

THE GUILD REPORTER

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

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'39 Meet Report Has New Levy Plan

With San Francisco arrangements practically completed and with ANG committees beginning to submit reports, the Guild's 1939 Convention is rapidly taking shape. The Convention will be held from July 31 to August 4 at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco. Aug. 5 is Guild Day at the San Francisco International Exposition.

Governor Olson of California signified his definite intention of attending to greet the gathering, according to word from Stanley Bailey, San Francisco Convention Committee chairman, heading a list of speakers which includes Tom Mooney, Harry Bridges and State Senator John F. Shelley, president of the San Francisco AFL Labor Council.

First advance Convention report to be completed was that of the Constitution Committee, which drafted recommendations on, among others, three main topics of Guild discussion of the year.

Would Revise Assessments

It recommended scaling down of assessments for the lower-income membership brackets, easing of the auditing requirements for the books of small Guilds, and a change of wording in the Constitution's eligibility clause to remove a source of misunderstanding with printing craft unions.

The eligibility clause amendment would be in the sentence of Section 1 of Article 2, listing editorial, business, circulation, promotion and advertising employees or "allied" groups. The word "allied" would be changed to "kindred." Some printing union officials have misunderstood the use of "allied" because it is used for the Allied Printing Trades Councils.

The Constitution Committee's recommendations appear on page 4.

The Employer Relations Committee's report, reviewing the year's great bargaining progress and surveying Constitution and policy changes to carry it forward, is about completed and most of the first third of it appears on page 6 of this issue.

It announces that ANG con-
(Continued on Page Three)

Convention Hotel Cuts Rate to \$3

SAN FRANCISCO — Illustrative of San Francisco's pleasure at entertaining the ANG Convention, drastic reduction in hotel rates for delegates was announced by the Fairmont Hotel, Convention headquarters.

The reduction is believed the only one allowed by any San Francisco hotel to any convention during the World's Fair year.

Delegates will now pay \$3 per single room instead of the regular rate of \$4.50. The cut was negotiated by Tad Irvine, San Francisco-Oakland Guild executive secretary.

AFL Unions Invite Our Aid In Arts Fight

Formation of a national Federation of Arts Unions embracing both AFL and CIO unions to fight for the preservation of the WPA arts projects doomed by the Woodrum Act was initiated in New York last week by a number of leading AFL unions with members on the projects.

Musicians, stage hands and actors, acting through their international unions, called for the creation of branches of the Federation of Arts Unions in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles and other cities. In each case, AFL locals were asked to ignore the struggle between rival labor bodies and to make sure that CIO unions were included. The New York Federation of Arts Unions, in existence for more than a year, has always included delegates of the Newspaper Guild of New York and the United American Artists, the only CIO unions in a group totalling 14.

Guild locals throughout the country were immediately urged by ANG headquarters to cooperate in forming the new organization. United American Artists Union asked its locals to do the same.

In Addition to WPA Strike

This campaign was parallel with the strike of APL workers against the increased WPA hour provisions in the new relief act, which the CIO was assisting.

For the arts projects fight in
(Continued on Page Eight)

\$128,000 Raises in Journal Contract

Pay increases, exceeding \$128,000 a year, and job security provisions are in a new industrial contract with Hearst's New York Journal and American submitted to the unit for ratification this week.

At least 600 employees, possibly more, will benefit by pay increases which included about 100 of \$5 each, a score for \$10 each and eight that ranged from \$15 to \$20 weekly. Everyone receiving less than \$65 a week was given at least a five per cent increase and the great majority received much more.

As the New York Guild completed the negotiations, five other locals reported the signing of improved renewals, three extending coverage from editorial departments only to the commercial departments. The fourth was an industrial renewal and a fifth a new Guild shop editorial contract covering two papers. In addition, the New York Representative Assembly last week ratified five other contract renewals, all containing improvements. Twin Cities signed a maintenance department supplement with the St. Paul Dispatch Pioneer Press. (Highlights on Page Two.)

Covers 750 Workers

The Journal and American contract covers more than 750 employees. It was the first to be entered into with the Guild by the Journal and American. Of the total covered, nearly 600 are Guild members and more are joining each week.

Among the job security clauses were consultation with the Guild through notification of individuals two weeks prior to all discharges, no qualifications on severance pay and no staff reductions as a result of the signing of the contract.

Clauses of general benefit in-
(Continued on Page Two)

Lynn Unit Strikes For 5-Day Week

BULLETIN

The Lynn (Mass.) Item unit of 20 members struck July 11 over refusal of the paper to concede the 5-day week and the Guild shop, both enjoyed under Guild contract on rival Telegram.

All Guild members were out, two non-members staying away and one non-member scabbing. Boston and Salem picket members were held picket.

AP Demands Voice in Unit Newspaper

The New York Guild Associated Press unit last week requested the ANG to institute Labor Board proceedings to compel the Associated Press to sign a contract which had, in substance, been negotiated.

The action was taken after the AP announced that it would not conclude the negotiations unless the Guild gave management the right to censor items about personnel, such as staff transfers, promotions and raises, appearing in the unit's shop paper, "17".

Unit Wants Campaign

Holding that the management had seized upon the news policies of "17" as a convenient issue to avoid the impending necessity of signing, the unit asked for Labor Board action and at the same time voted unanimously to ask the ANG to lead a nation-wide campaign to enlist popular support for the Guild's position. The campaign would not be set in motion until the Guild's complaint reached the stage of formal Labor Board hearings.

