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American Newspaper
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Committee for Indus-
trial Organization.

The Guild Reporter

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RED HERRING BROUGHT IN

Once again the red scare is an attack on the Guild. The McClure Syndicate, which sells its material to newspaper publishers, sees colors for their benefit. The item below captioned "Cleanup" is "for the personal information of editors." The one headed "Guild" is an excerpt from the July 28 "Whirligig" column syndicated by McClure.

CLEANUP

Insiders predict that a list may soon be available of all active members of the Communist Party connected with the Newspaper Guild. The anti-Brown element in the Guild (see general release) wants this revelation made.

Certain Reds have been active in Guild circles, especially around New York. In several Guild centers they have been successful in seizing the machinery of control. An intensive cleanup is in prospect.

Richard Waldo, Editor.

(Waldo, about two months ago, was expelled from the National Press Club at Washington for disseminating malicious stories about a fellow member, President Roosevelt, in a "confidential bulletin.")

New York. By James McMullen.

GUILD

Industrial and financial leaders are paying close attention to developments in the American Newspaper Guild. They figure that the outcome of the struggle between President Heywood Brown and more conservative elements in the Guild will have an important bearing on future relations between capital and labor in general.

Plenty of Guild members are sore at Brown and his aides for the stunt they put over at the recent St. Louis convention. Resolutions were adopted in favor of the CIO, the Spanish loyalists and all sorts of things, but none for the benefit of newspapermen. Sixteen Guild chapters have seconded the move which originated in Columbus, Ohio, for a referendum of the whole membership on these subjects. Brown is no longer a successful spellbinder at Guild meetings. Members are not backward about booing him.

It looks as if the referendum would repudiate Brown's leadership. In that case, the radicals who have permeated Guild headquarters and dominated some Eastern chapters may be thrown out on their ears. The CIO may also take a setback. Either or both of these developments might seriously affect organizing activities in other fields.

Organized Attack on ANG Reveals Conspiracy Extent

Magazines, 'Confidential' Bulletins Join Newspapers in Campaign

The extent of the publishers' conspiracy to wreck the Guild became evident this week as the attack upon the ANG gathered steam.

News stories containing supposed bombshells to upset the Guild membership began to appear with monotonous regularity. It was plain that many people heretofore virtually unacquainted with the Guild had suddenly become experts since the "newspaper committee" of the American Newspaper Publishers Association was formed at the recent Chicago anti-Guild convention.

Trade papers, magazines of opinion and comment and "confidential bulletins" were breaking out with stories or attacks, and papers that had never printed a line of news about the Guild before loosened up long enough to print one of the adverse pieces.

All were giving expert opinions on the forthcoming referendum, building up in one way or another the idea that the end of the Guild was about at hand. One of the main ideas being developed was that the "setback" predicted in the referendum would have a dampening effect on the whole labor movement.

Meanwhile the other phase of the attack, that of trying to break up Guilds by frings, took definite shape, particularly in Chicago, where all but

one of the Guild officers was discharged or transferred out of the city—all since the Chicago convention. That convention, it is now reliably revealed, was the inspiration

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AF of L Dual Guild Drive in Chicago Flops As Local Rallies from Publisher Attack

BULLETIN

CHICAGO.—William Green's nationally proclaimed drive to raid Guild membership for new AF of L federal locals fell through completely July 28. Not a man showed up for a widely publicized "mass meeting" called by the AF of L to organize a Guild rival.

Indicating the publisher hopes in the move, six reporters were on hand to cover the flop. President John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor announced, after an hour's wait in the otherwise empty auditorium, that the AF of L would now await outcome of the impending referen-

dum. Organizer Schoenberg, reached in St. Louis, said he was abandoning his intended drive in major Guild cities.

CHICAGO.—A major wave of dismissals, discrimination and intimidation breaking out within 20 days after the organized publishers' "freedom of the press" convention here, has practically wiped out the Chicago Guild leadership.

Moving to meet the attack, which was followed immediately by William Green's announcement that the AF of L will organize its first federal local of news writers here, the

dum.

Guild began to reform its lines. President Heywood Brown will address a mass meeting of Chicago newspapermen on Aug. 1 in a campaign to place the Guild on the offensive.

Progressive labor leaders regarded Green's announcement as the inevitable "second wave" after the publishers' onslaught. Harry Wohl, night editor of the American and first vice-president of the Guild who was the only executive board member to survive the 20 days of slaughter, predicted the maneuver in a circular to Chicago newspaper men on July 20. His blunt statement on

(Continued on page 3)

ANG Poll Due in Mid-August; Movers Work on Restatement

IEB Waives Demand for New Seconds; Ballots to go to Members as of June 1; Unit Structure Defined

The ANG referendum called for by the Columbus Guild on six actions of the St. Louis Convention including that of affiliating with the Committee for Industrial Organization and broadening the membership base to include newspaper commercial staffs, will go forward on the schedule provided in the Constitution as soon as the Columbus and Washington Guilds have restated the questions. This is expected to bring the actual vote soon after the middle of August.

NLRB BARS TEAMSTERS

Board Rule Favors Seattle Guild Strikers

BULLETIN

SEATTLE.—As the hearing opened on the Guild's complaint against the Seattle Star, Walter Wilbur, NLRB examiner, denied the plea of the Teamsters' Union to intervene. He ruled that the main issue was whether nineteen Guildsmen were removed from their positions because they chose the Guild as their bargaining agency and, if so, was this an unfair labor practice. The relationship between the Guild and the Teamsters' Union is immaterial to the main issue, Mr. Wilbur ruled.

Harry Marshall, Star publisher, admitted that he knew of the Guild's action at St. Louis, to affiliate with the CIO, but insisted nevertheless he would not restore the Guildsmen circulation managers to their jobs unless the Guild submitted to AF of L decisions in respect to jurisdiction.

SEATTLE.—Powerful forces have been marshalled behind the strike of the Guild against the Seattle Star's efforts to force Guild members into the Teamsters' Union, through the formation of the Labor Unity Council by CIO unions and progressive AF of L locals, expelled or with-

(Continued on page 3)

have restated the questions. This is expected to bring the actual vote soon after the middle of August.

Voting will be limited to those members in the Guild as of June 1—in other words, to the membership as of the time of the Convention. Such members, to vote, must be in good standing by the fifth day after the referendum has been determined.

These decisions were made unanimously by the International Executive Board at a special meeting held at International headquarters on July 24 and 25. Summoned into session by President Brown and Executive Vice President Eddy because of the complex question raised by the referendum and the efforts of the publishers and American Federation of Labor officials to make capital out of it, the board worked out a plan for holding the vote as speedily as possible and on a fair basis.

The restatement of the questions, undertaken on the initiative of the Columbus and Washington Guilds, is understood to be in progress as this issue of the REPORTER is printed and the rephrased motions are expected at headquarters within a few days. The rewording is expected to pose positive actions instead of, as the motion originally did, asking whether the Guild would take actions which it had already taken in Convention.

It is expected that the questions of whether the Guild to join the CIO and take in the unorganized newspaper departments will be separated for balloting on each question.

Noting that more than the constitutionally required number of Guilds desired the referendum, the board announced that if it found the rephrased motions properly drafted, capable of application and within the spirit of the original motions, it would not require renewal of the seconds.

8 Organizers Take the Field

IEB Names Staff on the CIO Allotment

The ANG's new force of International representatives made available by the allotment of CIO funds swung into action in the last fortnight to aid locals in repelling the present wave of attacks and to carry the Guild into new territories.

Eight of the staff of ten authorized by John L. Lewis have been appointed by the International Executive Board, six having already started to work in widely scattered sections and the other two being about to take up their assignments.

One of the two remaining positions will be filled by a Canadian, according to the plan decided upon at the

(Continued on page 5)

A statement of guidance for local Guilds in planning new unit structures to accommodate members in the newly eligible departments was adopted at the same meeting, in accordance with a mandate of the Convention.

