

N. Y. Guild Inducts Officers and Hears Dr. Rogers on Code

500 at Nov. 15 Session See Raymond, Broun, Cookman, Watson and Eddy Take Their Posts

Free Press Assured by N.R.A. Deputy

Guest of Honor, Making Most of His Remarks 'Off Record,' Says U.S. Will Not Censor Papers

By Hanson W. Baldwin
The Newspaper Guild of New York was officially inaugurated at the Hotel Astor on the night of November 15, when Dr. Lindsay Rogers, of Columbia University, N.R.A. Deputy Administrator in charge of the pending newspaper code, addressed the first general meeting of the organization.

The guild's first permanent officers, who replace the temporary organizing committee, were inducted into office, and the life of what is hoped "will be one of the most influential and respected institutions on the American scene" was begun.

The meeting, which was open to all newspaper men, was attended by 500 members of the guild and their friends. Many of the more than 1,000 members could not be present because of night assignments and work for morning newspapers.

Rogers on Freedom of Press
The address of Dr. Rogers was the principal one on the program. Much of it was "off the record," but in an abstract released for publication he discussed the freedom of the press, one of the points which has been much debated since the beginning of the newspaper code hearings.

"In the discussion of the pending newspaper code," Dr. Rogers said, "some of those who have expressed what seems to me entirely unnecessary concern about the freedom of the press have justified their concern by citing government regulations of broadcasting. This is a Federal Radio Commission which controls broadcasting. Hence there is a danger that the government may attempt to control the press."

"It seems to me, however, that the thinking of the press is not the problem of the radio and of the press quite separate and this in more ways than one."
Dr. Rogers noted the fundamentally different nature of the radio and of the press, and declared it self-evident that some sort of control over radio broadcasting was necessary in order to allocate wave lengths and prevent interference, and to "erect safeguards against chaos and anarchy."

But, he went on, "no matter what bureaucratic inabilities can be cited, newspapers as newspapers ought not to think that so long as free government lasts, public control of broadcasting will be any procedure for public supervision of publishing."

Discusses Radio Competition
Dr. Rogers pointed to the "competition between newspapers and broadcasting" and said that to a certain extent "the function of the press has been limited" by the advent of the microphone. But a newspaper can be read and reread, he remarked, while the words spoken into a microphone by an unseen commentator for the moment are a permanent quality.

The pages on which appear the daily output of "this company of newsmen," Dr. Rogers concluded, "may become yellowed by age, but they can be kept legible. How a free press has used its freedom can always be ascertained."

James Kieran, chairman of the New York Times Chapter, and one of the leaders in the organization of the guild, briefly reported the results of the balloting for officers. The officers then were installed. They are Allen Raymond, of the New York Herald Tribune Chapter, president; Heywood Broun, columnist of the World-Telegram, first vice president; Joseph Cookman, of the Evening Post, second vice president; Morris Watson, the Associated Press, treasurer; and J. Eddy, of the New York Times, secretary.

Harold N. Denny, of the New York Times, who had been appointed by Mr. Raymond as chairman of a committee on ethics, reported to the meeting the following resolution on freedom of the press:

RESOLVED: That the Newspaper Guild of New York, in expressing its conviction that the freedom of the press is one of the essential foundations of human liberty;

That we do not believe, however, that the newspaper industry, which asserts its freedom from governmental interference with the news or free comment on the news

Philadelphia Record Smells a Red Herring

Reprinted from Philadelphia Record

Children may not be employed under a certain age limit. Women may not be worked beyond a certain number of hours. Compensation must be paid in case an employee is injured. Building regulations must be observed. Delivery trucks must carry licenses. Obscene matter may not be published.

These are but a few of the laws and regulations you must observe in order to publish a newspaper. Do these laws and regulations infringe on freedom of the press? Obviously not. They no more infringe the freedom of the press than traffic regulations infringe your right to drive a car.

N.R.A. has no more to do with the editorial policy and editorial freedom of a newspaper than do child labor laws.

Actually this cry about freedom of the press is the old Tory red herring dragged out whenever government steps in to place human rights above property rights.

Publishers Split On How to Keep Reporters Busy

Should Man Getting \$25 Be Exempt from Benefits Or One Earning \$35?

Dissension over how little a publisher may pay a reporter requires him to work unlimited hours a week has caused a rupture between the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the National Editorial Association.

Try as he would to get the two groups to agree, it was not until very recently that Deputy Administrator Lindsay Rogers, in charge of the newspaper code, could even approach agreement. And the approach was achieved by hinting to the publishers strongly that all daily newspapers would have to come in under the same code.

The dissension goes back a few days after the A.N.P.A. accepted provisionally a code of exceptions under the President's Re-employment Agreement. This so-called temporary code barred editorial workers from any benefits as to restrictions of working hours if they made \$35 weekly or more.

A few days later the Editorial Association represented—falsely, so certain A.N.P.A. members have contended—that special considerations required that they get a separate code, one under which they could work for unlimited hours reporters receiving only \$25 or more.

It was hashed over in an N.R.A. conference as follows: "Anybody who is familiar with the situation knows, for instance, the A.N.P.A. did not want that \$35 a week reference made to reporters, but, at the time it was made, it was put into the paragraph and was substituted for the President's Re-employment Agreement; it was put in at the request of the N.R.A. before Dr. Rogers was there, and it was not until after the meeting that the A.N.P.A. members learned of the substitution."

