

The GUILD REPORTER

Official Organ of the American Newspaper Guild, an Affiliate of the C. I. O.

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Strikers In Smash Attack

HOLLYWOOD—All resources of the Los Angeles Guild this week were thrown behind the drive to demonstrate the popular feeling against the struck Citizen-News through opposition to Hollywood's semi-annual Dollar Day, originated and long promoted by Publisher Harlan G. Palmer of the Citizen-News.

Picket lines were planned from one end to the other of famous Hollywood Boulevard, in front of stores that continue to advertise in the unfair newspaper. Pickets were being pledged by practically every CIO union in Los Angeles, as well as numerous AF of L unions and most liberal and progressive civic organizations and political groups. Dollar Day is on Aug. 1.

The Guild had sent out special letters to unions and other sympathetic groups urging that members volunteer for picket duty on this of all days. Radio broadcasts and news stories in the strike paper also promoted the campaign against merchants who displayed special insignia furnished by the Citizen-News.

Aroused Comment

In an editorial typical of anti-labor newspapers in its effort to turn community feeling against strikers fighting for their right to organization and jobs, the Los Angeles Times said of the Guild's Dollar Day campaign:

"The extent to which typical labor unionism is willing to go in damaging its own community to avenge its petty spite is well exemplified by the current effort of Hollywood's newspaper strikers to cripple Hollywood's Dollar Day."

The editorial concluded that "the best way to show up a bluff is to give it a chance to make good."

Meanwhile, peace conferences between the publisher and Guild came to naught when he stubbornly refused to accede to demands that he eliminate from the proposed Guild contract a "firing clause" which ANG Representative Morgan Hull termed the "most obnoxious I have ever seen in any Guild contract."

Palmer's attorney, Frank B. Belcher, had stated on July 19 that (Continued on Page Three)

Chicago Places 25 Jobless Members

CHICAGO—Great progress has been made recently by the Chicago local in placing its unemployed on WPA and occasionally in private industry jobs. The Guild, the CIO White Collar Industrial Union Council and other CIO groups and the Illinois Workers Alliance have acted together in speeding up relief certifications and WPA placement.

The Guild expects shortly to put through a project for a new type of motor accident cost survey, including investigation of the economic and social after-effects, over a considerable time period, on surviving relatives of those killed.

Leading the work for the unemployed are Kae Murdock, unit chairman; Charles Callanan, secretary; Jack McGuire and Adolph Brez. They have found jobs for 25 Guildsmen in the last few days.

King Features Poll Tally Due Today

Ballots were scheduled to be counted today (Monday) in the National Labor Board election called to determine whether the 600 employees of Hearst's King Features Syndicate throughout the country will be represented by the Guild in collective bargaining. The tabulation will be at the New York regional offices of the NLRB.

Polls in the election closed on July 26. The sole issue was whether the majority of KFS employees desired representation by the ANG. No other union or group appeared on the ballot.

Green's Man Elected, Hits Wagner Act

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—Paul Kilday, winner over Maury Maverick in the recent Texas Congressional primaries and endorsed by President William Green of the AF of L, announced the day after the elections that he would seek amendment of the Wagner Act, to make it "fair to employers as well as labor."

Green saw in the defeat of the progressive Maverick "another notable victory" and declared that it "should serve as a warning that the people of this country do not want representatives who espouse the CIO."

Maverick was defeated for the Democratic nomination (equivalent to election in Texas) by a margin of about 500 votes out of some 48,000 by Kilday, who is the brother of Owen Kilday, the chief of police whose men clubbed the Mexican peon strikers without provocation last spring. Owen was the campaign manager and brains of Paul's campaign.

They Called Names

The Kilday fight on Maverick consisted of calling him a Communist and an ally of the CIO. It (Continued on Page Six)

S-H Units Fighting Layoffs

Economy layoffs sweeping through the Scripps-Howard chain papers are drawing increasing protests and resistance from Guild units in the chain, several of which have already been aroused by anti-Guild activities of the management. (Stories on page four.) In Buffalo, 19 dismissals came with a Scripps-Howard announcement that it was passing control of the Buffalo Times to George H. Lyon, editor, and Earl J. Gains, business manager.

On the heels of a week of such activity, the local management of the San Diego (Cal.) Sun on Friday withdrew its approval of a contract ready for signature, declaring that the New York general management ordered it reopened for many changes. (Page two.)

During the week, the long difficulty in contract negotiations with the Cincinnati Post, centering upon alleged stalling tactics by the management, led the Cincinnati local to appoint a "preparedness" committee against the possibility that the Guild might be forced to strike.

The layoffs, which first attracted attention in the chain when the Toledo News-Bee dismissed nine, have struck at Memphis, New York, Cleveland and Columbus, in addition to Buffalo. Word of the action is spreading, and the Toledo CIO Council has adopted a resolution condemning the management for the News-Bee layoff and its anti-Guild activities in Indianapolis and Oklahoma City.

Secretary-Treasurer Pasche in a memorandum to locals with Scripps-Howard units last week that preparations be made for representation at the Scripps-Howard National Advisory Committee meeting which the Convention decided was to be held in Memphis over Labor Day.

BUILDING: Consolidation Implies Pushing Our Program

By JONATHAN EDDY

PROBABLY most of us have the same general idea as to what the Toronto Convention had in mind in speaking of CONSOLIDATION. However, sometimes it is illuminating, if not startling, to consider the particulars, as distinct from the generalities.

Recently in a local Guild I was told that a certain unit which had not had a too felicitous history was "very much sold on the program of consolidation." My informant went on to explain that "the unit officers are opposed to organizing the other departments and now they hold it would be against Guild policy to do it since they must first consolidate the editorial department."

This is not typical, but perhaps we can afford to wax specific as to just what consolidation means in a unit or a local. Let us clear the decks by stating that consolidation was not contemplated as an excuse for doing nothing, for maintaining the status quo—or as an excuse for anything else. Consolidation, as I see it, is a way of phrasing and of summing up the union tactics best adapted to a period of economic regression, a period when the attack on our lines is very heavy, when we must strengthen and solidify them under fire, so to speak, in order to withstand a long siege and to be in a position to make great advances when the general situation becomes more favorable.

For us, since many of our locals and units have already organized advanced positions in the fields of collective bargaining and organization, this implies that the rest of our forces should now be brought forward, so that our entire line is an advanced one—it does not mean that we are to consolidate around our rear guard position. (Continued on Page Two)

2 Pacts Signed, 4 Ready; Bring Improvements

Utica (N.Y.) and El Paso Guilds Cover New Papers; Akron and Columbus Extend Benefits to New Members

Six contracts, two of them extending Guild benefits to commercial department employees, were signed or ready to be signed at points across a wide area of the Guild map last week. (Stories on page 2.)

A seventh contract with the Scripps-Howard Sun in San Diego, Cal., was ready for signature on Friday when the local management reneged, announcing that the chain management wished the whole agreement opened for revision.

Of the six contracts, four are renewals containing substantial improvements over last year's agreements. One, covering editorial employees of Frank E. Gannett's Utica (N. Y.) Observer-Dispatch and Press, is new. It provides \$2,000 in raises and improves greatly the working conditions established by bulletin board statement when the Utica Guild organized little more than a year ago.

Salaries Increased

Already signed are renewals with the Akron Times-Press (Scripps-Howard) and the St. Louis Star-Times. The Times-Press agreement extends to advertising department employees and, among other improvements, has a new apprentice limitation clause. The Star-Times contract (Page 3), which provides for the Guild shop, has a new job security clause barring dismissal for economy or department elimination or merger, and other improved features.

Received Indemnity

The Post has a Guild shop contract and the dismissed employees were indemnified on the contract basis ranging to 28 weeks' salary for ten and one-half years' service. In making the dismissals, the management said it was forced to act by a business "recession which had turned into a depression."

The New York Guild Representative Assembly has appointed a committee to survey the layoff situation throughout the city and recommend a course of action against future dismissals and consider the possibility of action on those just made.

The Columbus (Ohio) Guild is ready to sign a much improved renewal, increasing the editorial department minimum for three years' experience from \$40 to \$42.50, and extending all the benefits to advertising and business department employees.

In El Paso, identical contracts were near signing with the Scripps-Howard Herald Post and the independently owned Times. They reduce last year's minimum salary requirement in the \$40 bracket from five years to three, and contain other improvements.

The San Diego local had reached agreement on several improvements in pay and other features when the chain management halted the signing.

Unions React to ANPA's Attack on Newsprint Probe

Lively reaction was manifest last week to the American Newspaper Publishers Association's bulletin informing its membership that publishers were "not obligated" to cooperate with the Federal Trade Commission investigation of an alleged newsprint monopoly.

The GUILD REPORTER's revelation of the bulletin resulted in the first joint action ever taken by the Tri-City Guild and the Albany Allied Printing Trades Council. Presidents of the six AF of L unions and the Guild sent letters to Publishers Hearst and Gannett, asking what their policies were on cooperating with the inquiry.

The bulletin excited the interest of the weekly news magazines and liberal organs. Time looked the story up but printed nothing. New Republic and New Masses carried editorials.

Meanwhile, reports at Washington last week said that the FTC had completed its field investigation and was drafting its findings for submission to the Department of Justice. The ANPA bulletin, it was said at the capital, was believed to have resulted in the refusal of a number of publishers to give information to the commission.

Most publishers, however, had responded to the FTC's inquiries "satisfactorily," it was reported. The Albany letters were pointed out that increased cost of newsprint (Continued on Page Six)

SIX CONTRACTS ON SEVEN PAPERS Paper in San Diego Reneges

BULLETIN
As the Guild Reporter was going to press, word was telephoned from San Diego that the Scripps-Howard management had reneged on the contract it negotiated, saying it received orders from the general management to reopen the bargaining and make many changes.

