

WHAT DO YOU
READ?

The Guild Reporter

FOR THE 4TH
ESTATE

Vol. I, No. 9

Copyright 1934 by the American Newspaper Guild

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1934

Price, \$2 a Year

Associated Press Grants 5-Day Week; First Strike Vote Converts Publisher; Newspaper Profit-Taking Described

WALKOUT THREAT ENDS SWEATSHOP

5-Day Week Won With Promise of Contract

The first strike vote to be taken by any unit of the Newspaper Guild resulted last week in a complete victory for the guild. The settlement was ratified thirty hours after the unit vote was taken.

The unit voting to strike was the Jewish Daily Bulletin-Jewish Telegraphic Agency. The temporary agreement signed with Ida Landau, representing the publisher-owner, establishes the first guild preferential shop in New York. It sets up the second instance of a grievance committee, precedent for which appeared in the recent agreement with the Long Island Daily Press.

Forty-Hour Week Established

Other provisions of the agreement call for the forty-hour week and reinstatement of three staff members as the first additional editorial workers to be hired.

The action of the unit was precipitated by the recent discharge of the three guild members, at least one of whom was most active in establishing the guild in the Jewish Daily Bulletin shop. The basic reason for the strike vote, however, remedied in the temporary contract, was a virtual sweatshop condition obtaining on this paper. On or about October 15 a detailed agreement with the publisher of the Jewish Daily Bulletin will be negotiated.

The vote of the unit was announced at the general membership meeting of the guild August 29, and a special meeting of the representative assembly was called for the next evening. Before the meeting to pass on the strike vote of the unit could be held, Mrs. Landau requested a conference with the guild. She declined to consider, however, the establishment of the forty-hour week, on the plea of poverty. The unit regarded the offer of Mrs. Landau.

Continued on Page 2, Col. 2

Sun Out to Scuttle Binghamton Guild

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—Guild members here are being intimidated by publishers in what appears to be an organized attempt to break up the guild.

Ernest E. Noonan, court house reporter for the Sun, received two weeks' notice on August 18. He was assistant treasurer of the Binghamton Guild. He had worked for the Sun for fifteen years.

Vincent Bird, for nine years a Sun reporter, another guild member, also was discharged.

Thereupon six other guild members resigned from the guild. The Binghamton Guild has asked the American Newspaper Guild for assistance.

The News and God Raise \$16 Pay to \$18

A \$16-a-week staff member of the Cleveland News opened his pay envelope in the elevator one noon during the News' current negotiations with the Cleveland Newspaper Guild. He almost fainted when he found \$2 extra. Gasping, he turned around to find A. E. M. Bergener, his boss, reputed the "meanest M. E. in town," and Editor Earle Martin, fellow passengers, beaming down at him.

"Ah—ah—er—thank you, Mr. Bergener!" the young man stammered.

"A. E. M." slapped the youngster on the back and radiated more sunshine.

"Don't thank me, young man. Not me! Thank Mr. Martin here, your editor. Then thank the Cleveland News, and then thank God!"

NO TRICK UNIONS, ROY HOWARD TOLD

World-Telegram Staff Insists on Real Guild Contract

The New York Guild, particularly the World-Telegram unit, has entered into a decisive fight for recognition with Roy W. Howard, chairman of the Scripps-Howard board. Mr. Howard has laid down the law—"there can be no agreement between the World-Telegram and non-employees." The employees, on the other hand, have signified their steadfast confidence in the New York Guild as their representative in collective bargaining.

Mr. Howard, one of the more enlightened publishers, appears willing to sign a contract granting

Continued on Page 3, Col. 2

ONLY 1 INDUSTRY OUTYIELDS PRESS

Officers Corner Bulk of Heavy Takings

The rate or profits made in the printing and publishing industry, which includes job printing and the publication of books, magazines and newspapers, is the largest for any manufacturing industry and the second largest for any industry in the whole United States, according to an exhaustive study made by the National Bureau of Economic Research. The study was made under the supervision of the Department of Commerce on the basis of a United States Senate resolution calling for such a study.

The report is issued and available under the title of Bulletin 49 of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Reached 18.3 Per Cent Peak

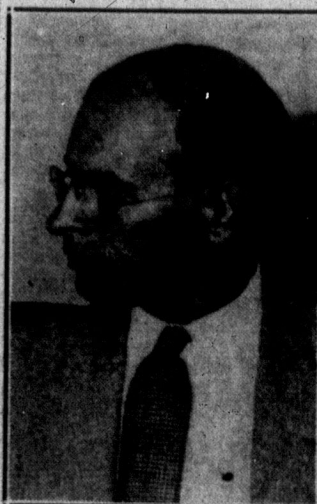
Including salaries and bonuses to officers the printing and publishing industry gave a return of 18.3 per cent in 1928 on the book value of all the stock outstanding, 18 per cent in 1929, 13.6 per cent in 1930 and 7.4 per cent in 1931. This is generally about three times the average rate of return for all companies.

The figures on net income, including officers' salaries and bonuses, for 1932 are not available in the report, which is based on an examination of all income tax returns during the post-war period.

In the printing and publishing industry, whose two only profitable branches are newspaper and magazine publishing, with book publishing and job printing running in the red or near the borderline, and hence pulling down the average rate of profit for the industry as a whole,

Continued on Page 2, Col. 4

On a 5-Day Week!



MORRIS WATSON

N. Y. GUILD BATTLES ANTI-UNION PAPER

Will Reinstall Ousted Organizer if It Takes a Year

The Newspaper Guild of New York this week was continuing its toughest fight—the effort to persuade S. I. Neuhouse, publisher of the Staten Island Advance, to recognize the guild and to restore to its payroll Alexander Crosby, editorial writer and news editor, fired ten days after joining the guild.

Every possible device had seemingly been used during the first ten days of the campaign—radio broadcasts, street-corner meetings, picketing, airplane stunting and publication of two extra editions of the Reporter. A motor truck with loudspeakers audible two miles had toured Staten Island, and probably every one of its 160,000 residents and the paper's 25,000 readers knew the guild's position.

The emergency committee had spent the entire defense fund in the fight when Publisher Neuhouse announced that the Advance's circu-

Continued on Page 5, Col. 3

New Guild Card Out; It Fits the Wallet!

The new membership cards provided for in the national constitution are out, and if you have not yet received yours, get in touch at once with your office controller or local guild treasurer.

Local guild treasurers have received a supply of dues stamps sufficient to carry their membership through September. The new cards are designed to fit readily into card case, pocketbook or wallet. It has been suggested that local guild officers may wish to arrange with police officials to substitute these for the usual police cards.

The old cards, local and national, are no longer valid and should therefore no longer be recognized as entitling their holders to vote at

Continued on Page 8, Col. 5

PRESS SERVICE ON 40-HR. PLAN

Major Victory Comes After Long, Hard Battle

The five-day week has come to the Associated Press.

Word of this guild advance reached national headquarters as the forms for this edition of the Guild Reporter were closing. According to the report, the short week is to be instituted at once in those cities in which Associated Press member newspapers have adopted the five-day week.

The decision of the Associated Press management came precisely three weeks after the first forthright move to urge collective bargaining with a national press association by the American Newspaper Guild.

Efforts Hitherto Abortive

The collective bargaining efforts were begun on behalf of the Associated Press unit of the Newspaper Guild of New York. They were abortive in the face of a sudden company union move in the Associated Press office.

This move, practically inspired by Associated Press executives when they "interviewed" editorial employees and began a campaign against so-called "outsiders" and "guild radicals," made no headway other than to stall the bargaining.

Taking the word of the management that no bargaining could be done until the next board of directors' meeting in October—if at all—the New York Associated Press unit voted to suspend its action indefinitely.

Immediately upon receiving notification of the suspension from the American Newspaper Guild, the management announced to the unit chairman the decision to institute the five-day week, the implication being that it came only because collective bargaining efforts were suspended.

Guild's Strength Manifested

That the guild's show of strength in the Associated Press was directly responsible for the granting of the five-day week, few will deny. This was evident at a meeting of press association guild representatives from Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, Newark, New York, and other cities of the Atlantic seaboard, held Sunday, September 2, in New York, on call of Morris Watson, chairman of the National Press Association Committee.

This meeting, called as an advisory council to discuss press association code and collective bargaining problems, went on record as favoring efforts to bring about collective bargaining on a national basis with all of the major wire services, the Associated Press, United Press associations, and the Hearst services.

The council also favored a press

Continued on Page 7, Col. 1

LEDGER OF NEWARK COMES OUT STRONG FOR CLOSED SHOP

Plan Being Worked Out With Publisher's Co-operation

By STEPHEN MERRILL

NEWARK.—Vacations are making this a pleasant summer for editorial employees of the Ledger, who, but for the intervention of the Newspaper Guild of Newark, faced a prospect of working straight through the fifty-two weeks in the year with no rest.