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Shop Chapters In Manhattan Quick to Form

First the Parent Guild Was Organized, Then One by One Newspaper Units Came Into Being

Formation of chapters of the Newspaper Guild of New York did not get under way until the guild organization itself was complete and a constitution and by-laws had been adopted by the general membership.

In other cities it may perhaps be easier to form chapters first, and with them as nuclei build up city-wide or state-wide organizations. The fundamental principles of organization will probably be similar for chapters and larger organizations, and the chapters' experiences in this city may be of assistance to groups elsewhere having difficulty in getting started.

Below this general statement will be found organized reports of various chapters. Some chapters which have been formed here set in their reports too late for inclusion in this edition, and they will be printed later.

Bronx Home News

Members of the staff of the Bronx Home News were certain of their own desire to join the guild in its early stages, but were skeptical of the next man. Happily, their skepticism was completely erased when the first meeting, on a Sunday afternoon, brought out two-thirds of the staff. All were ready to sign up, although they did not know what benefits they would receive by shelling out a hard-earned dollar for the first month's dues. A bare half dozen employees have not yet joined. They are expected to do so within a few days.

International News Service

Organization of the International News Service Chapter of the Newspaper Guild of New York followed immediately the first steps toward formation of the guild.

No serious obstacles to formation of the chapter were encountered. Out of a possible 25 members, 19 joined and paid dues immediately. The rank and file of the staff were enthusiastic from the start and preliminary meetings were well attended.

The attitude of the executives in the I.N.S. office was friendly and no barriers were raised against anyone joining because of possible antagonism on the part of the employers.

The New York American Chapter was organized November 8, with an initial membership of thirty-five, which is fast increasing.

It was emphatically the sense of the election meeting that the guild refrain from engaging in any controversial issues not directly related to its announced purpose, specifically, that it refrain from adopting a suggested blanket approval of the N.R.A.

The New York American Chapter enters the guild with an interested and open-minded membership.

Associated Press

The Associated Press Chapter was organized by a special committee which placed in the hands of every eligible member on the New York staff an application blank and a nominating ballot. Members total sixty-nine. About 100 are eligible.

City News

City News teletypes chatter 24 hours a day, seven days a week except on Sundays. On that day they are silent from 3 to 9 a.m. Approximately one-third of the staff is at work some part of the day. For these reasons multigraphed letters were found indispensable in the work of organization. Besides furnishing a means of obtaining applications these letters furnished equal and equally important purposes. They notified members of prospective members of meetings, they asked proxies of those who could not attend, they kept members informed of the activities of the guild, and, finally they helped to impress the recipients with the fact that the movement was neither sporadic nor haphazard. Ninety-five per cent of the eligible employees are now members of the guild.

New York Herald Tribune

The formation of Herald Tribune Chapter, which, at this time numbers 128 members, was accomplished without incident in less than two weeks. A co-operative movement in any group could scarcely have met with less opposition. There were only two obstacles. The first was the traditional conviction of the newspaperman that he is his own best friend, apologist and trade organization. The second arose from a question of purpose and practice: what did the guild want to do, and how did it propose to do it?

Probably the most effective argument against the first attitude was delivered by Heywood Broun at the first general meeting of the guild. He described the case of a former deserving assistant who could not be granted a fair salary because (as the managing editor told him) the printer's contract was about to expire.

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History Is Now Being Written Behind Nation's Front Pages

Heywood Broun Credited with Important Part In the Campaign to Achieve a New Status for the American Journalist

By Morris Watson
Out of Heywood Broun's care-crowded brow grew an idea. Out of the idea grew little meetings, out of little meetings a mass meeting, out of mass meeting a committee, and out of committee—

But history is in the writing, and when the newspapers' N.R.A. code emerges finally from the great, dark abyss where goblins and speculators lurk that part of it which brings any benefit to the workers of editorial departments will be the house for which Broun laid the foundation.

The mass meeting which formed both the committee and a temporary organization known then as the Guild of New York Newspapermen and Women was held at the City Club on West Fourth Street on September 17. It has been called the "September Revolution."

More than 300 New York reporters, rewrite men and copyreaders were present. Some 200 others were represented by signature appended to the general outline of a code policy or program.

Elected to represent the baby organization at the open hearing on the newspaper code for September 22 were Heywood Broun, Edward Angly, Joseph Lilly and Doris Fleeson. The committee was given the power to enlarge itself. Linking a new era with a dying one, its members repaid to a speaker and there added James Kieran, Frank Emery and myself.

Behind the committee lay the hopes and good wishes of the mass members, 253 contributed dollars, the legal brilliance of Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindsey and a mandate to ask:

- (1) A forty-hour, consecutive five-day week.
- (2) A dismissal bonus system.

How the N. Y. Guild Drafted And Adopted Its Constitution

Never did an expectant father pacing the corridors of a lying-in hospital suffer more keenly than the Newspaper Guild of New York did the agonies of its constitution. It was a child born of anxious progenitors, all interested in a common offspring, all sensitively waiting the first shrill cries of birth, and you have some idea of the tension which pervaded in the Guild City Club when the constitution was borne, none too tenderly, into a critical world. None of the parents was completely happy at the product of the co-operative effort. All were always being distinguished from the allies; several were deeply hurt, and a few died, disavowing responsibility.