Unit Divisions

This plan envisages divisional organizations for the editorial, advertising, circulation and other departments, each division having a chairman and each meeting separately as far as necessary to work out their special problems. Each division will prepare its own collective bargaining demands, to be submitted to the

(Continued on page 4)

Columbus Head Declines Debate

The Columbus Guild does not "wish to argue for or against" any of its referendum points, according to William H. Newton, president. Newton was invited by the GUILD REPORTER to state the case against the various Convention actions to be voted upon. He declined in the following telegram, received at closing time:

"Please print the following: The Columbus Guild feels that questions of such importance as CIO affiliation and extension of the Guild into such fields as the Spanish War or the farmer-labor movement should always be submitted to the rank and file before becoming binding on members. We do not wish to argue for or against any of the points. Our only desire is to let the rank and file decide upon them in the most democratic manner possible."

This information was received too late to allow for securing some other writer.

The case for the actions is printed on page 6 and space will be made available for opposing views in the next issue.

DECATUR STRIKE WINS UNITED AID

Heavy Blows Dealt to Herald and Review

DECATUR, Ill.—With full support of AF of L and CIO unions, the Decatur Guild, which tied up publication of the Decatur Herald and Review for four days two weeks ago, continues to deal heavy blows in both circulation and advertising drives against the two papers.

With a national advertising rate depending largely on circulation gained in Central Illinois towns in hotly contested districts between Springfield, Bloomington and Champaign, the paper has suffered heavy losses as organized labor takes up the cause of striking Guildsmen and cancels Decatur circulation.

A dozen regular advertisers in the papers are either holding contract advertising to a minimum during the strike or eliminating use of the newspaper entirely in sympathy with the Guild. Legal advertisements of tax lists and other documents already have cost the paper \$6,000 in business given the local labor paper which has been taken over, editorially, by the Guild.

Picket Line Removed

The Guild voluntarily removed its mass picket line which had prevented publication of any newspaper in this city for four days after a committee of printers and pressmen had called on the management and demanded that negotiations be renewed with the Guild. Guildsmen struck July 10, when the company broke off negotiations.

Convinced that the company planned to place the Guild at a disadvantage in the renewed negotiations by instigating violence on the mass picket line just before conferences were resumed, the newsmen and labor leaders of the community withdrew the company by withdrawing the line.

Where 300 militant unionists had formed a daily picket line about the building only two Guildsmen carrying banners held the line on the fifth morning of the strike.

Upon these two peaceful pickets descended fifty police and deputies armed with clubs and pistols, riot guns, shot guns, machine guns and gas equipment. Heavy lines of police and deputies guarded the entrance, ready to "protect" printers coming to work before 7 A.M.

The Guild entered negotiations that afternoon with a clear record and with public opinion still solidly behind the strikers.

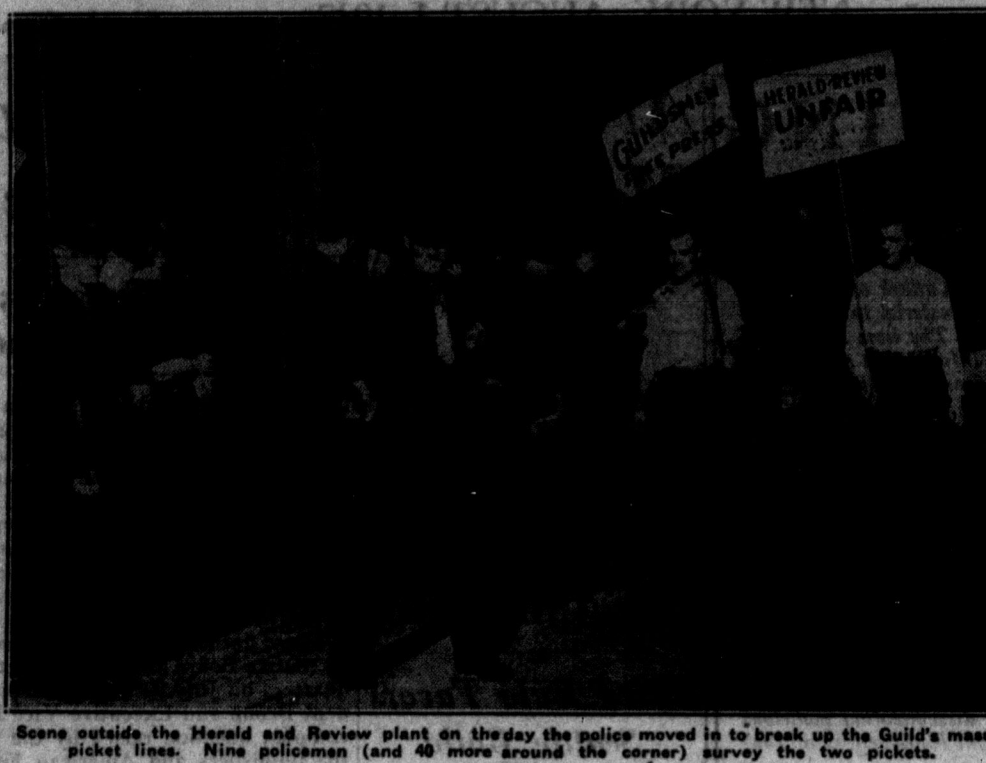
As a result of the Guild's action the company has been unable to obtain an anti-picketing injunction and the Guild is in a position to resume mass picketing at any time.

Meanwhile, the Decatur Newspaper Guild lost three of its 20 members in the third week of the strike. Howland Connolly pulled out of the strike for a job on the Guild-baiting Indianapolis News. James S. Patton who seceded on a printer strike in Decatur ten years ago, went back to work Monday, July 26, as the third week began, taking with him Boyd Watts, an artist member. Connolly was a state editor, Patton a managing editor. Cards of all three men have been taken up by the Decatur Guild.

Bayonne Active

RAYONNE, N. J.—United by a strike vote taken upon the dismissal of one of its members, the Bayonne Times unit has opened negotiations on its paper through the Hudson County Guild. The unit asks for a Guild shop, 5-day, 40-hour week, and a blanket \$5 pay increase. Minimum of \$45 for reporters and desk men of three years' experience and \$75 for the city editor and his assistant, respectively.

IT'S MASS POLICING IN DECATUR



Scene outside the Herald and Review plant on Thursday the police moved in to break up the Guild's mass picket line. Nine policemen (and 40 more around the corner) survey the two pickets.

Washington Organizes Business Office Workers

WASHINGTON.—The Washington Newspaper Guild is conducting meetings for workers on each of the five local newspapers for organization of business office staffs in accordance with the change in the ANG Constitution adopted at the St. Louis Convention.

A recent organization meeting for all local newspapers brought out an attendance of seventy-five business office workers, of whom a number signed up. Carlton Skinner, Wall Street Journal, presided at the meeting. Robert M. Buck, WNG president, and Guy Billingsly and Perry Miller, local ITU members, spoke.

Business office employees were informed of the meeting through an advertisement in the classified columns of local papers.

Admission into the Washington Guild of news vendors was voted at the June meeting.

Duluth Violation Brings IEB Charges

By direction of the International Executive Board, acting on a motion submitted on June 22, charges have been filed against the Lake Superior Guild because of a contract signed on June 9 with the Duluth Herald and News Tribune by "the Duluth Herald and News Tribune unit." The charges were that the contract violated the provisions of the Constitution in effect at the time, as amended in New York in 1936, forbidding unit negotiation and negotiations, and requiring that the IEB be kept informed of developments in negotiations.

In sending the charges to the officers and members of the local, Secretary-Treasurer Pasche expressed the hope of the board that it would be able to penalize the Lake Superior Guild, but that the IEB might be able to assist the local in rectifying the situation. An agent of the IEB will be sent to Duluth.

HEARST AXE HITS TWO MORE CITIES

Guildsmen Lopped Off in Baltimore And Rochester

The wave of Hearst firings, part of a general economy move of the management, which included the closing of three papers, has struck in Baltimore, on the heels of the dismissal of 400 employees, including forty-three Guildsmen, in Rochester.

A total of 140 employees in all departments of the Baltimore News-Post and Sunday American, with several Guild members included, were let out in the latest Hearst cut. The 400 fired in Rochester were employees of the closed Rochester Journal and Sunday American.

Editorial workers who were discharged in Baltimore were summoned to the office July 15, handed vouchers for their severance pay under a Guild agreement and told their services were needed no longer. Those editorial workers not members of the Guild received the same scale of severance pay, one man receiving a voucher for \$1,000.

