. Then the employer is free to sign a long-term contract with his company union.

The bill makes the employer free to discharge except "as specifically prohibited in this act," and then omits any prohibition whatever.

Several limitations are placed on picketing, which make it unlawful to "abstract" or "otherwise interfere with" the approach to the place picketed or "the free and unimpeded use of the highways." Courts have before this, Iserman points out, used such language to forbid the mere presence of a picket on the highway.

Also, only the actual employees involved or officials of the union may picket. Other union members or sympathizers may not.

Thus the publisher obtains his freedom to hire strikebreakers and thugs, invoke the aid of his trade association, have his work done by scale where and how he pleases. Iserman points out, while the law "limits the union and the union alone." The Act in its present form, Iserman adds, is "timely warning to labor not only to beware of its enemies, but also to be wary of its friends."

TEXT OF ANG LETTER TO CIO

Eddy described the Guild's jurisdictional and organizing questions in this letter to Lewis and Brophy: Mr. John L. Lewis, Chairman, Mr. John Brophy, Director, Committee for Industrial Organization, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Herewith is our check for \$1,000, being per capita contribution at 5 cents on 10,000 members for the months of June and July.

Recapitulating the matters recently discussed with you: Jurisdictional questions confront the Newspaper Guild in the following categories of employment:

1. Newspaper vendors.
2. Circulation men working outside the newspaper plant.
3. Editorial, advertising, circulation and business offices of weekly and monthly magazines with the sale of newspapers in the field.
4. Telegraphers and wire punchers employed by newspaper and press services.
5. Malters (limited instances).
6. Building service employees.
7. Motion picture press agents.

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ridiculous by the men involved and would not be worth wasting ink upon except for the fact that they are supported by certain publishers and insurance for fighting the CIO and defeating genuine self-organization of employees. Thus, in Seattle, a publication of thugs and phonies whereby the publisher displaced nineteen Newspaper Guild members and Eddy's strong-arm gangster came to make them stay displaced. Defending the democratic side of workers to choose their own union, indeed defending the right to exist, the local Guild was forced to close the entire plant. We know that we will have the unqualified sympathy and support of the CIO in defending such American rights.

3. In the magazine field, we propose no decision be made until the Guild has had the aid of the Professional Workers can study the matter jointly and make a mutually satisfactory recommendation.

Plans for Telegraphers

4. The American Radio Telegraphers Association claims no exclusive jurisdiction in the newspaper and press association field. The Commercial Telegraphers Union of America (CTU) has worked in friendly cooperation. It is my understanding after conferring with President Rathbarn of ARTA that the latter organization would probably assent to telegraphers employed in a newspaper plant or press association office belonging to the Newspaper Guild provided a sound arrangement can be devised for mutual exchange of membership cards and of privileges for individuals shifting their employment. It is pertinent, however, that telegraphers in a newspaper plant or press association telegraph is a specialized branch of the craft and that such shifts are not frequent. For the present, ANG makes no definite proposal regarding telegraphers, but believes that the eventual perspective must be one in which press association telegraphers and editorial workers are in the same organization. (The Guild already includes, of course, messengers, clerical workers, tabulators, photographers, etc., employed by press associations.)

5. I am advised by President Howard that the mailers have presented special considerations for the International Typographical Union, with which they are affiliated, and in some instances through direct affiliation of a local mailers union to the ITU. In view of the fact that the Guild is a local typographical union it is to have advised mailers by reporters and advertising solicitors. In all such cases, the claims of the Teamsters are deemed

2. The AF of L, through the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers of America, is making claims to jurisdiction over circulation men on the grounds that they use automobiles. Automobiles are also widely used by reporters and advertising solicitors. In all such cases, the claims of the Teamsters are deemed

WM. GREEN ON THE JOB

Brown and Eddy Answer His Intervention

Just after President William Green's attack on the steel strike the following statement was issued in Washington on behalf of the ANG by President Brown and Executive Vice President Eddy:

Somewhere beyond the river Styx Benedict Arnold is preparing to announce his own retirement as he cups his hands and proudly shouts "Gangway for William Green!" At the very moment that his brothers in the AF of L are lying dead or dying outside the walls of Mellon's Aluminum plant in Alcoa, President Green sits back and preaches about "labor violence." Thus, Green joins with Girdler in encouraging the vigilante movement which is the American equivalent of Nazism.

With this background in mind it may be seen that the Newspaper Guild strike on the Seattle Star is in no sense the word a jurisdictional dispute. It is a struggle to determine if newspapermen have the right of free and independent association in a democratic union or if they are to be forced by their employers into AF of L company unions.

The Guild must and will fight for its right to organize the unorganized in the newspaper industry. It is

consultation with the International Typographical Union, the Guild has for several years accepted proforeworders when, in the opinion of the local typographical union, the Guild was the suitable avenue of organization for them. Such a policy will be acceptable to the Guild in respect to the mailers. In fact, any policy for organizing them recommended by the ITU either entered into a conspiracy with Dave Beck's notorious organization or was a mere device to keep the Guild out of the mailers' business. We will respond with pleasure and alacrity to such a call. We believe a conference of this type is badly needed and would be beneficial for all concerned.

Service Employees

6. Elevator operators and other newspaper building service employees are not members of the Newspaper Guild since its affiliation with CIO. Although there is a scattering of unions of building service employees, we believe that where a newspaper occupies an entire building or most of it, the Guild should be free to accept jurisdiction.

7. The motion picture companies in Hollywood maintain staffs of press agents who actually take assignments from the city editors of Los Angeles newspapers. This, though on the payroll of the motion picture concerns they work largely under the management of newspapers and contribute directly to the editorial and photographic content thereof. The Los Angeles Newspaper Guild requests permission to enroll them, stating that thus enrolled they would constitute the only CIO organization in the Hollywood motion picture industry. On the other hand, traditional in the Guild is antipathy to press agents. Our International Executive Board has granted the requested permission subject to the approval of the CIO, and with the proviso that the enrollment be regarded as temporary, the motion picture press agents and any other such groups to go into an industrial union of the motion picture industry when and if such is formed.

8. ANG has accepted into membership men engaged in writing, editing and/or announcing the news by radio and has negotiated one or two collective contracts in this field. We believe that such of our members as are employed mainly in and about a radio station belong more properly in American Radio Telegraphers Association.

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Publishers' Attack

On June 29th, ten regional publishers' associations, led by the National Newspaper Publishers Association, held a secret conference on a weekly schedule will keep the membership monthly in contact with important Guild and general labor events now developing with great rapidity in many parts of the country and increase the value of the paper in local organizing campaigns.

It will also, in effect, give increased space, and in accordance with the plan outlined at the Convention, the paper will undertake to carry more features on significant developments both in the newspaper industry and in the labor movement.

The new office space at headquarters will be 500 per cent larger than that used a year ago. The new quarters are in the present building.

While we believe that the practice of the clique-led publishers' associations of holding secret parleys on matters of public import violates a free press and constitutes a positive menace to the liberties of all American citizens, we are more concerned in this letter with the immediate objective of the publishers' star chamber proceedings in Chicago. This objective was and is, of course, to carry it into direct action as concerns their own employees. We are the ones closest at hand and their hatred for the Guild is the more bitter and devious because of the necessity of concealing it from the working public whom they aim to confuse and betray.