But all of this happened last month—so long ago that what then seemed serious, today may be regarded as something that must happen when customarily light-hearted men take themselves a trifle too seriously.

Round and about Article 2 and section 4 of Article 8 the discussion whirled principally. Several victims of our occupational disease, sea-lawyeritis, were at the meeting, and these held the floor until they exhausted themselves, their ideas and their audience. Closure was invoked and the meeting revived sufficiently to adopt the disputed parts without dotting an I or crossing a T. A last minute attempt to obtain reconsideration was yawned out the window.

This is not by way of an apology for the constitution, set out for your consideration below. It is intended merely to throw some light on the difficulties encountered by a body of men, all strongly individualistic, in reconciling and codifying their ideas on how they could and should co-operate with each other. In time its prolixities will be purged, its ambiguities docked, and, perhaps, its dullness enlivened. But the worst that may be said of it is that it is not the best constitution that could be devised. The wonder, however, is not that it contains faults, but that out of the welter of conflicting ideas and emotions it finally achieved a form acceptable to the vast majority of the members of the guild.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEWSPAPER GUILD OF NEW YORK

ARTICLE I
This Association, formed pursuant to the spirit of the National Industrial Recovery Act, shall be known as the Newspaper Guild of New York.

ARTICLE II
Purpose
The purpose of this association shall be to improve the conditions under which newspaper men and women work; to protect their rights by collective action; to raise the standards of journalism, and for mutual help.

ARTICLE III
Officers, Executive Committee and Representative Assembly
SECTION I. The regular officers of the guild shall consist of a President, a first Vice-President, a second Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. These shall be elected by a plurality of the members.

SECTION II. The officers shall constitute the executive committee together with four additional members who shall be chosen in such manner as to give the widest possible representation to the various groups within the guild. The press associations shall be represented by at least two members on the executive committee. None of the four

N.R.A. Set Up As Spring Board And It Worked

Broun Tells How Organization, a Bit Uncertain At First, Finally Dived Off to Sink or Swim

By Heywood Broun
The National Recovery act was the direct inspiration for the organization of the Newspaper Guild of New York. Word came from Washington that there would be a code hearing and it seemed to a number of working newspaper men as if this were practically an invitation to the various editorial departments to come and be heard. Indeed at the beginning some reporters said that although they had of particular interest in a permanent organization they felt that it would be foolish not to get a few things on the record at the open hearing in Washington.

Quite possibly the authorities were somewhat surprised when no writing men to be represented at the hearing. Most of the preliminary plans had been made merely around the difficulties which were bound to come up between the publishers and mechanical forces, both sides being powerful and well organized. Time was so short before the hearing that the news writing organization was necessarily a sketchy one.

A committee was chosen and it made no bones of the fact that it was acting on behalf of a comparatively small percentage of the editorial workers in the City of New York. This was inevitable because organization is a somewhat unfamiliar word in editorial departments. To the best of my knowledge there had never been any considerable association. Even newspaper clubs have led a rather uncertain career in this city.

There are many factors in this condition. Every newspaper man is of necessity a highly individualistic person. The range in pay goes all the way from the eager volunteer who works for nothing at all into the very considerable rewards enjoyed by a few of the best known feature men. Low pay has been accepted somewhat philosophically because there was always the gamble that with the right break in luck a man receiving a very meager salary might find himself at the top of the heap and unlike other occupations this fortunate circumstance could in a few cases happen almost overnight.

Meeting Place a Problem
Again, New York newspaper men have no central meeting place. Some offices are far down town and others in the center of the city, while the point of residence of newspaper writers may be anywhere from Greenwich Village to the Bronx. The original difficulty then lay in finding not only a place but a time at which considerable groups could meet together. Fortunately there developed very early a generous spirit of willingness to put in a large amount of work in behalf of members of the craft who were not receiving the benefits of good working conditions. I mean that men and women employed on papers which already had the forty-hour, five-day week expressed the feeling "we want to see this along to all the rest."

After a good deal of discussion it was decided to try and take up a comparatively small number of points in Washington. The forty-hour, five-day week formed the backbone of the program suggested. In the matter of a minimum wage nothing but the most tentative plan could be drafted because the committee was altogether unequipped with data as to existing scales in the city itself. As a matter of tactics it seemed advisable to present a schedule for all editorial workers throughout the country regardless of size of paper city. This still seems to me one of the best things that was done.

Should be up to the Guild and to present its claim for exemption. One point on which there was universal agreement from the beginning was the necessity for some form of partial security in the job. Nobody on any side of the controversy cares to deny the obvious injustice of dismissing some man who has worked for twenty or thirty years with no more than one or two weeks' notice. One or two particularly flagrant cases came up shortly before the sale of the old Morning World.

Current Practice in Europe
Newspaper men in other countries have almost universally won the right of notice of dismissal proportionate to the years of employment. My impression is that in both France and England men who have worked for any considerable period can not be dismissed with less than a year's notice. Our request was much more modest than this. We asked for six months' notice in the case of any man who had been continuously employed on the same paper for eight years or more.

Experts familiar with code practice informed us long before the hearing that a request of this kind had little or no chance to be written into any organic agreement. We were advised that this was a matter for collective bargaining. Although the National Recovery act specifically protects the employee and the right of collective bargaining, it is not at the beginning that publishers take anything and give nothing."