SAN DIEGO, Cal.—Marked improvements in the renewed contract ready to be signed with the Scripps-Howard Sun last week include higher severance pay scale, elimination of a sub-beginner classification, and reduction of the \$45 classification from six years to five years experience. The contract covers editorial employees.

The new severance pay scale provides for one week's salary for every 30 weeks of service up to a maximum of 24 weeks' pay. Last year's scale ran to 24 weeks for 15 years' service.

Struck Work Clause
Under the new contract, beginners start at \$20 a week instead of the \$18 provided in the old contract for the first six months' service. Improvement was made also in the clause defining experience as service on any English language daily newspaper and in including the city editor and the Sunday editor in the 5-day 40-hour week.

Other new provisions are the modified preferential hiring and struck work clauses. The publisher agrees to give first consideration to Guild members in filling vacancies, the Guild to furnish a monthly list of available members. Guild members will not be required to take over the duties of an employee in another department where there is a labor dispute, or to work in or for any department of another newspaper where there is a labor dispute.

Negotiators for the Guild were Fred Wilson, Guild president; Bill Brodie and Mel Mayne.

El Paso Gets Improved Pay Schedule
EL PASO, Texas.—Concessions in wage minimums made by the publishers of the Scripps-Howard Herald-Post and the El Paso Times brought agreement near and the contract is expected to be signed with the two publishers this week. Strike sentiment was expressed when the publishers refused to make any concessions in the minimums.

The contract reduces last year's \$40 classification from five years to three years. It covers editorial employees, and will expire Oct. 1, 1939, the date of expiration of the mechanical departments' contracts. Severance pay is unqualified and provides for one week's pay for every eight months' service up to 24 weeks.

300th PERFORMANCE
NEW YORK.—(FP)—Pins and Needles, the International Ladies Garment Workers musical show which opened Nov. 27, 1937, at Labor Stage for weekend performances only, since this was as much occasion as it thought it would ever have to play, has given its 300th performance.

Indications that the show is sure to be playing next Nov. 27 are to be found in the fact that seats are selling to the end of September. Road companies are now in Philadelphia, three in Boston and six in Chicago.

Akron Contract Extends Benefits to Ad Workers

AKRON.—Extending its jurisdiction to the advertising department, the Akron Guild on Wednesday signed a new contract with the Scripps-Howard Times Press after six months of negotiations. Besides the gains in the advertising department, the contract limits the number of apprentices with less than two years' experience to a maximum of 10 per cent of the editorial department staff. It also provides dismissal compensation of one week for every eight months' service up to 24 weeks' pay, a renewal for the editorial staff, but entirely new for the advertising solicitors. Job security, sick leave, vacation and overtime provisions also are applied to the ad department for the first time.

Designating the Guild as the sole collective bargaining agent, the contract renews editorial minimums ranging from \$22.50 for

15 years' service, a gain of five weeks over last year's, 20 weeks' sick leave, and extension of the 5-day 40-hour week to desk men hitherto exempted from day or hour limits.

The executive committee, with the help of Rochester officers, represented the Guild in the two months of negotiations. Members of the committee are M. Joseph Hahn, Harold Semple, Dennis Kelly, John W. Kelly Jr., Paul J. C. Friedlander and Howard E. Batford Jr. J. David Hogan, general manager, represented the management.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

BUILDING: Consolidation Implies Pushing Our Program
By JONATHAN EDDY

(Continued from Page One)
To do the latter would be in effect to retreat when no retreat is necessary.

THE PARTICULARS OF CONSOLIDATION
Let us list the particulars of Guild consolidation at this time, and sum them up. Consolidation implies:

Where we have a membership that is only partially active, we take any and all steps necessary to bring it into general good standing.

Where in a given city we have some papers but not all papers organized, we make that a Guild city.

Where we have organization but no collective bargaining, we bring our units under contract.

Where our contracts cover only segments of our membership, we extend them to cover the entirety.

Where organization or collective bargaining covers less than all departments within our jurisdiction in a unit or local—or in the international—we place greatest emphasis on bringing in our entire eligible membership.

Where various points of existing contracts are weak, we strive by education and collective bargaining pressure to bring them up to the level of the best clauses on those particular points that may be found in Guild contracts elsewhere.

Where we have an enrollment of dues paying members but little actual organization, we turn that enrollment into a living organization through participation by all members in the solution of all Guild problems—through reference of all Guild problems to the membership for decision until the membership shall have established well-known policies on the various matters that come up week in and week out.

GOING FORWARD ON A BROAD FRONT
MAYBE there is something in the foregoing to suggest that one point must wait upon another, that we cannot follow out one item of the Guild program until certain others have been carried through to a termination; that, for instance, we cannot bargain till we have completed organization. I hope not. Naturally, the amount of emphasis on any aspect of the Guild program will vary in a developing situation. Nevertheless, it is possible, even in the smaller locals and units, so to develop and organize ourselves that there is constant drive and responsibility for every item on the Guild program.

Not by selecting this policy or that, but by regarding the Guild program as a unified entity, which is what it is, do we achieve consolidation.

We do not relegate to "some other time" collective bargaining while we are engaged in organizing, nor vice versa. We do not become so preoccupied with inner-union activities that we forget the strength that comes to us from our relations with other labor organizations and with the public on the political field.

Consolidation is attained by pushing the Guild program 100%, 100% of the time.

Industrial Pact Gets Increase

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—An industrial contract, ready for signing with the Scripps-Howard Citizen, brings raises in the editorial department and extends Guild benefits to the business office and advertising departments. The editorial minimum of \$40 after three years is increased to \$42.50. Minimums in the other departments run from \$20 to \$42.50. The 5-day 40-hour week is extended to all but salesmen, who will work a five and a half day, 44-hour week.

The contract replaces the document that expired April 1. Negotiations were delayed by a jurisdictional dispute with the Stenographers, Typists & Bookkeepers local, AF of L, which claimed jurisdiction over the solicitors. The claim was withdrawn when the solicitors demonstrated to NLRB examiners that they preferred membership in the Guild.

Death Payment
Severance pay of one week for every eight months' service up to 24 weeks is unqualified except in cases of "criminal misconduct" and provision is made for payment of severance pay to heirs in case of death.

The new commercial department minimums are: Display and national salesmen, \$25 for beginners to \$42.50 after three years; classified outside salesmen, \$20 to \$35 after three years; classified phone solicitors, \$18 after two years, plus bonus; advertising artists, \$20 to \$40 after three years; service department deskmen, \$25 after two years; cut boys, \$23 after two years; messengers and office boys, \$15; stenographers and clerks, \$20; cashiers, \$22.50 after three years; assistant cashiers, \$27.50 after three years.

REDFERN MASON, music critic fired from Hearst's San Francisco Examiner in 1934 for Guild activity and recently employed by the Boston Transcript, has joined the staff of Frisco's People's World.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

NEW YORK RESTAURANTS
Dalmo and Bruno's
PEN BAR RESTAURANT
PENCIL
203 East 45th St., N. Y. C.

Gathering Place of Guild Members
GUS & ANDY'S SOMERSET
"A Bar & Restaurant of Distinction"
146 West 47th St., New York, N. Y.
Around Cor. from ANG Headquarters

THEATRES
THE POLYMER PRIZE PLAY
YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU
By NORM HART & KATHRYN BOOTH THEA. 48 St. W. of 57 St. (AIR-CONDITIONED)

THEATRES
THE POLYMER PRIZE PLAY
OUR TOWN
By THORNTON WILDER with FRANK CRAYVEN MOROSCO, W. 45th. (AIR-CONDITIONED)

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MOTION PICTURES
LOVE FINDS ANDY HARDY
2nd and 3rd Weeks
Big STONE ROONEY
Week! Judy GARLAND
CAPITOL

HELD OVER! 2nd SMASH WEEK!
EDWARD G. ROBINSON in "The AMAZING DR. CLITTERHOUSE"
2nd Week
Big STONE ROONEY
Week! Judy GARLAND
CAPITOL

RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL
Rockefeller Center
HELD OVER! 2nd SMASH WEEK!
CHARLES BOYER in "ALGIERS"
with Sigrid Gurie, Hedy Lamarr
ON THE STAGE: "GOTHAM GLEANINGS" song and dance revue by Leavitt, Symphony Orchestra, 1st Mainstage Seats Reserved. Clr. 6-600

8th ST. PLAYHOUSE
AIR-CONDITIONED
Monday
HERBERT MARSHALL & BARBARA STANWICK in "ALWAYS GOODBYE"
One Entire Week
Danielle Darrieux & Douglas Fairbanks Jr.
"THE RAGE OF PARIS"
Midnight Show Saturday

TEXANS
On Screen
JOAN BENNETT in "THE RAGE OF PARIS"
On Stage
GENE KRUPA and His Swing Band
Randolph SCOTT
AL BERNIE
PARAMOUNT TIMES SQUARE

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Ridder Reneges, Unit Set to Strike

Air Station Cancels Concessions Won in Parleys

MINNEAPOLIS.—Preparations for a strike were begun by the Twin Cities Guild last week after an absentee owner junked a partly negotiated agreement resulting from weeks of conferences with the management of WTCN, newspaper radio station.

Apparently alarmed over concessions the Guild had won from the station managers, the directors took over and, with Joseph Ridder of New York taking the lead, kicked over a preliminary pact providing important improvements for a bargaining unit of 17 office and production employees.

Ridder represents the Ridder Brothers, Inc., owner of the St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press, which is joint owner of the station with the Minneapolis Tribune. The disavowal took place at a session Wednesday at which Ridder appeared for the station directors, along with George Bickelhaupt and William Johns, general managers for the Tribune and Pioneer-Press, respectively.

A counter-proposal to Guild demands was promised, but Ridder indicated that it would contain little beyond a shop committee clause and paid vacations.

The unit unanimously authorized calling of a strike. Strategy to be used if a strike becomes necessary was discussed by a committee named by the Twin Cities executive board, but final decisions were postponed pending a visit Sunday by ANG Executive Vice President Eddy and ANG Representative H. Richard Sells.