Discharged Guildsmen in Rochester, who included Theodore W. Klee, president of the RNC, were heartened by prospects for launching of a new daily to supplant the Journal and American, which shut their doors June 30. Reports are that a six-day afternoon paper is under way.

The discharged editorial workers in Rochester were paid the contract-stipulated severance indemnity of one week's salary for each year of service, up to six weeks. In addition, the management has agreed to pay an additional two weeks' salary to those who have not yet received their vacation. This concession was won after a three-day battle.

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As the protest campaign against the newspaper gained momentum, efforts were made to stem the decline in circulation, including the publication of an editorial denying that Farmer's discharge was due to union activity.

Following the Guild's affiliation with the Toronto District Trades and Labor Council and Farmer's appointment as a delegate to that body, the Council approved the sending of a delegation to C. G. McCullagh, publisher, to demand Farmer's reinstatement and the cessation of intimidation.

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Hearst Bargaining Given IEB Backing

Locals Continue Enrollment

Preparations for carrying through the Hearst chain-wide collective bargaining program were advanced at the IEB meeting of July 25, when it received the report that several locals had signed their intention of entering into the program and that therefore the provisions of Section 6 of Article XVIII of the Constitution governing such negotiations were in effect.

Under this section, when locals adopt a program they remain bound by it until it is declared concluded by the IEB.

ANG Representative Morgan Hall, who is secretary of the Hearst Chain Advisory Committee, submitted the proposal to declare the section in operation.

All possible assistance for the program was pledged by the IEB.

BECK AND GREEN, THE GUILD'S 'FRIENDS'

Veil Is Lifted As 'Leaders' Hit At Guild In Open

"What's the matter in Seattle?" Dave Beck was on our side in the Post-Intelligencer strike—why is he fighting us now?"

These questions are occasionally asked in connection with the strike on the Seattle Star.

Another is, "Why is Green 'Benedict Arnold' to the Guild?"

The answers are "now it can be told." Now that William Green and Beck are openly trying to smash the Guild, their previous underhanded attempts to crush the P-I strike can be told. So can other attempts made by Green to wreck the Guild strike against the Wisconsin News.

Nearly all Guildsmen and, certainly, those who were members at the time the Guild affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, knew that we affiliated with our eyes open; knew that many of the ranking bureaucrats of the federation were the cheapest kind of self-seeking labor politicians.

We affiliated because we knew that it was imperative to be in the main stream of the labor movement—which the A.F. of L. at that time represented—and that whatever evils might be found in the leadership there were greater benefits to be had in association with the honest rank-and-file of labor on common and fraternal grounds.

We were correct in our judgment of both the leadership and the rank-and-file.

The Double-Crossing in Milwaukee

In the Milwaukee situation, the highlights were:

1. Green's order to the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, by telephone via the general organizer, Paul Smith, to keep the Wisconsin News off the unfair list on the grounds it was "illegal," although the trades council had had another daily paper on the unfair list for two years.

2. Organizer Smith's "order to officers of a federal local to withhold a \$10 Guild strike contribution after it had been voted by the membership on the grounds 'the Guild has enough money'."

3. In conference with Smith, officers of the trades council appeared before a number of local unions, urging no contributions be given the strike.

The above facts were all admitted to a Guild committee by Organizer Smith himself. His justification was that the Guild was "putting the Milwaukee labor movement on the spot" through a strike which labor leaders were not supporting.

How It Was Tried In the Seattle Strike

The Seattle strike called for more open and obvious treachery. Here the alliance between Green and the Hearst management was much plainer.

Green had to take these steps:

1. In his own words, "invite" Hearst representatives to spend two days before the A.F. of L. Executive Council attacking the Guild in the presence of Guild representatives.

2. Council members, in the presence of the Hearst representatives, of course, also attacked the Guild representatives for refusing to approve a settlement proposed without ratification by the strikers.

3. Green, the notorious John P. Fry, and other council members spent nine days attempting to bully the Guild representatives into accepting a management proposal which the strikers had already rejected by a 75-to-3 vote.

4. Green and the others constantly

EDITOR & PUBLISHER

NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 24, 1937

Anti-CIO Guildsmen Form AFL Union in Chicago for Newsmen Only

Unit is First in New Federation of Writers Planned by AFL Head for "Loyal" ANG Members Regardless of Referendum Outcome

COMPLETION of plans to organize a new union of newspaper editors and publishers in Chicago was made last night when the AFL Executive Council voted to accept the proposal of the Chicago Newspaper Guild to form a new union of writers and editors in Chicago. The first "mass meeting" made a 100 per cent. non-attendance record.

Threatened the Guild representatives that if they did not yield to the proposal, the Executive Council would then publicly issue a recommendation to both sides along the lines Green proposed.

5. Green's proposition was openly copied, in the presence of the Guild representatives, from the management proposal. Green occasionally issued his recommendations over the protests of the Guild officers that he had neither any right nor justification for doing so.

6. When the Guild representatives refused to sell out the strikers, Green publicly issued his recommendations over the protests of the Guild officers that he had neither any right nor justification for doing so.

7. Before officially giving the Guild the text of Green's final recommendation, the substance of it was given to Jack Leary, the Hearst labor editor, who wired E. D. Colburn, publisher of the New York American, that "members executive council federation" assured him "situation such as this won't be permitted arise again."

As for Beck, it should be pointed out that he is a powerful political figure in Seattle who is literally adored by hundreds of Seattle business men as a bulwark against genuine unionism. At the time the P-I strike developed he had been politically out of line with Hearst, and through stupid blunders and attacks of the Hearst management, was forced in self-defense to support the Guild, at least so far as the public was concerned. He kept hunting rat-holes through which he could crawl out from under, however. Beck is no fool. He used devious methods before he came into the open. Here were his steps:

1. Through stooges, he maneuvered Mayor Dore into ordering police to open the P-I picket line. Dore notified the Guild he intended to do so and would have carried out the threat had not longshoremen, boiler-makers, teachers, timberworkers and members of the Washington Commonwealth Federation swarmed into his office and threatened him with political extinction.

2. Beck summoned the Guild strike committee to a conference of local and state labor officials at his office, where the strike committee was told by the array of labor "leaders" to "call off the strike and go back to work."

3. After the strike committee refused this sell-out order, strike contributions were cut off from all the teamsters' locals as well as many others under Beck control.

4. He sent a subordinate to the A.F. of L. and therefore subject to the question of jurisdiction over the circulation managers for later settlement. The Teamsters' refusal crystallized public sentiment in favor of the Guild.

A Guild volunteer picket, a newsboy, was a victim of the violent tactics used by Beck in his attempts to dominate the Seattle labor movement. The boy, carrying a sign advertising a Guild mass meeting, was slugged by a Beck "goon."

Organization of the Labor Unity Council was a major development in the whole Seattle labor picture, as well as for the Guild.

Represented in the Council are the Mine Workers, Typographical Union, Longshoremen, Government Employees, Radio Telegraphers, fuel truck drivers, brewery workers, cannery workers, steel workers, teachers, fur workers, post office clerks, miners, mates and pilots, and inland business.

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Broad Attack Aimed at ANG

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of Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune.

A red scare was on its way as this issue of the Tribune went to press. Richard Waldo, president and editor of the McClure Syndicate, which sells large numbers of features to newspapers, further cemented his relations with his clients by undertaking to raise the cry.

In the release of James McMillen's National Whirligig for July 28, Waldo, who has previously been discredited for the circulation of malicious rumors, sent out over his own name as doing "for the personal information and use of editors as to editorial material," the statement attributed to "insiders" that "a list may soon be available of all active members of the Communist Party connected with the Newspaper Guild."

More Confidence This was presented ostensibly to build up McMillen's column which spoke of "industrial and financial leaders" paying close attention to the Guild referendum because it was expected to "repudiate Brown's leadership" and thus cause a setback to the CIO and organizing in other fields.

The Guild 10 issue of Business Week said:

"The CIO leaders' biggest mistake has not been in antagonizing the President, but in heightening the antagonism of newspaper publishers by egging on the Newspaper Guild. This move has put a sterner face on the manner in which Lewis is presented to the public."