The unit had been ready to agree on contract terms based on those in force on the United Press, and on this basis the negotiations were practically completed when
(Continued on Page Two)

Chicago Crafts, Guild Make Pact

CHICAGO — Legitimate AFL craft unions in the Hearst Herald & Examiner and Evening American plant have come to understandings with the Guild providing for withdrawal of any claims to representation in a new hearing ordered by the National Labor Relations Board on behalf of the Guild strikers against the Hearst management.

The understandings, which were ready to be placed in final form with the Allied Printing Trades unions as the GUILD REPORTER went to press, are another important step in the direction of victory in the strike, now in its eighth month. They remove the last semblance of legitimacy to the management claim that the strike is a "jurisdictional dispute." It has nothing to stand on now except the company-inspired Editorial Association and Newspaper Commercial Associates, with which the man-

The series of assessments to finance the Chicago strike continues in force. They are payable on the 15th and last days of the month.

agement entered into contracts to try to break the strike.

Under the new Labor Board order the Guild's claim to representation and the cases involving the dismissal of Howard Mayhew and Unit Chairman Harry Read will be consolidated with the charges of unfair labor practices filed since the strike began. The order instructed Regional NLRB Director Patterson to hold hearings on the consolidated case.

Patterson initiated the understandings with the Allied Printing Trades groups. They provide that the printers' union will represent all composing room employees, the pressmen's union all in the press room, the photo engravers and stereotypers all in their respective departments, the teamsters union all teaming help, and the mailers
(Continued on Page Five)

So One Business Manager Knows About Dismissal Pay

DENVER—Retribution has caught up with C. A. Moore, business manager of the Denver Rocky Mountain News, and a Scripps-Howard executive for 19 years, who knows how to dish it out but can't take it.

Some months ago, Moore, deep in the security of a well-paying job, forced a sub-standard bulletin board agreement upon the Denver Guild. The agreement, which was entirely unilateral, covered commercial department employees. He refused to even discuss a contract which the Guild sought as a supplement to an exciting editorial agreement. He challenged the Guild's right to represent employees. "Loyalty" pledges, semi-secret and open anti-Guild propaganda appeared among employees. But an NLRB

election gave the Guild an overwhelming majority, and bargaining started.

Moore stalled for months. Finally, under pressure, he posted the sub-standard agreement. It included a maximum of 10 weeks' dismissal indemnity for 10 or more years of service.

Several weeks ago Moore was fired. The next day he came around and demanded dismissal indemnity. He was handed a check for 10 weeks' pay.

"I have been with Scripps-Howard almost 20 years," he protested. "I should get a half-year's salary."

"Nothing doing," he was told.

"The bulletin board agreement calls for 10 weeks' pay as a maximum. The agreement was your baby."

BUILDING: We Convene in an Historic Labor City

By JONATHAN EDDY

IN going to the West Coast for our sixth annual Convention, the American Newspaper Guild will meet at a scene where important events and great advances have been made for all labor in our country.

Before the Congress of Industrial Organizations came into being, the Coast, and particularly San Francisco, had witnessed the clash of ideals and ideals that today differentiate the CIO and the AFL leadership. Perhaps for the very reason that reactionary commercial interests were unscrupulous and brutal to an exceptional degree on the Coast, labor organization had to be progressive and militant if it was to make headway, if it was even to survive.

The East and midwestern industrial areas had seen stupendous struggles. There were the fight for the eight-hour day, the Haymarket riots, the great steel strike of 1919 and other landmarks along the road to decent wages and security. These, of course, took place before newspapermen and women, as an occupational group, had any clear conception of what trade unionism was "all about."

To us, West Coast labor, if we knew anything of it, was typified by the McNamara and Mooney cases. West Coast trade unionists were bomb-throwing terrorists, according to the conception which most of us accepted, one into which we thought we had no occasion to inquire. They were typified for us by the McNamara brothers, who still rot in jail, and Tom Mooney, whom we were then quite ready to believe had better be behind bars whether or not he was guilty of the bombing of which he was accused.

THE employers used terror, petty or extreme, to defeat organization; and by and large they attained their objective. But there has been a great change, taking place during the few recent years
(Continued on Page Seven)

Pact Near, Paper Locks Out Six

NEWARK, N. J.—As final terms of a contract were being negotiated the publisher of the Orange Transcript locked out six out of seven Guild members on the paper and announced the changing of the paper to a weekly, blaming the demands. The Newark Guild immediately started picketing and prepared a Labor Board case.

The Transcript was formerly the Courier, against which the Guild conducted a successful 10-day strike in May, 1938, for, among other things, non-payment of wages. The present publisher, Charles E. Moreau, owns prosperous weeklies in two nearby suburban towns.

In the terms that had been agreed on in writing when Moreau started his firing wave were an economy dismissal scale and a promise to give the Guild two weeks' notice in case of contemplated dismissals. The publisher ignored both undertakings.

'39 CONTRACT GAINS AIR NEW PROBLEMS-

Employer Relations Committee Report To Convention Lists 111 Pacts; Increase Is 44 Per Cent

Below is a general survey of Guild bargaining problems from the IEB Employer Relations Committee report to the 1939 annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild:

1. The Year's Record

A separate part of this report consists of a statistical survey of Guild contracts, expanding upon the survey of contracts made to the last two Conventions, in greater detail and with a view to more extended use in bargaining.