During the lean years the publisher of the Ledger, L. T. Russell Sr., abolished vacations with pay but permitted any one who wanted a vacation on his own time to take it. This year there was no change in this policy until Ledger editorial workers drafted a petition asking the publisher to negotiate for vacations. The petition was signed by practically 100 per cent of the staff and the vacations were granted.

The vacation negotiations paved the way for further conferences between the guild and the publisher on making jobs on the Ledger more secure and improving the editorial product.

For 100 Per Cent Guild Staff

In a further exchange of correspondence a closed shop was virtually agreed upon on the proposal of Mr. Russell himself, who made it plain he desired a 100 per cent guild staff and that he would hold the guild accountable for the quality of work of the staff.

In his letter to the guild, Mr. Russell said:

"The guild will be expected to organize a self-governing council, whose duty it will be to see that every member of the Ledger editorial staff, other than executives, be a member of the guild—that his or her full duty is not merely in production work but in contributing to a spirit of high morale both in the office and out, and also to see that no one of its members is unfairly treated or that any judgment be taken without a full knowledge of all the facts bearing on the case."

Under Mr. Russell's plan, editorial employees would be divided into three classes: seniors, juniors and beginners, the classification depending on salary. His plan did not specify when or how the junior would become a senior and a beginner a junior.

The plan further provides for vacations of fifteen days a year for seniors and fifteen days for juniors. In addition to the two weeks with pay, seniors would be allowed four days sick leave and a total of twelve days was allowed as deductible for absences during the year.

Desires Co-operation

"I have determined upon an editorial and reportorial policy," Mr. Russell prefaced his letter to the Ledger unit of the guild, "that will give the Ledger chapter (of the guild) an opportunity to demonstrate how valuable and co-operative it can be with its publisher and at the same time serve its membership in a generally helpful way."

The publisher consented to negotiate with a guild committee on any controversy or infraction of the rules. He held it an "inevitable rule" that all complaints, "all pretensions of any kind on the part of the guild must come through a proper committee and must be in writing." He left the way open for personal conferences after a complaint had been submitted in writing, if satisfaction were still lacking.

In its reply to Mr. Russell, the Ledger unit said the proposals would be submitted to the board of governors of the Newark guild for sanction. The Ledger chapter consented to the basic proposals in the publisher's letter and added that in the near future, with the consent of the board of governors, the Ledger chapter was instructed to proceed with its negotiations but to enter into no agreements which might contravene the stated policies of the American Newspaper Guild or the Newark Guild.

Rochester Journal Workers Get Low Pay Facts Across

ROCHESTER.—Editorial employees of the Rochester Journal were warned in an official note that guild activities, including notices on the office bulletin board, were forbidden.

The workers promptly hung a bulletin board on the wall of a restaurant next door patronized by Journal employees.

The first notice to be posted was one summarizing a wage survey which showed that Journal employees were receiving the lowest newspaper salaries in the city.

The Rochester guild of three units is lined up four square behind the national organization.

Reports by David E. Kessler and Edward P. Doyle, delegates to the Minneapolis national convention, were received at a general meeting on their return and it was voted unanimously to support the national program.

Dues were set at \$1 a month for members earning \$15 or more a week and 50 cents a month for members paid less than \$15 a week. Realizing the import of Jonathan Eddy's words that "payment of dues is the very life blood of organization," the Rochester guild members made to bring every member in line. Results have been satisfactory.

It was also voted to open the charter for one month to permit men employed here since the organization of the guild to become members on payment of 12 initiation fee, the fee remaining at \$5 for those who joined later.

WATERBURY BACKS DULUTH PROVIDES GUILD MOVEMENT FOR UNIT SYSTEM

Chapter Formed as 3 Publishers Endorse Idea

WATERBURY, Conn.—The guild movement acquired new force in New England when the Waterbury Chapter came into being last month. Seventy-five Waterbury newspaper men and women and their guests most heartily endorsed the idea of the Long Islander from Connecticut attended.

The National Guild was represented by Jonathan Eddy, Mr. Eddy presented the fundamental objectives of the guild and explained the membership requirements and dues.

Miss Emily Brown, one of the most seriously affected by the Long Islander from Connecticut, told the group how the New York organization had humiliated her by permanently disbanding her.

Announcement was made that the publishers of the three Waterbury papers had endorsed the guild idea. Arrangements were made to have a constitution brought in at a meeting in the near future. Heywood Brown is to be invited to the meeting.

Officers of the Waterbury Guild were elected as follows: President, Frank T. Johnson; vice-president, James T. Galvin; secretary, Richard W. Beaman; treasurer, Lyman H. Hill; executive committee, chairman, Harold E. Senior; Raymond Fitzpatrick, Miss Mollie Cullen, William P. O'Donnell and John Cluney.

The visitors from nearby towns discussed plans for organizing chapters with Mr. Eddy.

Walkout Threat Ends Sweatshop

Continued from Page One

dau as eminently unsatisfactory, and her determination to strike even more solidly than the night previous.

Backed by the representative assembly, Carl Randau, president, telephoned Mrs. Landau from the meeting room at midnight. With a threat of a strike still hanging over her head, she rushed to the meeting.

The question of hours was the center of contention, the publisher's representative asserting that she could not deviate from the six-day, forty-eight-hour week without shutting up shop, and the guild maintaining that it could not countenance such standards. Mrs. Landau agreed, finally, to institute the forty-hour six-day week at or about October 15.

Guild spokesmen refused to accept the publisher's plan of inability to meet the guild proposals, which

ONLINE INDUSTRY BOS ON EXTENDING ITS MEMBERSHIP

ONLINE INDUSTRY BOS ON EXTENDING ITS MEMBERSHIP

Continued from Page One

most of the profits are skimmed off by the officers, which is only logical, as most publishing companies are closely held and usually constitute only a few stockholders who are the officers.

What the Top Claque Gets

In 1928 about 35 per cent of the net income, amounting to a return of 18.3 per cent on the book value of stock, was paid in the form of salaries and bonuses to officers, according to Bulletin 46. In 1929 the percentage of net income was taken by the top clique. In 1930 and 1931 the percentage of profits going to officers and the workers diminished, nearly 50 per cent of profits being taken in the form of salaries for New England. In 1932 the percentage of net income was 45 per cent.

The following table of percentages tells the story:

	Total P.C. Profit on Book Value	Total P.C. Profit on Officers' Book Value	Total P.C. Profit on Total Book Value
1928...	35	18.3	11.9
1929...	35	18.3	11.9
1930...	35	18.3	11.9
1931...	35	18.3	11.9
1932...	35	18.3	11.9

What is really significant in these figures is the high rate of profit on book value of the stock. All accounting authorities know that book values are notoriously inflated and do not represent the true amount of capital put into a business. When one takes into consideration in surveying printing and publishing profits that neither the book printing nor the job printing divisions make much of a return, it is clearly evident that the returns on publishing divisions are much above the 18 per cent on capital shown for 1928. 1.4 per cent for the critical year 1931.

Second Only to Banking

With the write-ups of stock in mind and the fact that about half the industry is limping along chronically, Bulletin 46 shows that the profits in the production of newspapers and magazines are very high indeed. Bulletin 46 shows that the average return for the industry, running consistently ahead of the other industries, is in excess of 500 per cent.

The Madison Newspaper Guild is now conducting negotiations with the Madison Journal, the other daily, to secure a contract, among the terms of which is a provision for two weeks' vacation with pay. Twenty employees of the Journal are affected by the new ruling. No indication has been given by the Capital Times management as to whether or not similar action will be taken by that publication.

Printing and publishing, included in manufacturing, is far and away the most profitable of all industries. The return for the industry, running consistently ahead of the other industries, is in excess of 500 per cent.

A point of more than passing interest in relation to the printing and publishing business, and more particularly with relation to the magazine and newspaper divisions thereof, is that this industry has capitalized itself and increased capital from time to time not by turning profits back into the business.

Need to Share Takings Obviated

Profit returned to the business, of course, are not reported as profits at all and hence do not show in the National Bureau of Economic Research symposium. Such profits become capital. Without having to float more stock or bonds in order to obtain funds, the rate of profit on the actual investment in the industry becomes greater and the producers remain in undivided control of the property, not sharing it with outsiders. This is an added advantage to publishers.

If the rate of return on the book value of stock was 18 per cent in 1928 and 7.4 per cent in 1931 and if one allows for a conservative write-up of 50 per cent in the capital account of the industry, then the rate of return increases in inverse ratio to the capital write-up. But a write-up of 100 per cent in the capital account is not at all uncommon in all industries. The Federal Trade Commission has shown company write-ups of several thousand per cent in recent investigations, especially in the case of public utility companies.

