

## Local Officers View Referendum Issues—Pages 4 and 5

Official organ of the  
American Newspaper  
Guild, an affiliate of  
Committee for Indus-  
trial Organization.

# The Guild Reporter

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## PUBLISHERS' NEW HEAD Guild Referendum IS LABOR ENEMY OF OLD Ready to Start As U. S. Labor Watches

### Momentous Vote to Start About Aug. 18— Local Committees Open Campaigns And National Is Being Formed

(Texts of the Referendum questions appear on page 2)

Machinery for holding the ANG referendum on whether to undo most of the acts of the St. Louis Convention was set moving by the International Executive Board on Aug. 9 in accordance with motions of the Columbus and Washington Guilds.

Voting, according to the schedule embodied in the Constitution, will begin soon after Aug. 18—within ten days after receipt of ballots by each Guild president—and must be completed in time to have the results at International headquarters by Sept. 9.

### Printers Quit At Seattle

#### Refuse to Go Through 'Unsafe' Picket Line

##### BULLETIN

SEATTLE.—A majority of the typographical union members working at the Seattle Star decided on August 11 to refuse to work as long as conditions remain "unsafe." The mechanical workers were confronted that day by a militant picket line, supported by unions from the new CIO Labor Unity Council. Jack Helms, striking photographer, was stung by teamster thugs when he attempted to photograph pressmen and their teamster escorts crashing the picket line with the aid of 50 police.

SEATTLE.—Morris Watson, international vice president of the ANG, and Hugh Delaney, member of the Seattle City Council, were roughly handled by police at the Seattle Star plant during a mass demonstration staged by Guild strikers Aug. 9.

The police arbitrarily established a "strike zone" in the block, mauling and shoving pickets out of the area, but refusing to make arrests. Watson came here on Aug. 5, while on a west coast wire service conference trip.

The strike became a lockout at the end of July, when the Star management repudiated an agreement for a settlement.

Co-operating with Dave Beck, teamster czar, in an attempt to wreck the growing CIO movement in the northwest, the management changed its mind about the agreement after a conference with him. The repudiated agreement would have returned to work all but the 19 circulation district managers who were fired because they joined the Guild. Their cases were to have been left to NLRB decision.

In turning on its own agreement, the Star publisher, H. E. Marshall, went back on his testimony before the NLRB on July 28, when he stated that the workers were "welcome back to their former jobs without discrimination or prejudice."

The Board attorney asked whether this meant that "the Guild strikers, other than the 19 men, can return unconditionally to the Star?" Marshall replied, "Yes, that is our position."

Recognized on all sides as presenting the Guild with a decision far transcending in importance its intrinsic meaning, with business writers forecasting an effect on the entire organizing campaign of labor throughout the country, the referendum will review ten questions dealt with by the Convention.

American Federation of Labor top officials are watching for possible openings to split the Guild, and publishers are stalling in negotiations to see whether the outcome will aid them.

As the Reporter went to press word began to arrive about local committees being formed to campaign on each side. A nation wide pro-Constitution committee was being started. In Philadelphia, where the Guild executive council backed the Convention program almost unanimously, leading members were organizing a pro-Constitution committee. In New York the anti were organizing while the Guild officers were solidly behind the program and were starting a campaign.

Foremost in general interest is that of Guild affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization and that of adopting, as far as possible, the industrial form of union by opening the membership to commercial staffs and other unorganized employees.

It is on these actions, adopted by a vote of 118½ to 18½ by the Convention, that most interest is being centered, although professional dopsters are eyeing the remaining questions, covering four resolutions and four constitutional changes, because of the bearing of the decisions on the future organizational philosophy of the Guild.

In making the determination that a referendum was to be held the IEB decided to place the Washington questions on the ballot in their original form, but modified those submitted by Columbus to make them legally applicable. This decision was made following the submission by Columbus of a modified version of the original question on CIO affiliation and jurisdiction, which the Board held was still inapplicable.

The Washington questions, the Board held, "contain incorrect and misleading characterizations of constitutional sections which they propose to repeal, but are nevertheless, technically correct in that they propose definite constitutional changes."

**Refuse to Rephrase**  
The Columbus Guild, it found, "has declined to rephrase its proposals in proper language...capable of being properly applied to the Guild Constitution and policies," and

(Continued on page 2)

### Nashville Banner

EVERY DAY AND SUNDAY TOO

FOR OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY  
THE BANNER HAS LED ITS FIELD IN  
CIRCULATION, ADVERTISING AND INFLUENCE

Nashville, Tenn.

1937

\_\_\_\_\_ has applied to us for a position in the composing room here and has offered us as a reference. Any information you can give us as to \_\_\_\_\_ ability, character, and Union tendencies will be deeply appreciated.

As you may know, the Union workers in the composing room of the Nashville Banner walked out about \_\_\_\_\_ ago and we are reorganizing the force. At the present time, the composing room is completely manned, but as there will no doubt be many changes during the first few months, we are preparing a list of those who might be qualified to fill positions here.

Naturally the thing we wish to avoid is the placing of workers with Union tendencies, so if \_\_\_\_\_ has any sympathy for the Union that you know of, we would be particularly interested in the most complete information you care to give us.

Thanking you for your kindness, we are

Yours very truly,

THE NASHVILLE BANNER

R.C. Hallock.

RCH/c

### "WE ARE NOT MET TO ANTAGONIZE LABOR"

Said Stahlman at the Publishers' Anti-Guild Convention. This letter shows his real stand long before the Guild. And he is fighting labor hard today.

## Ask Open Shop Stahlman, 'Guardian of Press Freedom' In Perpetuity Busted I.T.U. on His Nashville Paper; Probes Job-Hunters' Past

Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, set a new record for novel employer demands in the history of the current American Labor movement when in negotiations on Aug. 11 he asked as a condition of signing a contract with the Guild:

1. That the Guild not alone waive the Guild shop, but write also a specific statement favoring the open shop.
2. That the Guild in addition to getting forth its adherence to the open shop write into the proposed contract that not now or ever would it ask for the Guild shop.

As an additional barrier, he wanted some form of settlement to his satisfaction for dealing with what he said were a large number of Times editorial employees who had signed a petition to him saying they wanted "no part or parcel of the Guild."

Sulzberger also questioned the validity of the Guild as a "bargaining unit" for collective agreement. In other words he challenged the right of the Guild to act for strictly writing and editing employees as well as for non-writing and editing employees. He brought up the possibility of invoking the Wagner Act to test

(Continued on page 6)

One of the most determined enemies of unionism in the newspaper business is James G. Stahlman, newly elected president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, publisher of the Nashville Banner.

The anti-union stand of this outspoken protector of the "freedom of the press" long antedated the birth of the American Newspaper Guild and is being maintained as firmly as ever today in fields outside the Guild's jurisdiction.

The man who declared at the anti-Guild session of publishers in Chicago that "we are not met to antagonize labor," imported a gang of strikebreakers into his own paper in 1929 and locked out the members of the Typographical Union.

His management then refused to hire composing-room workers without first checking their pasts for evidence of pro-union tendencies.

Today, the Banner not only is still open-shop, but serves as an informal clearing house for strikebreaking typesetters. It was on the Banner that editorial employees strangely broke out with a petition of "fidelity" to Stahlman.