This survey shows that as of June 1, 1938 was, respectively, 77 contracts, covering 99 papers, etc.

Growth in Coverage

The comparison of figures does not reflect the actual extension of contract coverage to numbers of newspaper employees. Figures in respect to employees covered in the various newspaper departments are not yet available in adequate shape. Inasmuch as there has been a steady progress of extending contract protection to the commercial as well as editorial departments, one can conservatively estimate that the number of newspaper workers covered by Guild contracts is somewhere between double and triple the number a year ago.

Value of Vertical Setup

In this connection, it is proper to call attention to the study made by Morgan Hull and carried in The Guild Reporter of July 1. It showed that out of the 12 editorial contracts renewed on an editorial basis covering 403 workers, only two covering only 28 employees raised the editorial top minimum in any classification, with negligible gains in other parts of the contract. As against this, 10 editorial contracts renewed on an industrial basis, and covering 1,032 workers in the editorial department alone, raised the editorial top minimum in one or more classifications in eight of the 10 contracts, covering 866 editorial workers, adding two Guild shops and all round improvements in other contract features. These contracts renewed on an industrial basis carried very large gains for the commercial workers to whom contract protection was thereby extended. This study gives the most concrete proof yet offered of the value to all Guild members of the industrial organization policies adopted at the St. Louis Convention two years ago.

The Publisher Attack

The process of making our expanded membership base an actuality has been carried on in the face of what was probably the most concerted and intense publisher drive in Guild history. The publisher drive was launched within less than a month of the St. Louis Convention, with a special convention of publishers in Chicago ostensibly aimed at fighting the Guild shop, but actually at the expected increased cost to the publishers and increased strength of our expanded coverage. This publisher drive accounted for several of the bitterest fights of the ANG, the biggest of which, provoked by a direct attack on our commercial organization in the city where the publisher drive was organized, continues today.

The AFL Leadership

In the light of that resistance, in which the publishers have been so actively assisted by the top leadership of the AFL, the outstanding achievement of the past year has been the steady expansion of contract coverage to all or the larger part of our industrial jurisdiction by one Guild local after another. Continuation in carrying out of this process is of course

our main job, organizationally as well as in bargaining.

Accompanying this extension of contract protection, and as part of it, has come a very sharp drop in the challenges by publishers of our right to represent the departments properly eligible to Guild organization. This drop is accounted for to a slight extent by the fact that repeated establishment of the Guild collective bargaining unit in Labor Board decisions removed any ground for publisher challenge of a plant-wide majority (excluding the organized craft departments) unless there was a genuine rival challenge.

Attacks Diminish

But the most effective factor in removing the challenge to our form of organization has been the ability of the Guild to fight off these attacks. Our report last year brought out the large number of representation cases which had led to the past year, but reached their height of intensity in the Wilkes-Barre and particularly the Chicago strikes—which the management still makes feeble efforts to present as a jurisdictional dispute.

The effectiveness of the Chicago Guild defense, and the militancy of other Hearst units, was reflected when the Hearst management recognized, first, representation of the whole Los Angeles Herald-Express industrial unit, and then of the three Hearst units in San Francisco and Oakland, despite the existence of a so-called independent unit in Los Angeles and of an AFL sub-department union on the San Francisco Examiner, which group went over to the Guild.