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City Guilds Unite In National Body Dec. 15 at Capital

Raleigh News Warns Against Code Evasion

Reprinted from Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer

More and more newspapers are taking the sound position that no Constitutional guarantee of the freedom of the press can be used by newspapers as a shield behind which to escape regulation with the rest of the industry of the country and that even if it could be the newspapers would make themselves ridiculous.

Sweatshop competition must be eliminated in order that those papers contributing most to recovery should not be put at a disadvantage in competition with those which are contributing the least. But with improper competition eliminated by proper rules and with uniformity established for all in the industry, it would be a crime for the press of America which is supposed to lead in the campaign to evade it.

Like other industries there are peculiar problems which apply to it exclusively. They must be dealt with. But upon such broad questions as wages and hours and child labor newspapers should ask no more for themselves than they insist upon for others.

'News' Advocates U. S. Amendment On Child Labor

Press Would Be Forbidden To Employ Juvenile Carriers Under Its Plan

The following excerpts from an editorial of November 17 are reprinted by permission of The New York Daily News:

"In the excitement of getting the Twentieth ('Lame Duck') and Twenty-First (Repeal) Amendments into the Constitution, another most important and we think desirable proposed amendment has been rather forgotten. We refer to the Child Labor amendment, which if adopted as the first piece of constitutional business in order after repeal will become the Twenty-Second Amendment.

"In saying this, we realize that newspapers are the chief employers of child labor, hiring some 500,000 children as carriers of newspapers. So many newspapers are organizing a covert opposition to the Child Labor amendment.

"What grounds the fight will be based on we don't know; maybe the freedom of the press. In this case it would mean the freedom of the press to hire children to deliver newspapers before light on winter mornings, because children are cheaper.

"The familiar argument for the employment of children to carry newspapers, of course, is that it is wholesome work and plenty of newboys grow up to become prosperous bankers after supporting widowed mothers during boyhood.

"That is true in some cases. It is true that some of the newboys, running the streets at night, grow up to become pugilists, gangsters or dope peddlers. And it certainly is true that if their work were taken over by grown men, those grown men would have to be paid more than the boys are paid, and so could support their families better than the boys support their widowed mothers.

"The press, as every one knows, is a privileged class in this country. We hope it will forever insist on its right to employ child labor."

Johnson Asks Objectors To Come Out in Open

General Johnson at Chicago: "We are ready for the dead cats. We know they were coming. But let's have some real ones. Let the few powerful men who have opposed parts of this law from the day it was introduced in Congress step out and give their real reasons—not freedom of the press, not fear of a dictator—but their real honest-to-goodness reasons."

"They want the benefits of this act, but none of its burdens. They want to organize and combine and escape the inhibitions of the Sherman act, but they don't want to give anything in return for these benefits. They don't want public safeguards against the exercise of these new rights of theirs. They want to take everything and give nothing."

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Units Already Strong in 21 Large Cities Will Lead Way in Forming Coast-to-Coast Society

New York at Helm Only Temporarily

Newspaper Workers, Men and Women, Throughout Country Gladly Aid Organizers

By J. Eddy

December fifteenth will be an important date in the history of journalism. On that date the newspapermen and women of the country, those who do the actual journey work of producing what is known as public opinion, will convene at the New Willard Hotel in Washington to form, through elected delegates, an American Newspaper Guild.

That guild is already in informal existence. It has organized groups with dues-paying membership in Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Duluth, New York, Philadelphia, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Tulsa and smaller centers.

Correspondence with the New York Guild recounts the inception of guilds in Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Birmingham, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Honolulu and smaller cities.

Regional Units Being Formed
Several guilds already formed are conducting regional organization, details of which are not available as this is rushed to print. In actual process of formation are an Ohio State Guild, which according to latest reports from Cleveland, already includes guilds in Akron and Youngstown.

Thus far organizing Oklahoma. The Yonkers Guild is organizing populous Westchester County with its string of small city dailies. The Newark Guild is bringing about an organization that will include all of northern New Jersey, with the large city of Paterson, Passaic, Trenton and Jersey City. Weekly newspapermen near New York are getting together and looking for their place within the national guild.

The Newspaper Guild of New York has done its best to serve as a clearing house of information for newspapermen throughout the country. While it had, at first, no intention of assuming leadership for the country, that leadership was thrust upon it by three circumstances.

Why New York Took Lead
First, individuals and guilds throughout the country asked it to lead the way because of the outstanding success of the guild movement in New York; second, it was realized that the New York Guild, because of its large membership, was the only group able to shoulder, by itself, the expense of getting out even so modest a publication as *The Guild Reporter* and of distributing it; and third, leadership was thrust upon us by the National Recovery Administration itself.

Late in October we were asked, on short notice, by Dr. Lindsay Rogers, N.R.A. Deputy Administrator, to enter an N.R.A. conference with the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the National Editorial Association, and present on behalf of newspaper men a statement on wages and hours.

We were not equipped to do this, and we are not yet so equipped. But we did what we could, trusting that our efforts would be reflected in the newspaper code—which, as this is written, we expect to see promulgated before the end of November.

By telegraph and air mail we communicated with guilds throughout the country. Those who were too far away or too feeble financially to send delegates to a meeting here in preparation for the N.R.A. conference were asked to send data on wages and hours. They did, and some of it was pretty shocking.