The present superintendent is reputed to be an active member of the H. W. Flagg Agency (notorious strikebreaking organization) and is credited with placing strikebreakers in jobs.

These facts have been learned by the GUILD REPORTER, which has in its possession a copy of a letter written by the Banner management shortly after the successful lockout, revealing its determination to hire no one who might possibly wish to join a union. In addition, a statement has been received from the president of the Nashville Typographical Union, Robert Cuthbert, supplying the additional facts on Stahlman's activities up to the present time.

In printing the Banner letter the REPORTER has blacked out the identifying names because of Stahlman's reputation for reprisals.

(Continued on page 3)



## GUILD SET FOR POLL

Referendum Will Be Held Soon After August 18

(Continued from page 1)  
The Board therefore adopted a new set of questions to give effect to the substance and intent of the Columbus motions.

Instead of asking whether the Guild shall take action which it has already taken through the Convention, the revised questions enable the membership to vote on the question of rescinding these actions.

The Board made its decision after consultation of the Columbus and Washington Guilds appointed to undertake a revision had failed to make the changes in proper form. The IEB at its meeting of July 25 and 26 offered to allow time for the necessary rephrasing and to submit the revised questions, if applicable, without requiring new elections.

William H. Newton, Columbus president, notified the IEB on July 31 that the Guild had decided to reword only its original question, adding it into two, reading:

1. Shall the American Newspaper Guild be affiliated with the CIO?
2. Shall the American Newspaper Guild admit newspaper workers other than editorial employees to membership?

Columbus Resolution  
These were embodied in a resolution of the Columbus Guild stating that it had agreed to make the division "provided, 1, that the IEB accept the wording of the new questions without any alterations; 2, that the IEB put the questions to referendum without requiring any further action by the various participating Guilds," adding that "if either of the above provisions are not complied with, the Columbus Guild shall automatically revert to the original wording of its first question."

The IEB, believing that further long delays would be entailed in additional efforts to obtain a proper rewording by Columbus, made the necessary changes itself by mail vote. Its resolution, after declaring that the necessary number of seconds had been received, continued:

"WHEREAS, the IEB has given the Columbus Guild an opportunity to rephrase its motions in such a manner as to have them propose positive actions instead of reopening actions already embodied in the Constitution and Convention decisions, and

WHEREAS, the Columbus Guild has now divided question 1 in its referendum proposals into two questions, but has declined to rephrase its proposals in proper language, giving the membership a chance to vote on the question of affiliation with the CIO and the desire indicated by both the motions and the seconds, and capable of being applied properly to the Guild Constitution and policies, and

WHEREAS, it is evident that further efforts to have the motions properly restated by Columbus would entail long delays, and that holding the referendum would be seriously prejudicial to the welfare of the Guild, causing uncertainty and controversy at a time when unified action is paramount.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the IEB rule that the Columbus motions as presented have been improperly worded and are not capable of submission under the Constitution, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the IEB give full effect to the substance and intent of the Columbus motions and seconds by submitting to a referendum on its own initiative under Article XXI, Section 1 (a) of the Constitution, all the Convention decisions of which review is sought by the Columbus motions, in the following form, (etc.)."

Authority was voted to the secretary-treasurer at the same time to put the Washington motions on the same ballot without further delay, if the necessary seconds arrived in time. These were received on Aug. 10. Some of the seconds split their votes, making 10 seconds for point 1 (its original numbering), and 11 each for points 2 and 4.

All three were seconded by Fargo, Moorhead, N. D.; Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul); Lake Superior, Mich.; Elkhart, Ohio; Indianapolis, Mich.; Springfield, Ohio; Indianapolis, Mich.; Winston-Salem, N. C.; and Houston, Texas. The Memphis Guild seconded points 2 and 4, and the Toledo Guild seconded 2 and 4, while the Kansas City Guild seconded 2.

The Convention votes on the decisions under challenge, other than that on CIO affiliation, were as follows:

Question 3, resolution condemning fascist attack on Spain, 68 to 44.  
Question 5, resolution reaffirming endorsement of independent political action, 101 1/2 to 30 1/2.

Question 6, resolution demanding adequate appropriation for WPA, no record vote.  
Question 7, resolution supporting Roosevelt's Court plan, no record vote.

Question 8, Constitutional provisions regarding good standing, no record vote.  
Question 9, Constitutional provision for charter revocation, 99 2/3 to 27 1/3.

Question 10, Constitutional requirements on collective bargaining, no record vote.

## The Referendum Questions

Below are the questions which will appear on the ballot in the referendum submitted on Aug. 9 by the International Executive Board. The first group of questions is based on those submitted by the Columbus Guild. The second group consists of those submitted by the Washington Guild. The ballots will be sent out on or before Aug. 10, and the Constitution stipulates that local shall hold the election by secret vote within ten days of their receipt.

In order to vote a member must have joined the Guild before June, and be paid up through June. The questions follow:

1. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the action of the St. Louis Convention in affiliating the ANG with the Committee for Industrial Organization, and sever that affiliation?
2. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the action of the Convention in amending the Constitution to admit newspaper workers other than editorial employees to membership, and rescind the Constitution accordingly? (Art. VI, Sec. 1.)
3. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the action of the Convention in amending the Constitution to abolish the office of international vice-president representing wire service employees, and rescind the Constitution accordingly? (Art. VI, Sec. 1.)
4. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the following resolution adopted by the Convention? "Whereas, the forces of world fascism, having wiped out the trade unions in their own hands, are now attacking the organized workers and determining to the benefit of Spain, who are now suffering their lives in defense of organized labor and democracy."
5. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the following resolution adopted by the Convention? "Whereas, the American Newspaper Guild at its Conventions in 1935 and 1936 affirmed and reaffirmed its endorsement of independent political action; and
6. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the following resolution adopted by the Convention? "Whereas, the experiences of the Guild in common with the rest of organized labor have brought out more sharply than ever the necessity of combining economic action with independent political action in the struggle for better working conditions and preservation of civil liberties; therefore be it resolved, that this fourth annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild reaffirm its declaration of support of independent political action in the fields of labor and agriculture to the end that the interests of labor and the farmers may be advanced; and be it further:
7. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the following resolution adopted by the Convention? "Resolved, that the Convention urge local participation by local Guilds in what are deemed to be genuine expressions of the movement for independent political action throughout the nation."
8. Shall the American Newspaper Guild rescind the following resolution adopted by the Convention? "Whereas, more than a half million WPA workers face immediate unemployment because of the failure of Congress to provide adequate funds, and

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Question 12, Constitutional requirements on collective bargaining, no record vote.

Question 13, Constitutional requirements on collective bargaining, no record vote.

Question 14, Constitutional requirements on collective bargaining, no record vote.

Question 15, Constitutional requirements on collective bargaining, no record vote.

Question 16, Constitutional requirements on collective bargaining, no record vote.

Question 17, Constitutional requirements on collective bargaining, no record vote.

## FIGHT ENDS IN DECATUR

Cost Papers \$100,000; Payroll Up 50%; No Pact Signed

DECATUR, Ill.—The Decatur Guild strike, which cost the Herald and Review more than \$100,000, is ended. It was a defeat, but it brought important wage increases, amounting to more than 50 percent over the previous payroll, and the whole incident, together with the failure to reach an amicable settlement, has hurt the papers.