The confidential Kiplinger Washington Letter of July 10 widely circulated to business men and executives, informs its clients that "Newspaper Guild affiliation with CIO seems largely responsible for the increasing hostility of newspapers toward CIO."

"Judgment is that the CIO in long run will continue to gain ground," it adds. "Employers are courting AF of L unions in significant numbers, embracing what they consider 'less evil' of two evils."

Seattle became an important date line in wire service dispatches when a group of Guildsmen who continued working for the Seattle Herald management during the P-I strike issued a statement denouncing the action of the Seattle executive committee in refusing to second the Columbus referendum—although local executive committees are empowered by the Constitution to act on such matters.

The story, spread across the country and printed at length in such distant places as Newark, N. J., did not indicate that most members of the group, and notably its instigator, had tried to form an "independent" association after the strike and had only taken out cards when the Guild, with the backing of the local labor movement, told the P-I management that it would not tolerate a company union on the paper.

Probably unintentionally revealing the real issue raised at the convention an INS story printed in the Newark (N. J.) Star-Eagle bluntly said that the covering the move was "to prevent editorial workers from affiliating with the CIO."

A portion of the dispatch follows: "Detroit, July 20 (INS)—Small city newspaper publishers today moved to join metropolitan publishers in a united front to prevent editorial workers from affiliating with the CIO."

"Here for the fifty-second annual National Editorial Association Convention, 300 editors and publishers of non-metropolitan papers agreed last night to consider in committee a resolution to join the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, committee formed in Chicago two weeks ago to fight the CIO affiliation of editorial workers."

London newspapermen who worked on Coronation Day at an extra day off—but only when the Central London branch of the National Union of Journalists insisted upon it.

When the Newspaper Proprietors' Association was first approached on the subject, it refused the request of the union's Acting-General Secretary, and none too courteously at that.

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ANG POLL DUE SOON

Referendum May Be Held in Mid-August

(Continued from page 1)

whole unit for purposes of coordination, and locals may provide that no contract shall be considered ratified until each division has acted favorably on the provisions relating to itself.

By adopting the membership rolls as of June 1 as the basis for the referendum the Board excluded some 2,000 members enrolled from the newly eligible commercial staffs. Because of the desire to avoid this seeming affront to the new members, the question of the suitable date was discussed at length. It was felt, however, that the chief necessity was to have the decision on broadening the base made by the original editorial members, and that the commercial staffs will see the importance of this course in securing future harmony.

The decision to call the Board into session was made earlier in the week after the great volume of publicity given to the referendum proposal had whipped up interest to an exceptional peak and a welter of confusion was developing around the question of who should vote.

Representatives of two Guilds, Philadelphia and Washington, attended the meeting to present ideas on the referendum, and the Detroit Guild sent a letter.

Objections stated

The Philadelphia representatives, Al Roberts, Thomas A. McCarthy, Paul Conly French and Victor Wilson, entered a protest against any ruling that would prevent the newly eligible non-editorial members from voting.

Detroit opposed allowing the new office members to vote. Regarding the wording, it asked for a splitting of the CIO jurisdiction question into four questions, allowing alternative decisions.

Robert M. Buck, president of the Washington Guild, who had attended a referendum proposal, attended to tell the Board of the efforts of his and the Columbus Guild to arrive at a rewording. Both Guilds had appointed committees of five after their recent meetings, at which Broun spoke on the question of a referendum, to try to agree on the new statements. He read a telegram from President Newton of Columbus, indicating some opposition to a change. The matter could be arranged, Buck thought, by July 27, but subsequently he notified Broun from Washington that more time would be needed.

Asked for the Washington Guild's idea of how the questions on CIO and jurisdiction should be worded, Buck said: "(1) Shall we sustain the action of the Convention in going into the CIO? (2) Shall we sustain the action of the Convention in broadening the base?"

An IEB policy committee, consisting of the ANG officers and functionaries at headquarters, was appointed to act on referendum matters.

Broun is speaking on the issues at a series of Guild meetings in Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit and Chicago. The IEB resolutions determining the voting base and setting forth the present status of the referendum proposal and its statement on unit structure under the new membership base are printed in other columns.

IEB Resolutions on Referendum Status

Three decisions were made by the International Executive Board affecting the forthcoming referendum proposed by the Columbus Guild.

One resolution limited the vote to members who joined before June 1. It read:

Resolved, that ballots will be made available to all Guild members as of June 1, who shall be in good standing when the referendum is determined.

The present status of the referendum is as follows:

BROUN'S 'GREEN OR GUILD' REPLY

To Stay in CIO is 'Main Objective' ANG President Stresses

President Broun's reply to William Green was as follows:

I think that William Green has every right to appeal to the rank and file membership of the American Newspaper Guild over the heads of the Guild's international officers. In fact I have on several occasions made precisely the same appeal to the rank and file members of the American Federation of Labor. The membership of the Guild is supreme and it is the membership of the Guild which must answer William Green in the coming referendum vote. Walter Lippmann, Westbrook Pegler, Dorothy Thompson and other rank and file members mentioned by President Green, will vote as well as thousands of others.

It is my firm conviction that the vote should be taken as quickly as possible on all the questions submitted and that they be expressed in such a clear way that there can be no possible confusion. Moreover, in order that there should be no possibility of criticism as to the validity of the vote, I think that our new members from the future harmony.

dem action was set in the following resolution:

Whereas, the IEB has found that more than the constitutional number of locals have endorsed the Columbus Guild motions for referendum on Convention decisions, and

Whereas, Robert M. Buck, stating that he represented both the Washington Guild and William Newton, president of the Columbus Guild, has appeared before the IEB and advised the IEB of a desire to have the Washington Guild and the Columbus Guild to rephrase the Columbus motions in such a manner as to have them propose positive actions instead of reopening actions previously taken by the Convention, particularly in respect to constitutional changes which the motions would make necessary, and

Whereas, Brother Buck signified a desire of the Washington Guild to have the motion in respect to CIO affiliation and membership base separated, a desire which the IEB approves in the interest of clarity in the vote, and

Whereas, Brother Buck stated to the Board that committees of the Washington and Columbus Guilds had scheduled simultaneous meetings for Monday, July 26, after having been unable to agree, for the purpose of so rephrasing these motions,

Be it resolved: That the IEB advise the Columbus Guild that it will await the test of the rephrased motions before making a determination as to the referendum, and that if it finds the rephrased motions are properly drafted and capable of application, and are within the spirit of the six motions originally seconded, it will determine that the referendum has been properly called for.

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Montreal Invokes Law

MONTREAL. — Following the breakdown of negotiations looking toward his unconditional reinstatement by the Gazette, President R. A. C. Ballantyne, of the Montreal Guild, has moved to invoke the labor law passed at the last session of the Quebec Legislature.

The law, which has never been tested in the courts, says that "whoever, directly or indirectly, prevents an employee from becoming a member of an association commits an unlawful act."

Ballantyne was fired by the Gazette June 25 after nine and a half years' service. The management refused to give him a reason for his discharge, but it was made plain to him that it was for Guild activity.

Decision to invoke the legislation was made at a meeting of the executive committee of the Montreal Guild after Ballantyne, acting with the approval of the executive committee, rejected an offer by the management to reinstate him without discrimination provided he quit Guild office and activity.

Before making his offer, the management twice refused to meet a representative of the Provincial Department of Labor to discuss the situation.

business office, advertising and circulation departments should not vote.

I am still in favor of the much criticized Spanish resolution for I feel that trade unionists cannot afford to remain indifferent to the fate of trade unionists in other parts of the world. However, we must remember our main objective and that is to stay in the CIO.

William Green raises the point that I am "Communist" or a Communist. The point is irrelevant since the Guild constitution provides that no test of membership shall ever rest on racial, religious or political considerations. But, for the sake of the record, I might state that I am not a member of the Communist Party although I warmly approve many points of the present legislative program of that Party. I would also like to say that the Daily Worker Unit has given hard and effective work in promoting the success of the Guild, although I have sometimes felt that their advice was a shade too conservative and that the Unit underestimated the capacity of reporters to toss aside the snob-

business of craft unionism. We do not share William Green's contempt for charwomen.