Net May Have Run to 36

Assuming that the capital represented by the printing and publishing industry was written up only 100 per cent, the rate of return for the industry in 1929 would have been 36 per cent on the investment and in the year of 1931 would have been 14.8 per cent, really a neat profit. But if it were possible to have figures on the deadweight book publishing and job printing industries, which merely weigh down the average for the magazine

CLEVELAND UNIT SEEKS CONTRACT WITH THE NEWS

Closed Shop, Checkoff, \$25-\$40 Minimum Pay Asked

By CURTIS D. MacDOUGALL

ST. LOUIS.—A survey of wages and working conditions among editorial employees on the three St. Louis newspapers has been completed by the St. Louis Newspaper Guild with the co-operation of Dr. Joseph M. Klamon, associate professor of economics at Washington University.

Results show the following average salaries for all news department workers, excluding copy boys and secretaries:

Rank	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386	2387	2388	2389	2390	2391	2392	2393	2394	2395	2396	2397	2398	2399	2400	2401	2402	2403	2404	2405	2406	2407	2408	2409	2410	2411	2412	2413	2414	2415	2416	2417	2418	2419	2420	2421	2422	2423	2424	2425	2426	2427	2428	2429	2430	2431	2432	2433	2434	2435	2436	2437	2438	2439	2440	2441	2442	2443	2444	2445	2446	2447	2448	2449	2450	2451	2452	2453	2454	2455	2456	2457	2458	2459	2460	2461	2462	2463	2464	2465	2466	2467	2468	2469	2470	2471	2472	2473	2474	2475	2476	2477	2478	2479	2480	2481	2482	2483	2484	2485	2486	2487	2488	2489	2490	2491	2492	2493	2494	2495	2496	2497	2498	2499	2500	2501	2502	2503	2504	2505	2506	2507	2508	2509	2510	2511	2512	2513	2514	2515	2516	2517	2518	2519	2520	2521	2522	2523	2524	2525	2526	2527	2528	2529	2530	2531	2532	2533	2534	2535	2536	2537	2538	2539	2540	2541	2542	2543	2544	2545	2546	2547	2548	2549	2550	2551	2552	2553	2554	2555	2556	2557	2558	2559	2560	2561	2562	2563	2564	2565	2566	2567	2568	2569	2570	2571	2572	2573	2574	2575	2576	2577	2578	2579	2580	2581	2582	2583	2584	2585	2586	2587	2588	2589	2590	2591	2592	2593	2594	2595	2596	2597	2598	2599	2600	2601	2602	2603	2604	2605	2606	2607	2608	2609	2610	2611	2612	2613	2614	2615	2616	2617	2618	2619	2620	2621	2622	2623	2624	2625	2626	2627	2628	2629	2630	2631	2632	2633	2634	2635	2636	2637	2638	2639	2640	2641	2642	2643	2644	2645	2646	2647	2648	2649	2650	2651	2652	2653	2654	2655	2656	2657	2658	2659	2660	2661	2662	2663	2664	2665	2666	2667	2668	2669	2670	2671	2672	2673	2674	2675	2676	2677	2678	2679	2680	2681	2682	2683	2684	2685	2686	2687	2688	2689	2690	2691	2692	2693	2694	2695	2696	2697	2698	2699	2700	2701	2702	2703	2704	2705	2706	2707	2708	2709	2710	2711	2712	2
------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	---

The Guild Reporter

To be published twice a month by the American Newspaper Guild in the interests of newspaper editorial employees throughout the nation.

All contributions should be addressed to the editor. No manuscript will be returned unless by request of the sender.

This issue was set up and printed in the plant of the New York Post, by arrangement with the publisher, and paid for by the Guild.

Editorial office
50 West 43d Street New York
Telephone: LIncoln 5-3388

Application for entry as second class matter is pending.

Vol. 1, No. 9 September, 1934

Selling the People Short

Whether guild members realize it or not, certain publishers have played a huge joke on them and on the public—a joke so grim and vicious that, in all probability, only the Fourth Estate will find eventually to catch its full and underlying significance.

At the St. Paul convention a resolution, so ambitious as to be almost funny, was passed by the accredited representatives of 6,000 newspaper men and women.

It declared, in part, that the freedom of the press was "not a privilege for owners of news channels to exploit."

It declared that "reporting is a high calling which has fallen into disrepute because news writers have been so often degraded as hirelings compelled by their employers to serve the purposes of politicians, monopolists, speculators in the necessities of life, exploiters of labor, and fomenters of war."

Whereupon it resolved that "The American Newspaper Guild strive tirelessly for integrity of news columns and . . . refuse by distortion and suppression to create political, economic, industrial and military wars."

This was after the convention had acknowledged, and brought to the attention of its members, the "vital role played by news stories and treatment of labor and economic disputes" as well as the fact that "the psychology can be whipped up by selfish interests wielding influence over publishers."

This was six weeks before the San Francisco general strike—when, with a callousness seldom equaled in the annals of modern journalism, publishers had reporters and re-write men vying with one another in printed assaults on another group of employees fighting for the most elementary economic rights.

For the past eighty years, economists have contended that under the present economic and social structure, the press, the courts, the banks, the police, the church, the schools and governmental officials are little more than agents of industrial and property-holding groups engaged in the exploitation of much larger employee groups.

Nowhere in recent times has that contention been better exemplified than in the conduct of the San Francisco newspapers during the general strike. It is one of the most beautiful examples of the strike-breaking role of the press which have come to light since the war.

The issues in the longshoremen's strike were simple. They wanted recognition of their union (professing "guaranteed" Section 7-A of the Recovery Act) and control of the hiring halls. Control of the hiring halls means, in simple language, elimination of the blacklist.

There were wage and hours demands—but from the beginning these were subordinated,

even by the strikers themselves. Egged on by the industrial big-wigs, who were only too glad to have some one else pull their labor chestnuts from the fire, the ship-owners determined to accept this "challenge" to their "authority" and break the back of the militant International Longshoremen's Association.

They began with the usual distributives against the "mob" (strikers are invariably a mob) led by "alien agitators" and the customary appeals to the workers to follow "sensible" leadership and to city officials to preserve "law and order."

The press, naturally, lent its willing aid. Fantastic "red" plots were discovered in all sorts of secluded places—among others, in the infamous Imperial Valley, where misguided fruit-pickers, dazzled by promises of Kremlin gold, were asking for 11 cents an hour instead of 10. The familiar newspaper technique of inciting to riot was constantly employed.

The result, of course, was inevitable. On July 5 a pitched battle between 1,000 police, armed with revolvers, and several hundred pickets, armed with sticks and stones, resulted in the death of two strikers and the wounding of several score.

Governor Merriam immediately declared that a state of riot and tumult existed and ordered the National Guard onto the waterfront.

The Labor Council, however, instead of succumbing to the hysteria engendered by the Governor, Mayor Rossi and the press, began consideration of a general strike in a last effort to help the longshoremen win their demands.

They held off for a little more than a week pending "mediation" by the National Longshoremen's Board.

When it became apparent, finally, that mediation was simply another strike-breaking device in the hands of the employers, the general strike was decided upon. It was called for Monday, July 16.

This was too much! The thought of one group of employees striking to help another group, literally whipped the employers into a frenzy.

At this point the actual part that the San Francisco press played in the breaking of the strike becomes most apparent. In one of the most cynical confessions of newspaper crookedness ever related as news, Editor and Publisher outlined in a recent issue the steps taken by the publishers to save the day for big business.

"Just before the zero hour," the story reads, "a group of publishers of the Bay Region papers met to devise ways to meet the crisis. They were: Clarence R. Lindner, San Francisco Examiner; George T. Holliday, Call-Bulletin; Joseph R. Knowland, Oakland Tribune; and Richard A. Carrington, Oakland Post-Enquirer."

"John F. Neylan, general counsel for the Hearst Newspapers, was chosen for leadership."

They then proceeded to cook up a deliberate "red scare"—two in all purpose. The purpose was (1) to convince the people that they were face to face with a revolutionary situation and in danger of starvation (which was a patent lie) and (2) to prepare the public all over the country for the vicious and lawless attacks on the workers that were to be necessary if the strike was to be broken in grand old California style.

Let us quote from the publishers' gospel:

"On Sunday, July 15, the Examiner and the Chronicle pub-

lished front-page editorials stating that radicals had seized control by intimidation and that the general strike was a revolution against constituted authority.

"W. R. Hearst telephoned from London saying that a story was being cabled showing how the general strike in England had been crushed when the Government took control of the situation. This was published in the Examiner, Chronicle, Call-Bulletin, Post-Enquirer, and all Hearst papers. The Oakland Tribune published a similar story based on other sources."