The new wages are \$20 for beginners and \$40 for journeymen. While the strike ended without a signed agreement or a guarantee of security clause, the cost of breaking the strike was so great that other papers will be reluctant to seek a similar victory.

The strike ended when the members returned to work on Aug. 5. Although Guild leaders believed that victory was about complete, the numbers voted six to four to return, one member not being present. The strike was in its fourth week.

Two strike leaders, Charles M. Stewart, president of the Guild, and Ned Lewis, member of the executive committee, were discharged by the company before they could return to work. They with three other members had opposed ending the strike.

Form of Attacks  
The attacks have taken devious forms. There was the NRA era, when the publishers made a hard fight against "regimentation of the press," then came the period when the Guild entered its stage of unionization, bringing with it the cry "unionism means the end of objective reporting, the end of initiative—an AP of L editorial union is a monstrous proposal." In those days the publishers fought the Guild bravely. In this latter day of Wagner Act protection, however, their attacks have become "legal." They prepare "reasons" for the dismissal of active Guild members. They fight the "closed editorial shop" on grounds of liberty, morals and ethics.

Clearly, the publishers have a bag full of excuses which they dip into indiscriminately when a "reason" becomes necessary to advance for refusing to deal with the Guild. If it isn't one "reason," it can always be another.

It was frequently said in the early days that the publishers organized the Guild and made it a union. The full implications of that paradox were not known even then. It is clearly demonstrable from the record that the evolution of the Guild after almost four years, has to a large degree been shaped by the attitude and tactics of the publishers.

It was not the Guild alone that incurred the hostility of newspaper employers. They had fought every previous organization attempt. From 1891, the date of the first reporters' union, to 1919, fifty-nine charters were issued to newswriters' locals by the International Typographical Union, but with the exception of two unions operating under exceptional conditions every one of these locals perished.

Some publishers at first gave lip service to the Guild idea, Editor & Publisher voicing their view that the Guild and the employers had mutual interests. But that was only lip service was soon revealed.

As proved by the International Executive Board, the budgeted amount is \$25,000.00 for the current three months. The items included \$15,789.06 for headquarters expense and per capita contributions, \$5,363.35 for organizers' salaries and expenses, and \$4,315 for the Guns Rovers.

For March, April and May the expenditures totalled \$15,977.75, divided as follows: \$8,951.31 for headquarters, \$5,088.15 for organizers, and \$5,288.99 for the Guns Rovers.

CONTRACT TO BE SIGNED  
NEWARK.—A contract, embodying 100 minimums for experienced editorial writers, the 5-day 66-hour week and the standard Guild provisions on sick leave, dismissal, insurance, and other benefits, was to be signed with the Newark Ledger on Aug. 14. The management refused to accede to the Guild's demands for a Guild shop. The 5-day 66-hour week will be come effective not later than Oct. 1.

International Representative Fred Myers, one of the new ANG organizers made available by CIO funds, is assisting both Guilds with negotiations, as are leading members of the Boston Guild. These include Barbara Lincoln, executive secretary, and David Boylston, for the Lowell Guild; and Richard Manchester, Boston president, and Richard Boyer, for Portland.

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## THE FAKERY OF THE PUBLISHERS' NEW LINE

Record Shows Their Hostility from the Earliest Days Of Guild

The publishers are trying to make the public and even Guild members believe that some new turn of Guild policy evolved at St. Louis has turned them against us. What does the record show?

The Newspaper Guild of New York was formally organized on Sept. 17, 1933, and a Guild had been formed in Cleveland a few days before. By Sept. 22 organized newspaper publishers of the country served notice of their hostility. Instead of showing any disposition to talk things over with their organized workers, the publishers, through the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the National Editorial Association, came to Washington on that date to inform the NRA that the freedom of the press would be destroyed if they bargained collectively with reporters or permitted collective benefits to be granted to these "professional" workers.

From that day to this most of the newspaper owners of the country have fought the Guild, sometimes openly, sometimes secretly, sometimes crudely and sometimes with finesse, but always with the strongest weapons they dared use.

Form of Attacks  
The attacks have taken devious forms. There was the NRA era, when the publishers made a hard fight against "regimentation of the press," then came the period when the Guild entered its stage of unionization, bringing with it the cry "unionism means the end of objective reporting, the end of initiative—an AP of L editorial union is a monstrous proposal." In those days the publishers fought the Guild bravely. In this latter day of Wagner Act protection, however, their attacks have become "legal." They prepare "reasons" for the dismissal of active Guild members. They fight the "closed editorial shop" on grounds of liberty, morals and ethics.

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received a thirty-voiced bulletin board message of hostility.

Presently the publishers tipped their hand on a national scale, indicating these incidents were not merely sporadic or individual reactions. Harvey J. Kelly, chairman of the special standing (labor relations) committee of the A.N.P.A., sent a confidential circular letter to publishers asking them to beware of Guild contracts.

William Randolph Hearst said he did not "believe in the Newspaper Guild" because it would take the "romance" out of newspaper work.

Roy W. Howard declared himself "in sympathy" with the Guild and its objectives, but averred an editorial trade union was unthinkable.

The fact of Howard's real attitude came quickly. In June, 1934, he was asked to sign a Guild contract. Howard's reply was one of the famous quibbles that were destined to distinguish Scripps-Howard negotiations. He said he would sign only with his own employees—a company union contract.

Meanwhile, the publishers were becoming more and more open in their attacks on the Guild. Hearst fired Dean S. Jennings, of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin. The Jennings and Burgess case dragged through the then Labor Board blocked by every legalistic device and all the pressure the Hearst organization could bring to bear. In the end, the A. N. P. A. went all the way to President Roosevelt to obtain reversal of the Labor Board's order that Jennings be reinstated.

First Strikes  
As it became increasingly clear that the publishers had no intention of complying with Section 7a and the Guild could not depend on the government to protect it, the Guild began to fight back. In the summer of 1934 it established its first picket line to win the reinstatement of reporters discharged by the Long Island Press. In the fall it conducted a long fight on Staten Island, New York City, against the discharge of Alexander Crosby, lone Guild member, from the Advance. And in November it was compelled to conduct its first big strike in Newark.

The Newark strike, even during its progress, checked that particular cycle of the publishers' frontal attacks. But the owners were still following Howard's lead in offering excuses for not signing.

"I believe in a Guild," said Howard Davis, business manager of the New York Herald Tribune and former president of the A.N.P.A. in response to a staff request for bargaining, "but not in this kind of Guild."

The specifications for the kind of unionization with which the publishers would deal were never laid down, but they pointed to one essential characteristic—the organization must not be one that could enforce its demands.

Shortly afterward there came to light a labor board hearing in Boston a pamphlet sent to all members by the A.N.P.A. instructing them how to stall negotiations and avoid signing a contract.

In a clear attempt to dictate to his editorial employees the kind of organization they should have, Roy Howard refused in the summer of 1935 to sign a contract for the Cleveland Press until the result of a Guild referendum on AF of L affiliation.

The most flagrant attack on the Guild up to that point was made by the discharge of Morris Watson on Oct. 18, 1935. At the same time the staff of the Amsterdam News in Harlem was locked out.