ST. LOUIS
Rounds Out Old Contract

ST. LOUIS.—The Guild shop contract of the Star-Times, with the addition of several new provisions, was extended to Feb. 1, 1939, in an agreement signed July 22 by the St. Louis Guild.

New provisions prohibit dismissals for economy or for reasons of departmental or sub-departmental elimination or discontinuance, wage cuts, reduction in the size of the staff and provide unqualified severance payments to dismissed workers.

The publisher has also agreed wherever practicable to apply to the Guild for a list of available candidates when it is necessary to fill vacancies. In the event the Guild is unable to supply satisfactory candidates within five days, factory candidates will be used, the publisher may select any persons he wishes for those positions.

He Fired Five
Palmer immediately thereafter fired five Guild members, precipitating the first Guild strike in St. Louis.

Provided They are Eligible for Guild Membership
In line with that provision in the new agreement, the Star-Times has already hired a new copy-reader recommended by the Guild.

Another clause of the new agreement provides that employees shall be free to engage in any activities outside working hours providing they are not for papers in direct competition with the Star-Times, and also providing that the employee does not exploit his connection with the paper without written permission.

The original contract covering editorial workers signed last year and now extended includes the 5-day, 40-hour week and minimums ranging to \$50. The Guild shop clause provides that all editorial department members must be members of the Guild or must become members within 30 days after joining the staff.

Negotiators for Guild
The new agreement was negotiated by Elzey Roberts, publisher; John Roberts and Frank W. Taylor Jr., for the newspaper, and by

ten permission.

Ellwood Douglass, David Brown and Julius Klyman for the Guild. Douglass, president of the St. Louis Guild, is on the Post-Dispatch staff. Brown is a special writer for the Globe-Democrat and Klyman, international vice-president of the ANG, is also on the Post-Dispatch.

Observers for the Star-Times unit were Ray Kringer, Miss Ruth Moore, Edward Harris and Bernard Walsh.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

THEY COULD HAVE HAD IT WITHOUT A FIGHT

Editor & Publisher in the issue of July 10 essayed the role of the bully who knocked a man to the floor and then cheerfully suggested, "Now let's be pals."

In an editorial that started unthinkingly that the New York Guild, in signing an agreement with S. I. Newhouse, new owner of the Long Island Daily Star, had accepted a contract similar, except for "a few minor alterations," to an offer Newhouse made three weeks earlier, Editor & Publisher wound up with this flourish:

"Both the Guild and the management are to be congratulated upon their good sense in sinking past differences and profuse in sincerely hoping that the spirit of this manifest will continue through the life of the contract."

And then a few pages from this sanctimonious comment there appears a full-

ILGWU CHIEF AIDS STRIKE IN HOLLYWOOD

Newhouse Tactics Told in Fahy Case

Guild Smashing Methods Heard By Board

NEWARK, N. J.—Tactics pursued by Philip Hochstein in his 4-year Guild-busting campaign for the S. I. Newhouse publications were spread on the record in the National Labor Relations Board hearing last week on the charge that Agnes Fahy, local president, was fired from the Newark Ledger for Guild activity.

William A. Ettel, who formerly worked on the Long Island Daily Press and later on the Ledger, both Newhouse papers, testified that in 1934 Hochstein, then managing editor of the Press, told him that if the Guild persisted in organizing on the Press he would be forced to fire 15 or 20 members of the staff.

Asked by Labor Board Attorney Daniel Baker whether the Guild had made any demands of the Press management at that time, Ettel replied that it had not but Hochstein had told him "organization means demands, and the paper will have to fortify itself against demands by cutting down the staff."

Tells of Conversation
In the course of subsequent conversations with the executive, Ettel said, Hochstein had told him he was a "trusted employee," but that "it was becoming increasingly difficult to keep me in good standing with Mr. Newhouse because of my Guild activity. He said it might not be wise for me to withdraw from the Guild, but I should become less active."

At one point during cross-examination when Ettel was replying to a question concerning a conversation with Hochstein, Charles Goldman, counsel for Newhouse, asked Hochstein whether he recalled facts that he shouted for the witness to "stop."

On the morning following the first full day of the hearing, the Ledger ran an editorial characterizing procedure under the Wagner Act as "hybrid justice spawned by the National Labor Relations Act."

Hochstein testified that he became managing editor of the Ledger in the spring of 1935 when Newhouse purchased the controlling interest. Since that time, he said, he has had no official position with the Long Island Press. He admitted, however, that he draws a salary of \$100 a week from the Press as "editorial consultant" and \$25 a week from the Staten Island Advance, also a Newhouse paper, presumably as a reward for faithful service in the past. His salary from the Ledger, he testified, is \$10,000 a year.

The first witness for the Labor Board was ANG Secretary-Treasurer Pasche, former secretary-treasurer of the Newark Guild. He described negotiations with Newhouse in 1935 and 1936 when he was a member of the local negotiations committee.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

THEY COULD HAVE HAD IT WITHOUT A FIGHT

if replaced, be replaced by a Guild member or an employee who joins the Guild in 30 days—in other words a modified Guild shop.

Newhouse's ad reads: "Newhouse stated that he had no pride of authorship so far as the language of the agreement was concerned, but that he would have to insist on the substance of the proposal."

The fact, Newhouse stated he would not stand for the alteration "of a single comma," and even refused to meet formally with the Guild because "there would be no purpose in a meeting."

Newhouse's ad quoted from one clause of the signed contract to show that it is similar to a clause in the earlier offer to individuals, but his ad omits

This fact: The signed Guild contract provides that any Guild members discharged after a three-month period in which there may be no discharges must,

separate contract repudiating all collective action.

Newhouse's ad reads: "The Guild finally, on July 8th, accepted in its entirety the substance of the terms Newhouse had proposed nearly three weeks earlier."

The fact: The Guild signed a two-year contract covering all editorial and commercial employees whereas Newhouse had insisted there be no collective contract for two years and that each employee sign a

page advertisement in which Newhouse seeks to lambaste the Guild and succeeds only in filling a page of small type with a collection of distortions, fabrications and half-truths.

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19 Jobless In Buffalo Change

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The axe fell on the Buffalo Times last week with a total of 19 dismissals, of which 15 were from the editorial staff and four from the advertising and business office. Two of the men, photographers, were replaced by new men, both beginners and at a lower salary. Dismissal pay was given in all cases in full compliance with the Guild contract.

At the same time the Times announced that control of the paper, since 1929 a Scripps-Howard newspaper, had passed to George H. Lyon, editor, and Earl J. Gaines, business manager. Prevailing opinion is that the switch in control is the answer to Buffalo's unwillingness to support chain newspaper enterprises and prejudice against outside management and anti-Roosevelt policies, while embracing also an economy move to cut down losses, unofficially reported at around \$200,000 a year.

Features Dropped
United Press wire service was dropped from the paper a week before the announced change, the familiar Scripps-Howard light-house emblem disappeared the day of the announcement. Also dropped from the paper are Raymond Clapper and Hugh Johnson of United Features; still continuing are Brown, Pegler, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, cartoons and other features.

Drastic changes in make-up and editorial slant also followed on the change. It is apparent that the Times is returning to its lifelong tradition under the late Norman E. Mack, of complete Democratic backing in local politics, while 100 per cent New Deal and P.D.R. support seems also slated, the latter in opposition to recent Scripps-Howard policy.

On July 16, two photographers, Morgan Perlette and Mark Palmer, were let out and were replaced by apprentice camera men, a change that the management said had been contemplated irrespective of the re-organization. On the same date a credit manager and one advertising man were dismissed.

July 23 was the day of the more sweeping dismissals, when two business office men and 13 editorial workers went. With a net loss of 13 editorial men of the 15 dismissed, the editorial personnel's net reduction is now from 72 to 59.

Shifts Made
In the clean-cut paper's bid for concentrated local circulation was seen in elimination of the Western New York desk, including three men of whom two had other part-time duties. A locally written interpretive world news column, employing three men, was tossed out and an AP round-up substituted. The latter change took with it Julian Fromer, only Guild executive board member to be included in the shake-up. Al Larke, Buffalo Guild president, was taken off a Sunday editor job and put on the street as labor reporter, a job he previously held there. Joe Cummings, city editor, was made news editor and also assumed direction of the sports page with dismissal of Bill Abbott, sports editor not replaced. Other re-alignments of duties were also effected.

Editorial workers dismissed were: Morgan Perlette, Mark Palmer and William Gillen, photographers; Bill Abbott, sports editor; Edward Tighe, Eldon Thompson, Gerald Crowley, Charles Highy, Melvin Rupp, Leon Theil, Julian Fromer, John Kindelan, William E. Miles, Eugene Hill, and Tom Davis.

LOCAL JOINS PROGRAM
SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco-Oakland Guild is cooperating financially with other CIO unions in maintaining a nightly 15-minute radio program, "Labor on the Air," devoted to labor news and comment. The program is broadcast over Station KYA.

ROY HOWARD ARRIVES And Finds His House Haunted, Says Seldes, By the Old Scripps Liberalism

THE solution of the "major mystery and the major tragedy" of the Scripps-Howard papers' gradual going to the right is offered by George Seldes in his article on Roy Howard in the July 17 New Republic.

The basis for tragedy and the cause of mystery (says Seldes) is the assumption that Roy Howard, who today is almost a dictator of what President Coolidge at a United Press banquet called "a world power, influential beyond the dreams of any of its founders," has inherited the spirit and policies of that famous "Lusty" Scripps who built up this vast power which controls so large a part of American public opinion today.

Scripps set the Scripps-Howard chain upon a policy of service; positive justice as between man and man as men; the promotion of equality of opportunity; the putting into the hands of workers who had little time to read of honest, fearless thought, in clean, concise form; impartiality incorruptible by social, political or financial influence; and the square deal all around without fear or favor.