The effect, of course, was most heartening. By this time, "The General Public, which had generally been sympathetic toward the alleged wrongs of the longshoremen, awakened to the menace, which caused public hardships and threatened citizen rights, and that the general strike was revolution."

"Under Mr. Neylan's leadership, plans were made to crush the revolt."

The gentleman, it seems, proceeded to negotiations with conservative labor leaders—after articles praising their strike-breaking stand had appeared.

"Newspaper editorials," we are told, "built up the strength and influence of the conservative leadership and aided in splitting the conservative membership away from the radicals by pointing out the dangers of being plunged headlong into a situation which would cause organized labor to lose everything it had gained through the years."

General Johnson, it appears, proposed to grant the demands of the strikers and get them back to work. We quote again: "But he was informed that this would be a compromise with revolution. Mr. Neylan and the publishers' council, set up by General Johnson until three o'clock Tuesday giving him a picture of the crisis."

How well Mr. Neylan and the publishers' council did their work may be surmised from the fact that the next evening the General took to the radio, where he "affirmed labor's right to strike but denounced the general strike as 'revolution' and said that it had to stop."

By Wednesday of that week, "The strategy of Neylan and the publishers' council had begun to work. The strike committee relaxed its restrictions on food and the power of public opinion was running like a strong flood tide against the strikers." (Emphasis ours.)

So much for what was done. As to how it was done, one has only to consult the newspapers published during that week.

Not in recent years has such a brazen attempt to whip up public hysteria been made. Column after column, day after day, the papers built up a synthetic red scare that served as a basis for a complete abrogation of civil rights.

It has been estimated that there was food enough in the city to have lasted at least two weeks, even in a state of complete siege. Yet the bogey of food scarcity was paraded from the start of the strike.

Tuesday morning the Chronicle said:

"The issue in this general strike is clear cut. 'It is a battle of the Communists, by the medium of organized labor for the destruction of constituted government.'"

"It is a reign of terrorism wherein the original issues of the strike have been thrown into the discard—their purpose served."

Do Newspaper Men Strike?

When guilds first sprouted into being, nearly a year ago, the word "strike" was strictly taboo. Even the phrase "collective bargaining" held terrors for some of our members, as will be recalled by those who participated in the first prolonged wrangles over constitutions.

For nearly a year we have sought a square deal from the NRA. As far as any material improvements in wages and hours go, the NRA has brought us close to nothing.

For more than six months we have negotiated in a friendly way with publishers, seeking the benefits enjoyed by newspaper men in other countries where there have resulted in nothing whatever beyond gaseous discussions—in other words, the publishers have kidded us along to a fare-thee-well.

A month ago such negotiations were begun on the Jewish Daily Bulletin and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (virtually the same outfit) in New York. The newspaper men there sought to shorten the atrociously long working day and improve an average pay that would bring a snort from any self-respecting street cleaner.

The management stalled negotiations by a ploy of illness. The next we heard the chapter chairman and two other members had been fired. At 6 o'clock on a Wednesday evening the chapter met. At 8:30 it voted to strike.

Within eight hours, instead of our waiting on the management, hate in hand, the management was asking us for negotiations. The insurance companies have lost heavily because of the cost of administration and because of the number of claims of both the legitimate and fraudulent type. The public has not benefited because the cost of a policy yielding a benefit, after even so long a period of illness as three months, of \$25 per week—nearly enough to pay the costs of free and charitable medical care in the wards of the municipal hospitals of New York City—is well beyond the range of the average newspaper man.

I have been asked by an officer of the guild to suggest a solution of the problem. In 1929 I originated a plan for provision of group medical care for the public at a fixed rate for the City of New York, of 50 cents per week for complete medical, surgical and specialty care, and an additional 50 cents per week for the inclusion of complete nursing and hospital care. The rate was based on actuarial studies and on prevailing costs during that year, which were sufficiently accurate to have been confirmed by the Committee for the Study of the Cost of Medical Care four years later, when it reported in favor of a plan which is practically identical with the one I originally advocated with the exception that it linked the medical profession with the social service racketeers.

Costs estimated in 1929 were considerably higher than prevailing costs. At the present time the rates could be materially reduced. The plan, with various modifications, has been put in operation in many parts of the country by groups of physicians and has proved successful from the point of view of both physician and patient.

The guild asks that plan would best serve the purposes of its members at a cost within the means of the average of its membership? No plan should be considered which did not limit the cost of medical care to a relatively fixed and budgetable sum per quarter. The low earnings of the rank and file of the guild membership make it imperative that the costs be absolutely minimal. In view of the fact the membership constitutes a group of preferred risks as compared with a group of laborers, it is probable that a minimal estimated cost for the community at large would be relatively high as compared with the minimum for its small group of preferred risks. There are no data available which would enable an accurate estimate.

Under these circumstances, the best way of attaining the objectives of the guild would be to set up a

Do Newspaper Men Strike?

When guilds first sprouted into being, nearly a year ago, the word "strike" was strictly taboo. Even the phrase "collective bargaining" held terrors for some of our members, as will be recalled by those who participated in the first prolonged wrangles over constitutions.

For nearly a year we have sought a square deal from the NRA. As far as any material improvements in wages and hours go, the NRA has brought us close to nothing.

For more than six months we have negotiated in a friendly way with publishers, seeking the benefits enjoyed by newspaper men in other countries where there have resulted in nothing whatever beyond gaseous discussions—in other words, the publishers have kidded us along to a fare-thee-well.

A month ago such negotiations were begun on the Jewish Daily Bulletin and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (virtually the same outfit) in New York. The newspaper men there sought to shorten the atrociously long working day and improve an average pay that would bring a snort from any self-respecting street cleaner.

The management stalled negotiations by a ploy of illness. The next we heard the chapter chairman and two other members had been fired. At 6 o'clock on a Wednesday evening the chapter met. At 8:30 it voted to strike.

Within eight hours, instead of our waiting on the management, hate in hand, the management was asking us for negotiations. The insurance companies have lost heavily because of the cost of administration and because of the number of claims of both the legitimate and fraudulent type. The public has not benefited because the cost of a policy yielding a benefit, after even so long a period of illness as three months, of \$25 per week—nearly enough to pay the costs of free and charitable medical care in the wards of the municipal hospitals of New York City—is well beyond the range of the average newspaper man.

I have been asked by an officer of the guild to suggest a solution of the problem. In 1929 I originated a plan for provision of group medical care for the public at a fixed rate for the City of New York, of 50 cents per week for complete medical, surgical and specialty care, and an additional 50 cents per week for the inclusion of complete nursing and hospital care. The rate was based on actuarial studies and on prevailing costs during that year, which were sufficiently accurate to have been confirmed by the Committee for the Study of the Cost of Medical Care four years later, when it reported in favor of a plan which is practically identical with the one I originally advocated with the exception that it linked the medical profession with the social service racketeers.

Costs estimated in 1929 were considerably higher than prevailing costs. At the present time the rates could be materially reduced. The plan, with various modifications, has been put in operation in many parts of the country by groups of physicians and has proved successful from the point of view of both physician and patient.

The guild asks that plan would best serve the purposes of its members at a cost within the means of the average of its membership? No plan should be considered which did not limit the cost of medical care to a relatively fixed and budgetable sum per quarter. The low earnings of the rank and file of the guild membership make it imperative that the costs be absolutely minimal. In view of the fact the membership constitutes a group of preferred risks as compared with a group of laborers, it is probable that a minimal estimated cost for the community at large would be relatively high as compared with the minimum for its small group of preferred risks. There are no data available which would enable an accurate estimate.

Under these circumstances, the best way of attaining the objectives of the guild would be to set up a

"Did you know," inquires Waterbury Guild News, "that the guild's new letterhead is so impressive and businesslike that the officers are fighting the temptation to write themselves some letters so they can hear from big business?"

Businesslike? It's super-businesslike. All an organizer has to do with a letterhead of that sort (it has sharp's tools, top and bottom, and a map besides the literature) is to put on the address, sign it "fraternally truly" and wait for the first month's dues.

"Place your trust in the medi-

A Fund for Guild Babies?

A Doctor Writes on Group Medical Care for 50 Cents a Week

By E. M. JOSEPHSON, M. D.

It has been brought to my attention that the New York chapter of the American Newspaper Guild is planning to make provision for adequate group medical care of the best type available for its members at a nominal and fixed sum per annum.

Second to its original purpose of protecting and increasing the earnings of its members and of improving the conditions under which they work, I can think of no activity which will return a higher dividend of security to the guild and its members.

The cost of illness is one of the most frequent causes of poverty, wiping out all financial reserve, loss of home and possessions and the warping of lives. We can all of us recall such cases in the range of our own experiences, which instruct us in the wisdom of protecting our earnings and savings from the inroads of illness, and of making adequate provision for competent and responsible care in advance of any contingency.