Delegates from Six Cities Present
In addition to this data we had the actual presence of delegates from Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Yonkers and Newark. That little meeting on the last day of October marked, in reality, the inception of the American Newspaper Guild.

What we did, the stand we took, is recounted elsewhere in *The Guild Reporter*. But it must be stressed that although the N.R.A. provided a springboard for the guild movement, and although those features of the movement which have dealt with wages and hours under the N.R.A. have attracted more attention than other guild matters, the guild movement is not, if we know take everything and give nothing."

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The Guild Reporter

Published temporarily by the Newspaper Guild of New York in the interests of newspaper editorial employees throughout the nation.
 Offices: 55 West 42nd Street, New York City.
 Telephone: LOnGacre 5-4137

Editors
 E. Dick Armstrong, Joseph D. Rooney
 Managing Editor: Hugh Holahan

Thursday, November 23, 1933

A Free Press and the Code

The average editorial employee is very reluctant to differ publicly with his publisher on any question whatever—for quite understandable reasons. He is giving his life to an industrial organization in which, under the conditions which have prevailed, his very existence is terminable instantly at the pleasure of the publisher, or of the publisher's several agents. Within that industrial unit, the reporter's or editor's advancement and security rest not alone upon competence, though that will be found a help to him, but also on the personal favor of persons in absolute command over him. The only mitigations of such industrial despotism—often fairly benevolent, to be sure,—have been heretofore the unionization of numerous mechanical workers, which has brought them power and enforceable rights, and the fact that in a new swiftly growing country employment in any chosen work was easy of access.

With the rate of growth of the country leveling off, and with widespread unemployment probably for some years at least, the position of unorganized editorial workers in the newspaper industry would appear to be increasingly precarious. Caught between organized mechanical workers and the absolute power of the publishers to set all conditions of their livings, they have, indeed, as Marlen Pew recently pointed out in *Editor and Publisher*, borne the brunt of wage cutting within the industry in the years of the depression, and were it not for the severity of their own losses they might sympathize more strongly with the indubitable financial losses of some of their publishers.

As conditions now exist, however, very few editorial employees know the financial condition of the institutions for which they labor. The suspicion is strong and general among them that they have been, in countless instances, squeezed callously by their more money-minded and powerful associates in the newspaper business. One of the consequences of this growing feeling that existence within the industry will be more and more precarious, and very likely more poorly paid in the future, is the present movement among newspaper men and women throughout the country to organize into groups that they may win, by such methods as are proper to persons in a truly professional calling, some recognition of definite rights within the industry, and increasing security within it.

The National Recovery act, whatever may be its faults, has already guaranteed by law the right of editorial workers to organize for collective bargaining. It probably has spared the industry and editorial workers that violent struggle for the assertion of this right which has characterized its growing recognition in the last century. The provisions of the law for a government of industries under a code, too, in which the rights of organized workers shall be recognized, and in the administration of which the workers shall have at least some voice, have been welcomed.

Therefore the obvious efforts of publishers' organizations to escape from government under any code, at first, and then from the inevitable growth of a legislated industrial management have perturbed those editorial employees who saw some hope in the rule of law instead of government by anarchy.

Publishers' avowals that they were fighting for a free press have not impressed their own employees as much more than a deceptive half-truth, in which was concealed an effort to be exempt from those regulations of hours and labor which other industries were accepting with varying degrees of good grace. Particularly has this been the feeling of the employees since an editorial by Walter Lippmann, a member of the Newspaper Guild of New York, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 15, analyzed the so-called "free press" paragraph submitted by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. Mr. Lippmann, by his great talent for clear analysis, showed that this paragraph was not, in truth, a single-minded fight for a free press, but actually was an effort to rebel against the application of a code to the newspaper industry, under which it would be subject to further legislation.

"In other words," he said, "they do not wish to have a code in the true meaning of the term. It would be better if they said so frankly." What, then, actually is the meaning of this constant invoking of the shade of Peter Zenger, and the real emotion back of all the eloquence poured out above his grave? Is it not merely, and happily, the dying shriek of absolute power, which can do as it pleases, and which, even Mark Sullivan, staunch old individualist, saw something far-fetched and theatrical in a fear of governmental censorship in this Republic.

There is, indeed, a fight for the freedom of the press to be made, and one which will call for eternal vigilance and for no mean power and courage. It is the fight for freedom of the news columns from perversion, distortion and suppression at the hands of commercial and financial powers, which can act with such pressure upon all but the strongest and bravest of publishers. These powers have won considerable command over the publishers' revenues and credit, just as the publishers have command over the livings of reporters and editors. It is to the everlasting honor of most American publishers that they have withstood this invisible government,—which operates outside of politics and also within it, as well as they have. In any real fight for a greater freedom of the press, the American newspaper publisher will find his editorial employees absolutely and unanimously with him. They will not, I think, string along in any sham battle, on an issue that is partly fraudulent.

—ALLEN RAYMOND

Text of the Constitution

(Continued from First Page)

Article V. Membership

SECTION I. All persons gainfully employed in the editorial departments of daily newspapers published in New York City or in the New York City offices of recognized press associations, including photographers, tabulators, artists, illustrators, and persons who may be eligible in the discretion of the Representative Assembly, shall be entitled to membership in the guild.