When Howard Arrived
When Robert Paine Scripps inherited his father's papers, "None doubted Bob's sincerity," says Seldes, "he all realized that the other partner, Roy Wilson Howard, was now the dominating leader and would be dictator." Seldes continues:

This is the same Roy Howard who told the Chamber of Commerce of Denver on the occasion of a banquet given him to honor the establishment of a Scripps-Howard newspaper, that "We are coming to Denver neither with a tin cup nor a lead pipe. We will live with and in this community and not on or off it. We are nobody's big brother, neither sister or poor relation. We come here simply as news merchants. We are here to sell advertising and sell it at a rate profitable to those who buy it. But first we must produce a newspaper with news appeal that will result in a circulation to make that advertising effective. We shall run no lottery."

Here in the statement of intentions we have a pretty fair history of the rise and fall of the liberal Scripps-Howard press. The older Scripps twice tried to buy newspapers because he knew that no free press can ever exist which owes a first allegiance to business; he was twice rebuffed. In general and raised money for picketers, and he was not afraid to dedicate his press to the workingman. And the present head of all the newspapers, news services, radio stations and other Scripps-Howard enterprises, says "We are here to sell advertising."

The "Soul" Departs
"Lusty" Scripps died in 1926. Bob Scripps died in 1935. . . . Free at last from the Scripps "soul," from the utopian idea of a newspaper defying advertisers and business, Roy Howard has begun to follow Hearst in Red-baiting and labor-baiting. He has begun the suppression of his highly paid columnists, has altered their views, and he has gradually changed the policies of his papers from liberal to phony-liberal and eventually to a more honest anti-liberalism. He has done so at a critical time in our history when not only writers but everyone with a minimum of intelligence is taking sides. . . . Roy Howard's only relation to progressive ideals was a journalistic marriage. . . . From his youth Howard devoted himself to making money and gaining power. Only so long as the old Scripps brand of liberalism paid, did he stick to it.

From LaFollette to Hoover
The change in policy came, says Seldes, not with Roosevelt New Deal reforms, but 10 years earlier when Scripps-Howard papers, in line with Scripps tradition, supported Robert LaFollette. The papers made fine showings in every town and won for the Progressives in Cleveland, but Mr. Howard "was not looking at the election returns, he was looking at the box office."

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and the Cleveland Press lost tremendously in advertising and money.

Scripps-Howard editors favored supporting Al Smith in 1928, but Howard was for Hoover and the chain supported Hoover. Four years later, however, says Seldes, "it would have been suicidal to renew that support and Howard wisely went over to Roosevelt, to whom he remained faithful until Rooseveltian legislation, alienating the affection of most big business, made an enemy of between 70 and 85 per cent of the press in 1936. At least 10 per cent more joined

employees had not been impressed by the publishers' "falsehoods." The *Reporter* accused Howard of playing politics with other publishers, of making them save his chestnuts. Loyal Guildsmen were now calling Howard "our No. 1 enemy."

From fighting the CIO-Guild to fighting the CIO program is but a step, and from there the road leads to general anti-labor propaganda, Red-baiting and a reactionary program. The result of the pre-Fascist pattern in America. Roy Howard is well on the road. . . .

Truth Gets in the Way
A study of how the Scripps-Howard papers throughout the country treated the Stollberg series confirms the bankruptcy of their liberal policy. In New York the transport workers' leader Michael J. Quill demanded space to reply and the publication in The World-Telegram of a letter saying "your paper has chosen to share the disgrace of the Hearst press" and accusing it of "suppressing the truth." Only a limited amount of space was given and the really damaging attacks of the letter were suppressed. In Toledo The News-Sun suppressed John Brophy's attack on the Scripps-Howard outfit and The World-Telegram delayed mentioning it for three days. . . .

Howard Brown, one of the few syndicated non-reactionaries, is not only suppressed frequently when his views offend Howard but his daily copy is actually censored by Lee Wood, the executive editor. . . .

World-Telegram Alibi
Seldes quotes a "typical" Howard explanation to readers puzzled by the elimination or censoring of columns: "If by the terms 'curtailed or blocked out' you mean to inquire whether columnists write or do not for the World-Telegram are having their matter submitted to a censorship calculated to omit controversial statements or statements in opposition to the editorial policy of the paper, we will say that the answer is no. The World-Telegram has available for its use each day the signed product of some twenty-five columnists. The staff is contracted for by the paper. Space limitations make impossible use on any given day of much more than half of this staff."

In the selection of that matter used the same test of quality, importance, interest and readability is applied as in the case of all other editorial matter. . . . The complete answer to Mr. Howard's contentions is the state of alarm which pervades the offices when a Johnson, Pegler or Brown column fails to arrive on time. They are high-priced columns and every omission raises many protests. The claim that these men are included in the daily choice of twenty-five is self-evident nonsense. . . .

On all the Howard papers there is the old Scripps light-house with the inscription: "Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way." Some of Howard's employees refer to it as "the light that failed." They suggest in place of the light-house a collection of moneybags with the quotation from Juvenal: *Crescit amor nummi quatenus ipsa pecunia crescit*—the love of money grows as the money itself grows.

Cleveland Unit Protests Cut Plan; Pledges Aid
CLEVELAND—Two dismissals in the editorial department and two in the business department have been made on the Scripps-Howard Press in the "economy wave" which brought numerous firings throughout the chain since the signing of Guild contracts this Spring. The grievance committee obtained reinstatement of one of the dismissed employees.

The Press unit has been further aroused by a management request for a reduction of the 7-cent-a-

mile auto allowance obtained in the contract signed March 12—a reduction which the unit asked the executive committee to resist. In a series of vigorous resolutions adopted by the unit was one pledging its support to the Toledo News-Bee and other Scripps-Howard units in fighting further dismissals.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!
Other Scripps-Howard stories on Page 6.

Charges Withdrawn
Jack Kroll, negotiator for the Guild and local head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, summarized the negotiations in a forceful address.

Charges of violation of the Wagner Act recently were dismissed by the National Labor Board after Giesel posted a notice of compliance and signed a letter to Philip G. Phillips, Labor Board director, promising no further trouble.

Memphis Stirred by Dismissals
MEMPHIS—A resolution of protest against the firing of three Guild members employed by Station WMPB 19 days after the signing of a contract was voted by the Memphis Guild and copies sent to the Scripps-Howard management.

The resolution authorizes the executive committee to take any action required to remedy the situation and present a receding action. The resolution states that "the Guild regards the action not only as a violation of the whole spirit of the contract and contract negotiations, but also a gross violation of the contract clause stipulating that there shall be no dismissals except for reasonable reason." It calls upon the management to "present specific proof of a change in business conditions of sufficient nature to warrant withdrawal of the WMPB of the verbal pledge at the time of the contract negotiations that there would be no further dismissals."

The resolution condemns the action as unwarranted and unjust, and an act calculated to destroy the unit and to intimidate the remaining employees. The management has rejected demands for reinstatement or preferential rehiring of the dismissed men, but gave part-time work to two of them.

CIO-AFL JOIN IN MARCH
PHILADELPHIA (PT)—Led by CIO and AFL of L leaders, several hundred unemployed marched on the City Council here and demanded a \$2,000,000 appropriation to "insure" a \$20,000,000 federal grant from the WPA which would provide employment for 30,000 workers.

Chairman Weir is no dummy at the head of the propaganda machine. He is so for the President included not only the city unemployed but southern tenant farmers and share croppers, agricultural and textile labor and the hundreds of thousands stranded in abandoned

Cincinnati Prepares For Fight

CINCINNATI—The Guild voted Wednesday night to set up a committee to confer with labor leaders and liberal groups of the city as "preparation" move in the event the local is forced to strike on the Scripps-Howard Post.

Despite the heat and vacation absence, the meeting was one of the largest ever held by the unit. The motion to begin preliminary steps for other action in the event that Business Manager Giesel of the Post continues his stalling, was passed amid cheers, and with but one dissenting vote.

The negotiating committee was instructed simultaneously to make one further effort to wrest a contract from the Post with such fundamental provisions as the 5-day 40-hour week for all business department employees, and guarantees against wage cuts and dismissals when the contract is put into effect.

The committee informed the membership that progress to date had been "disappointing." It was pointed out that many conditions granted on other Scripps-Howard papers had been rejected by Giesel on the ground that the Post's problems were "peculiar."

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The NAM Reveals Its Propaganda Reach

'Services' to Press, Movies, Schools and Elsewhere Described As Probe Draws Near

THE amazing reach of the National Association of Manufacturers propaganda network now stands revealed by the NAM itself, in an elaborate 22-page brochure just published, listing and describing all of the activities on the \$500,000-a-year program.

In boastful terms the booklet, titled "Who's Who Behind Industry's Information Program," gives the facts, figures and thumbnail sketches of what and who are in the propaganda mill which sends its output into thousands of schools, churches, theatres, and reaches the public through the multiple other propaganda mediums such as the newspapers, radio, and billboards.

There are 15 services described: the "NAM Service to Newspapers" which includes a cartoon series said to be "subscribed to" by 3,500 papers (the clip sheet offers it free); the movie "editorial" series, one of which reached 15,000,000 persons; the outdoor advertising on 45,000 billboards, and so on.

The line taken by the propaganda can be indicated by pointing out that the chairman of NAM's National Industrial Information Committee is Steel Man E. T. Weir, of whose hatchet gang we have lately been hearing much. It is a matter of course to find Tom Girdler on the same committee, which, incidentally, includes cartoonist and commentator, in weekly fifteen-minute discussions of current economic problems. Used from coast-to-coast, through electrical transcription, by more than 240 stations.

ONE STEP AHEAD OF THE INVESTIGATORS
Ostensibly the brochure is for the use of NAM's own "organizers." Significant, it made its appearance just as the Senate Civil Liberties Committee was about to open the hearings which, the committee had announced, would expose the secret propaganda activities of Girdler, Weir, the NAM and other opponents of labor and progressive legislation.