To no group in the community is it of higher importance to make adequate provision for care in illness than it is to the earners of a modest wage, for, though their earning capacity is rigidly limited, the possibilities of expenditure for medical care are unlimited.

Not even the widespread development of the clinic and hospital system with their impersonal and irresponsible medical care at nominal cost can serve the purpose of protecting the financial reserves of the worker.

A multitude of nominal costs amount to a sum that is staggering to the income of a reporter. If they must be met immediately, in these days of insurance policies issued against every form of catastrophe, the solution is obvious: the setting aside of a small sum each week, year by year, of groups of individuals sufficiently large to enable a distribution of the costs of illness, present or anticipated, over a long period.

Health Insurance Too Costly

Health insurance at the hands of the insurance companies has, however, proved to be a prohibitively costly failure. The insurance companies have lost heavily because of the cost of administration and because of the number of claims of both the legitimate and fraudulent type. The public has not benefited because the cost of a policy yielding a benefit, after even so long a period of illness as three months, of \$25 per week—nearly enough to pay the costs of free and charitable medical care in the wards of the municipal hospitals of New York City—is well beyond the range of the average newspaper man.

I have been asked by an officer of the guild to suggest a solution of the problem. In 1929 I originated a plan for provision of group medical care for the public at a fixed rate for the City of New York, of 50 cents per week for complete medical, surgical and specialty care, and an additional 50 cents per week for the inclusion of complete nursing and hospital care. The rate was based on actuarial studies and on prevailing costs during that year, which were sufficiently accurate to have been confirmed by the Committee for the Study of the Cost of Medical Care four years later, when it reported in favor of a plan which is practically identical with the one I originally advocated with the exception that it linked the medical profession with the social service racketeers.

Costs estimated in 1929 were considerably higher than prevailing costs. At the present time the rates could be materially reduced. The plan, with various modifications, has been put in operation in many parts of the country by groups of physicians and has proved successful from the point of view of both physician and patient.

The guild asks that plan would best serve the purposes of its members at a cost within the means of the average of its membership? No plan should be considered which did not limit the cost of medical care to a relatively fixed and budgetable sum per quarter. The low earnings of the rank and file of the guild membership make it imperative that the costs be absolutely minimal. In view of the fact the membership constitutes a group of preferred risks as compared with a group of laborers, it is probable that a minimal estimated cost for the community at large would be relatively high as compared with the minimum for its small group of preferred risks. There are no data available which would enable an accurate estimate.

Under these circumstances, the best way of attaining the objectives of the guild would be to set up a

"Did you know," inquires Waterbury Guild News, "that the guild's new letterhead is so impressive and businesslike that the officers are fighting the temptation to write themselves some letters so they can hear from big business?"

Businesslike? It's super-businesslike. All an organizer has to do with a letterhead of that sort (it has sharp's tools, top and bottom, and a map besides the literature) is to put on the address, sign it "fraternally truly" and wait for the first month's dues.

"Place your trust in the medi-

Do You Want to Be an Editor?

You Prefer the Glamour of Reporting? Wake Up! Glamour Went Out With Hoop Skirts

By GRETIA PALMER

There are two different species of newspaper men. The one aspires to being an editor. The other would not be caught dead with a blue pencil in his hand.

The second type is a puzzle and a headache to his employer, who is bound, ex officio, to belong to the other category. He is likely to be a swashbuckling and independent sort—less likely to catch the 5:15 for the suburbs than the desk man, more likely to be found telling tall tales at the office saloon.

He is often a brilliant and imaginative writer, a good hand at hunching stories and tactful enough at getting on with his associates, but he is not interested in telling the truth. He is not interested in the life of a foreign news bureau, certainly not in life in Omaha or Baltimore. But once the sights, the language and the ways of the local White House spokesman had sunk deeply into his subconscious, there was little to set it apart from reporting anywhere. Certainly it had no part with the champagne supper, excitement, scoops, bonuses and backstage rowdy do that Davis knew.

Moreover, said my informant, the impartial reporting of news, that ideal so dear to the budding journalist, is an impossibility under the prevailing order of news merchandising abroad. The associations are not only interested in telling the rest of the world about what happens in a country, they are wrapped up also in the project of selling their services there. And that is why the correspondent, who is also, very often, the salesman, must be—under the muddled regime—pro-administration. That is why the most satisfactory correspondent, from the home office point of view, is a Fascist in Italy and a Communist in Moscow.

The writer who refuses to accept an editorship in order to preserve his independence may just as well be a writer who will not edit. It is that of drama critic. Lord knows the fellow is not overworked. But have you ever tried attending every opening in New York for one who has escaped this memorable experience can possibly imagine the appalling trashiness of many of the offerings that hopeful producers bring into town. The suggestion of what a writer should do is to sit at the theatre seats, constant attendance at the brain seems to all too tedious. Who or a million dollars where they are.

The writer may take to sports, and to his neighbors, while a searchlight played on his windows. But Newhouse didn't give in. Whether he has the financial support of the ANPA, or whether he is fighting the guild because the Advance is from top to bottom a nonunion shop, is not certain.

It is certain that the Newhouse Guild of New York will continue telling the readers of the Advance about their favorite newspaper. Some time maybe before Christmas and maybe afterward Newhouse is expected to find that he can't beat the guild.

In the meantime, Crosby, who had worked on the Advance five years before he was fired, is helping the emergency committee in its work. While the defense fund at this writing is in the various units, and it is expected that enough money will be raised to pay Crosby at least part of his usual salary until he is at work.

Kansas City Guild Survives Threats

KANSAS CITY—After being blocked for months by publishers, newspaper men here finally defied them by organizing a guild in July.

The two men who led the way were promptly put on "tough" assignments—a move which the guild considered intimidation. Despite this the guild is going strong, and as soon as the national organization is in a position to lend financial and moral support in its work, this key city will have one of the most powerful guild units in the country.

No Dues, No Vote, Heckler Suggests

Voting at guild meetings by a show of hands in the bunk, says Peaky Pete, vice-chairman of the Evening Bladder unit, who attends all meetings and keeps them in a state of turmoil till 3 A. M.

"I insist that hereafter the president shall call meetings by announcing: 'All those in favor will please raise their guild cards,'" he declares. "And if their stamp aren't in date, they needn't bother to raise them."

Arbitration Refused

Newhouse was in Europe when Crosby, on the pretext that he had been incompetent, was fired. The matter was taken before Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, who had arbitrated the other dispute, and the Advance asked for arbitration. The executive committee, unauthorized to accept, went before the representative assembly and was instructed to refuse arbitration. This decision was reached largely as a result of speeches by Heywood Brown, national president, who said the right of Crosby to join the guild could not be arbitrated.

The guild met Newhouse on his return, committee hearing the liner Aquitania at Quarantine and asking him to take Crosby back. While they spoke an airplane circled overhead, bearing the legend, "Back the Guild," and members on the most paged Newhouse through megaphones. At the thirty-five members were on picket duty. The publisher, considerably surprised, went to his home, and that night a loudspeaker truck, pickets and speakers talked to him, her staff took a bow.

The guild's Joan of Arc is Miss Emily Brown, known to readers of the Long Island Daily Press as Miss Fixit.

When E. I. Newhouse, the publisher, notified some ten that they were to be discharged and threatened to put other employees on space unless they dissolved their guild unit, it was Miss Brown who organized the resistance and carried an appeal for help to the New York Guild.

Miss Brown was on the picket line thereafter for three days, marching beside Heywood Brown and others. When there were not enough pickets to carry all the banners she carried two. Likewise she distributed copies of the handbill extra issued by the Guild Reporter as an appeal to fellow citizens at Jamaica.

Moreover, Miss Brown was not barely alone in the company of her friends. On one occasion she laid

the law down to her boss—to his face. This occurred at a general meeting of the New York Guild called to consider the Press's backbitching from its agreement signed in the office of Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia at New York.

A dozen members of the Press staff were attending this meeting despite the presence of their managing editor, Philip Hochstein, who had been invited to string along so as to assure himself that the guild was not the dangerous organization his paper feared.

It was in the presence of her boss, then, that Miss Brown recited the grievances the guild encountered before the Press had agreed to play fair, and she charged Mr. Hochstein to his face with attempts to lure members out of the guild with threats to cancel vacations.

The 200 at the meeting applauded her for two minutes, and others on her staff took a bow.

Company Union: A Snare

Employees, Organizing to Improve Their Lot, Frequently Fall Into This Trap of the Industrial Barons, And in the "Arrogantly Unfair Contest" That Ensues They Are Often Destroyed, Along With Their Dreams of Fair Play in Industry and a Decent Standard of Living

By Richard F. Hyde

WHAT is this Company Union? We read so much about it. Why does Labor so strenuously object to its existence? Why is Capital so zealous in its development and perpetuation? Does it give reasonable security to the worker? What about this humble individual worker who must necessarily be the bone of contention? What are the conflicting views of these two militant groups sent this so-called Company Union?