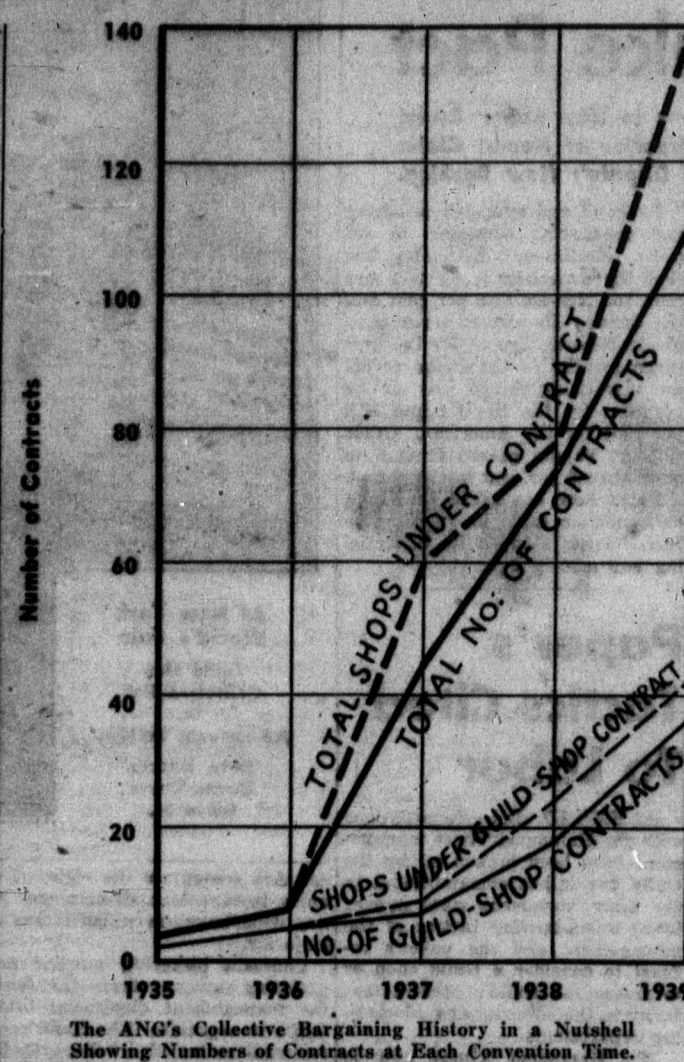
'Dispute' Responsibility

Newspaper readers are accustomed to reading pitiful tales of employers caught between the jurisdictional claims of rival unions. It is a little hard to reconcile these editorial sorrows with the fact that in the Guild's experience, every jurisdictional dispute involving a newspaper has been started by the newspaper itself. However, there seems to be evidence that a large number of publishers, and particularly the Hearst management which was the most active fosterer of jurisdictional disputes, have been learning the lesson that a two-edged sword, and that while it may retard Guild organization for awhile and hold out the hope of defeating it in spots, its cost to the individual publisher who provokes it is considerably more than would be the cost of recognizing the Guild and meeting it on reasonable terms.

Change in Sentiment

In recent weeks has come the very definite indication that representative publishers have finally realized the futility of attempting to break up Guild organization, and that they are resigning themselves to the necessity of granting effective rather than reluctant recognition.

We refer to the fact that at least some major publishers, including the Hearst management, have come around to granting at least a modified form of the Guild shop. Before this, Guild shop contracts resulted from strike action or a different approach on the part of individual publishers. Publisher organizations have always claimed they opposed the Guild shop as a threat to the freedom of the press. The Guild has argued this was a threat to the freedom of the press by keeping a group of non-Guildsmen in a shop, they might some day eliminate the Guild entirely. Perhaps an increasing number of publishers will now be ready



The ANG's Collective Bargaining History in a Nutshell Showing Numbers of Contracts at Each Convention Time.

to give up both the pretense and the hope, and recognize that the union shop is the civilized form of employer-employee relationship. If this comes through, it will simplify many of our problems and materially strengthen the organization. It is a truism that it will also greatly increase our responsibility in furnishing and maintaining the highest form of union protection for our membership.

Wage-Hour Act Effect

During the past year, the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act was enacted and went into effect. Without discussing the tremendous importance of this legislation and the general raising of standards among the very low paid workers and of the undoubted indirect beneficial effect on newspaper standards, it may be said here that the effect of this legislation upon Guild bargaining has been slight, principally because of the fact that wage standards would not affect workers under Guild protection, and the hour standards are with very rare exceptions less good than set under Guild contract or Guild negotiated conditions. The principal effect of this legislation has been to furnish an argument and some leverage for time-and-a-half for overtime instead of equal-time composition, and to furnish some leverage and encouragement to new groups who seek better conditions.

Employers' Advantage

This is bound to mean an urge to organize, particularly since all available information tends to show that publishers disregard or evade the law unless their employees are organized. The fact that publishers disregard or evade the law unless their employees are organized, and that they are resigning themselves to the necessity of granting effective rather than reluctant recognition.

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Members Covered Believed to Be Double '38's

developments of the past year, the Committee submits to the Convention a variety of detail points, either of general approach or of specific contract policy, which seem to call for study, review, revision, or re-emphasis. We are of course not going over the effective policies embodied in the Constitution, Collective Bargaining Program and established Guild policy which long before this have become the property of the entire Guild membership.

General Problems of Bargaining Approach

(a) COLLECTIVE BARGAINING UNIT

This is a problem which has generally been posed as a question of policy in filing petitions for Labor Board certification. Actually it is much broader, and one in which our position should be identical, whether in the light of the Wagner Act or simply of sound union practice.

Because of the craft traditions in the newspaper industry, and the fact that we started as a craft union ourselves, we are still in a state of transition in a considerable part of our organization and potential organization. A number of publishers, and even a sizeable part of our membership and potential membership, have not completely absorbed the fact of the essential unity of all employees properly belonging in the Guild. We have already noted above that this problem is becoming less, as shown by standing contracts.

Many Still Lag

Nevertheless, many locals and units still approach the problem of preparation for bargaining with departmental lines in mind. Thus we find proposals to bargain editorial and, for example, circulation, or for editorial only, simply because no real effort has been made to organize one or more of the sub-departments of the commercial departments.

Until all our organized units are industrial, it will always be necessary to consider the necessity of compromise on our industrial coverage in the light of very real practical factors. This reality diminishes, and we believe the ANG wants our energies directed toward eliminating it.

Danger of Injury

As a practical matter, when a local obtains bargaining recognition for part of our jurisdiction, say two sub-departments, without resort to Labor Board certification, the situation is not so serious, because the result is achieved as a matter of reasonable compromise, and does not place us in the position of arguing before the Labor Board for a perjury-mandated unit recognizing craft lines.

But to petition formally for certification for such a unit is liable to injure us in a position which Guild locals have fought hard to achieve, namely recognition of our industrial unit. This unit has been recognized fairly completely by the Labor Board on the basis of effective union functioning.

Beyond this Labor Board aspect is the simple fact that, even were it not for the split in the labor movement, we are constantly open to company-union attacks and special problems if we leave any part of our jurisdiction unorganized and beyond the protection of Guild contract. We cannot continue indefinitely with our jurisdiction partly organized and partly unorganized.