Not all publishers are going to be led astray by the multimillionaire proprietors who have secured inner control of the publishers' associations, but the attack has already started and they are spending real money on it. We are under fire at points thousands of miles apart, and in every instance

the American Federation of Labor is working hand and foot with the reactionary employer, organizing our expanded jurisdiction into the AF of L on the basis of the prejudice against the CIO as manifested by the publishers in order that the board may advise the local whether it conflicts with the collective bargaining program. Changes and the final draft also must be submitted for similar advice (Art. XVIII, Sec. 1 and 7).

Instead of the wide and loose powers given the IEB in the old Constitution (Art. XII, Sec. 4 and 5), to intervene in collective bargaining and order compliance with a variety of Convention decisions, the IEB's function now is limited to assisting and advising the locals on the basis of

ANG TO GET ORGANIZERS

Lewis Authorizes 10, To Be Named By the IEB

(Continued from page 1)

counsel Guilds which are already going ahead with an organizing program on their own.

"This does not mean, of course, that the international representatives take over any of the work properly falling to executive secretaries, district or local, or that of local organizers, such as the average Guild, under our new jurisdiction, is now, or soon will be, large enough to employ."

"It does mean that we have accepted the challenge of the ANPA and the AF of L and are going to town."

The new program was laid before Lewis and Director John Brophy of the CIO at a conference in Washington on July 9 by a Guild delegation, including ANG President Heywood Brown, Eddy, vice-presidents Watson and Michelson, and Ben Pearce, treasurer of the Washington Guild. Lewis agreed as to the importance of staffing the Guild more adequately and authorized the appointments.

ANG Pays Per Capita

At the same time the ANG testified concretely to its own backing of the CIO program when Eddy handed to Lewis a check for \$1,000, representing per capita contribution at five cents on 10,000 members for the months of June and July. This is the contribution being established by CIO unions to make possible the vigorous organizing campaign.

Eddy also gave Lewis a comprehensive letter pointing the Guild's main jurisdictional questions arising from its new organizational basis. This letter is printed almost in full in another column.

Nominations for the new posts as international representatives of the ANG, to be appointed by the CIO, are now before the International Executive Board. They consist of Guild leaders in various parts of the country.

With the new appointments and the other full-time and volunteer officials of the ANG, a force of some 25 representatives of the International Typographical Union will be available around the country to push forward the Guild's growth.

New Reporter Program

Publication of the *Guns Roar* on a weekly schedule will keep the membership monthly in contact with important Guild and general labor events now developing with great rapidity in many parts of the country and increase the value of the paper in local organizing campaigns.

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IN THE NEW CODE

New Bargaining Provisions Set Minimum Standards for ANG Contracts

The Constitution of the American Newspaper Guild, as amended at St. Louis, is published in full in this issue. We cannot too strongly urge the membership to read it completely. The article below is interpretive of the major changes in the light of Guild policy and its application.

The Convention also adopted a policy on local by-laws, published in full in this issue. Under that decision, the IEB is now drawing up a set of model by-laws, for the assistance of locals in adopting theirs.

Clearer and more specific collective bargaining requirements, designed to protect the position of all locals and to have minimum provisions determined by the Convention instead of by the International Executive Board, were the principal changes effected in the International Constitution at St. Louis.

In giving effect to this policy, the Convention provided that locals violating simple minimum requirements suspend themselves, instead of waiting upon disciplinary action at the discretion of the IEB.

The Constitution adopted at St. Louis was largely the rewritten document recommended by the Constitutional Commission set up by the 1936 Convention. Changes in content in this revision were few, the rewriting being largely in the direction of clarity.

In addition to the basic eligibility changes which have been covered fully in an earlier issue of the *Roar*, important substantive changes included the tightening of membership requirements, chiefly financial; strengthening of strike financial; revocation of charters between Conventions by vote of all local Guilds to make speedy reorganization possible; mandatory democratic procedure in locals; and provisions for joint strike votes of more than one unit in the same local.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

From the experience of negotiations in the past year, principally on chain papers, the Convention ruled that signature of a contract in violation of any one of three provisions will suspend a local automatically, without board action (Art. XVIII, Sec. 10). These provisions all bind units in a chain to any chain bargaining program agreed upon, forbid contract provision for renewal by arbitration or arbitration of the right to represent employees, and make the Guild shop and the five-day forty-hour week mandatory contract provisions unless a special exemption is made by the IEB (Art. XVIII, Sec. 6, 8 and 9). In this situation the IEB's part is to assist the local in remedying the situation and it is allowed thirty days in which to remove it. If it has been unable to rectify the situation, the board must submit revocation of the local's charter to the other locals for action. (Art. XVIII, Sec. 11.)

Existing prohibitions against unit negotiations and contracts were continued under the normal disciplinary provisions. Collective bargaining is guided by the Convention program, which has already been carried in full in the *Guns Roar*, and draft contracts must be submitted to the IEB fifteen days in advance of submission to the publisher in order that the board may advise the local whether it conflicts with the collective bargaining program. Changes and the final draft also must be submitted for similar advice (Art. XVIII, Sec. 1 and 7).

Your committee recommends as a Convention policy that local by-laws and constitutions, where adopted, embody certain basic provisions of trade union democracy. Several of these have been embodied in the draft International Constitution submitted to you. Other such requirements are:

Democratic methods of election of officers governing bodies, committees, and delegates to bodies with which the local is affiliated. Simple method of recall of officers and delegates.

Democratic control by the membership of dues and money-raising. Any amendment of by-laws (or constitution) for referendum of the membership.

Adequate machinery for democratic but speedy application of the disciplinary provisions of the International Constitution. Simplified procedure for the expulsion of members for non-payment of financial obligations.

Furthermore, without proposing any mandatory requirements in the matter, the committee wishes to call attention to the desirability of frequent local and unit meetings, and to the practical dangers of setting too high quorum requirements.

The committee does not believe that model by-laws can be properly drafted during the Convention. It recommends that the IEB be instructed to prepare a draft model for the assistance of locals in adopting their by-laws.

Chicago being the present citadel of freedom of the press, the news that one of its reporters had testified before the La Follette sub-committee in Washington regarding the Memorial Day massacre provided the opportunity for this department to learn a thing or two from its methods.

Ralph Beck, a reporter for the Chicago Daily News, was an eye witness to the massacre of the steel pickets, and his testimony before the sub-committee, which was reported in some detail in New York, contradicted the Chicago police version on almost every point.

Beck said definitely that the first shots came from the police, not the strikers, and that the strikers and sympathizers fled under the attack. Beck also declared that the police pursued the strikers, beat them to the ground, and then continued to beat them while they were lying injured and helpless on the ground.

All Men But One

Beck's Daily News, being an afternoon paper, did not publish until two days later, on June 1. The Daily News, also an afternoon paper, published in its June 1 edition a graphic story by its reporter, Harold Rossman, an eye witness. But despite the fact that both Beck and Rossman blame the police, and that their version was corroborated by the police, the Chicago police version of the massacre was suppressed. Paramount Newsreel film, the Daily News was the only daily paper in Chicago to place the blame that way.