Historically, the Company Union, more fittingly described by its original name, Plan for Employee Representation, was the product of the World War, introduced first by the War Labor Board.

This board, realizing the obvious necessity for emancipating the worker, and recognizing the stubborn opposition of big business to any unionization worthy of the name, developed this compromise and called it a Plan for Employee Representation. A review of the events of that time tells us that generally big business ridiculed the project and was adamant in its refusal to accept.

However, in those industries or, more correctly, in those branches or plants where strife and conflict produced strikes, the War Labor Board forced management to accept it and treat with their employees according to the plan therein laid down.

At its best it was considered a compromise. It was a partial victory for both Labor and Capital. Capital had forced the powerful War Labor Board to discontinue its efforts tending toward the recognition of unions. Labor on the other hand had forced Capital to accept a plan, the machinery of which gave the worker an opportunity to enter his protest against unfair conditions, a thing he could not have done before. Neither faction was satisfied, but both reluctantly accepted the mandate in order to facilitate the work on material urgently needed for the country's successful prosecution of the war. Contrary to general belief, management did not originate this plan.

The Mechanics of the Thing

Briefly, the mechanics of the plan called for the election of a workman to represent a unit of approximately 200 employees. From these representatives were elected three employees to serve on a Shop Committee. This Shop Committee would represent the employees in an entire building of a plant. Above these Shop Committees was an Adjustment Committee consisting of four representatives of the employees, also elected. There were other units, more or less unimportant, from the employee welfare point of view. One might, however, mention the Rules, Procedure and Elections Committee, which also had three elected employee representatives.

All these committees were called Joint Committees as the plan called for an appointment by the manager to match numerically the employee elections. Naturally, to the Shop Committees the manager appointed the smartest and best foreman, or other equally capable supervisor. To the important Joint Adjustment Committee he appointed his most capable and brilliant superintendents, usually including his own assistant. To the "R. P. and E." the manager appointed himself, together with two of his most able superintendents or high ranking engineers. Like the intercollegiate Rules Committee for football they made the rules governing the "game." These were mostly, if not entirely, restrictive.

Thus, under the Plan for Employee Representation, if a workman had a grievance he could take it to the foreman if he wished, or to his representative, who then must take it to the foreman. The foreman and representative reviewed the matter under discussion, and if a settlement was made satisfactory to the originating employee, that ended the case, regardless of any rights or wrongs that might be involved affecting others. If the foreman would not or could not correct the situation, it was the duty of the employee representative to submit the case in writing to the Shop Committee.

The Joint Shop Committee then considered the case, and after more or less heated discussion its disposal was put to a vote. If and when a majority vote was obtained the case was closed. If the com-

plaint was despatched, as usually it did, it became the duty of the secretary of this first-line committee to forward the case, with its minutes, to the General Joint Adjustment Committee, which will review the case, and if necessary, forward it to the next level of appeal.

It is an axiom of warfare to keep the enemy from concentrating. When enemy forces are scattered there is no centralized leadership, no balance, no morale, no force. How well management has accomplished this segregation needs only examination by any novice into industrial management affairs. Management is solidly and militarily organized, with experts covering the minutest necessary details. As if this was not enough preponderance of power to subjugate the defenseless employee body, they have as additional weapons, their trade associations and their industrial associations, all banded together for greater strength, and united for the sole purpose of fighting employee efforts to organize.

An Arrogantly Unfair Contest

Really, the contest is as unfair, that one would believe its very ridiculousness would laugh it out of existence and give way to one of partial justice at least. Under this setup the employees have the same chance of success that a squad of untrained boy scouts would have fighting the United States Army and Navy. The odds are practically the same. Under a plan for employee representation, of the most liberal kind, we find the workers impotent, with no organization or leadership within any given plant. They have no knowledge of what transpires in the different departments, much less in other plants of the same company. Contact with news from other corporations is out of the question.

They have no newspaper, magazine, or other medium from which to learn the progress of the war, or the news of the employees. The only information they are permitted to get is that from company organs, the material of which is so sifted, refined, and deleted by the various company propagandists, editors, personnel directors, public relation directors, and other officials, as to leave any trace of a model of innocuousness.

Unlike their supervisory antagonists, they have no legal experts to consult when their advice may be highly necessary. They have no adept statisticians or accountants to interpret complicated reports issued by other industrial wizards. They have no recourse to divers engineering talent which big business boasts. Neither do they commune with ex-professors of economics, who always seem able to justify plausibly any action of corporate management.

Let Us Use a Sport's Analogy

Let us present a sport's analogy which aptly typifies the colossal unfairness of company unions. Suppose for years you have been unsuccessfully striving to break a hundred at golf. Suppose that for some reason you were elected by your friends and compelled to compete daily in a thirty-six-hole match with Mr. Robert Tyre Jones Jr., when this estimable gentleman was at the peak of his golfing form. Suppose still further that your only weapon was an old, warped, hickory-shafted niblick, with the weight all in the handle. You cannot afford a caddy and under the circumstances you really don't need one.

Mr. Jones, on the other hand, has his full complement of clubs. He has spiked shoes, giving firmness and sureness to his every step and move. Each of Bobby's many clubs compare with the phalanx of experts possessed by big business, any of which can be called on to circumvent trouble of any kind. An important point to remember is that Jones knows the besetting technicalities and may claim victory by the disqualification of his woefully handicapped opponent through the violation of some obscure rule.

Miracles will happen in golf as they sometimes do in business. Suppose that

Continued on next page

5-Day Week Granted By Associated Press

Continued from Page One

association "super-structure" within the guild to make the organization more effective in the press association field.

The chronological history of the Associated Press bargaining effort follows:

July 2—Associated Press unit of New York Guild adopts a resolution requesting the American Newspaper Guild to begin bargaining on its behalf, the unit pointing out in the resolution that it hoped by this means to take the leadership toward bargaining and that it expected to be followed by other Associated Press units of the guild.

July 30—Eighty-two ballots authorizing the American Newspaper Guild to begin bargaining are turned over to the executive secretary.

August 1—A letter signed jointly by Eddy and Watson is sent to Frank B. Meyer and Kent Cooper, president and general manager, respectively, of the Associated Press, asking an appointment for purposes of beginning collective bargaining.

August 3—A supplemental letter to include Boston in the bargaining effort is sent.

August 10—Eddy, interpreting the request as an attempt to stall collective bargaining, throws the matter to the New York Regional Labor Board, Mrs. Elinore Herrick, executive vice-chairman of the board, asks the Associated Press to submit a certified copy of its Boston and New York pay rolls so that she may check the list of Associated Press men who had petitioned the American Newspaper Guild to proceed with collective bargaining.

August 11—Associated Press men are called on the carpet by executives and cross-examined about their guild conduct.

August 17—Associated Press unit votes down efforts for company union, but creates a nonbargaining committee, which includes Watson, a member of the Associated Press unit, to confer with the general manager, and suspends the bargain-

ing effort pending the committee's report.

August 20—Mrs. Herrick telephones Eddy that Associated Press has ignored Labor Board's request.

August 21—Associated Press Committee reports general manager's attitude, briefly that he is without power to bargain unless instructed by the board of directors, which meets next in October; also the general manager has said: "Uncertainty" created by the organization of the guild had held up the five-day week for the Associated Press.

Unit votes to suspend its previous action for collective bargaining "until further action by the unit."

August 27—Associated Press day reporters and wire men are called to staff meeting and asked if they consider and ceasing to be free agents' bargaining rather than to be re-joined.

August 28—Associated Press night reporters and wire men are called to staff meeting and frankly asked to "get out" of the guild.

August 30—Foster Bailey, unit chairman, induces Eddy to notify Cooper of the unit's action. Eddy pleads that action by the American Newspaper Guild on the unit resolution should be deferred three days pending the Eastern advisory council meeting on September 2, but gives in on Bailey's insistence.

August 31—Cooper receives letter from Eddy.

The executive secretary's comment to The Guild Reporter follows: "Newspaper men like other American citizens, have a right to collective bargaining through organization, large enough and strong enough to enforce a square deal. They are not content with charity. They are not likely to be satisfied with collective bargaining and withdrawn at the whim of an employer."

"They want reasonable hours and pay and security, secured by contract, in their jobs, such as their counterparts in other countries have enjoyed for years."

"Last spring many publishers were surprised when they discovered that 'voluntary' responses to the President's request for a five-day forty-hour week was not everything in the world that newspaper

protected by contract? A general 10 per cent reduction in wages can be effected quickly, without managerial penalty, and the necessary money diverted to cover contractual losses made by bad management. A lay-off can raise still greater sums for the same purpose."