If I may be privileged to make one more statement on the extraneous subject of Communism, I might reveal the fact that several years ago I promised my wife, Constantina Maria Inconornata Frusella, that I would never join the Communist Party unless I joined the Catholic Church within the same week. I imagine that probably I will not ever be admitted to either.

Mr. Green is unfair to himself in his belief that I called him Benedict Arnold. I did no such thing. I merely said that Benedict Arnold was preparing to resign and shout loudly and enviously, "Gang-way for William Green."

It seems to me that Mr. Green is the greatest single obstacle in the path of the labor movement and that the stone must be rolled away. Nevertheless, I would like to thank him for clarifying the questions on which the American Newspaper Guild is about to vote. He has stated the issue correctly—it is Green or the Guild.

When I went to New York at Mr. Broun's invitation to present that charter, Mr. Broun, defender of "free speech," attempted to dictate my address. Failing in that he proceeded to hurl invective in my presence, immediately I concluded my remarks, which were in effect a warning of where the Committee for Industrial Organization was attempting to lead the workers of America.

See Moscow Influence

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In New York, the Daily Worker unit took up another Green inaccuracy. Harry Raymond, unit chairman, issued this statement: "William Green's remark, July 18, that he was 'reliably told' that the Daily Worker unit of the Guild had 'repudiated Mr. Broun' is clearly a weird fragment of the old gentleman's imagination. No such action was ever taken. If Mr. Green's other statements concerning the Guild are as accurate as this one, he is in a pretty sorry state indeed."

On the rephrased motions without requiring the seconders to renew their endorsements.

A motion adopted by the Board set a deadline for locals in bringing their members' local standing, on the books of the ANG headquarters, making them eligible to receive ballots in the referendum. That deadline will be five days after determination of the referendum has been made. Local presidents will be advised immediately after the determination has been made.

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THAT GREEN STATEMENT

In Which the AFL President Sees Red and Broun

The attack of President Green of the A.F. of L. against the ANG leadership, particularly singling out President Broun, follows in part:

Having been "reported upon" for many years I am asking the indulgence of the working press to "report" the recent activities of Heywood Broun, international president of the American Newspaper Guild.

Mr. Broun was one of the original members of the Newspaper Guild and came knocking at the door of the American Federation of Labor about a year or so ago asking a charter.

When I went to New York at Mr. Broun's invitation to present that charter, Mr. Broun, defender of "free speech," attempted to dictate my address. Failing in that he proceeded to hurl invective in my presence, immediately I concluded my remarks, which were in effect a warning of where the Committee for Industrial Organization was attempting to lead the workers of America.

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FLASHES

POLL SECOND WITHDRAWN

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—The recently organized South Bend Guild withdrew its second to the Columbus referendum motion and voted to "stick with the ANG, whatever happens," after hearing the offer of an A.F. of L. representative to take the local into its fold as a federal union.

The A.F. of L. representative, Charles Hall, had been invited to address a meeting at which Don Stevens, ANG representative, was also a speaker. Hall announced that he was in South Bend under direct orders of William Green, and was prepared to offer the Guild any number of federal local charters, according to how many departments it desired.

Stevens and Joe Carroll, executive board member of the Chicago Guild, attacked the "offer" as an effort to split up a union. A rough and tumble debate ensued, at the end of which the Guild voted 2-1 to withdraw its second.

ST. LOUIS POLLS MEMBERS

ST. LOUIS.—A general membership referendum on jurisdiction was held here. The questions and results were:

(1) Do you favor broadening the jurisdiction of the American Newspaper Guild to include unorganized "white collar" workers? Replies: Yes, 46; No, 28.

(2) If so, do you favor accepting them into the Guild's editorial units? Replies: Yes, 21; No, 44.

(3) Or accepting them as independent units affiliated with the CIO? Replies: Yes, 43; No, 23.

(4) If you are opposed to broadening the Guild base to include the other unorganized departments would you favor having the Executive Committee of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild sound out sentiment in other Guilds throughout the country on remaining in the CIO, but not organizing the other departments? Replies: Yes, 42; No, 21.

The executive committee has unanimously adopted a resolution urging that hereafter Conventions should make broad declarations of policy on questions on which the delegates were specifically instructed in advance, or by general membership referendum.

OPPOSE REFERENDUM

AKRON.—The Akron Guild voted overwhelmingly against the proposed referendum on issues decided upon at the Guild's Convention in St. Louis.

Secretary Edward Ryan was instructed to write the Columbus Guild that Akron had instructed its delegates in advance on most of the issues and, with one very minor exception, was in complete accord with the Convention action.

COMMERCIAL WORKERS JOIN PHILADELPHIA.—About 150 workers in local newspaper business, advertising and circulation departments attended a Guild meeting and nearly all joined.

The Guild Executive Council has authorized negotiations with the Inquirer for the classified advertising and business office groups and for the former group on the record.

CINCINNATI DRIVE WINS

CINCINNATI.—A majority of the employees in business, advertising and circulation departments of the Cincinnati Post have signed Guild cards. Meetings are being held to prepare a contract to be submitted on their behalf. The organization committee is preparing a drive for members on the Times-Star and Enquirer.

AKRON, OHIO.—DON STROUSE, Times-Press editorial writer, and FRANK DENSHAW, Beacon Journal photographer, have been awarded \$5 prizes in the Akron Guild's second "outstanding work of the month" award.

Strouse was picked for an editorial on the attempted eviction of an aged splinter from her home, and Denshaw for spot pictures of a traffic accident.

WHO'S WHO OF NEW ORGANIZERS

HONORE ARMSTRONG

Honore Armstrong, born in Caldwell, Idaho, has played an active part in the labor movement in the Northwest. She was one of the organizers of the Seattle Guild and one of the foremost workers during the Post-Intelligencer strike. She is the widow of Everhardt Armstrong.



Honore Armstrong

Seattle music critic, whose discharge by the Post-Intelligencer helped precipitate the strike.

She has worked with many labor and liberal groups in Seattle, particularly the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Card and Label League, an A.F. of L. affiliate, and the Unemployed Citizens League.

Vanguard. As a member of the Educational Committee she participated actively in the Maritime Strike of 1936. She entered the labor movement as a member of Actors Equity, having been on the stage six years.

ERNEST S. MOORE, JR.

Ernest Moore was born in Anderson, S. C., in 1907, educated in the public schools of Atlanta, Ga., and Greenwood, S. C.

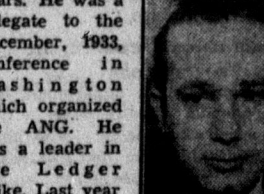
He was telegraph editor of the Greenwood, S. C., Index Journal for one year, and the same on the Charleston News and Courier.

He also was with the Scripps-Herald and Birmingham Post as reporter and later assistant city editor. He joined the Guild in 1934 and organized and was president of the Birmingham Guild.

NATHAN L. GOLDBERG

Nathan L. Goldberg, born 1902, was organizer of the Newark Guild and its first secretary. He has been its president for the past two years. He was a delegate to the December, 1935, conference in Washington which organized the ANG. He was a leader in the Ledger strike. Last year he organized the Inter-Relations Committee of Organized Newspaper Crafts, composed of the presidents of Newark newspaper mechanical unions and the Guild.

He began newspaper work in 1926, working five years at the New Jersey Bureau of the Associated Press, most of this period as state editor. City editor of the Newark Free Press and later, of the Newark Ledger. Joined the Scripps-Herald in 1931, serving as rewrite man, assistant city editor, state-suburban editor, and general reporter.



N. L. Goldberg

His newspaper career began on the now defunct Kansas City Journal and continued on the Associated Press, United Press and New York Mirror. In 1932 he published the "Jackson County Herald," a weekly of Sugar Creek, Mo., for a short time.

He presided at the first Guild meeting ever held in Chicago in early 1934 as a member at large, before the local had been organized. In 1935 he was transferred by the United Press to New York and in September, 1936, was employed by the New York Mirror. In December he was elected Mirror Unit chairman, resigning that office to become International Representative of Guild.

DON STEVENS

Don Stevens, age 38, is a native of Montana. Besides a newspaper record of having worked on 15 dailies and one wire service in 10 cities, he has at various times in his career been fur trapper, horse packer, surveyor, government wolf hunter and construction gang teamster.