SECTION II. The eligibility of unemployed persons for membership in the guild is subject to determination by the Representative Assembly.

Article VI. Meetings

SECTION I. There shall be a regular meeting of the members of the guild within two weeks after the election of the officers, the date to be set by the Executive Committee.

SECTION II. The members of the guild shall have not less than three other meetings during the year, the dates to be set by the Executive Committee.

SECTION III. The Secretary shall give at least five days' notice prior to any meeting.

SECTION IV. A special meeting of the members of the guild may be called by (a) a majority of the Representative Assembly, (b) a majority of the Executive Committee, (c) upon written application to the Secretary of not fewer than 100 members.

SECTION V. In any of the foregoing events the Secretary shall send out proper notices for the

special meeting requested.

SECTION VI. The presence of ten per cent of the membership of the guild at any meeting of the members shall constitute a quorum; but the majority of the members present at the time and place of a regular or special meeting, although less than a quorum, may adjourn the same from time to time without further notice, until a quorum shall attend.

SECTION VII. Each member of the guild shall pay to the guild

Article VII. Discipline

The Representative Assembly shall make rules and regulations for the discipline of members and to such end may suspend or expel members, provided that no member shall be disciplined without (a) having written charges filed against him, (b) having the opportunity to file a written answer, (c) having an opportunity to be heard in his defense and to cross-examine the person who filed the charges against him. Any member against whom an order of expulsion has been issued shall have the right to appeal to the next general meeting of the guild provided that at the meeting of the Representative Assembly at which it was voted to expel the member at least three negative votes were cast against his expulsion.

Article VIII. Dues

The dues of members shall be one dollar (\$1) per month.

Article IX. Executive Committee

SECTION I. The Executive Committee shall meet regularly once each month. Upon written request of any three members of the Executive Committee the Secretary

shall call a special meeting of the committee on not less than two days' written notice to the other members.

SECTION II. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION III. The Executive Committee shall attend to all ministerial and routine matters connected with the administration of the guild. As to all questions involving basic policies or the exercise of broad discretion, such as negotiations with publishers and proprietors of press associations, legislative matters and the like, the Executive Committee shall confer with the Representative Assembly of which the Executive Committee shall be members and the Executive Committee shall carry out the directions of the Representative Assembly. The Executive Committee shall have the power to appoint special committees if it may deem necessary or expedient for the best interests of the guild.

SECTION IV. The right to act collectively for the whole membership of the guild or for any specific division or chapter thereof shall be exclusively with the Executive Committee, and with them only on instructions from the Representative Assembly, and the results of its negotiations shall be subject to ratification by the membership.

Article X. Representative Assembly

SECTION I. The Representative Assembly shall have the right to require the Executive Committee to render a report to itself, (b) shall have the right to remove, by majority vote at two successive meetings any officer or officers of the guild, provided that written notice of the first vote be sent by mail to each member of the Assembly not less than three days in advance of the second meeting. During the period between the first such vote and the second, the officers sought to be removed shall be and shall be deemed to be suspended. No officer or officers of the guild may be removed without (a) having written charges filed against him; (b) having an opportunity to be heard in his defense, and to cross-examine the person who filed the charges against him.

SECTION II. The presence of Assembly members from no less than ten (10) news gathering organizations shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Assembly; but a majority of the members of the Assembly present at the time and place of any meeting, although less than a quorum, may adjourn the same from time to time without further notice until a quorum shall attend.

SECTION III. The Representative Assembly shall meet within ten days after the annual meeting of the members, and the Representative Assembly shall meet not less than once in three months. At the written request of the Executive Committee or of fifteen (15) members of the Representative Assembly a special meeting of the Assembly shall be called on not less than three days' written notice.

SECTION IV. In the case of any dispute arising out of an election in any chapter, the Representative Assembly shall have full power to decide the issues in dispute.

Article XI. New Members

Section I. Applications of new members shall be passed upon by

City Guilds Join National Body

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anything about it here, a labor union.

In these times when show of idealism is likely to raise a chorus of what are politely called Bronx cheers, and especially so in the traditionally cynical and hard-boiled occupation of newspapering, nevertheless the active leadership has in all instances been taken by men who stood to gain no material advantage whatever, men who were receiving pay well above any average of minimum that might be set by N.R.A. negotiations.

The guild movement functions as a labor union only insofar as the collective spirit of today exists upon it to do so, and, to that extent, it hopes to function with high effectiveness. Its strength, both in the present and in the future, lies in the fact that it is an organization of men who are in the collection, study and intelligent presentation of facts. As an organization we shall be what we are as individuals—reporters, editors, collector of facts; in short, newsmen.

No Need for Strikes

Because of our vital place in society, our present task of organization is smoothed. It is not comparable with that of a labor union, where organization is often a prelude to a strike and where a strike may be called for the very purpose of completing organization. We, as newsmen, as the journeymen of public opinion, can rely completely on the intelligent use of facts.

The impressive success of organizations of journalists in Great Britain, Italy, Australia and pre-Hitler Germany is the guild's promise, if not its guarantee, of its own success. Newspaperdom becomes a profession and its members are treated accordingly when collectively they grasp their role in society.

The business of fact-finding has already begun. That task, too, has been thrust upon the guild by the N.R.A. The guild's activity in connection with the press services is reported in a neighboring column.

the chapter of the office in which the prospective member is employed.