For this exigency labor is used as a signing sponge which can be squeezed dry if necessary. It is barely emerging from its worst wringing in history."

There is one most important weakness in personal relations between management and employee that has generally escaped attention. It is a most vital point and probably the strongest reason why employee representation or company unions cannot last. Upon it hinges what will be the future relations between these two warring factions. Strange as it may seem, there is no such thing as a "word of honor" with any supervisor or officer of a corporation of any size. A solemn promise made by any of them means absolutely nothing. Sooner or later it is repudiated. It will just not stick—it cannot. With a corporation nothing sticks unless covered by a contract.

For the purchase of mere pins there is a contract; for the renting of an office there is a contract; for the purchase or delivery of a machine there is a contract. All are legally binding. Why should there not be contracts with working personnel? What insurance for safety has the employee got? If everyone else is protected by contract, is there any sane reason to exclude them?

Devices for Getting Nowhere

The employees of a big corporation are considerably a victim of chance. Wherever employee representation is used, it sooner or later deteriorates to discussions of trivial matters. It is edifying to have a group of men sitting around a table, sagely discussing whether or not it is essential to have doors on the toilets? Is it flattering to management to be unable to explain why a sun is penalized one-half hour's pay for being late one minute?

Employees dare not, so sooner or later, management has to take the initiative in providing subjects for mutual discussion. Sooner or later the monotonous bores both sides. The supervisors are provoked by the higher strategists to find "interesting" topics for these meetings, in order to lend a semblance of import to something they all know to be a farce.

For very obvious reasons, organized industry obviously dangers before the eyes of its unorganized employees the utter fool-

men could possibly desire; they were surprised, in other words, that the guild did not die quietly and peacefully but on the contrary gained strength.

"The company union tactics used by the Associated Press management are familiar to organized workers in a hundred different industries today, not only familiar but transparent."

The comment of the National Press Association Committee chairman was:

"The lesson is plain. Whether or not we use our collective bargaining power immediately, we must keep it intact, polished and ready. I look for renewed interest in the guild by press association men."

"The resentment which followed the two staff meetings held in the Associated Press office is good evidence that press association men will not be browbeaten, coerced or sized out of the guild."

Urged to Quit the Guild

August 28—Associated Press night reporters and wire men are called to staff meeting and frankly asked to "get out" of the guild.

August 30—Foster Bailey, unit chairman, induces Eddy to notify Cooper of the unit's action. Eddy pleads that action by the American Newspaper Guild on the unit resolution should be deferred three days pending the Eastern advisory council meeting on September 2, but gives in on Bailey's insistence.

August 31—Cooper receives letter from Eddy.

The executive secretary's comment to The Guild Reporter follows: "Newspaper men like other American citizens, have a right to collective bargaining through organization, large enough and strong enough to enforce a square deal. They are not content with charity. They are not likely to be satisfied with collective bargaining and withdrawn at the whim of an employer."

"They want reasonable hours and pay and security, secured by contract, in their jobs, such as their counterparts in other countries have enjoyed for years."

"Last spring many publishers were surprised when they discovered that 'voluntary' responses to the President's request for a five-day forty-hour week was not everything in the world that newspaper

protected by contract? A general 10 per cent reduction in wages can be effected quickly, without managerial penalty, and the necessary money diverted to cover contractual losses made by bad management. A lay-off can raise still greater sums for the same purpose."

For this exigency labor is used as a signing sponge which can be squeezed dry if necessary. It is barely emerging from its worst wringing in history."

There is one most important weakness in personal relations between management and employee that has generally escaped attention. It is a most vital point and probably the strongest reason why employee representation or company unions cannot last. Upon it hinges what will be the future relations between these two warring factions. Strange as it may seem, there is no such thing as a "word of honor" with any supervisor or officer of a corporation of any size. A solemn promise made by any of them means absolutely nothing. Sooner or later it is repudiated. It will just not stick—it cannot. With a corporation nothing sticks unless covered by a contract.

For the purchase of mere pins there is a contract; for the renting of an office there is a contract; for the purchase or delivery of a machine there is a contract. All are legally binding. Why should there not be contracts with working personnel? What insurance for safety has the employee got? If everyone else is protected by contract, is there any sane reason to exclude them?

Devices for Getting Nowhere

The employees of a big corporation are considerably a victim of chance. Wherever employee representation is used, it sooner or later deteriorates to discussions of trivial matters. It is edifying to have a group of men sitting around a table, sagely discussing whether or not it is essential to have doors on the toilets? Is it flattering to management to be unable to explain why a sun is penalized one-half hour's pay for being late one minute?

Employees dare not, so sooner or later, management has to take the initiative in providing subjects for mutual discussion. Sooner or later the monotonous bores both sides. The supervisors are provoked by the higher strategists to find "interesting" topics for these meetings, in order to lend a semblance of import to something they all know to be a farce.

For very obvious reasons, organized industry obviously dangers before the eyes of its unorganized employees the utter fool-

Boston Guild Fights Herald's Firing of 2

BOSTON—Travis N. Ingham, for five years a columnist on the Boston Herald, and Jack Beale, for eleven years a copy desk man there, were discharged abruptly on August 25 and the reasons for their dismissal were kept secret by the management.

Both are guild members and Beale was secretary of the Herald chapter. The Boston Guild is negotiating for increased salaries and better working conditions.

The Boston Guild charges that the dismissals were "hostile to the guild," and has asked E. W. Preston, publisher of the Boston Herald and Traveler, for an explanation. He has not yet given any explanation, but he is to meet a guild committee, and at the same time give pay increases to several employees. The situation has been reported by wire to President Roosevelt.

"Under Section 7 (2) of the Recovery act and the joint resolution of Congress creating our board, an employer is clearly obligated to bargain collectively with any individuals or with any organization, as the case may be, chosen by the employees to represent them. . . ."

"But who the hell is Congress?" shrieks a little chap who sits under this desk and argues for Capital. "And who the hell is your board?" It's a big grin, fellow. And a gorilla could lick 'em both."

Mention of gorillas reminds us of Governor Rufus Laffoon, although connection between them momentarily evades our deductive. And that reminds us of a Herald Tribune copywriter who received a story slugged "gem." It concerned the Columbia Broadcasting System and had nothing to do with jewels.

"Why," he asked delicately, "the gem?"

Engelberg, the night city editor, looked up with a dreadful grin. "Columbia," he bawled, "the Gem of the Ocean." And he fell to chuckling over something.

The Reporter's Late And It's Your Fault

This issue of The Guild Reporter has been delayed by tardiness in the payment of national dues. A slump in revenues following the difficult task of financing a national convention, after less than a year's organization work, was expected, and now that the various young guilds have recovered from the effort funds are being released for other than the most basic administrative functions.

It is planned to enforce the convention's plan for semi-publication of The Reporter with the next issue. Pending notice of deadlines by mail, correspondents and guild secretaries are asked to communicate news to headquarters as soon as it is available.

Employees of the two newspapers owned by United States Senator Carter Glass have no fear of reprisals if they join the guild.

Sailing recently on the Aquitania for a short vacation in Europe, Senator Glass said: "I don't know if any of my boys belong to the guild, but one thing is sure, I am not going to fire anybody for it."

fellows, seem to die. If an economic equivalent of the Boston Tea Party occurred today it would be severely branded as a strike perpetrated by "outside agitators." "Communists," "Reds," "anarchists," seeking to destroy the traditions of a glorious country. It was stubborn adherence to the obsolete principle of the divine right of kings, which eventually toppled most of royalty from their high perches and made political leaning towers of the others.

The principle for which Labor is today fighting is the same as that for which the original thirteen colonies fought in 1775. Today, when representation was the spark that set off the first American explosion. Today Labor is paying overwhelming taxes by wholesale unemployment, in inadequate and deplorably insecure employment. It is paying taxes for the follies of managerial ambitions and conquests. It is footing the expenses of absurdly unsound capitalist expeditions.

It is a sad commentary on the sportsmanship and judgment of the industrial kings that, when the light went out of their Addin's lamp, they made pitiful appeals to Labor to accept patriotically their wretched plight, but to please stand by until, somehow, the good old days would return. When the goose was hanging high, with great profits flowing into capitalist coffers, they did not seek, and neither would they listen to, the advice of Labor.

The wizards who got us into this jam are gradually passing out with bowed heads and drooping shoulders, to be replaced by a new crop of embryonic magicians. Given a friendly press, with a returned prosperity, this new litter of wonder men will get the notion that the whole thing is due to their superior sagacity, and we will make another take-off into uncharted stratosphere, later to have the gigantic gas bag tipped wide open and plunge us into a worse bog of despair and suffering.