Furthermore, there is considerable evidence that in most cases where the local proposes to bargain along departmental lines, this has resulted from a craft approach by the local itself, or at least a

(Continued on Page Seven)

--IEB BODY REVIEWS YEAR'S BARGAINING

(Continued from Page Six.)
defeatist approach to the problem of organizing all departments. By and large, if the local decides it is going to organize all eligible departments, instead of looking for an easy formula to bargain for those which have organized themselves, it is going to organize a solid industrial majority, and, furthermore, obtain recognition on the basis of organization and economic strength instead of having to resort to Labor Board certification.

Proof of Majority
We believe this should be the main emphasis to locals which are preparing to negotiate, and that the general rule should be that before a local is allowed to apply for formal certification, it must have a clear-cut majority of the employees in all eligible departments as one unit. There will have to be a certain flexibility in the application of this rule, but we do not believe it will be necessary to exercise this flexibility beyond occasionally allowing application on the basis of one single department alone. If two departments are organized, establishment of an industrial majority should be the rule.

(b) CHAIN PAPERS.
The value of coordination of activities and consultation among units on papers of a chain in their negotiations has gained consistency, and the value of the use of chain council machinery and such coordination has been demonstrated, within limits, but progressively. It has been shown that the standards set by the stronger units, particularly in respect to general contract conditions, can be achieved or approximated by the weaker units, and that even the weakest department features which the help the stronger.

Article XVIII, Section 6 of the Constitution sets up formal machinery which could be used to organize a joint program and possible joint action by all or several units on one chain. Obviously such machinery should be used only when its binding nature is merely a formal seal on natural developments in which a number of units achieve unity of action through coordination.

Consolidation Stressed
The time when the machinery can be invoked certainly appears to be still distant. In the meantime, the use of such machinery would merely be to hold back the stronger units without advancing the weaker. The main problem now is to achieve greater coordination of chain negotiations, which will come naturally as the result of more effective consultation and exchange of information.

(c) BARGAINING RESTRAINTS ON SINGLE UNITS.
The Guild practice has been generally to negotiate with one publisher on behalf of the unit consisting of its employees, and a few cases negotiate on a city-wide basis. This is a question for decision in individual cases on the basis of local practical considerations. But there have been no instances during the past year where an organized unit on one paper in

which we newspapermen and women ourselves have been trade unionists. The West Coast section of the Guild has had a leading role in a broad, progressive militant trade union movement that embraces not only such skilled artisans as compositors but dock workers and fruit pickers as well, a movement that recognizes its basic strength to its with the thousands of unskilled or slightly skilled rather than with the aristocrats of labor, a movement that is therefore an outstanding bulwark of real democracy.

Within our own brief memories as trade unionists the West Coast labor movement under the leadership of men like Harry Bridges has won and retained advances which have benefited the labor movement and workers in general.

Some of the greatest advances of labor are made to appear as defeats, and although the 1934 general strike in San Francisco was betrayed by the reactionary bureaucrats of the AFL, the lessons of that strike, mainly the importance of unity around progressive policies, have been an invaluable asset, leading to enhanced power for organized labor, extension of organization.

Power for organized labor—how it is obtained and fought by those who profit only from the work of others; how its methods are pictured as violence, its gains either as losses or as extortion, its leaders as devils whose only thought is advancement for themselves, ruin for others. Yet power for organized labor is the best guarantee for democracy, for decent living standards, for mitigation of economic crisis, for the things that make life endurable and worthwhile for millions of men and women and their families in this age

New AFL Groups HuNLRA Change

AFL membership opposition to Wagner Act amendments sponsored by its top leadership continues to grow.

A joint AFL-CIO committee representing 22 AFL and 36 CIO unions has been set up in the Buffalo area to fight amendments of the act. The committee organized over the protest of the Buffalo Federation of Labor (AFL).

Elmer Brown, president of New York Typographical Union No. 6, and Max Kaplan, secretary of the Bakery Workers Joint Executive Board of New York City, both AFL, brought their opposition to amendments before Senate and House committees.

George Clegg, chairman of the California Committee to Support the Wagner Act, has wired Chairman Norton of the House Labor Committee that 210,000 AFL members in 119 locals and councils in his state express "unequivocal opposition to any legislation designed to increase or otherwise change the personnel of the NLRB."

Notion Distorted
This form of pledge, running directly counter to the right of self-organization, was based on a distorted notion of competitive fairness to which we cannot subscribe, and particularly not in view of the fact that lower employment standards may well be a factor leading the employees of one paper to organize first.

Any local in which such a question is raised should keep in mind that its main consideration is achieving complete, solid organization which, parenthetically, is the only satisfactory solution of any problem of competitive fairness, if it is really a problem. Hence the local must give primary consideration to the general organizational value of successful collective bargaining by the one well-organized unit; likewise, it must consider that there will be a strong tendency toward disintegration of organization within such a unit if it is artificially restrained from accomplishing the very objective for which it organized.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

BUILDING: We Convene in Historic Labor City

By JONATHAN EDDY

(Continued from Page One)

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completing the very objective for which it organized.

(Section F omitted.)

(g) MacKINNON (ANPA) PROPOSAL FOR NATION-WIDE BARGAINING.

In his annual report to the last ANPA Convention, Eugene MacKinnon, Chairman of the Special Standing Committee, suggested that it might be desirable in the newspaper business to have contracts negotiated between large public associations and the employers. He cited the loss of time in negotiations around the country and referred to the fact that President Roosevelt's special commission to England and Sweden "sympathetically noted that closely organized employer associations were as necessary as unions."