The Chicago Tribune, organ of Col. McCormick, Public Crier No. 1 for freedom of the press, used this as its opening paragraph: "Steel strike rioters, attempting to invade the Republic Steel Corporation's plant in South Chicago, precipitated a bloody battle yesterday when they hoisted down the warning of Chicago policemen that the company's property would be protected." Its story went on to say: "The police then defended themselves with tear gas. When the rioters resorted to firearms, the police said they were forced to draw their revolvers to protect themselves."

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Ignored by Own Paper

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"Those pictures certainly would tend to incite the people," he said. "The police censor said he saw the newsreel a week ago and that they show the police department in a good light and prove that the strikers started the battle which resulted in the death of 10 persons."

Smoke Got in Porter's Eyes At Youngstown?

"Black smoke and cinders poured forth" from the Youngstown steel mills to convince Russell B. Porter of the New York Times that the strike was over, according to his story in the Times of June 28. A Newark member reminds us that one of the oldest strike-breaking tricks is to burn a lot of tar and let the black smoke belch through the stacks. Porter went on: "To most of the

residents of the city (Youngstown) of 175,000 population the sight of rows of hithero bleak chimneys giving forth dark clouds that cut off their view of the sun and sky was a welcome sign." The Newark brother would like to know whether Porter was told this by "most" of the 175,000, or by Tom Girdler; and also, how Porter was able to report the following in the same story: "To the leaders of the SWOC II (the smoke) represented the first major setback the CIO has suffered since it began to organize the mass production industries."

Print Labor News—Unless It's News About Guild

CINCINNATI—News about labor unions is news generally to the Cincinnati Times-Star and the Cincinnati Enquirer—unless it's about the Guild.

News stories announcing a mass meeting for all unorganized newspaper employees of Cincinnati, at which Paul Fuller, regional head of the CIO, was to speak, were sent by registered mail to both city editors. Nothing appeared. One city editor said the story had been sent to the composing room, but was "lost." Another story was sent by registered mail. This, too, was "lost."

More than 200 newspaper workers from all three Cincinnati papers attended the meeting. Labor reporters from the two papers mentioned were present. The Enquirer carried four lines the next morning; the Times-Star nothing.

The Free Press

When A Reporter Is Left Unhonored At Home

Chicago being the present citadel of freedom of the press, the news that one of its reporters had testified before the La Follette sub-committee in Washington regarding the Memorial Day massacre provided the opportunity for this department to learn a thing or two from its methods.

Ralph Beck, a reporter for the Chicago Daily News, was an eye witness to the massacre of the steel pickets, and his testimony before the sub-committee, which was reported in some detail in New York, contradicted the Chicago police version on almost every point.

Beck said definitely that the first shots came from the police, not the strikers, and that the strikers and sympathizers fled under the attack. Beck also declared that the police pursued the strikers, beat them to the ground, and then continued to beat them while they were lying injured and helpless on the ground.

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NEW CODE ADOPTED BY ST. LOUIS CONVENTION

Below is the text of the revised ANG Constitution adopted by the St. Louis Convention, together with an index.

ARTICLE I Name and Object

SECTION 1. This body shall be known as the American Newspaper Guild.

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

ARTICLE II Eligibility

SECTION 1. Any person gainfully employed in and devoting the major part of his time to an editorial, business, circulation, promotion or advertising department, or allied group of employees, of a newspaper published in the United States of America, its territories, or Canada; or in similar work for a recognized press association, news photo agency, syndicate supplying editorial material to newspapers which pay for the service, news ticker service, news wire company, radio news service, and radio news broadcasting company, shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. The following persons also shall be eligible for membership unless they obtain employment of a permanent nature, other than that defined under Section 1:

(a) Guild members who become unemployed; or accept paid Guild office; or take employment in an organization to which the Guild is affiliated; or assume elective offices in public legislative bodies.

(b) Unemployed persons or persons employed on Government work projects or by temporary Government agencies who formerly came within the classification enumerated in Section 1, who have had three years of employment in such capacities not less than nine months of which employment was within one year of the date of application for membership.

SECTION 3. A member who becomes unemployed because of Guild action shall remain eligible regardless of the nature of his subsequent employment. Eligibility under this section shall be determined by the International Executive Board on recommendation of the local to which the member belongs. If such a member holds Guild office at the time he accepts employment other than as defined in Section 1, he may continue in his office until the end of his term only.

SECTION 4. Students of accredited colleges enrolled in Schools of Journalism, or associated with Journalism in such colleges, shall be eligible for associate membership.

SECTION 5. No person whose interests are deemed to lie with the employer as against the employees shall be eligible.

SECTION 6. No eligible person shall be barred from membership or penalized by reason of sex, race, or religious or political convictions, or because of anything he writes for publication.

SECTION 7. Eligibility, except under Section 3, shall be determined by the local, subject to appeal to the International Executive Board by the applicant, by any local or by any member.

ARTICLE III Definitions

The term *branch* shall apply to any membership division of the ANG. The term *shop* shall apply jointly to all the departments of any one news publication, or bureau maintained by any one wire service, syndicate, photo agency, news ticker service, radio news service, or news wire company, in which there are employees eligible for Guild membership. The term *local* shall apply to a local Guild. The following abbreviations when used in the Constitution of the ANG shall have the annexed meaning:

1. ANG—American Newspaper Guild
2. IEB—International Executive Board
3. DC—District Council

ARTICLE IV Structure

SECTION 1. The membership of the ANG shall function through local Guilds. A local shall consist of the members within a city or specified area, organized under a charter granted by the ANG. The International Convention, composed of delegates of locals, shall be the supreme authority of the ANG, except as the membership acts directly by referendum. Between Conventions, the affairs of the ANG shall be administered by the IEB, which shall be elected by the annual convention. Certain matters hereinafter specified shall be acted upon by the vote of the governing bodies of all the locals, which for this purpose shall be designated as the International Council.

SECTION 2. Shop units shall be formed

within the locals to the extent and for the purposes hereinafter provided.

SECTION 3. Two or more locals may form districts, for purposes specified by this Constitution.

SECTION 4. Voting by proxy shall not be permitted in the ANG or any of its branches.

SECTION 5. Majority rule shall obtain throughout the ANG and in no case shall more than a majority of votes cast be required to decide an issue.

SECTION 6. The general office of the ANG shall be in the city of New York.

ARTICLE V International Conventions

SECTION 1. The convention shall be held annually between June 1st and September 30th at a time designated by the IEB not later than the preceding February 1st. The city shall be determined by the preceding Convention, or by the IEB if it does not do so. When an emergency arises which makes it undesirable to meet in the city selected by the Convention, the IEB shall have the authority to name another.

SECTION 2. Special conventions may be called by a referendum vote of the membership. In such cases, notice shall be placed in the mails within ten days of the tabulation of the vote and the Convention shall be held within thirty days of mailing.

SECTION 3. In the International Convention, each local shall be entitled to at least one vote. In addition, each local shall have one vote for the first fifty members or major fraction thereof; one vote for the second fifty members or major fraction thereof; and thereafter one vote for each one hundred additional members or major fraction thereof. Each local shall be entitled to as many delegates as it has votes, but in any event shall be entitled to cast its full quota of votes. Representation at the convention shall be based on the membership in good standing as of one month preceding the convention, according to financial obligations actually paid to the ANG by the local.