The inevitable conflict with Hearst occurred in February, 1936, when the Milwaukee Wisconsin-News staff struck after a long series of hostile editorial attacks.

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Since the Supreme Court decision on the Wagner Act, the publishers have changed only their tactics. Elisha Hanson, counsel to the A.N.P.A., immediately after the decision advised them on how to fight the Guild within the law. Publisher-inspired "feints" have been gun to appear, and company unions are being organized. About ten such unions are on record. The Chicago anti-Guild convention is history.

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## STAHLMAN'S RECORD

His Attacks on the I.T.U. Revealed

(Continued from page 1)  
The letter requests information as to the possible "union trademark" of an applicant for a job in the Banner composing room.

Explaining that the union composing room force was out and had been replaced, the letter stated: "Naturally the thing we wish to avoid is the placing of workers with union sympathies, as it is."

President Cuthbert, of the Nashville union, said that in 1935 seventy-two members were locked out after Stahlman had sent to the composing room as superintendent. "A notorious member of a strikebreaking crew."

Prior to the lockout, Cuthbert said, Stahlman had quartered his strikebreakers in readiness at a local hotel.

Cuthbert's statement to the REPORTER follows:

"On September 26, 1935, seventy-two members of Typographical Union No. 20 were locked out of the composing room of the Nashville Banner, of which James G. Stahlman, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, is publisher."

STRIKEBREAKERS WAIT  
The only alleged reason for that act was that, after the paper's contractual relations extending over a period of forty years or more, Mr. Stahlman posted a notice in the composing room stating that on Monday following the wage paid in the composing room would be at a rate of twelve cents per thousand ems—an arbitrary figure, even at that date wholly inadequate—with no provision for any method of determining details of such a practice.

"At the moment the notice was posted Mr. Stahlman had quartered in a local hotel nearby a large number of professional strikebreakers assigned through arrangement with the U. W. Flag Agency."

"Despite this fact, and while members of the union were trying to prevent the trouble, Mr. Stahlman sent to the composing room one of the most notorious members of that crew as superintendent."

"That individual boasted that he had worked as a strikebreaker in twenty-eight states during the two preceding years. Mr. Stahlman's greatest following the wage paid in the composing room would be at a rate of twelve cents per thousand ems—an arbitrary figure, even at that date wholly inadequate—with no provision for any method of determining details of such a practice."

"As further evidence of that fact, numerous applicants for work in the Banner composing room have been told by Mr. Holloway that while he had nothing for them at the moment he either could send them out on a strike job or expected to be able to do so within a few days."

UNION MEN BARRED  
The Typographical Union made every honorable effort to reach an amicable settlement with the Banner, but Mr. Stahlman has declared consistently that he never would employ members of the Typographical Union in the composing room of the Banner.

"When our members, after completing the first edition of the day of the lockout, left the composing room, they did so in an orderly manner, disturbing nothing and leaving all equipment in perfect condition."

"When Major E. B. Stahlman, grandfather of James G. Stahlman, was superintendent of the Banner he frequently had stated that three or four of the old employees who had worked on that paper for more than two generations, should never be disturbed. When James G. Stahlman inherited that property he set about devising means to get rid of those employees and it is believed that was one of the reasons for his action."

"Aside from his own paper's anti-labor attitude, Mr. Stahlman sponsors and foments every effort possible against any organization of labor and every so-called New Deal activity or legislation. Only a few weeks ago he caused to be published a signed statement by his editorial employees assuring him that they would never join a Guild. This statement is made on the authority of members of that profession in this city."

"The Banner has no opportunity to disseminate and to issue derogatory statements about the present administration in Washington. It editorializes all news items affecting any labor matters."

editorial employees the kind of organization they should have, Roy Howard refused in the summer of 1935 to sign a contract for the Cleveland Press until the result of a Guild referendum on AF of L affiliation.

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## LEADERS DEBATE CONVENTION DECISIONS

## See Strength In New Plan

N. Y. Officers Believe Wider Base Will Aid Aims

By THE OFFICERS  
New York

The officers of the New York Guild favor support of the major Convention decisions. They believe these decisions deserve the support of every Guild member because:

1. Broadening the Guild's jurisdiction to include departments previously unorganized will strengthen the collective bargaining position of editorial employees. So will the Constitutional changes enabling effective chain-wide negotiations. Publishers oppose these changes for this very reason. For two years the Guild has endeavored the principle of industrial unionism. Hence it was logical and timely to extend our jurisdiction where there was no conflict with existing unions, and to affiliate with the organization which is pursuing that same principle so effectively, the CIO.

## Legislative Questions

2. Expressions on legislative questions were directly in the interest of promoting the economic welfare of our members. The Convention joined in the general labor support of President Roosevelt's Supreme Court plan because of the bearing of the Supreme Court on the outcome of social legislation and because of the narrow margin by which the court sustained the Guild in the Morris Watson case. The plan was killed, according to Editor & Publisher, largely as the result of attacks of powerful publishers. The Convention's declaration for higher WPA appropriations was to insure the continuance and expansion of writers' projects and the Living Newspaper. This is indispensable if we are to assist newspapermen and women long unemployed and those who were recently discharged as the result of newspaper consolidations.

3. The municipal political set-up with which the Guild has been faced in its strikes, and the fate of many legislative proposals vital to the Newspaper Guild suggested, as in several previous Conventions, the desirability of independent political action of the Guild along with other unions.

4. The resolution on Spain expressed opposition to fascism on the ground that fascism is fatal to trade unionism. The Convention did not endorse the Communists, or the Catholic Republicans or any of the other groups comprising the Loyalists. The war in Spain, with every trade union there fighting for its existence against the aggression of fascism, gave added point to the Guild's off-repeated opposition to fascism in the United States.

## Stale Restrictions

The officers of the New York Guild do not sympathize with those who oppose certain Constitutional amendments made by the Conventions on the grounds that local autonomy is vital to a progressive union. In the matter of strikes, the Convention made no changes. But the cry of "local autonomy," like states' rights, should not be used to impede the building of a strong union. Ironically, those who are shedding tears for autonomy are demanding a restriction of autonomy in strike questions.

Finally, extending jurisdiction to other unorganized departments of newspapers does not involve any sacrifice of professional interests of those employed in the editorial department. We are aware of these special interests. We do not hold that by affiliating with CIO and embracing the commercial department we are abolishing the editorial craft.

On the contrary, we are hopeful that with a wider membership we will be better able to protect and promote our professional interests.

CARL RANDAU, President.  
JAMES KIERMAN, First Vice-President.  
MONROE STERN, Second Vice-President.  
TOM CASSIDY, Secretary.  
MILTON KAUFMAN, Executive Secretary.  
NAT EINHORN, Treasurer.

## Holds That Decisions Should Be 'No Surprise'

By JANEY ROOFT  
Secretary-Treasurer, Tri-City  
(Albany-Troy-Schenectady)

Convinced that the referendum of the ANG will overwhelmingly endorse CIO, I can only point out that the very fact publishers prefer the AP of L should show any doubting voter the urgency of CIO affiliation. The same argument of course holds good in the extension of Guild jurisdiction. We know that our "power" will increase, especially in smaller newspapers, if a Guild strike pulls out advertising, circulation and business departments too. The chief objection to extension is the "reasonable" fear that a Guild might lose a majority or might be weakened by wholesale admission of workers who may be unfamiliar, as many of us were a few years ago, with the principles of trade-unionism. The IEB has met these objections by giving broad autonomy to locals in meeting their individual organizational problems. But we must not keep out the thousands who sincerely want to better their working conditions.