This is the same plan as that followed by George E. Sokolsky, New York Herald-Tribune columnist and NAM propagandist, who made public his big business connections a jump or two ahead of most of the revelations about him. Corruption which is made public is clean and without sin. The NAM now puts its name openly on billboards and some of its other services.

These propaganda activities, which have the inside track in reaching the public, as against the efforts of labor and liberals to present their views, have been shown by the LaFollette committee and the Labor Board hearings to be only the ideological front behind which the corporations, the industrial associations and chambers of commerce operate. Behind the scenes they bribe public officials, corrupt the press, and turn gangsters loose on organized workers.

The NAM program is financed by assessments based on the members' capitalization. A member corporation capitalized at between \$70,000,000 and \$100,000,000 pays \$5,000 a year; \$50,000,000 to \$70,000,000, \$4,500 a year, and so on down the line.

Publicity experts may be critical of certain aspects of the program, but, on the whole they say, it shapes up like an efficient job which creates insidious results. It is at least a \$500,000-a-year job; reports among publicity men say it comes closer to \$750,000. Even so it represents only a small portion of the total sum spent by American business organization to fight reforms.

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N. A. M. SERVICES TO NEWSPAPERS ALL PREPARED BY EXPERTS

Industrial Press Service
The Official Voice of American Industry

- IPS NEWS STORIES** are gathered and written by four experienced newspaper men.
- THE POCKETBOOK OF KNOWLEDGE**, newest IPS feature, drawn under the pen name of TOPPS by Robert Pilgrim, well known syndicate artist.
- WASHINGTON SNAPSHOTS**, is written by a former Washington correspondent of wide experience.
- THE IPS CARTOON**, drawn by Nate Collier, well known cartoonist and syndicate artist, for years associated with national publications.

Reaching only back to the great times, Industrial Press Service gets every week as many as more than 6,000 weekly papers. Carbons reprinted to by 3,500 papers. Pocketbook of Knowledge, newest IPS feature, drawn under the pen name of TOPPS by Robert Pilgrim, well known syndicate artist. The Act of God, The Act of Man, The Act of Nature, The Act of Society, The Act of the Individual, The Act of the Community, The Act of the Nation, The Act of the World.

"Services" for Use Free Without Identification. Two Pages from the NAM Brochure.

Furthermore, he is the ideological leader of the controlling clique in the association. Here are the highlights of the NAM's services offered in the brochure, in the brochure's own words:

YOU AND INDUSTRY LIBRARY: Eight attractive and authoritative booklets presenting industry's story in interesting, readable form. . . . More than 2,000,000 copies distributed. . . . to schools, colleges, ministers, women's clubs and other key groups.

ON THE AIR: George S. Sokolsky, author, lecturer and commentator, in weekly fifteen-minute discussions of current economic problems. Used from coast-to-coast, through electrical transcription, by more than 240 stations.

MOTION PICTURES: . . . featuring Lowell Thomas and John S. Young [in such "screen editorials" as "Let's Go America" and "America Marching On!"] Top quality. . . . is the first requirement of a movie that "plays" in New York's Radio City Music Hall. One of the newest. . . . NAM productions had its premiere there. For all four pictures—an audience estimated at 15,000,000 people. . . . Also shown by more than half the schools in the country equipped to show sound motion pictures. . . .

NAM SERVICES TO NEWSPAPERS: Industrial Press Service [a clip sheet]. . . . Reaching truly back to the grass roots, Industrial Press Service goes every week on request to more than 6,000 weekly papers. Cartoons subscribed to by 3,500 papers. Pocketbook of Knowledge [cartoon feature] by more than 2,200. The Pocketbook of Knowledge, newest IPS feature, drawn under the pen name of TOPPS by Robert Pilgrim, well-known syndicate artist. Washington Snapshots is written by a former Washington correspondent (James Preston) of wide experience. The IPS cartoon, drawn by Nate Collier, well-known cartoonist and syndicate artist, for years associated with national publications.

YOU AND YOUR NATION'S AFFAIRS: Popularizing economics for millions of readers daily. . . . written by six leading economists. . . . subscribed to by 265 daily newspapers, one of the largest syndicated features in the country. While NAM defrays the costs. . . . opinions expressed by the writers are their own, without restriction.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY ROBINSON: America's most widely used program. On 273 stations. Twice or more each week, through electrical transcription, brings to radio listeners sound thinking and basic facts about industry and the American system.

COMMUNITY PROGRAM SERVICE: Through this. . . service NAM offers expert assistance and guidance in setting up local Public Information units. . . . offers you. . . ready prepared—

BELOW THE 'PROFIT LINE'
AT the same time that President Roosevelt has been pleading for the third of the nation that is ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed, the nation's publishers have been vigorously denying in their editorial columns the fact that such a class exists. And the National Association of Manufacturers and other business organizations are now telling the country that everyone prospers when business prospers.

The rosy assertions of business and the papers are contradicted by the latest market guide of the Detroit Free Press, a reactionary newspaper in a labor city. Far from denying that the ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed class exists, the market guide conclusively proves it does and then goes on to boast to its advertisers that not only does it not circulate in the depressed one-third, but it makes every effort to relinquish that circulation to Detroit's two other newspapers, the News and the Times.

Detroit's one-third is measurably better off than the President's classification as a whole, for the President included not only the city unemployed but southern tenant farmers and share croppers, agricultural and textile labor and the hundreds of thousands stranded in abandoned mining and lumbering areas and in eroded farming regions.

Although the workers in Detroit are said to receive fairly good pay when the automobile factories operate, and from local and federal relief, the survey says "the average weekly wage of the 360,000 industrial employees of the world's automotive capital is only \$25.50 per week."

The Free Press divides Detroit's population into three groups, two above the profit line (profit for the advertisers) and one below. Above the profit line are the red group, the highly paid executives, 4 per cent of the population. Also above the profit line is the yellow group, 51 per cent of Detroit, consisting of highly skilled labor, professionals, tradespeople, proprietors, salesmen and minor executives.

Below the profit line for advertisers are wage earners and common labor, the blue group, 45 per cent of Detroit's families. "But," the Free Press adds, "50 per cent of this group earn less than \$19.50 each week."

When factory chimneys stop smoking the income of the group above the profit line does not materially decrease, but below the profit line, incomes abruptly cease and the group literally becomes 'blue.'

(Continued on Page Six)

ANPA Bulletin Draws Reaction

Association's Attack on Newspaper Probe Brings Joint Query From Albany Guild and Mechanical Union; FTC Field Investigation Reported Finished.

(Continued from Page One)

has been cited by officials of the chain papers in contract negotiations with labor unions as a principal reason for not meeting wage demands. Gannett was reminded that "the high cost of newspaper was declared as partly responsible for the merging of The Knickerbocker Press and the Albany Evening News, and the dismissal of close to 200 workers."

The Federal Trade Commission has commenced an investigation of an alleged newspaper manufacturers' monopoly. (The letters said.) Success of this investigation is of vital concern to labor unions in the newspaper industry. We believe it should be of equal concern to any publisher who is sincere in his expressions of regret at firing employees, cutting wages or refusing wage increases.

Opposition on the part of a publisher toward this investigation would of course shake the belief of labor unions in his good faith. The only apparent reason for any publisher to oppose the investigation of newspaper monopoly would be a connection with the monopoly which he feared to have exposed.

We desire to take to you our assurance that we will co-operate wholeheartedly in the government efforts to reveal the reasons for increased newspaper costs, an increase that has cost us money and jobs. Will you kindly advise us what policy you have adopted in this matter?

In addition to Guild President Marquet, signers of the letter were John J. Stack, ITU; T. J. Walsh, Pressmen's Union; Thomas Bulman, Bookbinders Union; James J. Gibson, Mailers; Arthur Naake, Photo Engravers; Francis Wren, Stereotypers, and James A. Siles, secretary-treasurer, Allied Printing Trades Council. Gibson is president of the Council.

New Republic Comment

Discussion of the ANPA bulletin was scheduled to come up at the New York State Allied Printing Trades Council convention at Buffalo.

The New Republic in its editorial said:

No one, you would think, should be more pleased [about the investigation] than the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. But in spite of the logic of the case, the ANPA is actively opposed . . . as an article in the current GUILD REPORTER

Chicago Ready for Final Stage of Battle With AFL

CHICAGO—More active campaigning for victory in an expected Heart plant NLRB election covering some 800 commercial employees, has been resumed by the Chicago Guild. A few weeks breathing spell, following a winter and spring of exhaustive activity at the plant, has been used for basic reconciliation of the whole local, especially financially.

Oral argument is scheduled before the NLRB in Washington on Aug. 4 on the representation case which consumed three weeks in Chicago just before the Toronto Convention. The AF of L high command has made a national issue of the case, with the American, Illinois and Chicago Federations of Labor and 28 other AF of L organizations, including the newly-chartered "Newspaper Commercial Association," fighting the Guild. Attorney Ben Meyers will represent the Guild in the argument.

Executive Vice President Eddy and S.W.O.C. Regional Director Van A. Bittner will be speakers at a local membership meeting of the Guild here Aug. 2, marking renewed intensity of the organizing drive. Also on the program are

points out. . . . Comparatively few publishers can be interested in protecting the monopoly that maintains the price of newspaper at absurdly high prices. They are the big interests who own their own paper mills or who enjoy special favors in the form of rebates. Has the ANPA been taken over completely by the powerful few? If it has, what other explanation to offer, what is it?

The New Masses pointed out that the ANPA did not warn all its members and quotes the GUILD REPORTER's editorial, "The Department of Justice ought to probe this thoroughly for possible action under the anti-trust laws," then adds, "To which the small publishers can only emphatically agree."