SECTION 4. A delegate must be a member in good standing of the local he represents.

SECTION 5. A local which has been chartered less than thirty days prior to the opening of the Convention may send delegates under the terms of Section 3, who shall have the right to speak but not to vote at the Convention.

SECTION 6. A credentials committee shall be appointed by the IEB to examine the credentials of delegates prior to the opening of the convention, and shall include delegates of at least seven locals. Appeals from its decisions shall lie to the floor of the Convention. The Convention shall not be constituted for action until the Credentials Committee shall have examined and reported on the credentials of all delegates present at the scheduled time of opening.

SECTION 7. The ANG shall furnish standard credential forms in duplicate to locals for delegates and alternates. Ten days in advance of the convention each local shall forward to international headquarters one copy of the credential for each delegate and alternate and at the convention each delegate or alternate shall present credentials to the credentials committee properly filled out and signed by at least two officers of the local he represents.

SECTION 8. The rules adopted at the preceding Convention shall be in force until new rules have been adopted.

SECTION 9. There shall be a registration fee of Five Dollars for each delegate registered and Three Dollars for each alternate. Fifty per cent of the amount collected shall be paid to the host local, and fifty per cent to the ANG.

SECTION 10. The expenses of delegates shall be borne by their locals, and may be limited by them.

ARTICLE VI International Executive Board

SECTION 1. The IEB shall consist of the international officers of the ANG elected by the Convention. They shall be a president, an executive vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, and seven vice-presidents. At least one officer shall be elected from each of the following regions:

- Region 1. The New England States and New York and northern New Jersey, including Huntington, Somerset, Middlesex and Monmouth Counties.
- Region 2. Southern New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania including McKean, Elk, Clearfield, Cambria and Bedford counties; Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia and North and South Carolina.
- Region 3. Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, eastern Kentucky including Gallatin, Owen, Franklin, Anderson, Mercer, Boyle, Carter, Putnam and Wayne counties; northern Indiana including DeKalb, Ripley, Jennings, Bartholomew, Brown, Monroe, Owen, Clay and Vigo counties; and Michigan.
- Region 4. Western Kentucky, southern Indiana, southern Illinois including Crawford, Jasper, Effingham, Fayette, Montgomery, Ma-

son, Greene, Scott, Pike and Adams counties; Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and Florida.

Region 5. Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma.

Region 6. The Western States from the West Coast to and including Montana, Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico.

Region 7. Canada.

SECTION 2. Between Dec. 1, 1937 and Jan. 1, 1938 there shall be elected two additional vice-presidents at large in the manner provided herein for filling vacancies in the IEB.

SECTION 3. International officers shall be elected at each annual Convention, and shall hold office until their successors are elected, unless removed. No member of the IEB shall hold any other Guild office. Any International officer thereafter becoming a salaried international representative of the ANG shall automatically be retired from such office.

SECTION 4. Within five days after a vacancy occurs in any elective international office, the IEB shall notify the Guilds in the region from which the vacancy must be filled. Within fifteen days after the notification is mailed the governing bodies of these locals shall nominate candidates and nominations shall close at headquarters. The election shall then be made by a vote of the International Council. In the event that a vacancy occurs less than two months before a scheduled Convention, it shall not be filled until the Convention.

SECTION 5. The IEB shall meet immediately before and immediately after each Convention and quarterly between Conventions. Upon the written request of three members, the Secretary-Treasurer shall call a special meeting of the IEB.

SECTION 6. At all regular meetings of the IEB, six members shall constitute a quorum. At special meetings, the quorum shall be seven. Effective January 1st, 1938 seven members shall constitute a quorum at regular meetings and eight members at special meetings.

SECTION 7. The IEB shall elect its standing committees including a finance committee and a wire service committee consisting of three of its members and such other Guild members as the Board may add.

SECTION 8. The IEB shall set the salary of international full-time representatives at not less than \$10 a week, and salaries for all ANG employees at not less than the union minimum for their respective positions.

SECTION 9. The IEB shall interpret this constitution between conventions.

SECTION 10. No local shall be or remain incorporated under the laws of any state, territory, province, or country.

SECTION 11. No branch shall make contracts or incur liabilities for the ANG unless authorized in writing by the IEB. The ANG shall not be liable under any such contracts unless they were so authorized.

SECTION 12. A unit shall consist of the members in an individual shop in which there are not fewer than seven members. Within the discretion of the local a unit may consist of the members employed in more than one shop. A unit shall have a chairman and treasurer. It shall exist only for administrative purposes and for the representation of its members within the local. It shall not have a separate constitution or by-laws. It shall not enter into any agreement. It shall not have relations with any person or organization outside the ANG without the permission of the local or the local governing body.

SECTION 13. Locals shall do all in their power to strengthen the labor movement in their respective areas.

SECTION 14. In the event that a local's charter is revoked, suspended, or that the local disbands, the charter and all books and property shall be delivered or turned over to the ANG within ten days after demand by the IEB.

SECTION 15. The secretary-treasurer shall be the custodian of the records and funds of the ANG. He shall cause such records and books of account to be kept as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this constitution, including individual records of membership standing.

SECTION 16. The executive vice-president and the secretary-treasurer shall be paid salaries fixed by the convention.

SECTION 17. Local Guilds

SECTION 1. A local shall be established by charter granted by the IEB, and shall include all the members in a city or area specified by the IEB. Under special circumstances, the IEB may charter a second local in one territory, but not without the written consent of the first.

SECTION 2. Membership in good standing of not less than seven shall be required for the granting and maintenance of a charter.

SECTION 3. Applications for charters shall be made on a standard form furnished by the IEB, and shall be accompanied by a charter fee of Five Dollars.

SECTION 4. Locals shall be charged with the duty of enforcing provisions of this Constitution affecting their membership.

SECTION 5. No local shall adopt a constitution or by-laws in conflict with this constitution or of the policies of the ANG adopted in convention. Every local shall submit to the IEB a copy of its constitution and by-

laws and any amendments thereto as adopted. New locals shall submit their constitutions or by-laws within two months of being chartered. The IEB shall order the revision of provisions found to be in conflict with this constitution or convention policies. If any issue arises in a local in which the application of the local's constitution or by-laws is at variance with the ANG constitution or convention policies, the issue shall be governed by the ANG constitution and convention policies.

SECTION 6. Locals shall hold general membership meetings at least once every three months.

SECTION 7. Locals shall elect officers annually. These shall include a president, a treasurer and a secretary. The latter two may be the same person.

SECTION 8. All elections shall be by secret ballot in the event of a contest.

SECTION 9. Delegates of locals to the ANG Convention and to all bodies to which the local may be affiliated shall vote only in the local to which he pays dues.

SECTION 10. In an area where no local exists membership at large shall be permitted in the district, if there is one, or in the ANG. In such case, the district office or the ANG headquarters shall fulfill the administrative functions of the local.

SECTION 11. Applications shall be submitted to the unit in the shop where the applicant is employed, or where he was last employed, or through the local secretary, but in any event the unit shall be consulted before the local acts upon the application.

SECTION 12. Applicants for membership shall be admitted until the local is the city of their last employment has been consulted. If an applicant has worked in or for a shop which was on strike, and applies for membership in another city, the local shall obtain the approval of the local in the city where he so worked before admitting him to membership.