Objection to the political action resolution, probably can be traced to the unfortunate AP story of 1936 which carried Farmer-Labor in caps instead of lower case. Certainly, the Guild should endorse any political action resolution, but we must not keep out the thousands who sincerely want to better their working conditions. The Guild or any other organization dictate my vote, the answer is, "No body can dictate your vote. But how about voting for someone who will help you?"

As for the Spanish resolution, the Convention simply expressed Fascism in Spain, or anywhere else, as an enemy of trade-unionism.

Nearly every Central Federation of Labor in the country endorsed President Roosevelt's Supreme Court plan. Guilds represented in those federations didn't object. Why should they object to similar action by their own national Convention?

Increased WPA appropriations resolutions may affect many former Guild members. The Guild should be willing to insist that the government remember newspaper workers with the other beneficiaries of WPA money.

Abolition of the office of vice-president for wire services is a technical problem properly settled by the Convention.

None of these questions came as a surprise. Every Guild knew, or should have known, that CIO extension of jurisdiction and the other problems were to be voted on. The time for a referendum was before, not after, the Convention.

## Cincinnati Committee Warns Against Split Vote

By THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
Cincinnati

The Cincinnati Newspaper Guild is confident that an overwhelming majority membership will not be misled by the propaganda attack of the publishers against CIO.

The thing that this Guild does fear is that there may be confusion over the issue of taking business office employees directly into the Guild. To declare for CIO, then deny in the Guild's own organization the very principles of industrial unionism, would brand the Guild as unfit for participation in CIO.

In Cincinnati an active campaign to enlist business office members has had a successful inception. A ma-

## Unperturbed By Vote Row

Will Continue on Regardless of Results

By RICHARD A. HERBERT  
Secretary, Portland (Me.)

The eve of the ANG referendum finds the Newspaper Guild of Portland, Maine, negotiating with the Gamett Publishing Co., Inc., publisher of Maine's largest newspaper, on what is probably the first industrial union contract in the Guild.

The Portland Guild began organizing June 4 in the editorial department. Four days later the St. Louis Convention voted the CIO affiliation, but pending clarification of the new setup, the local group decided to continue organizing in the editorial department alone.

By June 13 more than 50 per cent of this department had joined. By that time also the other departments knew they were eligible and came clamoring to be admitted. Soon the Guild had 90 per cent of all departments.

The problems created by the calling of the referendum do not perturb the local here. If the ANG decides to deny direct membership to non-editorial employees, only a modification of our setup will be needed. Our status as a "unit appropriate for collective bargaining" (NLRB, Sec. 8a) will be unchanged.

My own reaction, shared by many others here, is that we are primarily an organization of 130 newspapermen and women associated for purposes of collective bargaining and mutual aid and protection. We intend to hold that line come Guild, CIO, AFL, XYZ, or high water.

Apparently there is little controversy within the Guild over CIO affiliation.

Urges Broadening

Personally, I believe the broadest base should be retained because the ends to be attained in collective bargaining apply to all newspaper workers. To deny these benefits to non-editorial workers is to return, to some extent, to the disadvantages of individual bargaining.

To my mind, the other questions in the referendum are of little moment to individual members. The resolutions adopted at St. Louis prove only that the right to free expression of opinion remains in America and the Guild. Whatever my own opinion on these resolutions may be, I emphatically defend the right of the assembled delegates of any organization to express themselves freely on subjects which they deem pertinent.

## His Doubts Dismissed By AF of L Actions

By L. L. KENEN  
President, Cleveland

I voted for CIO affiliation in St. Louis. If I had any doubt on the matter, it was dispelled completely by the spectacle of Cleveland Federation of Labor business agents hastily signing a contract in a knit goods plant where they had no members and then clubbing their way through CIO picket lines to escort scabs into those strikebound plants.

For the employees of one paper have signed up. A mass organization meeting drew a large number of interested employees from other papers. The Cincinnati Guild can report that there is no disposition on the part of the new members to "take over the Guild." Instead, they are depending on us for guidance. We must not let them down. We need united strength to combat the vicious drive being made against the Guild at many points. Let us not at this point be destroyed by our own fears.

## Once Favored Poll; New Has Doubts

By GEORGE A. MAKIS  
President, Milwaukee

At St. Louis, I favored a referendum on putting our industrial union principles into practice, believing all members would be better satisfied with the CIO plan if they voted personally. The more hue and cry there is raised now, however, the more it becomes apparent some elements never will be satisfied to accept majority decisions.

The referendum, they say, will answer all objections. We shall see. Meantime, when all the facts and arguments are in, the decisions rendered by the CIO—if they voted personally. The more hue and cry there is raised now, however, the more it becomes apparent some elements never will be satisfied to accept majority decisions.

What group is most viciously opposed to the Guild? Publishers.

Being natural opponents, the publishers never have prescribed for the Guild what they believed would benefit its members.

They tried first to inflict infant mortality on our organization. Have they changed their idea? Yes, insofar as they have been convinced they can't kill the Guild. But their campaign against us has continued—intensified.

What will do us good they oppose. What will weaken us they favor. What about us do they oppose? The CIO, extension of our jurisdiction, and all the rest of what the Guild did in Convention. Their opposition was solidified and pointed up in Chicago, June 23. They now vilify the CIO—in editorials, in news stories and in verbal propaganda around news offices.

And what do they favor? An AF of L Guild.

If proof of that is required, look at Seattle, where Star Publisher Marshall "orders" the Guild to accept the AF of L as its guide and governor on its internal problems. Or look at Chicago, where publishers attempted to organize an AF of L rival for the Guild (and failed so comically).

It's simple as pieing type! Those who wish us worst cry out against a CIO Guild, against an extended Guild, against a vocal Guild, against a Guild with political convictions. They demand an AF of L Guild, a restricted Guild, a silent, voiceless Guild, an innately uncommitted Guild.

Our decision is ready made for us by our enemies!

## Defeat Would Be 'Tragic, Stupid Blunder,' He Says

By HARLAND MANCHESTER  
President, Boston

Previous to the St. Louis Convention many Boston Guildmen, while in strong sympathy with the Committee for Industrial Organization, favored a policy of temporization. Lacking the labor backing enjoyed by Guilds in other sections, they suggested that a stalling position might be assumed for a few more months.

Yet they did not wish to act as obstructionists if the Guild was in good standing. The Guild was in good standing. This attitude expressed itself in a request for a referendum. Meanwhile it was extremely difficult to obtain an expression from the entire membership, although the question was repeatedly raised at meetings.

Despite this attitude, there has been no concerted opposition to the Convention decision. There has been less objection than there was to the original recognition of union status in affiliating with the AF of L. There has been a small handful of resignations—all from members who have never been active. One man, who resigned "as a matter of principle," pleaded to retain his Guild card for use in covering strikes. On the other hand, a man who had been put down as anti-union made up his mind to join, "now that the Guild means business."