SECTION II. The governing authority of the chapter shall certify its members to the Secretary of the guild.

Article XII. Waiver of Notice

Whenever under any provision of this constitution written notice is required to be given, such written notice may be dispensed with if it is waived in writing by all the persons entitled to receive such notice.

Article XIII. Amendments

The constitution may be amended on written ballot by a majority of members provided the proposed amendment has received a majority vote of the Representative Assembly, or a majority vote of the members present at any general members' meeting.

Article XIV. No contributions of any nature other than the regular dues, or special equal assessments on all members, shall be accepted by the guild. None of the guild's funds shall be used for any purpose other than

By-Laws

Article I. Chapter Organization

SECTION I. The officers of each chapter shall include a chairman and a controller, and whatever other officers are desired. The chairman shall be a delegate to the general assembly.

SECTION II. The controller of each chapter shall have charge of enrollments in that chapter, shall collect dues and pay them to the Treasurer of the guild; and shall keep complete records.

SECTION III. The chairman, controller and delegates shall be elected by secret ballot for the term of one year.

SECTION IV. Dues shall be payable on the first day of each month, and shall be turned over by the controller to the treasurer of the guild not later than the 15th day of the same month, accompanied by a complete statement as to dues paid and members in arrears. Failure to pay dues for three consecutive months shall terminate the membership of the delinquent although upon presentation of satisfactory excuse to the executive committee of the chapter this provision may be waived. Any member who has been dropped for failure to pay dues shall be reinstated upon payment of arrears.

SECTION V. For the year 1933, elections shall be conducted by a committee in each chapter to be designated by the temporary executive committee of the guild, and such elections shall be completed by October 1. Such officers shall immediately undertake the enrollment of members, collection of dues, and election of a permanent chairman and controller. The general assembly shall hold its first meeting on November 1 and nominate chapter officers; the temporary secretary shall be elected on November 1; balloting shall close on November 12; and guild officers shall be inducted at a meeting of the assembly on November 15.

SECTION VI. Any officer or delegate may be removed from chapter office by majority vote of the chapter members.

A still greater task is to gather adequately the data that the N.R.A. has asked relative to all newsmen in the United States. The national organization has not yet been completed, and accordingly this fact-finding is another job whose beginning has been undertaken by the Newspaper Guild of New York. Soon we shall have available questionnaires which will provide a uniform basis for the collection of data on hours and wages. The questionnaires will be distributed among other guilds. In cities where guilds have not yet been formed, they will be distributed through individuals. Proper handling of them should in itself bring about the formation of guilds. The New York Guild has drafted roughly a plan for a national organization, which can take over those functions of the local guilds which we all have in common and which can be handled more economically and effectively by a centralized body. These functions would probably include the collection of facts and their presentation to the N.R.A. or the Code Authority; in fact, the entire field, local and national; and paid officers, newsmen of ability and perspective, who are willing to devote twenty-four hours a day, if need be, to building up and directing what is in the course of the months and the years, should become one of the most public spirited and influential organizations on the American scene.

The Newspaper Guild of New York is not trying to lay down the law for fellow reporters in Tulsa or deskmen in Honolulu. It will go into the first national meeting with a constitution drafted by Morris I. Ernst, its counsel, calculated to handle as well as may be the multitude of problems before it, and to bring them into unity. But if its proposals are not satisfactory to newsmen elsewhere, it will, above all, seek a basis to which all newsmen can give wholehearted support.

It is hoped that in addition to the delegates to be sent to Washington by the various guilds, individual members, as many as can arrange to get away, will make the trip. The New York Guild will appreciate notices as possible of the size of delegations.



"... Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."—(Matt. 6:3.)

Office Chapters Quickly Formed

(Continued from First Page)

The office and union was demanding more money. No such disarming thrust could be directed against the second objective, for the reason that the organizers of the guild were not themselves sure of their ultimate aims. The N.R.A. had opened the way to employee organization, the publishers had accepted the idea as fair in principle, and the organizers of the guild had moved swiftly to accept the implied opportunity for betterment. It was not to be expected that they would know, properly and precisely, what the guild would try to accomplish after it was fully organized.

World-Telegram

The World-Telegram Chapter has a membership of nearly 180, with the probability of 100 per cent enrollment in a few days. More than 75 per cent paid while enrolling, or voting for chapter officers, the event having been set forth in the pay-day.

The New York Times

The New York Times Chapter has 148 members. Individual members of the Times staff have taken part in the discussions leading to the formation of the guild from the first hush-hush days of unofficial meetings in private homes. Consequently when the first open meetings were called at the City Club members of the news staff knew in a general way of the proposals to form a newspapermen's organization.

The Times Chapter is steadily growing. To date, because of the urgency of organizing a meeting time at which both day and night staff members can attend, information regarding the Times Chapter has been disseminated among the membership by verbal reports individually. The disadvantages of this method are obvious, and it is hoped in the near future to arrange possibly an afternoon and night meeting at which all members of the chapter will have an opportunity to express their viewpoint on all problems and ask questions.

National OKLAHOMA GUILD

TULSA, Ok.—Tulsa newspapermen initiated the newspaper editorial workers' guild movement for the Southwest, completing organization here, November 12, of the Oklahoma Newspaper Guild of Tulsa.