SECTION 13. An applicant who has been expelled or suspended shall be readmitted only with the consent of the local by which he was expelled or suspended, subject to appeal to the IEB.

SECTION 14. An applicant may be deemed ineligible or required to pay a special fee because of prior acts which would have made him liable to expulsion from the Guild under Article XII, Section 1, Subsection (c).

SECTION 15. Subject to the provisions of Section 10, a member who has been suspended or expelled may be readmitted upon payment of a reinstatement fee to be set by the local Guild. Such fee shall not be less than \$2.00. Such reinstatement shall not be granted to a member more than one year without the approval of the IEB. Application of this section may be waived by the local in the event that a member pays up his arrearages and is reinstated after automatic suspension under Section 3 of this Article.

SECTION 16. A member of the Guild shall belong automatically to the unit of the shop where he is employed. His membership in that unit shall cease when he ceases to be employed there, but in the event that he claims that cessation of employment was caused by Guild activity, the executive committee of his local may declare that, pending disposition of his case, he is still an employee of the shop and a member of the unit.

SECTION 17. A member moving to another local area shall obtain a standard ANG transfer card signed by the treasurer of his local, and this card shall entitle him to admission to the second local. If there is any Guild indebtedness outstanding, it shall be entered on this card. He shall be admitted to the second local upon payment of the outstanding indebtedness. The second local shall turn over the full amount of his indebtedness to the former local.

SECTION 18. A member who becomes ineligible shall resign. After having paid all financial obligations to the Guild, he shall be issued an honorable withdrawal card by the ANG through the local. An honorable withdrawal card shall entitle the holder to reinstatement without payment of an initiation fee upon his becoming eligible again, provided he apply for such reinstatement as of the time of his becoming eligible, and provided that in the meantime he has committed no act which would make him liable to expulsion under this Constitution.

SECTION 19. Members shall advise the ANG through their locals of change of address.

SECTION 20. Associate members shall be entitled to an appropriate card issued by the ANG and shall have the right to attend open Guild sessions, but shall have no voting or other membership privileges.

SECTION 21. Associate members shall belong to the local in the area in which their institution is located. Where their institution is not in the territory of any chartered local an associate local of not fewer than five members may be chartered by the IEB.

SECTION 22. Associate members shall not be subject to the disciplinary provisions of this

constitution but, their membership shall be revocable by the local to which they belong, subject to appeal to the IEB, or by the IEB.

SECTION 4. Associate charters shall not be subject to the disciplinary provisions of this Constitution, and shall be revocable by the IEB. SECTION 5. Each associate local may send one delegate to the International Convention, without voting rights.

SECTION 6. Members may be fined and suspended or expelled for any of the following acts:

(a) Willful violation of this Constitution or the constitution or by-laws of any branch;

(b) Making a false statement or withholding material information when applying for membership;

(c) Disobeying or failing to comply with any lawful decision or order of the ANG or any Guild body under whose jurisdiction they come;

(d) Misappropriating money or property of the ANG or any of its branches;

(e) Working for an employer in a shop which is on strike;

(f) Entering into a "yellow dog" contract, or any contract which might injure the Guild;

(g) Disclosing to any employer or his agent any confidential matter of the ANG or any of its branches;

(h) Taking court action against the Guild before exhausting all remedies provided in the Constitution;

(i) Refusing or wilfully neglecting to pay dues, assessments, fines or any financial obligations to the ANG or any branch.

SECTION 7. Officers of the ANG and its branches may be suspended or removed from office for any of the acts listed under Section 6 or for dereliction in duty.

SECTION 8. The charter of a local may be suspended or revoked in the manner prescribed in this constitution for any of the following offenses:

(a) Refusal or wilful failure to abide by this constitution or convention mandate.

(b) Refusal to submit records for inspection to the IEB or its representative.

(c) Refusal or failure to act within thirty days upon charges filed against a member.

(d) Wilful failure to enforce penalties imposed by an appropriate tribunal of the ANG.

(e) Taking court action against the ANG or any subordinate body before exhausting all remedies provided by this Constitution.

SECTION 9. No disciplinary action shall be taken against any member, officer or branch without adequate notice of charges and opportunity to present a defense, except as provided in Section 10 and 11 of Article XVIII, Section 9 of Article X and Section 3 of Article XVI.

ARTICLE XIII
Trial of Members

SECTION 1. Charges against a member shall be submitted in writing to the governing body of his local. They shall be heard by a trial board elected for the purpose by the membership, and the imposition of penalties shall lie with such trial board, except that on charges of non-payment of financial obligations the governing body of the local may act as a trial board.

SECTION 2. In the event that the charter of a local is suspended, the IEB shall submit to the International Council a motion to revoke such charter, together with copies of the charges and answers and testimony, if any is taken, and the minutes of any hearing held on the charges. If the motion is adopted by the International Council, the charter shall be null and void. If the motion is defeated, the charter shall be reinstated.

SECTION 3. In the event that the International Council vote would be concluded after or within one month before a scheduled International Convention, the International Council shall be notified and the case shall be placed before the Convention.

SECTION 4. The members of a local whose charter has been suspended or revoked shall stand suspended automatically, irrespective of whether or not they were involved in the local's action which resulted in suspension or revocation.

SECTION 5. Where a member is accused of violating the Constitution by failure to resign upon becoming ineligible, the trial board shall decide whether the member has, in fact, become ineligible.

ARTICLE XIV
Removal of Officers

SECTION 1. An officer of a local or unit may be suspended or removed from office by vote of the membership after adequate opportunity for the presentation of the charges and the defense before the membership in general meeting. Such suspension or removal from office shall not be subject to appeal, except as to the proper conduct of the vote by which the removal of the suspension was effected.

SECTION 2. A district officer may be suspended or removed from office by vote of the district council at a meeting called on proper

LOCAL DEMOCRACY PROTECTED IN CONSTITUTION

(Continued from Page 8)

remain delinquent two months more shall not be reinstated to good standing except upon the specific decision of the governing body of the local.

SECTION 4. No members not in good standing shall be permitted to vote, offer or second a motion, nominate for office, hold office, or be a candidate for office.

SECTION 5. No member shall work for lower wages than, longer hours than, or under conditions inferior to, those established through Guild action in the shop in which he is employed.

SECTION 6. A member shall belong to the local in the area of his principal employment. If he is employed in the area of one local but assigned permanently in the area of another, he shall belong to both locals, but shall pay dues only to the second. He shall be entitled to vote in both, except that in an international or district referendum he shall vote only in the local to which he pays dues.

SECTION 7. In an area where no local exists membership at large shall be permitted in the district, if there is one, or in the ANG. In such case, the district office or the ANG headquarters shall fulfill the administrative functions of the local.

SECTION 8. Applications shall be submitted to the unit in the shop where the applicant is employed, or where he was last employed, or through the local secretary, but in any event the unit shall be consulted before the local acts upon the application.

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SECTION 10. In an area where no local exists membership at large shall be permitted in the district, if there is one, or in the ANG. In such case, the district office or the ANG headquarters shall fulfill the administrative functions of the local.

SECTION 11. Applications shall be submitted to the unit in the shop where the applicant is employed, or where he was last employed, or through the local secretary, but in any event the unit shall be consulted before the local acts upon the application.