While the Columbus petition was read at a Chapter meeting, it was

## 'Dictator' Cry Held Absurd

Ballot Is 'Proof' of Democracy in Guild

By JOSEPH E. HOWARD  
President, Great Falls (Mont.)

Referendum supporters have made much of alleged "dictatorial" procedure by Guild leadership. In my opinion, nothing disproves this contention better than the fact that the referendum is to be held, in accordance with their wishes, despite the fact that they were overwhelmingly voted down in a convention of democratically-elected delegates.

At the Convention, Washington's spokesmen insisted that their membership "didn't have time" to become acquainted with the issues which would come before that body. The Guild I represented at St. Louis is 2,000 miles from national headquarters and yet its members had time to act, and to instruct their delegate, upon the most important questions: CIO, business office affiliation, and the "third party."

We are certainly one of the most remote of Guilds; and yet the membership in the nation's news capital "didn't have time" to consider the issues!

Attacks Flee

This I consider absurd. Intelligent Guild leadership in any community could not help but be thoroughly aware of the principal problems of the St. Louis Convention. Washington's spokesmen, without express permission from the IEB, were free to attack the Guild as they saw fit. They were not to be faulted for this. They were to be faulted for their lack of intelligence or obstructionism.

In its plea for "local autonomy" Washington now opposes an international Guild standard on dues delinquencies, urging that this be left to the locals. Let me view this ridiculous proposal from the standpoint of president of the Guild with the highest average-per-member strike contributions in the United States: it means that while the rest of us are taking our unionism seriously, and paying for it, Washington's professional gentlemen may be permitted to let their dues go a year or so without penalty; in short, we will pay for the continued membership of those very individuals who have persistently encouraged disruption and disintegration of our union.

The arguments have all been reviewed, wearily reiterated. The only purpose of this message is to put myself, as a Guild president and Convention delegate, on record as vigorously endorsing Convention action, opposing fraudulent liberalism which masks its disruptive tactics with yelps about "democracy" while the publishers rejoice—and urging Guildmen to take their place with other trades unionists as earnest, honest and disciplined workers for a progressive labor movement.

Stockton Officer

Stands by Decisions

By JIM GOODFELLOW  
Secretary, Stockton (Cal.)

Actions of the Convention are still good enough for me. A referendum seems childish after delegates overwhelmingly supported the disputed issues at St. Louis.

voted unanimously to take no action upon it, and speakers took the line that CIO affiliation was an accomplished fact, and that the Guild should proceed on that basis.

The resolution on Spain probably aroused more opposition than the CIO vote. Many members solidly sold on a labor union are not prepared to participate in a labor movement.

As for the all-important matter of reconsideration of CIO affiliation, I believe, with most active Boston Guildmen, that failure to give solid support to the Convention action would be a tragic and stupid blunder.

(Continued on page 7)

## OFFICERS' STATEMENTS ON REFERENDUM

## Washington Favors the C.I.O. Question; Asks That Other Actions Be Reversed

By ROBERT M. BUCK, President and CARLTON SKINNER, Secretary  
Washington Guild

In the forthcoming referendum, the Washington Guild hopes that ANG members will vote to remain affiliated with the CIO. We believe it to be carrying the ball for organized labor. We hope that Guild members will not give Mr. Green an opportunity to carry out his threat to reorganize the American Newspaper Guild under another name if CIO affiliation should be withdrawn. Let us attend to our organization without outside help.

The Washington Guild hopes that ANG members will vote not to "broaden its base" by taking into its non-editorial newspaper workers at this time. We believe in unionization of all workers. We think our Guild should help non-editorial newspaper employees form their own unions now and should federate closely with them. We are for a genuine industrial union as soon as that is possible according to carefully worked out plans. We are convinced that the Guild is not yet strong enough to take into its own fold and amalgamate into its own units the non-editorial workers who vastly outnumber us and are even more inexperienced in organization than we.

We believe that the sound beginning of industrial organization in our own industry calls first for effective cooperation with the mechanical newspaper trades employed with the production end. We are firmly convinced that to shewy the other white collar newspaper employees before we have had much firmly consolidated our position would defeat not only our own aims, but also would retard the economic betterment of the other white collar employees, for whom more can be done in the near future through unions of their own with our active aid.

Local Autonomy

We ask cooperation of all Guildmen in restoring autonomy for local Guilds by voting in the referendum in favor of Washington's three motions to repeal sections of the Constitution adopted at the St. Louis Convention.

The first of these proposals is to reverse the action of the Convention in providing for compulsory suspension of members who have fallen behind one month in the payment of assessments and two months in payment of dues. We are not opposed to any Guild providing such automatic suspension for its own members if they decide upon such a course. But some Guilds, among them ours, need the right to decide for themselves whether or not Bill Jones deserves another few weeks in which to catch up before he is ousted from the Guild. For a member to be not in good standing is sufficient penalty for failure to pay dues in case he is a good Guildman, temporarily out of luck. When not in good standing he may not vote in his Guild. To suspend him deprives him of the privileges of attending meetings of Guild and unit and of participating in deliberations on contract drafting, or being heard with reference to other Guild policies. One of the provisions we have moved to repeal would give the IEB sole authority after the first suspension, to reinstate members of local Guilds whose only offense has been to fall behind in payment of dues or assessments. Denial of this by international officers who point to ambiguities in the Constitution does not change the authority of the IEB to exercise the power whenever it sees fit.

Expulsion of Locals

The second of the Washington proposals to restore autonomy is to repeal the new section governing revocation of local Guild charters. Under the old Constitution as suspended local Guild had the right to send representatives to address

the delegates of a Convention and to ask and answer questions. And delegates from other Guilds could discuss the issue with each other. This right has been destroyed. Executive committees of local Guilds will vote on revocation merely upon the basis of two written documents, with New York casting one fourth, or more, of the votes. New York would cast as many votes in the Convention, of course, but not until after debate. There would be no debate under the Constitution as amended at St. Louis. And there would be no appeal to a Convention or referendum. The decision of the national council would be "final." It is an eloquent commentary on this arrangement that the International Executive Board reserved in the Constitution the right for its own members to be dismissed only by referendum. They deny this protection to charters of local Guilds.

The most important of the autonomy motions of the Washington Guild is that to repeal the new machinery for collective bargaining, which forbids local Guilds to execute contracts unless they can negotiate the Guild shop and certain other provisions, without express permission from the IEB. We believe that the local Guilds can best judge the local conditions they must meet and that the veto power of the IEB should be reduced to a minimum. We believe that, while there are types of contract worse than none, contractual relations with employers should be invited rather than repelled, especially at the present stage of our development. We call attention to the fact that suspension of a Guild charter involves automatic suspension of all its members from the ANG.

Wire Service

Washington asks all Guildmen to vote to restore to the Constitution provision for a wire service vice president. The problems of wire service men differ sharply from those of the rest of us. There are many wire service men who have positively discouraged membership of wire service men. There are many wire service men who can be persuaded only with difficulty to enter a Guild in which they are a small minority. We believe a wire service vice president is essential to the union development of the wire service branch of our industry. This question was proposed by Columbus. Washington urges its support.

Columbus also proposed review by referendum of the Convention decisions by resolution on the Spanish War, independent political action by labor and farmers, the President's Supreme Court plan and the naming of \$3,000,000,000 as the sum necessary for WPA appropriation by Congress.