It seems hardly necessary at this time to discuss the question in the abstract. Offhand, it may be said that negotiations between two associations, one of which represented the employers and the other all of their employees, might result in a considerable increase in the efficiency of negotiations, particularly on general standard provisions, such as Guild shop, sick leave, etc.

Also, such negotiations would have the very definite effect of removing the negotiations to that extent from the direct presence, pressure and control of the local union membership, which has proved such a valuable part of the Guild's bargaining technique. The proposal, if it is made seriously and if it contemplates anything beyond the most informal type of conferences, is one which would have to be considered and acted upon by the Convention. For that purpose we discuss the proposal in its immediate aspects only.

Was It Window Dressing?
Presented in the way in which it was offered, we feel that the ANG has every right to ask whether it was made seriously, or merely as a rhetorical gesture which the proponents hoped would place the Guild in a favorable light and place the Guild on a spot in the eyes of the public and of some of its membership which may not be familiar with all the facts.

In the first place, if the publishers have something constructive to take up, they can write to the American Newspaper Guild instead of relying on newspaper columns as a means of communication. But the most important consideration is the fact that we are still in the process of establishing ourselves as an association on a national basis, we have probably organized only about one-fifth of the eligible in the industry in the entire country. This would mean that in any bargaining on an association basis, we would be meeting with a group of publishers many of whom had success-

fully resisted union organization to date and who therefore could claim we did not represent their employees.

What MacKinnon Omitted
The result on our bargaining strength needs no comment. We would point out to Mr. MacKinnon that the basic factors of the peaceful industrial relations in England and Sweden, as stressed by the president's commission were the complete and final acceptance of union organization by the employers. The most casual contacts with individuals in unorganized or newly-organized groups bring out conclusively the fact that if publishers in the United States accepted unionization of their editorial and commercial department employees to the extent of not discriminating against it, the number of eligibles who would join the Guild within the next month after that was made clear would be considerably greater than the number already in the Guild, and virtually complete organization of the industry would be a matter of another year.

Fear of Dismissal or Discrimination
Fear of dismissal or discrimination still is the principal stumbling block in the way of organization. The simple fact of the matter is that however righteous, constitutional, and law abiding may be their editorials, the publishers of America, with very rare exceptions, either violate the Wagner Act or would, if they could get away with it, without restraint or pang of conscience.

The First Step
The membership of the Guild is so aware of this that it is accepted as a fact without waste of effort or indignation, and a fact which Guild members simply will overcome by strength of organization. But if the publishers who belong to the ANPA really would like to see nation-wide bargaining become a reality, we invite them to start by dropping their opposition to organization, whether under the cloak of freedom of the press or otherwise, by removing the fear which many of their employees still hold, that joining the Guild will mean dismissal or dismissal.

Nevertheless, we have always been prepared to consider with an open mind any concrete proposal for working out our common problem to the end of our common membership. We propose that in the event that the ANPA or any other publisher group or its authorized agent communicates to the American Newspaper Guild any proposal for nation-wide, association-wide, or chain-wide bargaining, the proposal be explored by your International Executive Board and reported back to the next Convention with recommendations.

of widespread demoralization and barbarism. In no other social organism do the constituents possess the ready and frequent means of checking or removing these selfish and dictatorial leaders whose method of domination consists of persuading the latter that they are the best leaders available so that they may obtain their votes.

TODAY West Coast labor no longer stands as an island of militant progressivism, but is a part of a national movement embodying the policies best suited to our time, the CIO. In extent half as long as our own young union, the CIO embraces millions. It has accomplished marvels and the responsibilities and tasks lying before it can hardly be exaggerated. Its primary need is for unity about the principles to which it and we are committed. Its leadership, established and checked by democratic process, must nevertheless be centralized and authoritative, if it is to fulfill the tasks we assign to it. The relationship to it of the unions which make it up must therefore be one not merely of goodwill or expedience but of ironclad responsibility on all matters arising, very much the same relationship that prevails in well-organized and mature trade unions on an association basis. Responsibility and success go hand in hand in the organizational functioning of the local union, the international union, and the trade union movement. The Guild, which, more than the average union, has been carried forward and sustained by its brother organizations, will have the readiest recognition of this fact.

What concerns any affiliate concerns the CIO. Our industry being that of dispensing news and opinion for the whole country, this is exceptionally true of our own international, the Newspaper Guild. Our sixth Convention takes place in the storied city of San Francisco. The second Convention of the CIO takes place there a few weeks later. To it, our gathering will be a splendid prelude, and will mark another great milestone in the battle of the working newspaper men and women of the United States and Canada for higher economic and professional standards, for security, for the preservation of democracy in this country and in the world.

THE GUILD REPORTER

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Editor: Clyde Beale
 News Editor:
 Nathan L. Goldberg
 Contributing Editors:
 Leon Svirsky
 Richard O. Boyer
 Harland Manchester
 A. J. Iserman

"... 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: Issue of the 15th—Letters and features, 7th of the month; news and ads, 8th; news bulletins, 9th. Issue of the 1st—Letters and features, 22nd; news and ads, 23rd; news bulletins, 24th.