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THE POLICY BEHIND CONVENTION'S ACTS

Referendum Issues: An Argument for The Whole ANG Program

President William Newton of the Columbus Guild, which moved the referendum, was invited to state the case against the Convention's acts on this page, and declined. Word of his decision was not received in time to get another writer.

By CLYDE BEALS
Despite the good intentions of the initiators and seconders of the Columbus referendum, it has taken on a significance which they undoubtedly did not expect. The publishers have taken full advantage of it to turn it into a general attack on the whole Guild.

We are deciding, therefore, whether the ANG is to continue as a strong, determined organization. We can be sure that if this attack succeeds, others will be tried until the Guild goes the way of earlier organizations.

The present widespread attack, however, was not new line of the publishers. They started fighting us before we even knew what the character of our organization would be. Howard Davis, as president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, personally appealed to Heywood Brown in 1933 just before the national organization meeting, not to go on with the project.

The publishers brought pressure through the Administration to stop us. In 1934, before we had formulated a single demand the firing began. Hearst took the initiative in San Francisco as he had done some 30 years ago—and successfully—in Chicago. A couple of months later the Long Island Press, a New York neighborhood paper, "got ready for the Guild" by firing nine members, still before the Guild had seriously considered what wages or conditions it would seek.

The raw treatment given us by the publishers during the NRA is a matter of history. For those who say the Guild has grown too fast these incidents are significant. Up to this time the Guild had done no more than, in the case of the New York local, give a dinner party for the publishers by way of getting acquainted. The plain fact is the publishers wanted no organization at all.

Let those who wish to undo the Guild's policies and adopt the line of yielding under the publishers' attack remember that it is in the face of these attacks that our gains have been won. When we looked easy, as just after the end of the NRA, paper after paper was quick to take away the 5-day week. We have now made this feature a standard one throughout most of the Guild cities. The last year has seen pay increases on some 30 papers, many of them adding \$10 to \$15 weekly to individual salaries. We have obtained contracts on some 14 Scripps-Howard papers. We have agreements or statements binding managements of most of the Hearst papers. These contracts and agreements have already been worth hundreds to the individual members affected. They were made in the face of firm sanctions by Howard and Hearst that they would not do exactly what they did.

It is important to note how we have been able to make these gains. We have been able to do so because we have taken our place as an integral part of the labor movement, devoted to its best interests. Despite the prominence of our strikes, less than two per cent of our membership has ever been obliged to resist to them. Those that have occurred have resulted in important forward steps in our progress—as the Seattle and Milwaukee strikes opened the way for successful negotiations with Hearst papers and services all over the country. The gains from these negotiations in turn made it impossible for the Scripps-Howard papers to withhold contracts in the cities

where they competed with Hearst papers, and so on.

It is because we are in the labor movement that we have been able to make these gains. The pressure of large bodies of unionists and their families among the readers of newspapers creates a constant leverage on almost every publisher. Particularly where one publisher has behaved fairly with us and signed a contract the rival publisher cannot afford to hold out. The Guilds throughout the country made the largest part of their gains by following up advantages opened to them by such factors.

Where we have had to strike this latest labor pressure has been the determining factor in our exceptional series of successes. An important use of it has been in forcing local political officials to give fair treatment to our picket lines. Whenever labor is numerically strong the politicians are loathe to alienate it.

It is plain, then, apart from any idealistic impulses we may have, that a great numerical growth in the labor movement is a matter of direct personal concern to those who work on newspapers.

Here is where the CIO comes in. Before it began its great campaign the American Federation of Labor had enrolled far less than one-tenth of the eligible working population which belongs in trade unions. That meant that in many cities over the country, large and small, the labor group among the newspaper readers was small, often even insignificant.

An enrollment of 15 or 20 million should not be impossible. The CIO, because its policy of uniting under one banner all of the many groups employed in an industry has already in its less than two years of existence matched if not passed the present membership of the A. F. of L. Today the labor movement in this country is in the midst of a great

struggle to reach its peak. The Guild, which has just begun, is adding to this struggle at this time, by adding to the sweep, is doing a service not only to itself but to the entire working population of the country.

Employees in newspaper commercial departments could not remain unaffected either by this movement or our own success. The interest in organization arose among them spontaneously. The only question we have to face is whether we want such employees organized with us in some integral way and take our chances on having them used against us—some organized groups have been used against us before.

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MILWAUKEE SIGNS PACT

Fresh Gains Made In Bargaining Elsewhere

MILWAUKEE.—Wage minimums ranging to \$55, three weeks' vacation for employees having ten years' service, and other gains were contained in a contract signed on July 9 by the Milwaukee Guild with Paul Block's Milwaukee Sentinel.

The signing culminated three months of negotiations and automatically cancelled a labor board complaint in which the Guild charged the paper was not bargaining in good faith. Pay raises, estimated to total more than \$400 for the staff of 67, were made retroactive to May 14 by Block as a gesture of amity, although the wire service had set the date at midday between May 14 and July 9.

The Sentinel unit voted to contribute the first week's raises to the International Defense Fund.

The contract brings the entire Block chain into contractual relations with the Guild. It provides the 5-day, 40-hour week, time and one-half for overtime in either cash or time off at publisher's discretion, dismissal, indemnity to 24 weeks' pay for 15 years' service, and sick leave with pay as in the past. Minimum salaries were scaled to start at \$25, reaching the \$55 bracket after six years.

Philadelphia Accord
PHILADELPHIA.—A flat 15 per cent pay increase for persons not otherwise raised, and minimum wages ranging up to \$70 a week for make-up and desk assistants after one year have been obtained in a policy statement to be signed by the Inquirer, the terms of which have been worked out by Guild and management negotiators. The Guild is refusing to sign it as a contract because it does not contain the Guild shop.

Other provisions include time and one-half for overtime; time and a half for work on days off and on out-of-town, overnight assignments; dismissal notice up to 13 weeks; dismissal only for cause, and graduated sick pay.

San Diego Gains
SAN DIEGO, Cal.—Improved conditions obtained in a Guild contract signed last month with the San Diego Sun were placed in effect on July 25 by the management of the two other dailies in this city. The membership voted to contribute to the Guild the first week's pay rise and to add \$50 to the Seattle Star strike.

Bulletin board statements, resulting from Guild negotiations with the Union and Evening Tribune, granted virtually all of requests made by the units, including the 5-day, 40-hour week and \$45 minimum for editorial workers of six years' experience or more, severance indemnities to 24 weeks for 15 years, vacations and sick leave at present, and a \$2.50 differential for night workers.

Ledger Agrees
NEWARK, N. J.—The Newark Ledger has agreed to sign a contract giving its editorial employees the same conditions and salaries obtained by the Newark Guild in its contract with the Star-Eagle. The Ledger objected, however, to a Star-Eagle clause giving the unit the right to refuse to handle struck work.

The Guild is also in negotiation with the Newark Sunday Call, where the unit asks for a \$50 minimum.

The Court plan and the WPA appropriations upon which the Guild passed resolutions are both dead issues, but there can be no doubt of their direct importance to the Guild. The court plan is universally credited with having brought Associate Justice Roberts over from the conservative to the liberal side of the Supreme Court in time to make a 5-4 decision on the Labor Relations Act in the Watson case. This Act is playing a direct part in facilitating bargaining for our wire service members and is being invoked by several Guilds to fight back against intimidation and wholesale discharges.

The WPA resolution urged Congress to make sufficient appropriations to provide adequately for projects on which many Guild members are already engaged and to which many of the recently discharged Hearst men and women looked as their only certain refuge.

The Guild would be asleep at the switch if it did not take a public stand on such matters.

The abolition of the old requirement that at least one vice-president must come from the wire service will be discussed in the next issue.

All these acts of the Convention at its broad program of developing and strengthening the Guild, and beyond it, the labor movement of which we are a part. Undoubtedly many members will place varying estimates on their importance, but no one can overlook the fact that much of the opposition to them arises from a hope of making the Guild "acceptable to the publishers." The Guild will never be acceptable to the publishers until it dies.