E & P Explains

Editor & Publisher carried a long editorial ridiculing the GUILD REPORTER "scoop" in its introductory paragraph, and then explaining at length that the ANPA needed no defense.

"In the first place," said E&P, "the bulletin . . . was not a document circulated by stealthy methods. It was a regular 'B' bulletin of the ANPA, mailed regularly at least once a week to all members, for their information on newspaper matters."

The editorial denied that the ANPA, in advising its members that they need not cooperate with the investigation, intended to thwart the inquiry. This advice, E&P insisted, "rests upon a sound legal foundation, regardless of the merits of the FTC investigation." Anyway, E&P added, any effective inquiry is outside the "ballpark" of the FTC.

As though in answer to New Republic's question about the big publishing interests taking over the little ones, Editor & Publisher said that other bulletins show that

"ANPA at all times resisted higher prices and fixed prices and that its policies were determined by a committee composed in large part of large newspaper consumers." (Emphasis ours, Ed.)

The editorial winds up: "The ANPA and its membership need no defense here. We simply present the above facts, already familiar to publishers and business office executives, for the information of those who might believe that the GUILD REPORTER's 'scoop' told the story."

Guildsman Is Appointed To Kansas State Faculty

Kriegbaum, Formerly Editor for UP, Gets Journalism Post

MANHATTAN, Kansas—Hillier Kriegbaum, former science editor in the Washington bureau of the United Press and active member of the Washington Guild, has been appointed to the Kansas State College journalism faculty. He replaces Ralph R. Leashbrook as assistant professor, and Leashbrook becomes associate professor.

Kriegbaum was secretary of the United Press unit in Washington and served on the local executive committee. He was an observer at the recently completed UP negotiations. He joined the Guild after going to Washington about four years ago, during an organization period, and had been active in WING affairs since.

A graduate of the University of Wisconsin in Journalism, Kriegbaum has worked on the South Bend (Ind.) News-Times and the Reading (Pa.) Times. He joined the UP staff ten years ago and served as bureau manager in Philadelphia and St. Paul. He was a



HILLIER KRIEGBAUM

contributor to Science Graphic and other science magazines. About six months ago Kriegbaum quit the UP to finish his work for a master's degree at Northwestern University. He is 33 and unmarried.

A Paper Shuns Circulation Below the 'Profit Line'

(Continued from Page Five)

There is no market here then for anything except sheer necessities." Even when factories are busy again, while the income of the group above the profit line rises rapidly with little increase in the number of persons receiving it, the wage rate for those below the profit line "remains the same, but the number of workers is increased, as the employment index rises. The major market is still above the profit line."

The Free Press asks, "How much of a market can one reach through advertising?" and takes its answer from the Brookings Institute, which declares that "70 per cent of all the families in the country are forced to spend all their income for bare necessities," the maximum market for advertised products being only about 30 per cent of the population.

The advertiser must spend his dollar where it will do the most good and therefore must concentrate among groups "that are demonstrably in a position to buy." He must find "where the dollars are," and to help him the Free Press divides the map of Detroit into profitable and unprofitable sales areas.

In the areas listed as below the profit line live 35 per cent of Detroit's population. As 45 per cent are listed as blue, the 10 per cent of the unprofitables making the difference live in profitable areas. The 35 per cent living in the blue, underprivileged areas buy few of the luxury items making up the bulk of national advertising, accounting for only 5 per cent of the bill. The 45 per cent of the blue, underprivileged areas buy few of the luxury items making up the bulk of national advertising, accounting for only 5 per cent of the bill.

Their homes are below average, and the group will continue to be ill-housed, for 34 per cent of all new residential construction is outside the depressed areas.

In residential telephones, electric refrigerators and new passenger-car sales the 35 per cent buy one-third to one-half less than their population quota. Even the constant hammering of the nationally advertised drug products cannot induce the 35 per cent to spend money the Free Press says they do not have.

Unprofitable areas aren't good even for installment sales, according to the Free Press, for credit men sharply scrutinize all installment sales emanating from the blue areas.

The Free Press asserts that 86 per cent of its circulation is con-

Send Speaker, Says Group to NAM, But...

WASHINGTON (FP)—The National Manufacturers Association's campaign to impress the views of industry on the public was revealed in an unsolicited letter to the National Negro Congress.

The letter, signed by Charles Hook, president of the NAM, noted that the congress was meeting and stated that the industrialists would be happy to supply a speaker on "a popular theme—business, how it's run, whom it benefits, the part it plays in American life."

John P. Davis, national secretary of the congress, wrote Hook in reply that the congress would like very much to have a speaker who would tell "why it is that public utility companies, gas, water, and electric companies, and other well-trained Negro boys and girls the opportunity of employment in any white collar jobs, why members of your association hire astute pigeons and spies, some of whom deliberately sought to foment ill feeling and race riots among Negro and white workers, why your organization is conducting such a bitter campaign against the wages and hours bill while profits and prices are soaring higher and higher."

"If you have such a speaker on your list by all means submit his name to us," Davis concluded.

The unit did obtain an accompanying letter guaranteeing against payoffs or layoffs as a result of putting the contract into effect, and guaranteeing against payoffs for the life of the agreement.

Both the World-Telegram unit members and the city-wide Guild are planning to fight layoffs.

WHAT! WHAT!

NEW YORK (FP)—Doors to the Bankers' Club here will be opened by courtesy of AF of L trade unionists, food will be served with similar courtesy, as will other personal services New York bankers receive at their club. In a state labor board poll, club employees selected the Hotel and Club Employees' Union as their bargaining agent. Negotiations for a contract will be opened.

Indianapolis Takes Protest Action

INDIANAPOLIS—The Guild adopted a resolution at a general meeting last week denouncing the Scripps-Howard management for "anti-labor and anti-Guild tactics" in the wholesale economy damns on Scripps-Howard papers. Copies were sent to Scripps-Howard papers, the IEB and CIO councils in cities where S-H papers are located.

Green Man Wins, Hits Labor Act

(Continued from Page One)

is interesting in this connection to note that the Guild, the peccan shellers, the International Ladies Garment Workers and a 10-member federal employees local are the total CIO strength here.

When Maverick got back from Washington he was greeted by the publication of a letter from William Green, endorsing Paul Kilday and denouncing Maverick. This had been obtained by the racketeering local AF of L leaders who have long and notoriously sold out to the city-county political machine. The Federation rank and file was for Maverick but the only way he could speak in the Labor Temple was for one of the member locals to hire the hall and pay for it.

Papers Open Campaign

Two days before the election the Express and Evening News (morning and afternoon editions of the Express Publishing Company) came out vigorously in the news columns for Kilday. It was learned that the night before Publisher Frank G. Huntress had a four-hour conference with the Kilday brothers.

The day after the election the sell-out was revealed, when Kilday announced that he would work for the amendment to the Wagner Act, making it "fair to employers as well as labor."

Both the mailers division of the ITU and the Guild have Labor Board charges pending against Huntress, who operates the most notorious newspaper sweatshop in the South.

Six Fired For Economy By World-Tel.

Economy layoffs hit the New York World-Telegram last week, when, only six weeks after the signing of a new contract, six persons were discharged. They were divided as follows: Staffs, two; make-up, one; feature copy desk, one; morgue, one; office boy, one.

The primary reasons given were economy and the reduction of news and feature columns. The recent boost in paper costs was followed by shrewd trimming in the size of the paper.

The unit sought a contract guarantee against layoffs, but after months of difficult negotiations, a contract without such a clause was accepted by a vote of 100 to 94. Those who opposed acceptance warned of the dangers ahead if the layoff guarantee was passed up.

The unit did obtain an accompanying letter guaranteeing against payoffs or layoffs as a result of putting the contract into effect, and guaranteeing against payoffs for the life of the agreement.

Both the World-Telegram unit members and the city-wide Guild are planning to fight layoffs.

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The Free Press

Steel Strike Truth Emerges After Mangling by Press

Truth is the first casualty in a war, and that saying applies with particular force to wars against labor.

So comments Len DeCaux, editor, in the CIO News, noting the fact that it is more than a year now since the strike began against the independent steel companies. But it has taken all this time for the truth to recover from the atrocious mangling it received in the newspapers at the height of the conflict.

Now at last we are privileged to read in the papers accounts of how strike riots were started by labor-hating employers; how peaceful pickets were attacked by company thugs; how innocent bystanders, men, women and children, were attacked by armed guards of Republic Steel; and how the whole campaign of strikebreaking, violence and lying propaganda was financed and planned by labor-fighting corporations.

Yet the CIO was blamed. When such events were taking place, the average newspaper reader was given the impression that all the trouble was started by the CIO.

Screaming headlines, editorials and cartoons, with all the guile and frenzy of a war propaganda campaign, denounced the CIO as violent, law-breaking, Communist. We were told that the CIO, in its new-found strength, was going too far; that public opinion was turning against it.

Even professedly liberal papers joined in the campaign. As each new assault was committed against unarmed and peaceful strikers, they cried out that labor must be curbed. Fair-weather friends faltered and turned against the workers, proclaiming their impartiality as they declared the innocent victims of anti-labor violence equally guilty with their attackers.

Facts Brought Out

The LaFollette civil liberties committee in its present Republic Steel hearings has brought out many facts like the following:

That Republic Steel spent more than \$617,000 for its labor-fighting campaign union plans, including \$214,129 for breaking strikes and thousands of dollars for tear gas and other strike munitions.

That a serious strike riot in Canton, Ohio, in 1935 was deliberately provoked by company police, armed with clubs, long bolts and side arms and began pushing strikers about.

That Republic Steel's armed guards in the same strike roamed the town indiscriminately shooting at pickets and bunched at strikers and bystanders.

Children Trapped

That a group of school children, unarmed strikers and onlookers were trapped across the street from the plant, shelled with gas and clubbed with iron pipes, while a bystander was killed with buckshot, and an expectant mother two miles away from the strike scene was shot down by Republic guards passing in an armored car.