ANG International Officers

President Heywood Brown	Executive Vice President Jonathan Eddy	Secretary-Treasurer Victor Pasche
American Newspaper Guild International Headquarters		
International Vice Presidents:		
Donal M. Sullivan, 983 Memorial Dr., Cambridge, Mass.	Morris Watson, ANG Headquarters	
Harry Martin, 1971 Union Ave., Memphis, Tenn.	William J. Farson, 2221 E. Washington Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.	
Julius H. Klyman, 626 Forest Court, Clayton, Mo.	Philip M. Connelly, 216 Third St., Manhattan Beach, Los Angeles, Cal.	
Robert T. Camozzi, 1718 Minor Ave., Seattle, Wash.	I. L. Kenen, 17412 Winslow Rd., Shaker Heights, O.	
Roger Irwin, 597 Oriole Parkway, Toronto, Can.	Quentin P. Gore, 415 James Blvd., Signal Mtn., Tenn.	
International Representatives		
Morgan Hull	H. Richard Seller	
International Headquarters: 1560 Broadway, New York, N.Y.		

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'36 Promises — '39 Actions

A Statement
 By JOHN L. LEWIS

THE helpless men and women who are unemployed have suffered a terrible blow in the passage of the 1940 WPA appropriation. This blow will be profoundly resented by all of labor.

Labor does not forget that in 1936 the Democratic platform promised work for the unemployed. That platform stated: "We believe that unemployment is a national problem, and that it is an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way. . . . When business fails to supply . . . employment, we believe that work at prevailing wages should be provided in cooperation with State and local governments on useful public projects, to the end that the national wealth may be increased, the skill and energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained, and the unemployed assured the opportunity to earn the necessities of life."

The relief bill which was passed is a clear repudiation of that platform pledge. The measure will throw out of WPA employment a million WPA workers in the fiscal year. Five hundred thousand of these will be thrown out by the end of July. This happens at a time when there are at least eleven to twelve million employable unemployed.

The bill seriously discriminates against a number of groups of our citizens, especially the artists, musicians and theatrical workers.

The bill introduces a starvation period for those who have been on the WPA for more than 18 months. This is one of the most vicious provisions that has ever been imposed by a democratic government. We believe that the citizens of this country will deeply resent this provision when they realize its effect.

The measure openly slaps labor by wiping out the prevailing hourly rate on WPA. It further carries a device by which the present meager and inadequate monthly security wage will be severely cut all through the industrial areas.

The total effect to this bill upon the economic situation cannot help but be depressive. There are grounds for the fear that such a terrible cut in WPA jobs and in wage rates will touch off a definite downward movement.

No Favorites Here

IF any AFL member had the notion that the Federation was forever the darling of the daily press because its top leaders' fight against the CIO fits so neatly into the employers' battles, light must have dawned for him last week.

The angry wave of AFL building worker strikes on WPA that spread across the country after the passage of the Woodrum relief bill got the routine newspaper treatment. A fair sample of it was in the New York Daily News, which broke into a rash of editorial statements about strikes against Congress, strikes against government, strikers who are of a piece with mutineers, a bald suggestion that violence be employed, and, if you didn't get the idea, a cartoon depicting a striker picketing Santa Claus.

The attack rivalled the best that the papers have done against the CIO.

AFL Unions Gird to Save Arts Projects; Ask CIO Aid

ANG Urges Locals Cooperate With New Group

(Continued from Page One)
 New York the Federation of Arts Unions adopted a three-point program.

It called for the immediate introduction in Congress of an amendment to the Woodrum Act striking out Section 25, which abolishes the theatre and curbs the other arts projects; second, a request for the appointment of a Presidential commission to study the arts projects; and third, the introduction of a bill in Congress establishing a Federal Bureau of Fine Arts.

Before the passage of the Woodrum bill the Federation of Arts Unions led a determined fight in Washington to save the arts projects from extinction. They found the Woodrum sub-committee completely hostile. Representatives of the Federation, including a Guild delegate, were denied a hearing while hostile witnesses, mostly disgruntled project workers with a sprinkling of veteran red-baiters, were allowed to testify at length.

Following the signing of the Woodrum Bill, the Federal Theatre Project was closed on June 30, the other arts projects were ordered to secure local sponsorship, prevailing rates of pay were abolished, hours were increased to 130, workers who had been on the projects more than 18 months were obliged to take a furlough and to be dropped from WPA unless they could be reemployed, and a cut of 500,000 in personnel during the fiscal year became mandatory.

The finding of funds for local sponsorship is virtually impossible, and the mandatory cuts in personnel, which have not been put into effect as yet, are expected to hamper seriously the efficiency of the projects.