Paul Hedrick, Tulsa World editor, was the unanimous choice for president, but his acceptance is still in doubt as his work keeps him out of the city. Edward Burns, of the World night city desk, is vice-president, and Duncan Wall, Tulsa Tribune agricultural editor, is secretary-treasurer. Three members of the five-man executive committee so far elected are John Booker, Tribune telegraph editor;

Russell A. Gideon, World copy desk, and George Ketchum, World copy desk. Others to be elected will represent associate members (newspaper people not now employed in their profession) and affiliate members (employed in nearby communities).

George Goodale, Tulsa United Press correspondent, was appointed official representative to confer at Washington with persons active in the guild movement.

The guild's constitution states its purpose to be "to co-operate with the N.R.A. in raising the standards of news and editorial writing and editing; to improve the conditions under which newspapermen and women work; for mutual help."

New York Guild Inducts Officers

(Continued from First Page)

news, can rightfully evade its responsibility to assume, by organization under a code of fair practice, the same responsibilities for public welfare that other industries are being called to assume.

The resolution was referred for action to a meeting of the guild's representative assembly on November 22, at the Astor.

Mr. Raymond, in explaining the resolution, said that there had been instances of opposition to the formation of guild chapters in Queens and Staten Island. He added that he interpreted the guild as "in part a labor union and in part a professional men's organization."

Mr. Eddy, the secretary, reported on progress about the organization of newspaper guilds in other parts of the country, a full report of which will be found elsewhere in this issue.

As an instance of the value of "collective thinking" Mr. Eddy cited the case of a newspaper reporter who was discourteously treated by a New York City policeman.

The guild, he said, had written a letter to Police Commissioner James F. Bolan, Captain Rosenfeld, of the West Forty-seventh Street station, immediately communicated with the guild offices at 55 West Forty-second Street, telling Mr. Eddy that he had issued orders to all his men to be courteous to men and women possessing police cards.

Publishers Split On Pay Ratings

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Howard Davis, President of the N.A.P.A.: "Reiterate that point; it was not our original code."

Mr. Hanson: "It wasn't in ours. After that we had a number of members write in from the smaller places and ask what to do. I will say the N.A.P.A. was perfectly frank and told all of them if the N.E.A. code was a better one for them to go ahead and subscribe to that until after a permanent code has been adopted. But the time has come when I think the N.R.A. must realize there can be competition between groups on these codes and we are not here in a competitive way. We are here just trying to do the one thing of adjusting hours, wages and working conditions, and we think a code can be written to take care of that in a flexible way according to conditions as they exist throughout the country without having two codes to do it."

The N.A.P.A. charged that the N.E.A. had been using the \$25 reporter feature in a promotion campaign to lull members. This was denied; but the following statement by James G. Stahlman, of the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association, went on the record: "If there have been any additions to the N.E.A. membership from the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association group since the code was projected, that membership of the Southern which has gone to the N.E.A. has gone by reason of the fact that the N.E.A. was able to secure that \$25 concession from the N.R.A. as contrasted with the \$35 provision, which was not in our original code."

N.R.A. Set Up Spring Board

(Continued from First Page)

ishers might check in the way of such a procedure. Fortunately, they made official announcement repeatedly through their counsel and through the president of the Publishers' Association, Howard Davis, that they would be glad to deal direct with representatives of the newspaper men.

Cut This Out and Mail It Now.

To Newspaper Guild of New York
 55 West 42nd Street, New York City, N. Y.

I am willing to join an organization in my city similar to the Newspaper Guild of New York. Please send available information on guild activities in this or an adjacent city.

Name.....
 Address.....

Company..... Position.....

No obligation is involved in sending this inquiry to the New York Guild. Those who wish to do so may send contributions, however small. Such contributions will be earmarked for the establishment of the national organization.

atives of the newspaper men.

The N.R.A. As a Spring Board
 "It then became evident that representation at the code hearing could even at the very best be only the first step in the life of any effective organization. N.R.A. was in effect a sort of spring board. It did furnish the original impetus but after that we would have to swim for ourselves."

The guild idea has grown more rapidly than anybody expected. In spite of a great many obstacles a competent working organization has been formed in New York and there are groups in other cities.

The next step which lies ahead of us is to perfect a national organization. In addition to the chance of securing tangible and immediate benefits in the matter of working conditions, the guild movement ought to raise the standards of the craft and make the job of being a newspaper man a matter of distinct pride in every part of the country.

History Written Behind Scenes

(Continued from First Page)

ence of finding themselves in next day's news.
 The hearing was held in the Department of Commerce Building before Dr. Rogers. For hours the members of the committee listened to fat speeches about freedom of the press to (1) accept collective bargaining but refuse to deal with any "outside" party, and (2) to employ child labor. Their turn to perform came in the afternoon.

Angry Delivers a Round
 The gallery, seated with publishers' representatives, burst into applause when Angly pleaded, "Take us up to the nest of the Blue Eagle, and out of this valley of ragged individualism!"

Lilly bespoke the simple justice of giving a newspaperman adequate notice upon discharge, charging that men "often are dismissed by caprice."
 Brown strode next upon the platform. He told the Administrator that "We, too, are interested in the freedom of the press, and he voiced the opinion that if newsmen's guilds fail to obtain satisfactory conditions for newspapermen, 'newsmen's unions will'."