ONE SIDED OBJECTIVITY

The New York Times, which so often suppresses or misrepresents the labor point of view, insists on getting the employer side before it will run a union release, the American Federation of Actors recently discovered.

Following an announcement from the management of the Ringling Brothers, Barnum & Bailey circus that the Big Show would henceforth be non-union, which came on the heels of a branch of the five-year closed shop contract of the circus with the American Federation of Actors, the union sent a statement to the Times making its position clear.

Former Judge Joseph Padway, who is general counsel for the American Federation of Labor and also for the actor's union.

Couldn't Be Reached

Padway's statement said that the circus would have to employ

AF of L members for the term of the contract or it would not operate. He said also that the circus management would learn that it could not treat its contractual obligations as scraps of paper.

When the story failed to appear in the Times the next day, Ed Harrison, editor of the AFA Reporter, called Joseph Shaplen, the Times labor reporter. He was told that the desk had requested that he (Shaplen) get an answer from the circus management to the Padway statement.

Unable to reach any circus officials for a statement, Shaplen wrote the story from the facts he had and turned it in. It never appeared.

2 HEADS ON 1 STORY

The truth, as Editor DeCaux points out, is being exposed by LaFollette, but to some newspapers it is still poison. Here is an example of how one paper reacted to the inadvertent publication of the facts in a headline. The heads were on the story of the first day of the Republic Steel hearing before the LaFollette committee. The paper was the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

LAY CANTON STRIKE RIOT

SIX UNIONISTS ARRESTED WHILE REPUBLIC VICE PRESIDENT, AT LAFOLETTE HEARING

HEAD IN SECOND EDITION: TEMPEROS UP AT CANTON

RIOT HEARING: Unionist Clenches Fist as Republic Official Heavily Hits Back at Charges

BLACKJACK ATTEMPT

WASHINGTON (FP)—An attempt to blackjack a local newspaper into supporting the candidacy of Representative Howard Smith (D., Va.) was revealed here by the Arlington Courier, published in neighboring Arlington, Va.

On the front page of the paper appears a photostatic copy of a letter to its editor from Smith. The letter reads: "As I have opposed in the Democratic primary owing, I believe, largely to the unfriendly attitude of your newspaper, I will be glad if you will

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

A PAPER'S REAL INTEREST

LOS ANGELES

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

In all of the patriotic chatter about the sacred holiness of the freedom of the press, there is a point that I think has been neglected.

Because the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press has been the refuge of skintail exploiters of child labor, promoters of public swindling, and of all the agencies bent upon continued leeching of the public, it is time to take it apart and consider its original purpose and intent.

The Free Press Changed

When the Free Press changed became a part of the Constitution, there was virtually no advertising; no fake medicines to foist on the public; no worthless stocks to promote; no public utilities requiring skilled lying to aid them in keeping their hands in the people's pockets; no labor problem as we know it today.

In the broadest sense, there were in the world only republicans and monarchists. The public prints were devoted largely to political discussion and literary articles. In the other country, so recently sworn by the Americans, a "newspaperman" might find himself in jail for printing opinions unfriendly to government. There is nothing in the record to show that the sponsors of the Bill of Rights had

Don't Fall for This 'Vacation Sale'

Have you noticed that the firm making "Gem" razor blades is advertising a "vacation sale" and urges purchasers to "stock up" at the reduced price?

The "sale" was inaugurated about five weeks ago, when 800 employees of the manufacturer, the American Safety Razor Corporation of Brooklyn, went on strike because the firm refused to negotiate, or even arbitrate the United Razor Workers Union's request for renewal of a contract.

In addition to Gem, the corporation makes Ever-Ready, Star, Treet and Continental blades, and surgical appliances and brushes. The union has broadcast a "Don't Buy" request.

Return to me the \$500 which I loaned you to keep it afloat as I can use it very well in my campaign."

Smith is being opposed by William E. Dodd Jr., son of the former ambassador to Germany.

Beneath the copy of the letter the paper prints a picture of a check for \$500 made out to Smith. Smith was one of the southern Democrats on the rules committee who blocked action on the Wages and Hours bill and the Walsh-Healy bill amendments at the last session.

BUILD-UP BEARS FRUIT

"CIO pickets remained in charge of the Chicago Hardware Foundry company yesterday," said a story in the Chicago Tribune on July 19 with an obvious note of regret.

"This rule of a North Chicago factory by local and imported CIO pickets continued in spite of Sheriff Doolittle of Lake county and of Judge Dady."

"Doolittle said a few days ago that he had sworn in more than 100 deputies. He said he would see to it that the law is enforced. He said he would do his duty and let those workers return to their jobs who want to work. Last night no workers had gone into the plant."

Several hours later the build-up had borne fruit. The deputies broke up the picket line with a gas attack and the men described by the Tribune as "workers" got into the plant.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

LETTERS TO THE GUILD REPORTER

any other idea than to preserve the privilege of criticizing their political opponents without landing in a cell.

Let Them Be Frank

If the public today could be given a clear view of what has been done and what is being done to it under the slogan, "liberty of the press," it would be profoundly annoyed to say the least. Certainly one stupid preconception would vanish. That is the absurd notion which holds that newspapers are public institutions interested solely in the well-being of the people at large. What they are really interested in, of course, is making money. The competitive system being what it is, the publishers can hardly be blamed for that. They would be much lovelier as objects of contemplation, however, if they were more frank—say, as frank as the United Steel Corporation which would hardly contend that its sole concern is the social well-being of the public.

W. P. AYE.

MAURY SIGNS OFF

NEW YORK

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

Guildsmen G. W. Morgan, Jo Leonard and Graham Dolan, having assorted curses at me in the July 25, 1938, GUILD REPORTER because of various letters I have written against the Guild's national leadership, attribute too much subtlety to me.

Philadelphia Asks Advice On Ex-Company Unionist

PHILADELPHIA—The Philadelphia-Camden Guild's Executive Council sought the advice of the International Executive Board in the case of Frederic Turner, who recently was reinstated by the Buffalo Guild following his participation in the organization of a company union there.

Turner sought reinstatement because thereby he was able to obtain a job as assistant city editor of the Philadelphia Record, a Guild shop paper. Turner has been employed on the Record for the past month.

Resentment expressed by numerous members of the Record staff over the employment of Turner led to his questioning by the Admissions Committee of the local. Turner readily admitted his leadership in the organization of the Independent Editorial Federation of the Buffalo Courier-Express, which he termed an independent union, not a company union.

The Admissions Committee, however, declared it has been termed a company union by the Buffalo Guild paper, two Buffalo Guild officials and a former Buffalo Guild member now on the Record.

The Committee's Report

The Admissions Committee, in its report to the Executive Council of the local, said:

"Though Turner allowed his membership to lapse in 1935, he was never, as far as he knows, suspended . . .

"When he wished to return to good standing, he approached one of the Buffalo Guild members. That member told him not to worry, that he probably the only formality would be payment of a \$2 reinstatement fee. It was then arranged for him to appear before a committee of the Buffalo Guild. He was immediately informed that Buffalo wished to put no obstacle in his path for transfer to Philadelphia."

"The committee suggested, after brief questioning, that he be reinstated on payment of the back dues and \$25 fine."

"I told them," Turner says, "my idea was a \$10 fine would be just as satisfactory as a \$25 fine and they agreed."

"He was then told that on payment of the money—or any part of it—he would be given his transfer to State, County and Municipal Workers' Union and that he could have as much time as possible for

the rest. However, he paid in full, then."

Told to Make Peace

Turner was advised to come to Philadelphia by a friend of his on the Record who was informed by a Philadelphia Guild officer that Turner would first "have to make his peace" with the Buffalo Guild if he wanted to seek admission to the Philadelphia Guild. On the strength of this informal opinion Turner left his Buffalo job.

The committee referred to the fact that Section 14, Article 10, of the ANG Constitution places "the whole emphasis on the interest of the local where the man last worked, not where he is going to work."

"The committee feels," said the report, "that if Philadelphia follows that interpretation, it would be setting a dangerous precedent for the future. If it so acted, a publisher could systematically stack his Guild shop with reformed company unionists."

Reinstatement Opposed

"The committee, however, realizes that local autonomy, within the bounds of the Constitution, should be preserved. It feels that when a local errs in judgment, it is up to the IEB to educate and advise it."

"The committee, therefore, feeling that leaders of company unions should not be reinstated, recommends that the Council refer the Turner case to the IEB for a ruling on what steps the local can take, and further recommends that the IEB be petitioned to set up immediately a committee to prepare a constitutional clarification of such reinstatements."

WHITE COLLAR DRIVE

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco-Oakland Guild is taking the lead in formation of a sub-council of white collar unions affiliated with the San Francisco District Industrial Union Council. The Guild has invited representatives of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, the Federation of Architects, Chemists and Technicians, and the Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers to join in organizing the sub-council.

REUBEN MAURY.

RM/s

CCs to—

Mr. Heywood Brown; Editor & Publisher.

The Guild Reporter

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

GUILD REPORTER deadlines: For letters and feature material, Tuesdays; for news, Wednesdays, and bulletins on Thursdays.

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August 1, 1938

119

Vol. V—No. 34

Stop Green!

TWO concrete evidences appeared last week of President William Green's readiness to bring disaster on the labor movement to protect the berths of himself and his official circle.

One is reported in the story from San Antonio in this issue. The man whom Green backed to beat Maury Maverick in Texas announced immediately after his victory that he would seek to amend the Wagner Act so as to make it "fair to employers"—the phrase of those seeking to emasculate it. This—except for its lack of subtlety—could not have been a surprise to Green, for Candidate Kilday, our story shows, is part of the machine of his brother, San Antonio's vicious anti-labor police chief. Green was "punishing" Maverick as an enemy of labor because, although Maverick risked his political life fighting for major labor legislation, he leaned toward the CIO. So in Texas Green supported an enemy of the Wagner Act in preference to one of its best friends.