SECTION 12. Applicants for membership shall be admitted until the local is the city of their last employment has been consulted. If an applicant has worked in or for a shop which was on strike, and applies for membership in another city, the local shall obtain the approval of the local in the city where he so worked before admitting him to membership.

SECTION 13. An applicant who has been expelled or suspended shall be readmitted only with the consent of the local by which he was expelled or suspended, subject to appeal to the IEB.

SECTION 14. An applicant may be deemed ineligible or required to pay a special fee because of prior acts which would have made him liable to expulsion from the Guild under Article XII, Section 1, Subsection (c).

SECTION 15. Subject to the provisions of Section 10, a member who has been suspended or expelled may be readmitted upon payment of a reinstatement fee to be set by the local Guild. Such fee shall not be less than \$2.00. Such reinstatement shall not be granted to a member more than one year without the approval of the IEB. Application of this section may be waived by the local in the event that a member pays up his arrearages and is reinstated after automatic suspension under Section 3 of this Article.

SECTION 16. A member of the Guild shall belong automatically to the unit of the shop where he is employed. His membership in that unit shall cease when he ceases to be employed there, but in the event that he claims that cessation of employment was caused by Guild activity, the executive committee of his local may declare that, pending disposition of his case, he is still an employee of the shop and a member of the unit.

SECTION 17. A member moving to another local area shall obtain a standard ANG transfer card signed by the treasurer of his local, and this card shall entitle him to admission to the second local. If there is any Guild indebtedness outstanding, it shall be entered on this card. He shall be admitted to the second local upon payment of the outstanding indebtedness. The second local shall turn over the full amount of his indebtedness to the former local.

SECTION 18. A member who becomes ineligible shall resign. After having paid all financial obligations to the Guild, he shall be issued an honorable withdrawal card by the ANG through the local. An honorable withdrawal card shall entitle the holder to reinstatement without payment of an initiation fee upon his becoming eligible again, provided he apply for such reinstatement as of the time of his becoming eligible, and provided that in the meantime he has committed no act which would make him liable to expulsion under this Constitution.

SECTION 19. Members shall advise the ANG through their locals of change of address.

SECTION 20. Associate members shall be entitled to an appropriate card issued by the ANG and shall have the right to attend open Guild sessions, but shall have no voting or other membership privileges.

SECTION 21. Associate members shall belong to the local in the area in which their institution is located. Where their institution is not in the territory of any chartered local an associate local of not fewer than five members may be chartered by the IEB.

SECTION 22. Associate members shall not be subject to the disciplinary provisions of this

constitution but, their membership shall be revocable by the local to which they belong, subject to appeal to the IEB, or by the IEB.

SECTION 4. Associate charters shall not be subject to the disciplinary provisions of this Constitution, and shall be revocable by the IEB. SECTION 5. Each associate local may send one delegate to the International Convention, without voting rights.

BASIC BARGAINING PROGRAM INCLUDED IN CODE

(Continued from Page 6)

any division thereof, shall be solely with the executive committee of the local and the results of its negotiations shall be subject to ratification by the unit or units immediately concerned, and by any additional guild body as provided or by the local.

SECTION 5. The right to bargain collectively for members of the ANG who are employees of press associations, feature syndicates or news photo agencies of national scope shall be vested in the IEB in cooperation with the wire service committee, but no agreement reached in behalf of these members shall bind them unless ratified by them. The IEB shall permit a local to bargain for press association and feature syndicate members whose bargaining problems are shown to be of a local nature.

SECTION 6. If units of a chain of papers agree through their locals to enter a collective bargaining program under the IEB, such a program shall be binding on those locals until the negotiations are declared concluded by the IEB. All other locals having units of that chain shall not bargain for those units during the period of negotiations without permission of the IEB.

SECTION 7. All draft contracts shall be submitted in duplicate to the IEB at least 15 days in advance of submission to the employer, and any proposed changes developing during the period of negotiations shall be submitted as they arise. The IEB shall promptly advise the local when these terms are in conflict with the ANG Constitution or the Collective Bargaining Program, and shall, if necessary, designate a representative to investigate such existing conflict.

Before signature, the IEB shall be allowed ten days in which to examine the final draft of a contract and advise the local as to its conformity with the Constitution and Collective Bargaining Program.

A final copy of the contract, signed by the Guild and the publisher, shall be sent to the office of the ANG.

SECTION 8. No contract shall provide for renewal by automatic extension of the Guild's right to represent employees within its jurisdiction.

SECTION 9. No contract shall fail to provide for the Guild shop and the five-day forty-hour week unless the IEB gives specific permission.

SECTION 10. If a local enters into a contract violating Sections 6, 8 or 9 of the Article, the local's signing of such an agreement shall constitute sufficient evidence of violation and the local shall become suspended automatically and shall be notified by the authorized representative of the IEB.

SECTION 11. Immediately after the automatic suspension of a local under the Section above, the IEB shall give all possible assistance to the local to remedy the situation brought about by its violation of the constitution and may in its judgment lift the suspension. In the event that it fails itself unable to remedy the situation, it shall, not more than thirty days after the automatic suspension, submit to the International Council a motion for revocation of the local's charter for failure to comply with down in Sections 5, 6, 8 and 9 of Article XVI.

SECTION 12. A member may negotiate with his employer individually in his own behalf, but such independent negotiations shall not have the authority or support of the ANG or any branch. In no event may a member negotiate for conditions of employment inferior in any respect to those established in his place of employment by Guild action.

SECTION 13. No member of the ANG may sign an individual contract with the publisher of his newspaper or with his employer, governing his hours, wages, working conditions, unless he seek and receive the permission of the executive committee of his local or the permission of the local itself. The member concerned may appeal the decision of the local to the IEB.

SECTION 14. Enforcement of conditions established in a shop by Guild action or by minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation, shall be the duty of the unit, in cooperation with the governing body of the local, and in the event of the failure of the unit to carry out this duty, it shall be the duty of the local, and successively of the DC and the IEB. Where such enforcement involves the necessity of collective bargaining, the unit shall place the matter in the hands of the local, and in any event shall report all grievances and actions thereon to the local promptly.

ARTICLE XIX

Strikes

SECTION 1. A strike may be called by the governing body of a local upon the following conditions:

(a) The IEB has been kept fully informed of developments which may lead to a strike.

(b) The unit involved has voted approval. In cases where more than one unit may be called on strike, all these units shall be considered as one unit.

SECTION 2. Joint strike votes of units may

be called for by the governing body of the local or by the unit.

SECTION 3. If the governing body of a local fails to call a strike after approval has been voted in accordance with Section 1 above, the IEB may, at the request of the unit or units involved, call a strike. In such event it shall name the committee in charge of the strike.

SECTION 4. The conduct of the strike shall be vested in the governing body of the local, except as provided in Section 3 above. The IEB, and the DC, when the local belongs to a DC, shall each designate a representative to be added to the local governing body or to the strike committee elected by that body.

SECTION 5. Except when a local does not

ask for financial support by the ANG, the IEB shall review strike funds and expenditures, shall require a weekly budget, anticipated expenditures, and shall pass upon the rates of strike benefits and the expenditures of funds provided by or through the ANG.