The Washington Guild advances no views on the merits of any of these questions, except that of a farmer-labor party. It has expressed itself as opposed to such a partisan political commitment at this time and asks for support in that decision. But as to the other questions, as well, it urges that they represent a type of public policy issue about which Guild members are expected, and most of them desire, to write objectively and that sound union policy for us in our present stage of development demands that we do not adopt such resolutions, but rather confine our efforts to the business in hand—organizing and improving our working conditions.

Norwalk Workers in Rush To Enroll in New Unit

NORWALK, Conn.—The Norwalk Guild, formally organized on July 2 has 100 percent membership on the Norwalk Hour and 90 percent membership on the South Norwalk Sentinel. Both papers are dailies.

Officers are Leonard Wood, Sentinel, president; Willard Williams, Hour, vice-president; Edward Fay, Hour, secretary and Richard Sweet, Hour, treasurer.

As soon as a charter is granted by the IEB, negotiations will be started.

Waterbury Unit Requests Committee to Bargain

The Waterbury (Conn.) Democrat Unit has asked the Waterbury Guild Negotiations Committee to undertake bargaining.

Average salary of the members of the Democrat unit is \$21.37 a week. The top salary is \$30—to a political reporter with eight years' experience.

## Bid to Discuss the Issues Sent All Local Officers

Guild Officer Fires a Blast

By G. R. MORRIS  
Tremont, Kansas City

In response to your invitation to write statement re the referendum issues, I will be brief.

Where it not for the asinine actions at the St. Louis Convention, referendum now would be unnecessary.

I am unable to comprehend the mental processes of a group of men who ignore the plain fact that the American Newspaper Guild is an organization formed for three purposes—betterment of wages, betterment of working conditions, shortening of hours of labor.

Anything outside those three objectives is no business of a group of working men and women who are nothing but journalistic Hessians hired to do a certain thing—obtain facts and present them without the slightest hint of personal opinions.

Another thing beyond my comprehension is by what process of reason Brown, Eddy et al. convinced themselves that they have a right to commit me to any political party or to any national or international question of politics, war or public relations. If Brown or Eddy know anything about constitutional rights, they know that no one, not even Brown or Eddy can commit me politically.

Just a little more of Brown and Eddy and there won't be any American Newspaper Guild.

The type was hardly cold after the St. Louis Convention with its silly dabbling in national and international matters, when the American Newspaper Publishers' Association was in the mails with letters to Guildmen from the "American Press Society" asking members.

The Convention gave them just the things they wanted to harpoon the Guild with, and to renew their resistance to Guild contracts, which were proceeding smoothly up to that time.

that the referendum brought the publisher attack. On the contrary we believe St. Louis brought the publisher attack, for the attack came before referendum sentiment had crystallized.

We charge the Guild broke its pledge of peace between CIO and AP of L by jumping into John L. Lewis' arms. Why the hate?

## PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS

Insist on Them in Contracts, IEB Urges

Professional rights of newspapermen, about which publishers have expressed so much concern, would be guaranteed under a resolution adopted unanimously by the International Executive Board at its last meeting. The resolution reads: "Whereas, the press generally and such agencies of the publishers in particular as Editor & Publisher have in the past and are now endeavoring to hypocritically attack the ANG as forgetful of the professional interests of newspapermen, and

"Whereas, the hypocrisy of this position is particularly evident in the case of those publishers who most obviously make any extension of the professional interest of their employees impossible by reason of the stringent economic limitation imposed by them upon these employees by reason of long hours and inadequate wages, and

"Whereas, it is the experience of virtually all Guild members and officers that there is on the part of

'Asinine' Actions by St. Louis Convention Are Attacked

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Tremont, Kansas City

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that the referendum brought the publisher attack. On the contrary we believe St. Louis brought the publisher attack, for the attack came before referendum sentiment had crystallized.

We charge the Guild broke its pledge of peace between CIO and AP of L by jumping into John L. Lewis' arms. Why the hate?



...to work for the best interest of  
the ANG.



## 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.

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### Our Collective Voice

The right and the propriety of the American Newspaper Guild to express itself, through its Conventions, on current political and economic questions, are being questioned.

The right and the propriety of the American Newspaper Guild, as a union of workers, to raise its voice in defense of our oppressed fellows are being questioned.

Self-appointed uncles and guardians who hold no membership in the ANG and have not even heckling rights at its gatherings have been the first to raise these querulous squawks.

And some members of the ANG, instead of telling these butt-ins to tend to their own knitting, unconsciously adopt that phrase as their own slogan. With it they try to impose on the Guild a narrow policy which violates all known principles that make unions effective organizations of workers and not knitting societies.

The mainspring of the publishers' argument is that newspapermen are paid to be objective on the job and, therefore, must keep their noses away from anything except knitting while off the job. The implication is, that what's good for the publisher is good for the reporter.

A handful of ANG members sit up, take this advice to heart, and join in the cry. It rings loud and strong as the Aug. 7 issue of Editor & Publisher reaches the boss' desk with a lead story, from which these excerpts are lifted:

"Journalists Had Stellar Roles in Current Congress Session. . . . When the history of the ill-fated Supreme Court reform program is written, the name of Frank E. Gannett perhaps will stand out as the individual, outside official life, who contributed most to its rejection. Publisher Gannett enlisted early in the ranks of the opposition."

Editor & Publisher frankly reports that Publisher Gannett was not the only one of his kind who gave early heed to the call for recruits. Fourteen publishers were in Congress—and fighting the court plan. When publishers fight against social legislation, that's public service. But when the Guild enlists—on the other side—it is sticking in its nose and putting out its chin. This, of course, can be said without reiteration of the statement that of all the labor unions in the United States, the ANG with its Morris Watson case had probably the most direct stake of all in the court reform plan.

Organized publishers killed the Supreme Court plan of President Roosevelt and brag about it. They boastfully lead the fight on all progressive legislation. Yet they hurl invective at the Guild in their editorial columns because it adopted a resolution on the subject.

Out of the welter and venom of the past six months emerges the picture of AF of L's William Green as the clean-limbed and heroic labor leader. This again brings implications—implications that the AF of L and William Green are busy at their own knitting; so busy, in fact, that they have no time for European affairs, domestic legislation, or organization of workers and farmers.

That is sopped up, while Green and the AF of L

issue vigorous statements on Britain's partition of Palestine, and renew their attack upon the Nazis for destroying unions in Germany.

It is admitted by all sides, including Hitler's, that Franco and Hitler have the same ideals, and that Franco carries out his share with even more ferocity than either Hitler or Mussolini. Yet when the Guild protests the wholesale murder of Spanish trade unionists, it becomes suddenly improper.

There was a time in this country when frequent use of the word "worker" rather than "employee," or display of slight familiarity with the phrase "social security" labelled one a Communist. Today that is not so, provided one carefully eschews mention of "farmer labor," with or without the hyphen. Say "farmer labor" and the echo rebounds, "Socialist!" Say it in upper case, add the hyphen and the echo rings, "Communist!"

Why that should be, it is difficult to explain. For many years intelligent labor leaders in the United States have attempted to join the farmer and worker in common cause. In certain northwestern states they have been successful. Labor history devotes many chapters to this phase of American endeavor.