'RANK AND FILE' LETTERS ON CONVENTION

Repudiation Efforts Hit

Hallgren Calls for Clean Debate on The Issues

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:
Regarding the recent statements of William Green, president of the A. F. of L., about the Newspaper Guild and Heywood Brown—also the Lewis-Green controversy—

Permit me to quote "reversing" Mr. Green from the American Labor Book, 1917-18, Page 96—"The Case for the Industrial Form of Labor Organization," and you will observe how he has completely executed a "right-about-face" in this matter of the CIO.

"The organization of men by industry, rather than by crafts brings about a more perfect organization, closer cooperation and tends to develop the highest form of organization. The causes of jurisdictional disputes are considerably

active work in this connection? If the latter, should it take the lead, or should it try to keep just abreast of the progressive wing of the labor movement? In either case, should the political policy be determined by a simple majority of the membership, or by a two-thirds or three-fourths majority? In my own mind the answers to these questions are pretty clear, but I would like to see these points threshed out sincerely and at length by the Guild membership, either in the columns of the Reporter or elsewhere.

On the Spanish question there ought to be no division in the Guild, and there would be none if this issue were more perfectly understood. I shudder when I see Guildsmen like Mr. Sullivan swallowing whole the Spanish propaganda being put out to repudiate their struggle into a religious war not only has its own dangers but distorts and obscures the fundamental issue.

The struggle is solely one of democracy against fascism. Everything that the Guild supposedly holds dear is bound up in this conflict. Let the Spanish Fascists triumph and the forces of reaction everywhere, not least in the United States, will be stimulated and encouraged. Let these black reactionaries and their allies, Hitler and Mussolini, who are opposed to freedom, to democracy and to the organization of the workers, win out in Spain and we shall witness in this country a similar drive against the labor movement.

Does any Guildsman suppose that the publishers as a group would refrain from taking advantage of that drive to attempt to snash the Guild? But here again that more perfect understanding which is essential to our cause can only come through open and honest debate. Such debate, I am utterly convinced, would quickly reveal to Guildsmen like Mr. Sullivan the error into which they have fallen.

Regarding the foremost of the controversial issues now before us, that concerning industrial unionism, it has been suggested that the majority leadership at St. Louis made a serious tactical mistake in allowing this question, which in essence is a simple and indivisible, to be split into two seemingly independent questions. It has been asserted that the majority would have been on firmer ground had it confined the question to affiliation with the CIO, and not have brought in the question of absorbing the office and other newspaper workers, at least not directly, since it is implied in the former. By dividing this really indivisible question, it is said, the minority opposition was given a rare opportunity to challenge and possibly to thwart the will of the majority.

Since I am not acquainted with all of the events that led up to the introduction by Carl Randau in the resolution in this case, I am in no

position to pass upon the merits of this criticism. But whether justified or not, it does serve to emphasize the true character of the question.

Issue Not Personal
It must be made clear at once that the controversy between the CIO and the A. F. of L. has in reality nothing to do with personalities. It is in no sense a personal quarrel between William Green and John Lewis, nor yet between William Green and Heywood Brown. It is not a contest between rival aspirants for the leadership of the labor movement. It goes much deeper than that. It is a struggle to determine whether the interests of the American workers can best be protected and advanced by craft unionism or by industrial unionism. The A. F. of L., though it includes a few unions that are not organized strictly as in craft basis, has taken that side of the dispute. The CIO stands frankly and wholeheartedly for industrial unionism.

Now nothing could be more illogical than to have an industrial union seek affiliation with the A. F. of L. Even less logical would it be for a craft union to join the CIO. It would be completely inconsistent for the Guild to affiliate with the CIO and remain a craft union. Indeed, it would be worse than that, since then the Guild would not only be gravely harming itself, but would be introducing a disruptive and possibly a subversive element into the progressive labor movement.

If a majority of the members want the Guild to remain on a craft basis, if they prefer to stand with the reactionaries as against the progressives, if they want to remain a step away from that sterile professional guild which the publishers seem to desire, if they want to leave themselves in a position that will enable the publishers to follow the ancient policy of divide and rule, which has always been possible where craft unionism is involved (see, for example, the recent Scripps strike in Seattle), then they will vote to remain in the A. F. of L. But, if they want to move forward rather than back to the Gompers policies of the 1890's, if they want the more numerous and strategic strength that industrial unionism would give them, if they want to join forces with their fellow workers in the newspaper industry and so confront the publishers not with a divided but a united front, then they will vote to join the CIO. But they must keep always in mind that they cannot join the CIO and remain a craft union.

Battle Lines
From some of the recent issues of the Reporter I gather that certain elements within the opposition, notably in Washington, have taken the stand they have on this question, not on any grounds pertaining to the merits of the question, but solely out of a desire to restrain and perhaps punish "the international lead-

Green's Past As Industrial Unionist

He Was For CIO Form In 1917

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The Guild Reporter

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Editor: Clyde Beals
Assistant Editor:
Leon Svirsky

Staff for this issue:
Philip Dodge, Frank M.
Kelley, Kenneth Howry

Felix Cotten
(Washington)

"... 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.

ANG International Officers

President Heywood Brown
Executive Vice-President Jonathan Eddy
Secretary-Treasurer Victor Pascho
International Vice-Presidents:
W. Eric Hansen, Carland Ashcraft,
113 Endlich Ave., Mt. Penn, Pa. 44 E. 211th St., Euclid, Ohio
Julius H. Klyman, Betty Ballantine,
626 Forest Ct., Clayton, Mo. 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal.
Morris Watson, Harry R. Farmer,
ANG Headquarters, 74 Dunn Ave., Toronto, Ont.
Gunnar Mickelson,
2105 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.

International Headquarters: 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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August 1, 1937

Democracy

Democracy is under attack on many fronts today, and nowhere is it in more danger than at the hands of those who, though avowing it, distrust it. It is they who make it possible for the dictatorially inclined powers-that-be to destroy it altogether. They accomplish their unwitting end by making it inoperative as a social machinery.

Democracy, or any form of social organization, is inseparable from leadership. I doubt that even an anarchist today would deny that a social entity, be it a state or a trade union, cannot operate without leadership. Leadership is political, the pursuit of a set of policies. It is personal only in that this set of policies, this political line, is necessarily administered by individuals. A democracy selects the policies and elects the individuals. It does this by majorities.

An idealist (as against a realist) might reject democracy on the ground that one cannot expect each member thereof to be sufficiently familiar with each detail of administration to enable a reasoning decision. Thus he might argue that most Americans, and perhaps most Congressmen, are unqualified to vote on Secretary Wallace's "ever ample granary" plan because the citizens and the Congressmen have no sufficient understanding of the structure of credit. To agree with this thesis would, it seems to me, be to deny the possibility for progress in this country today. It would mean that democracies cannot make decisions and cannot progress because no body or group is qualified to make decisions.

When the American Newspaper Guild was being founded some years ago it had no members. Nevertheless, certain persons saw what was to be done, made decisions, and carried them out. These decisions became the decisions of the expanding body of the Guild. They became such by the natural processes of democracy. They are embodied in our history, in our conventions, in our Constitution.

A trade union is democratic. It is also flexible. Like an army, if deprived of its power to mobilize, to maneuver, to attack on this sector while retreating on that, to respond to a thoroughly integrated campaign with its own thoroughly integrated campaign, it is at a disadvantage with an enemy.

Is it then within the realm of possibility that a democracy, whether in the trade union, the political or the military sphere, can successfully counter a dictatorially ordered opposition? Or, can the opposition always be hopeful of making decisive incursions while the democracy calls a halt in order to develop a debate?

The local leaders of the Guild met in St. Louis in what has always been and will continue to be the leading organ of the Guild, the International Convention. By six-to-one they decided on certain vital policies and organizational measures. By two-to-one (voting down a referendum) they decided that the strategic situation was such as to demand immediate conclusive action. Possibly they were motivated too strongly by recollection of the manner in which a referendum had been employed during our earlier period to delay for a year the strength sought in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Be that as it may, they were elected democratically to carry on democratically. On the floor and off, they discussed the issues and exchanged information until a consensus had been reached. Their opinion was that quick action was indicated, but, equally important, that the grave issues involved should not be decided on the basis of lack of this discussion and lack of this information, that Guild-wide understanding of the basic line would grow automatically from the developing publisher attack.