ARTICLE XX

Publications

SECTION 1. The official organ of the ANG shall be the Guild Reporter, which shall be published at least twice a month. It shall be the duty of the Guild Reporter, under the supervision of the IEB, to promote in every legitimate way the policies of the ANG as established in convention, and to conduct its editorial policies to that specific program. All notices printed in the Reporter shall constitute notices to the entire membership.

SECTION 2. The Editor of the Guild Reporter shall be appointed by the IEB and shall be paid a salary not less than the best minimum established by Guild contract for experienced editors.

SECTION 3. The Guild Reporter shall be distributed to all members without additional charge, except that associate members shall be charged the subscription fee and shall pay it annually in advance.

ARTICLE XXI

Referendums

SECTION 1. The IEB shall submit to a referendum vote of the ANG membership:

(a) Any matter, upon its own initiative, except removal of one of its own members.

(b) A finding of the International Council as to charges against an International officer, as provided in Art. XV, Section 3.

(c) Any question, motion or resolution, if referred to the IEB and endorsed by at least ten locals located in five states, territories or provinces.

SECTION 2. Motions by locals to submit matters to an International referendum shall be printed in the Guild Reporter, with an exact copy as furnished to the IEB by the local submitting these motions and shall be open for records or endorsements for thirty days after publication. If there are not sufficient records or endorsements, the matter shall be dropped.

SECTION 3. Whenever an International Convention is to be held within three months, no question shall be submitted to a referendum except a question concerning removal of a member of the IEB.

SECTION 4. The following shall be the procedure for conducting a referendum: The secretary-treasurer shall have ballots prepared and within ten days after the determination to hold the referendum has been made, he shall send by registered letter to each local president as many ballots as there are members of that local in good standing according to the records of the ANG treasurer, together with a list of such members. These ballots shall all be uniform and each shall bear the exact text as submitted by the local. Each local, within ten days of receiving the ballots, shall hold an election by secret ballot, at a designated polling place or places, allowing only members entitled to vote by mail if necessary. All results to be counted, must be at International headquarters not more than 22 days from the date when ballots were mailed to the locals. The local secretary shall keep all the ballots, valid, spoiled and unused, in a sealed envelope for a period of sixty days for examination in case the results are challenged.

All results certified by locals shall be forwarded to International Headquarters in sealed envelopes. They shall be opened and tabulated by the IEB or officers designated by it, in the presence of watchers representing both sides, and the referendum declared completed within thirty days of the date on which International headquarters sent out the ballots. A detailed result of the vote shall be published in the first issue of the Guild Reporter thereafter. If there is any difference between the result of a local's

vote and that tabulated at International headquarters, the result as tabulated shall nevertheless stand. If, in a referendum on charges against an International Officer, definite allegations of gross irregularities in the conduct of the referendum are made by ten or more locals in five or more states, territories or provinces, having a total of not less than ten percent of the total ANG membership, then the IEB and seven local presidents drawn by lot from a full list of Guild presidents shall decide whether the irregularities occurred, and if it is decided that they did so occur, to such an extent as to affect the outcome, the referendum shall be held over again.

ARTICLE XXII

International Council Votes

The locals shall constitute an International Council which shall act by mail vote on various matters prescribed in this Constitution. The vote shall be cast by the governing bodies of the locals, each casting as many votes as it would be entitled to in a convention as of the date fifteen days before the mailing of the ballots from headquarters, and eligibility of local membership for representation in this vote shall be based upon the payments received at ANG headquarters up to the day before the opening of the ballots.

ARTICLE XXIII

Amendments

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended at any convention or by referendum.

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The Guild Reporter

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"... It shall be the duty of the GUILD REPORTER, under the supervision of the IEB, to promote in every legitimate way the policies of the ANG as established in Convention, and to confine its editorial policies to that specific program. All notices printed in the REPORTER shall constitute notices to the entire membership." — From Art. XX, Sec. 1, ANG Constitution.

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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July 15, 1937

The News Columns Are Weapons

When a meeting of less than a quarter of the Guild members on the New York World-Telegram votes by 27 to 20 that it thinks a referendum should have been held on the Guild's broad organizing program, that is news to the daily papers and it is widely printed.

When a small unit in Peoria, Ill., votes against the program that also is news for general circulation.

When two of the largest meetings ever held by the New York Guild, attended by about 500 members, act in favor of it, that is very minor news.

When a meeting of the Chicago Guild votes overwhelmingly to instruct its delegates to work for the program, that also is news not worth a play.

In other words, the publishers are using their news columns to do everything possible to build up dissension. By the same token they are drooling at the mouth as they scan the horizon now for any new events they can play up to defeat the Guild's program.

The conduct of such a campaign is an obvious purpose of the "Newspaper Committee" formed by the publishers association in their recent meeting in Chicago. As reported in Editor & Publisher, this committee "is to transmit the action of the convention (on the Guild shop, misrepresented as a closed shop) to the newspapers of the country and to take steps to 'keep the public informed of the importance of the issues involved.'"

If anyone thinks that committee will limit its activities to public statements which everybody will be able to identify and meet with counterstatements, he must have ignored recent history. The behavior of the San Francisco papers in the 1934 general strike showed how newspaper publishers regard ethical practices when they become really interested. That was before the Guild loomed very large on the horizon and the story was told in detail in Editor & Publisher.

They did not merely conduct editorial attacks; they deliberately spread distortion between various labor officials involved by glorifying the susceptible ones to build up their influence and egotism, while misrepresenting the others so as to create animosity in labor's own ranks. Editor & Publisher boasted of the papers' campaign that broke the strike.

How far will the publishers go against the Guild? One clue is given in the fact that Roy Howard was named by Editor & Publisher as a leading participant in the convention. When many Guilds were negotiating with their Scripps-Howard papers the actions of various Guilds were definitely misrepresented in dispatches to the other papers, and always against the Guild program.

Did Roy Howard waste time thinking out how to use his papers to fight the Guild? We have a specific answer in the Rupert Hughes incident. When Howard learned that Hughes was out to break up the Screen Writers Guild he sent a long telegram to him in Hollywood, outlining a statement which he proposed Hughes should issue—and which Hughes did issue—attacking the idea of a "closed shop" for writers, including newspaper writers. Howard's telegram was revealed in The Hollywood Variety.

Furthermore, his telegram of thanks to Hughes after the statement was issued contained this illuminating line: "Am asking the press associations to watch your efforts."

The long distance telephones and telegraph wires

are very accessible to the publishers. We can bet they are humming as the campaign grows.

Now that the Guild promises to be stronger than ever the publishers are ready to fight frantically. We predict they will be ruthless in the misuse of their channels of publicity. So far as the Guild is concerned their columns are no longer to be trusted.

Our Masters' Voices

The publishers have broken out in a rash of editorials against the Guild. Nominally, they are attacking the Guild shop; actually they are making this the rallying point for a general fight against our right of organization.

Proving the hollowness of their pretensions of lofty disinterestedness they unashamedly plead their own side only in their papers.

The same pattern runs through their editorials in various cities—whether in the New York Times, in the Globe & Mail in Toronto, or elsewhere. Following the line adopted at their convention, the papers pretend that their only quarrel with the right to organize is with the form it takes in the Guild. In the words of the Times, "Cordial relations have prevailed" between publishers and trade unions. This is a shocking half-truth. The printing trades unions had a long fight for recognition and improvement of working conditions, a fight marked by bloodshed and fiercer attacks by the publishers than the Guild has experienced in establishing itself. Moreover, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, of which the Times is an influential member, maintains an open-shop department—i. e., strikebreaking unit—to end or ward off the establishment of these "cordial relations" wherever possible.