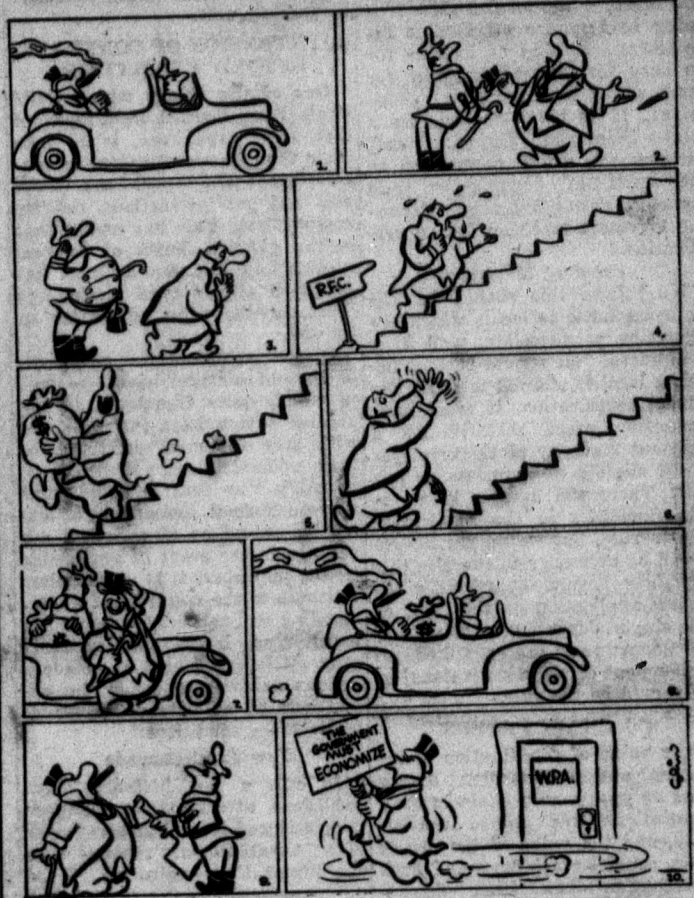
Broun Cables FIJ Guild's Support

A message of fraternal greetings and support in its effort to "protect the press from fascist suppression" was cabled by President Heywood Broun to the biennial Convention of the International Federation of Journalists (FIJ). The Convention, originally scheduled for early May in Casablanca, Morocco, and cancelled because the war scare made it inadvisable for many delegates to go so far, was held from June 23 to July 7 in Bordeaux, France.

Broun's cable read: "Fraternal greetings and best wishes. Deeply regret Guild unable attend. We stand with journalists of other democracies in your fine fight protect press from fascist suppression."

NORMAN CORWIN, who took an active part in organizing the Springfield (Mass.) Guild, is the author of the new radio drama, "They Fly Through the Air with the Greatest of Ease." Corwin was formerly president of the local. He is now program director for Columbia Broadcasting System. Inspired by Vittorio Mussolini's remark that bombing Ethiopia was "exceptionally good fun," Corwin's script describes the bombing of an unsuspecting civilian population. "They Fly Through the Air," published by Vest Orton of Weston, Vt., was first presented on Corwin's Sunday afternoon program, "Words Without Music." The drama is scheduled for its third performance in September.

GEORGE E. GUISE, Guildsman, assistant city editor of the Minneapolis Journal, has been appointed a member of the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission. A former theatrical producer, Guise produced the Twin Cities Guild's successful griddon program last February.



THE MAN WHO HOWLS

News Note: The Arkansas State Press Association Urges RFC Loans for Newspapers.

Broun's WPA Plea Draws Pledges from 3 Solons

They Quickly Send Word of New Legislation

Telegrams from ANG President Broun urging Montana's two Senators and one of its Congressmen to sponsor legislation to restore the wage and hour provisions of the Relief Act last week brought a quick and favorable telegraphic response from the three.

The appeal was first made by the Great Falls (Mont.) Trades & Labor Assembly (AFL), when the wave of WPA strikes started. President Joseph K. Howard of the Great Falls Guild wired Broun, requesting that the action be backed up by the ANG.

Senators Burton K. Wheeler and James E. Murray and Representative James F. O'Connor of Montana all told Broun that they were introducing legislation, Murray adding that he was doing "everything humanly possible" to get it passed.

Wheeler reported that he was "joining with Senators Wagner (New York) and McCarran (Nevada) in introducing a bill to restore the prevailing wage scale on WPA."

N.Y. Local Asks Third Term Boost

Convention action in support of a third term for President Roosevelt will be asked by the New York Guild delegation, under instructions voted at a membership meeting on July 11.

The delegation is also to seek to place the ANG on record on the neutrality question in such a way as to support the President by giving him greater leeway in dealing with aggressor powers. These and a series of other instructions were passed at a large meeting at which Mayor LaGuardia was the speaker. (Story of his speech on page 3.)

Memphis Makes Plea To Save Arts Projects

MEMPHIS—"Every possible means" to gain House approval of the Senate measure continuing the WPA arts projects were urged upon Senator McKellar of Tennessee in a telegram from the Memphis Guild Executive Committee and ANG Vice President Harry Martin. The telegram pointed out the Guild's interest in protecting its unemployed, and the public reaction to the House measure cutting WPA.

Memphis Rejects 'Shopless' Pact

MEMPHIS—Despite several recent "coincidences," the Memphis Guild membership on July 9 once more refused to accept contracts with the Commercial Appeal and the Press-Scimitar (Scripps-Howard) without the Guild shop. The "coincidences" strengthened, rather than weakened the demand for the Guild shop. The first came when three girls in the Commercial Appeal classified ad department "resigned" from the Guild. The management was notified by the girls almost before their letter was delivered to a Guild officer. The three, all of whom received salary increases from \$2.50 to \$5.00 a week under the present contract, said they "found the Guild a hindrance to us."

The second "coincidence" came a week later when the Press-Scimitar distributed \$640 in bonuses to business employees on the eve of the Guild meeting at which a vote was to be taken on acceptance or rejection of a contract without the Guild shop.

The bonus, the management said, was occasioned by increased business during the first six months of this year, although in negotiations the business manager and editor pleaded that the paper was losing money.