Only recently the well-known President Whitney of the old and well-established Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen issued a statement striking back at the National Association of Manufacturers, which attempted to drive a wedge between organized labor and organized farmers by saying that labor was the farmer's enemy. The point he made was that neither workers nor farmers can make progress alone.

"Tending to our own knitting," shutting our eyes to the existence of the rest of the labor movement here and elsewhere, ignoring the farmer, forgetting our policies—these are exactly what the manufacturers' and publishers' associations want us to do.

It may be the membership prefers to follow these lines. That is one thing. But to say that we must follow them as a matter of propriety is something quite different.

There is not a union in the country that doesn't declare itself on matters of public interest.

Let's drop that nonsense about the propriety.

### The Publishers' Influence

The Los Angeles Times helped to give the publishers' show away in this recent editorial:

#### "REVOLT IN THE GUILD"

A heartening sign is the revolt in the American Newspaper Guild against the radical leadership of Heywood Broun. Not only have a number of Seattle members of the organization declared they will cease to pay dues to a union affiliated with the CIO, but in other cities the anti-Broun forces have demonstrated so much strength that it is expected the guild leadership will be forced to submit to a national referendum the question of CIO affiliation, among others.

What this means is that the working newspapermen of the United States have come to their senses and do not propose to be led by the nose by Communists. Broun says he is not a Communist, but makes no secret of being sympathetic with many Communist objectives.

The courageous stand of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association against an editorial closed shop and for a free press has its influence in this revolt. It is a stand that must be approved by every conscientious newspaper worker; and these are in the majority.

### Non-Partisan League Growth

Labor's Non-Partisan League, outgrowth of the American labor movement's current surge toward effective independent political action, is engaged in a broad program of activity on behalf of progressive legislation and candidates.

Outstanding in the field is the American Labor Party of New York, league affiliate, which has become possibly the most important single factor in the present New York mayoralty campaign. Its backing of Mayor LaGuardia for re-election has had tremendous effect upon the old party machines. Tammany Hall feverishly organized a "labor committee" in the hope of offsetting LaGuardia's strength in labor.

Indicative of growth and stability of the national League since the presidential election, permanent state branches have been established in Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maine, North Carolina, Utah, Florida, Michigan and Washington, in addition to the New York party.

In contrast to the open sabotage of the Black-Connery wages and hour bill by some AF of L leaders, the league through its Washington headquarters and branches fought against Congressional adjournment before passage. E. L. Oliver, the league's executive vice president, carried on the fight in Washington, while local branches held mass meetings and brought organized pressure to bear upon their representatives in Congress.

The league gave active support to the Wagner housing bill and successfully fought the Robinson amendment to the relief appropriation bill which would have required local communities to contribute 25 per cent toward WPA projects or take a "pauper's oath." It waged a vigorous fight for the President's court reform bill.

### Fascism and the Journalist

#### What Happens When Party Card Replaces A Reporter's Press Card

By A GERMAN JOURNALIST

(From The Journalist, Organ of the British National Union of Journalists.)

No trade or profession has so vital an interest in fighting Fascism as have the journalists. The engineer and the weaver, the shopkeeper and the clerk, the physician and the lawyer, the schoolmaster and the farmer may suffer under Fascism, but they survive.

Not so the journalist. The relation of Fascism to the Press is a peculiar one, springing from the very nature of the Fascist attitude towards the community.

Fascism is and must be opposed to a free Press because Fascism as a political system is built up on fallacies and on the deception of its own supporters. The technique of Fascism in its early stages is to gain the support of broad, politically immature sections of the people by voicing their grievances and dangling before their eyes a short and easy way of curing all their troubles.

Fascism is a native of distressed areas or distressed countries, and thrives on the credulity of the desperate, who snatch even at such poor straws as the ones held out by the Nazi propagandists. It is worth noting that at the time of the Nazi rise to popularity in Germany that country of scientific achievement was overrun by all sorts of quacks, star-gazers, prophets, casters of horoscopes, founders of obscure sects, and all the other marauders of stress and distress.

Conceived in bad faith and fostered by falsehood, the Nazi movement in Germany, the Fascist in Italy, gained support by the most unscrupulous deception.

Fascism triumphant looks upon a free Press as the greatest menace to itself. For when the tide of opposition, of criticism, and of promises is past, and the time for responsibility and fulfillment comes, the failure of the regime to redeem—with very few exceptions—the pledges given during the struggle for power makes the disillusionment of the deluded only a question of time. It is a vital issue for Fascism that in the race between the stabilization by brute force of its rule and the disillusionment of the nation, the Press should not be in a position to contribute to and accelerate the latter process.

Under Fascism all thinking is conducive to "dangerous thoughts," and this is so well recognized by the Fascist leadership that in Germany, for instance, even prior to the seizure of power, the members of the Nazi party were forbidden to enter into debates with political opponents.

If Fascism cannot tolerate clear thinking, it can tolerate even less any of that free play of controversial public opinion which is the lifeblood of a healthy Press. The formation, in Germany, of a "propaganda ministry" is living proof of this. The propaganda ministry is, in reality, a censorship office plus a central Press agency giving out all the news to be published each day, and leaving practically no latitude for journalistic activities except on the home page and the like.

The process of the extinction of the Press in Germany began with the confiscation of a great number of Socialist, Communist, and other oppositional newspapers, and the arrest and internment in concentration camps of many members of their staff. The next phase consisted of the progressive destruction by political and economic pressure of practically all the newspapers which in the past had taken an attitude unfavorable to the Nazis.

In such circumstances it is hardly surprising that even newspapers like the "Vossische Zeitung," the oldest German newspaper (sometimes styled "the German Times"), succumbed to such methods.

The battlefield has not only many dead, it has a great number of more or less seriously injured. The average loss of circulation of the surviving non-Nazi (though, of course, "co-ordinated") newspapers is about 70 per cent.

The reason for this, in addition to the open intimidation of subscribers, is that no newspaper can appear unless it conforms to the standards of the propaganda ministry; but the public is not interested in the stereotyped official stuff with which it is hedged in on every side. It gets the same material in the Nazi and non-Nazi newspapers, on the wireless, in the newsreels of the picture theatres, and everywhere else. So the public withholds its pennies.

What is the lot of the journalist under such conditions? Naturally, unemployment is rife, and the army of unemployed is flanked by the army of unemployables: of journalists who have some "taint" of Jewish blood, who have at any time held posts on the staffs of "undesirable" newspapers, who have at any time written something that displeased some Nazi potentate—the name of such restriction is legion.

And those who succeed in holding down their unenviable jobs?

They are hedged in by a thousand taboos and obligations. They may not praise, quote, or mention, otherwise than with approbrium, any person of Jewish origin, "liberalist" views, or otherwise undesirable. They must acquire the absurd and revolting jargon of the Nazi pseudo-scientific theories. They are continually balancing on a razor-edge bridge between the sack and the concentration camp. They must belong to the Reich Press Chamber, and submit to intolerable interference with their private affairs. They must put up with the competition of unqualified men—men whose only qualification is a Nazi party card.

The fact that almost every German journalist of note is either abroad or in a concentration camp or prison should convince the most broad-minded that in Fascist countries, or at least in the Germany of Nazi rule, there is no room for journalism as we of the N.U.J. conceive it.