To make their point, the publishers find it necessary to misrepresent the Guild shop. The leaders in their fight know well that it is not a "closed shop"; that instead of the Guild having the right to fill vacancies as the other newspaper unions do in real closed shops the Guild shop leaves the selections to the publisher. Thus, the main issue over which they say they are fighting is non-existent.

They go on and say, in the words of the Times, that the "closed shop" would require every newspaperman to "pool his opinions in a common fund of allegiance to one set of political and economic doctrines." The Times implies that the Guild would require its members to become "advocates" of causes in their reportorial work. This has been thoroughly refuted, both in the Guild's Constitution and in practice. What are we to say about papers making such statements without checking as to their truth?

The publishers know, quite as well as we do, that the trend of events in the country is as important to us as to them, and that it is proper for us to express our sentiments through Guild channels. They would not dare put into cold print what their words really mean—that \$50-a-week newsmen should not have opinions on anything, while \$45,000 to \$100,000-a-year publishers have opinions on everything.

The hypocrisy of all the pious bleating about "the danger of pro-labor bias" becomes apparent in a moment's reflection on the present handling of labor news. Editorially and in their news columns most publishers conduct a ceaseless campaign against labor unions. The New York Times, like most of the others,

plays up such phony organizations as the Flint Alliance and "back to work movements," trumped up for strikebreaking purposes; it plays up statements laying responsibility for violence on unions, plays up anything suggesting the defeat of a strike, and buries in stories any details showing the gains won in the innumerable victorious strikes.

All working newspapermen know how often the policies of the papers, determined by the publishers in the light of their business relations, dictate the omission or playing down of stories important to the public; we know who it is that feels the indignation because the real story can't be told.

The publishers think they can delude the public once more? They met a fine boomerang in the last election. We can easily make this another.

There's Meat in Them Words

What good do ANG Convention resolutions do?

The question is asked after every Convention by a few members who, while not unsympathetic to the sentiments, think the expression of them "makes the publishers mad needlessly."

Their practicality becomes apparent if we recall the intensive and often far from above-board efforts made by other groups to condition the public mind. The antics of the large power companies in subsidizing papers, college professors, and groups of country ministers, and in promoting favorable textbooks in the schools, is part of the lore of big business of recent years.

Nor do our own publishers content themselves with fulminations in their columns. Hearst, for example, has for some time maintained a certain Major Gill in and around New York as contact man with the American Legion and "patriotic" societies, which it appears to be the Major's duty to keep bristling with resolutions in support of Hearst's pet projects, such as teachers' oath bills, etc.

Our Convention resolutions, expressing our views openly, serve along with similar resolutions adopted by other groups to help counteract the anti-labor or otherwise unfavorable conditioning of the public attitude, and to help build up favorable attitudes on matters vital to us.

In the Tom Mooney resolution, for example, we not only, in some slight measure, aid a man whom a tremendous weight of evidence shows to be innocent, but we also help to build a public wariness against future frame-ups of labor leaders which some time may come closer to home. (Just as this was written word came of an attempt to frame the Knoxville Guild president, reported elsewhere.)

In the condemnation of fascism in Spain and elsewhere we help develop an awareness of the menace which this force has been shown to have for labor wherever it has appeared. The fact that we, in common with other progressive unions, have passed such a resolution will encourage the passage of similar ones by other unions.

Public opinion, after all, is only the collective expression of the opinion of large numbers of groups and individuals. Our Conventions and local meetings provide appropriate mediums for helping to shape that opinion along lines that will advance the interests of ourselves and the rest of the working population.

NLRB Exposes 'Back-to-Work Movements'

On our desk is a newspaper photograph of a "back-to-work" march of the kind reported these days in the steel strike centers. A group of men is entering the gates of a mill through a lane formed by two lines of policemen and guards. The camera has even caught the wave of the hand and apparently jubilant smile of a back-to-worker.

To the uninitiated this picture is supposed to represent the spontaneous self-emancipation of the rank and file of workers from the grip of union "agitators." But behind the demonstration is a carefully organized technique by which every detail, down to the wave of the hand, has been inspired and arranged by the employer. Its real meaning is that the employer has defeated the effort of his employees to improve working conditions through collective bargaining.

The back-to-work formula, as developed by anti-labor employers, has been condemned by the National Labor Relations Board as an unfair labor practice.

An analysis of the movement made for the board by Philip Taft, of its economic research division, reports it to be a device used by employers, operating through company unions, business men and labor spies, "to break down morale, spread fear and suspicion and demoralize the strikers." It is also designed to create the false impression among the public "that the strikers are a minority group preventing a large majority of workers from returning to work."

This device is not brand new, because it was used in the steel strike of 1919 and the Chicago bus, R.C.A. and lumber strikes in recent years, but it reached its "perfection" in the Remington-Rand and present steel strikes.

Mr. Taft pays particular attention to the "Mohawk Valley formula," developed by James Rand and incorporating all known refinements, as "an ideal type."

This is the way it worked in Ilion, New York, a town of 10,000 dependent on a Remington-Rand plant. Rand refused to negotiate with representatives of the union, which had enrolled about 1,500 of the 1,800 workers in the Ilion plant, and a strike was voted by 90 per cent of those voting in all the Remington plants.

Before the strike started, and while he was rejecting all offers of mediation, Rand began his preparations. He en-

gaged Pearl L. Bergoff, "king of the strikebreakers," and several other strikebreaking agencies. He also met Barney Allen, representing Ilion business men, and Reginald Boote, an anti-union Remington employee. He threatened to remove the plant from Ilion unless he got more support against the union.

When the strike began about 100 armed guards were moved in by the strikebreaking agencies. Allen's group formed a "Citizens' Committee." Boote, asserting he represented a majority of the employees, formed the Ilion Typewriter Employees' Protective Association, called by the Labor Board a "creature" of the management. Mass meetings were held; a big ballyhoo for "back-to-work" was launched. Bergoff's "missionaries" circulated among the workers at their homes undermining the strike.

Rand then put pressure on the local public authorities for more police protection, although the strike was orderly and there had been no violence. Three hundred deputies, many of them business men, were sworn in by the mayor.

Now an advertisement was published in the local paper by the company union inviting applications to return to work, with a warning that if the workers did not come back the plant would be moved out of town and they would lose their jobs.

A false rumor was spread that 500 strikers were marching on the town from Syracuse. The mayor declared an emergency. The main road into the village was barricaded. The union headquarters were padlocked. "Law and order broke loose and Ilion became an armed camp, separated from the outside world," the Labor Board found. The 300 deputies, heavily armed, guarded the plant. The Labor Board pointed out this show of force was not necessary and was intended to intimidate the workers into going to work.

Now the stage was set and the foremen of the plant visited the homes of employees to persuade them to return. They said the deadline for jobs was that evening and they offered \$15 to each worker, except those active in the union, merely to enter the plant. The impression was given that many had already agreed to go back.

And that was how the workers of Ilion went back to work.