Now that the actual taking of a referendum awaits only the reconciliation of the differences that have

SELF-APPOINTED 'GUARDIANS'

Lee Shows Up Their Claims to Free Press Custody

THE DAILY NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA.
By Alfred McClung Lee. New York, The MacMillan Company. \$4.75.

Reviewed by LEON SVIRSKY

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE pours facts through the 756 pages of "The Daily Newspaper in America" to clear away the cobwebs and pink ribbon bows with which legend has obscured the business of journalism in this country.

Dr. Lee, professor of sociology and journalism at the University of Kansas, is a disinterested observer; he passes no moral judgments on the press, neither does he have a publisher phobia. He is a disciple of the late William Graham Sumner, the tough-minded, hypocrisy-hating pioneer in the science of society. Lee's attempt, in this monumental piece of research into the newspaper industry is to present a picture of the real nature of the press as an institution and its relation to society. His book, filled with figures and historical material, is an exhaustive exposition of every aspect of the business.

The study is of particular interest to newspaper workers just now because of the publishers' united attacks upon their organization under the slogan of "freedom of the press." The facts piled up by Lee show that this time-worn slogan is pure "thobbery," or wishful thinking.

The author raises the question: "Freedom of the press for whom?"

"Leading members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors deny journalism teachers—and anyone else, for that matter—freedom of inquiry along such 'impossible' lines," he says.

The publishers' pretensions as guardians of the integrity of public intelligence sound very hollow when Dr. Lee finishes with them. In modern "counting-room" journalism newspaper owners act as a class-conscious group; their interests coincide with those of other industrialists, he makes plain. It is only natural that their newspapers should reflect this bias. The author illustrates the kind of "politico-economic alignment to which daily newspaper publishers are now prone" by citing united anti-union campaigns by publishers in San Francisco, Toledo and New York City. Intercession of the publishers' association in the last-named city was considered a major factor in thwarting a strike of teamsters and longshoremen in 1935.

How, then, about the "mandate" to the publishers from "the people" to guard press freedom as its representatives. No such trusteeship has been handed over, for, as Dr. Lee points out, "who appoints a newspaper's publisher?" The public has precious little to say about it.

The framers of the first amendment to the Constitution, forbidding abridgment of the freedom of the press, did not have in mind issuing a blank check to powerful newspaper monopolies, Dr. Lee brings out.

"Did they seek to guarantee unusual immunity from political tampering to huge corporations in control of powerful newspapers?" he asks. "Did they wish to aid the establishment of newspaper monopolies in the vast majority of American cities and towns?"

"If they had been asked such questions, the eighteenth century legislators would have glanced at their home town sheets, thought of the printers they knew, and laughed. They expected newspapers to remain relatively small and sufficiently numerous to represent various political, economic and class interests."

Far from bearing out the conception of newspapers as

a public trust, the history of the industry is one of continuous struggle by the owners to avoid any public responsibility whatever. From the defeat of an attempt to impose a newspaper tax in Massachusetts in 1788 to the newspaper code in 1934, publishers have been consistently successful in winning immunities from legislatures and the courts. The newspaper owners have been especially vigilant in resisting regulation of the economic aspects of their business; and as Dr. Lee shows, they have on a number of occasions overlooked political interference with freedom of expression of minority views.

The same struggle that publishers have carried on against legislation that might affect their profits they have conducted against collective bargaining by their employees. Dr. Lee presents in detail the facts on newspapers' labor relations. As recently as 1921-1923 the printing unions, with which the publishers boast they have had "cordial relations," were compelled to spend \$17,000,000 in three years in a fight for the 44-hour week. Naturally, figures on what the publishers and their associations spent in the fight against this improvement for their workers are not available. Financial accounting to the public is a "protection" that publishers want for unions but not for their own groups.

The Guild movement is reviewed by Dr. Lee. In an extremely interesting chapter on the editorial staff, he reports previous unionization attempts of editorial workers, which were far more numerous and widespread than is generally known. The first real reporters' union was formed in Pittsburgh in 1891. This and many other efforts fell by the wayside, however, under direct attack by the publishers, who from the first raised alarms about editorial control and under cover of this slogan ruthlessly smashed the unions.

The Boston Newswriters' Union obtained a city-wide agreement after a strike vote in 1919, establishing minimums from \$30 for district men to \$45 for desk men.

"The Boston union failed to get closed shops and the checkoff," says Dr. Lee. "Once its demands were met, it went, therefore, the way of many an early typographical union."

The record is very illuminating on the ineffectiveness of so-called "professional" newspapermen's organizations. Perhaps the most ambitious of the many ventures along this line was the American Journalists Association, formed in 1919, on the plan of a St. Louis group. It definitely barred any "entangling" alliance with organized labor, and it admitted newspaper executives. But the publishers were as cold to this organization as to any other.

"The wedding of the 'best qualities' of press clubs to an economic relief plan in the AJA proved unstable," says Dr. Lee. "Employer representation through the admission of news executives stifled, after the first flurry of success, effective action by employee members. The publishers, fully aroused, did not regard AJA as a satisfactory substitute for straight unions affiliated with ITU; they did not want any economically minded association among their reporters."

Dr. Lee points out that fourteen years later, when the American Newspaper Guild came into being, many newsmen still wanted a "professional" guild.

"Publishers demonstrated, however," he says, "that... only 'class action'—collective bargaining, backed by strikes and boycotts, aided by affiliated unions—would convince them."

That 'Right' to Work Is Sacred—Now

From an Address

By ELMER F. ANDREWS

New York State Industrial Commissioner

(Delivered over Station WEDV, New York)

Recently, widespread publicity has been given to a new slogan, "The Right to Work." Those actively backing and presumably supporting financially the expensive propaganda campaign include many overnight and self-announced friends of the working man.

Seven, six, five years—or even eight months ago—they were not talking about "the right to work." In 1929 nothing was heard from these self-named friends of the working man about his right to work.

The only right he had during the depression, in their eyes, was to share short time, slashed wages and total

arisen amongst those proposing it, let us resolve not to be influenced one way or the other by what may be said from the side lines. For the first time many publishers are unlimbering the mighty weapons of their propaganda machinery. They have had their secret conference in Chicago to inaugurate their campaign. They have set up a steering committee with their cleverest labor-busters to take advantage of the valuable services of the American Federation of Labor and of the differences that may arise in our own ranks. In the case of some publishers there is nothing whatever at which they will hesitate to break down our faith in our own organization, our faith in our own machinery, our faith in our ability to achieve democracy, for they know as well as we that unity is the Guild's shield and buckler in fair weather and foul.

Regardless of the outcome of the referendum—and I am heart and soul for the decisions of the St. Louis Convention—we will show the publishers that, though we have our various opinions, they cannot split the ranks of the American Newspaper Guild.

—JONATHAN EDDY.

unemployment, to stand in bread lines, to set up boxes on street corners and sell apples. They granted to five million, to eight million, to twelve million and finally to sixteen million wage-earners in the United States the "freedom of contract" with starvation, with cold, with a park bench or the gutter, the right to see their wives and children starve, sicken and die. In the early days of the depression they spoke up bravely in support of a program of permitting and, in many instances, of coercing those still employed to share their shrinking wages with friends and others already unemployed.

In those years, the same persons and interests who now are organizing what is advertised as a nationwide movement under the slogan, "the right to work," fought bitterly against any recognition by government of either "the right to work" or the wherewithal even to live. They fought government appropriations for unemployment relief through home relief or work relief.

When, now, these same interests send representatives to such a meeting as was held last week in Johnstown, Pa., and when they put up thousands of dollars for full page advertisements dripping with crocodile tears over "the right to work," anyone with a memory running back only a few years is justified in asking that all the shells in the game be picked up.

It is labor, not union-baiting attorneys nor stooges for anti-union employers, that has always been most interested in "the right to work." This right cannot be appropriated and distorted in meaning so easily. Chattel slaves and indentured servants had "the right to work." Shanghai sailors have always had "the right to work." Coal miners and textile workers in company towns have long had "the right to work," provided it was profitable for the employers to have them work, and further provided that they paid rent for company houses, paid company prices at company stores, submitted to pay deductions for company doctors and burial by the company undertaker, and provided further that they kept their mouths shut about unions.