The second bit of evidence came out with Green's announcement that the AF of L would seek to amend the Wagner Act in the next Congress. The exact significance of that announcement was well caught by Time. It said:

When businessmen last winter asked to have the Wagner Labor Act amended by Congress, they were in effect laughed out of the Capitol. Politically speaking, the amendment of the act was an impossibility without labor's consent. Last week, businessmen and unions received noteworthy news: the amendment of the act is no longer impossible.

This news was promulgated at a convention of the AF of L Glass Bottle Blowers' Association in Atlantic City. There AF of L's William Green, blowing a bottleful of keynote speech, disclosed that AF of L's Executive Council had at last made a choice between, 1) putting up with a continuing series of NLRB decisions against Federation unions; 2) asking Congress to amend the Wagner Act in AF of L's behalf. Aware that the latter step might open the way to amendments in the interest of employers, the council hitherto had said much, done nothing about its convictions that NLRB favors CIO unions. Last week Spokesman Green . . . declared:

"(The Federation will) mobilize its political strength in a determined effort to amend the law, so that it shall become the real act that was sponsored and approved by the Federation."

Labor's enemies, as William Green and his coterie well know, want to amend the act so that employers can get the jump in elections, or interpret union organizing as "outside interference." Such amendments, which will not be understood by the public, would make the act a positive menace.

We do not believe that AF of L members will tolerate either the "punishing" of labor's known political friends unless the rivals are better friends, not enemies; or that those members will tolerate opening the door to dangerous amendment of the Wagner Act, as its enemies may quite possibly be strong enough to put over.

The way to stop such sabotage of the AF of L officialdom is to bring down on them an avalanche of protests by their own locals. Guilds everywhere can help start the avalanche if they will bring these facts to the attention of all locals in their vicinities.

THE BOSS TELLS 'EM!

When NLRB Rules Out An Employer's Anti-Union Literature, Says E. S. Smith, It Follows Established Law

Despite the prominence which papers generally have given to every assertion that the National Labor Relations Board is infringing on freedom of speech and press, they suppressed or barely mentioned the answering argument presented by Edwin S. Smith, member of the Board, in his recent speech before the American Communications Association Convention. The New York Times, for one, dismissed it with a mere mention of the subject. Below is the speech in part.

From a Speech

By EDWIN S. SMITH

Member, National Labor Relations Board

THOSE who deeply oppose the objects of the National Labor Relations Act are always seeking an instrument with which to castigate the Labor Board. A popular weapon for this purpose at present is to charge that the Board is engaged in undermining the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press.

In one of its orders the Board has required that an employer cease and desist from distribution to his employees of anti-union literature. In about a dozen other cases the Board, without making any specific order on the subject, has found that the distribution of such literature constitutes an unfair labor practice on the ground that it infringes on the right of employees to self-organization free from interference from the employer, a right which the Act guarantees. Whenever the Board has taken such a stand, a reading of the case as a whole will reveal that the distribution of literature intended to influence the minds of employees against unions takes place against a general background of anti-union and illegal actions by the employer of which the dissemination of printed anti-union sentiments is merely a part.

IF IT'S UNLAWFUL TO SAY IT—

The Board has also found in numerous cases that for employer's supervisory agents to utter orally sentiments indicating their opposition to unions is an unfair labor practice. The Board's critics appear to pass over the latter sort of finding without adverse comment. Why a specific or implied warning against a course of action is improper when given by word of mouth and attains a special immunity when put into print is a subtlety that I must leave to others to defend. I feel certain that it is a subtlety which an employee, ever keenly responsive to his employer's expressions of desire and purpose, will find equally baffling.

Throughout the whole history of American labor legislation, and this is true of all democratic countries, runs the conception that the relation of the employee to the employer is such that special protection is needed to prevent the employee being exploited in ways that are socially unsound.

The fundamental premise underlying the Wagner Act is that because of his superior economic power certain rights of the employer are not exercised in a vacuum. They find expression in a situation which compels the worker to remember that if he does not heed the spoken or written warning of his employer he may find himself without a job.

In considering the limits to be put upon an employer's freedom of action, sound democratic tradition has always recognized that what the economically strong may do with impunity to those equally strong they may not do to those who are relatively weak economically. It is in order to make the weak relatively stronger and thus to bring about an approach to an equilibrium that democracies, including our own, have recognized the necessity and propriety of collective bargaining by employees.

SUPER-DEFENDERS OF FREE SPEECH

Much utterly false and hypocritical appeal to supposedly democratic tradition has been voiced in newspaper discussion of the Board's attitude toward an employer's attempts to dissuade his employees from joining unions. At least one newspaper editor sees the Board's action in finding it an unfair labor practice for an employer to distribute to his employees anti-union literature in the light I have been endeavoring to place it. An editorial in the Newark Evening News of July 17, 1938, says in part:

What has stirred the criticisms in the board's statement that the distribution of the Hoffman pamphlet in the manner followed "would have the necessary effect of coercion and intimidation within the meaning of the act" as applied to the employer. This the super-defenders of free speech have taken out of the context of the order. They make it appear that the pamphlet distribution was the sole basis of the board's action.

This wasn't the case. Suppose it had been—keeping in mind that the inhibition would be directed solely against the employer—would this be an interference with free speech? To say that a company may not dominate or influence the organization or administration of any labor organization and in the same breath that the company may distribute printed matter designed to influence his worker against a labor organization leaves a great deal to be reconciled.

The National Labor Relations Board was not the first governmental agency in its field to discover that the distribution of anti-union literature by an employer has a necessarily coercive effect upon the minds of employees. The case of the Virginian Railway Company, decided by the District Court, Eastern Division, Virginia, Norfolk Division, and upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals in the Fourth Circuit and by the Supreme Court, deals among other things with a statement issued by Mr. Sasser, a superintendent of the employer. In the statement Sasser argues the advantages to the employees of affiliation with an inside union then in existence in the

company and affiliation with an American Federation of Labor union. It ends as follows:

If the employees of the company desire to affiliate with the national organization they are free to do so. Such a course will, it is believed, and the past has so shown, result in differences and controversies between the company and non-employee representatives, which would be avoided if there is a mutuality of interest and a relationship that has in it something of a personal nature. The Mechanical Department Association is founded on the basis of harmony, and it is the desire of the management that this harmonious relationship shall continue.

The above statement is made so that each member of the Mechanical Association and those employees who are not members may give careful consideration to all matters entering into the question of representation by employees of the company on the one hand or on the other hand by representation by members of the American Federation of Labor.

The management therefore hopes that each man for himself will, before acting, give careful thought to the subject of representation.

The District Court, in commenting on the statement, says:

In addition, I hardly think that any one can read with an open mind the Sasser statement referred to and quoted at length above without fairly concluding that it was printed and circulated to "use the authority and power" of the Railway "to induce action" by the members of the craft "in derogation of what the statute calls 'self organization'." That it probably and naturally had the intended effect on many of those to whom it was delivered is no more than a reasonable inference to be drawn from the situation and power of the author over those to whom it was addressed.

THE BOSS IS A PERSUASIVE WRITER

The Circuit Court opinion states, concerning the statement:

It must be remembered in this connection, however, that any sort of influence exerted by an employer upon an employee, dependent upon his employment for means of livelihood, may very easily become undue, in that it will coerce the employee's will in favor of what the employer desires against his better judgment as to what is really in the best interest of himself and his fellow employees. One purpose of the Railway Labor Act, as amended was to insure free and untrammelled action on the part of the employees in the choice of their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining; and it is a violation of the terms, as well as of the spirit of the act, for the employer to address arguments to the employee couched in such terms, or presented in such manner as to lead the employee to fear that he may suffer from the action of the employer if he does not follow the wishes of the latter in making his choice of representatives. Collective bargaining would be a delusion and a snare if the employer were permitted to exert pressure of any sort upon the employee with respect to a matter of this kind.

In affirming the decision of the Circuit Court, the Supreme Court through Mr. Justice Stone said:

Petitioner does not challenge that part of the decree which enjoins any interference by it with the free choice of representatives by its employees, and the fostering, in the circumstances of this case, of the company union. That contention is not open to it in view of our decision in the Railway Clerks case . . . and of the unambiguous language of . . . the Act . . .

NEED FOR FREE CHOICE IS RECOGNIZED

In finding that the distribution of literature condemning unions is an unfair labor practice discouraging self-organization, the Board is following not only the dictates of common sense but the indications already given by the courts.

It has always been regarded as of paramount importance to protect the workers' free political choice, if our democratic government is to function realistically. The attempt by the employer from his authoritative and powerful position relative to his employees to influence their vote has long been recognized as anti-democratic. A majority of the states make it a criminal offense for an employer to threaten or intimidate an employee in connection with his political choice. Some of these statutes are specific in regard to the distribution of printed literature designed to sway the employee's political judgment.

The Kentucky law on this subject says:

It shall be unlawful for any corporation, person, company or individual to coerce, or direct any employee to vote for any party, or person, who may be a candidate for any office in this state . . . or to give out or circulate any statement or report that such employees are expected or have been requested or directed by such corporation, person, individual or company, or by any one acting for such, or any such, to vote for any person, group of persons, or measure . . .

The Pennsylvania statute bearing on this subject contains the statement that any employer who "pays his employees the salary or wages due in 'pay envelopes' upon which or in which there is written or printed any political motto, device, statement or argument containing threats, express or implied, intended or calculated to influence the political opinions or actions of such employees . . . shall be guilty of misdemeanor."

No one, so far as I know, openly questions the propriety of such statutes nor finds in them an interference with constitutional guarantees. Wherein lies the difference between the employer exercising his position of dominance to influence the worker in his political choice and his exercise of the same position to achieve a similar effect when the worker shows an inclination to organize with his fellows in a union?