To guard against these recurrent catastrophes it would seem that Labor must be given a position on a par with Capital. Its voice of experience would serve as an excellent stabilizer. It would supply ballast sadly lacking in managerial ranks. Management is probably too conceited and selfish to admit any such necessity and will, no doubt, continue stubbornly to contest any encroachment into their perial domain.

They are putting up a tremendous effort today to retain the old order. They are powerful, it is true, and they may by this great power retard the inevitable, but eventually it will come, even though it is coming rides with a revolution.

The Outside Agitator

From a satirical painting by Morris Nelson

UNION METHODS NOW REQUIRED, EDDY DECLARES

Guild's Interests Identical With Other Workers

By JONATHAN EDDY
Executive-Secretary, American Newspaper Guild

The guild has entered a second phase. As a result of policies laid down at the convention, we have, as foreseen by national officers, encountered certain new hurdles in organization work.

If our new constitution raises any fresh difficulties, however, they are more than offset by the strength and effectiveness that derive from the new aspect in which the convention has clothed the guild.

The changes to which I refer are embodied in the purpose of the guild as written into Article II, the new constitution:

The purpose of the National Guild shall be to advance the economic well-being of working newspaper men and women; to guarantee greater economic security for the employed and unemployed members of our craft; to guarantee, in so far as we are able, constant honesty in the dissemination of public intelligence; to raise the standards of journalism and the ethics of our craft; and to foster friendly cooperation with all workers of the newspaper industry.

We Are a Labor Organization

While an honest press must always be our first objective, the order in which our purposes were listed in the above paragraph shows clearly the importance placed by the convention upon economic considerations in striving for that objective.

Outstanding as a result of the convention is our definite recognition of the fact that we are a labor organization. Because of our key occupation in the social set-up, our responsibilities far transcend those of the average trade union, and that this is thoroughly realized by those who are leading the way in the guild movement is patent in the latter part of the above noted Article II of the constitution.

It is vital that guild officers and members everywhere understand and thoroughly the responsibilities definitely assumed by the adoption of this definition of our purposes.

Talk Is Not Enough

Throughout the six months preceding the second convention our unsatisfactory relations with the publishers made it increasingly evident that mere talk, or adoption of resolutions about higher standards and ethics, was insufficient. In short, the publishers on the whole paid lip service to our ideals but did nothing to bring about the desired living standards and the feeling of security in the job that are essential to an intelligent and fearless press.

Thus we learned that in order to make progress toward our objectives we should have to adopt the same approach as millions of other men and women in all branches of industry have used in dealing with employers. To those active in the guild movement it was no surprise that our delegates, from all parts of the nation, agreed that we must use the methods of newspaper men in many other countries—the methods of trade unionism.

A Nationwide Union

The American Newspaper Guild is now a nationwide union of newspaper editorial department workers, and we are proud of it. Furthermore, our interests as a group of employees are fundamentally the same as the interests of other employee groups everywhere.

But we recognize, as possibly other federations of newspaper workers have failed to, that the ideal of an honest and untrammeled press transcends even our own material interests. And, because of this, we shall fight the more vehemently against the hypocrisy that maintains that freedom to exploit labor is the cornerstone of a free press.

With our new constitution in force we must all realize it is easier to organize a guild with no clear-cut policy and program, as in our earlier stages, than to organize a guild that recognizes the fundamental divergence of interest between employee and a certain type of employer.

Publisher Opposition Stronger

We are now established so firmly on a nationwide basis that no attack

Benefits for Defense Fund? Members Must Decide; Dues and Donations Too Small to Run Fighting Guild

By LOU WEDEMAR

The Newspaper Guild of New York, engaged in a fight with one publisher and anticipating other fights, has to this date been unable to determine whether it should authorize "benefits"—entertainments or receptions through which the general public would be asked to provide money for the guild by buying tickets or making contributions. The purpose of the benefits, of course, would be to increase the defense fund, which until now has depended upon members' contributions.

The issue is one that will probably affect every department of the American Newspaper Guild, especially since Emmett Crozier, the national treasurer, has reported a virtual financial collapse of guilds which have run benefits.

Fights So Far Paid for by Members

The New York Guild itself financed its successful campaign to reinstate nine discharged members of the Long Island Daily Press unit a few

weeks ago, and so far has paid for its campaign to get the Staten Island Advance to reinstate one discharged guild member. Its defense fund today contains a surplus of a few dollars because expenditures have not been heavy; the fund has not totaled more than \$500. But many members feel that a large defense fund should be raised as a precaution in case of a lock-out affecting scores of members who need financial support or to finance long battles on a smaller scale. Some believe that a national defense fund of \$50,000 to \$100,000, or more, should be available.

The first committee appointed by the New York Representative Assembly to consider a benefit split 2 to 2. The assembly then voted 17 to 12 in favor of a benefit, and appointed a new committee to investigate further, withdrawing its decision. The new committee soon reported 4 to 1 in favor of a benefit, and a meeting of the general membership, attended by 300, voted to accept the pro-benefit report, by a considerable majority.

But sixty-eight members who had vehemently opposed benefits as dangerous in many ways voted against the report and to consider it still further—by a written referendum of the 1,800 members of the New York Guild.

Members Felled on the Issue

The referendum, which is being carried on at this writing, will determine the attitude of the New York Guild on the holding of a benefit for the defense fund at this time. Approval will not mean that a benefit must be held at once, but will assure the executive committee that the membership approves the policy of asking financial support from the public for defending the guild.

An important feature of the pro-benefit report is the recommendation that 50 per cent of the proceeds be turned into the national defense fund which can be used for New York or any other city on a two-thirds vote of the local and national organization. It also recommended nation-wide guild benefits for the same fund. Finally, it is recommended that all money raised through benefits be directed exclusively to the defense fund.

Important features of the minority report were an admission of the danger of decreased dues following benefits, and a statement of fear that "the benefit racket" might destroy the guild, as it has destroyed other newspaper men's organizations.

The pro-benefit report states that an adequate defense fund cannot be raised in the New York Guild membership because it is behind in its dues, thirty guilds in other cities having better records.

Dangers Admitted

It states that money must be raised for a defense fund, and that it must come from outside. A benefit is termed a gamble and careful planning to assure financial success is emphasized. Further, says the report, it is necessary to keep such publicly subscribed money from eliminating the payment of regular dues. It is recommended that such moneys never be used for current expenses, but only in defense of a guild principle on a two-thirds vote of the Representative Assembly. The prohibition of benefits for office units is suggested.

The report recommends the following safeguards: that all performers be paid, that no guild member sell tickets, that the benefit be run from a business office outside the guild offices.

The anti-benefit report stated that very little money reaches the treasury after a benefit, that a scandal is likely to result from running one and that the guild's financial problems can be solved by persuading members to pay their dues and contribute to the defense fund. It says that assessment of members and payment of back dues can meet any emergency so far anticipated. It recalls the provision in the New York Guild's first constitution against accepting outside financial aid of any kind and describes this as a vital principle applicable especially to newspaper men. Any money from outside, it is said, would be considered by the public as "graft."

The report says that no benefit can be more than moderately lucrative without newspaper publicity, which it believes a guild benefit would not get. Admitting the value of the safeguards described in the majority report, the anti-benefit report states that honest members would resent a benefit, and that benefits in time would ruin the guild.

Broun Would Strike Even if on Contract

"Contract or no contract, I would go out on strike with the guild if it ever came to that," Heywood Broun told World-Telegram members of the New York Guild recently in a speech opposing company unions.

Mr. Broun, president of the national guild, said he wanted "to go on the record" because some cynics had questioned his sincerity in agitating a "dangerous" course for the guild when he was on contract and not on salary and, therefore, invulnerable to publisher reprisal.

Mr. Broun gave the answer: "I'm for the guild, whatever it does. I know no higher loyalty."

START A PAPER, BROUN SUGGESTS

A. F. L. Hears Plan for Jointly Sponsored Publication

A resolution pledging support to the guild in its campaign against the open-shop Staten Island Advance was adopted by the New York State convention of the American Federation of Labor at Buffalo. At the same time the federation took under advisement a suggestion by Heywood Broun for the establishment of an opposition newspaper on Staten Island.

The idea of fighting anti-guild publishers with their own weapon, as well as with devices borrowed from the unions and new ones evolved by the guild itself, has been broached in guild councils, but this was the first time a national guild officer had taken the plan before an organization that could furnish the necessary financial backing.

The president of the American Guild made it plain to the delegates that his proposal was not predicated on a desire to put the guild in the publishing business. He sought primarily to provide work for unemployed newspaper men and printers and to re-establish on Staten Island the right of organization by newspaper employees, which was scrapped with the firing of Alexander Crosby, editorial writer and news editor of the Advance and a guild organizer.

Mr. Broun also suggested that a paper with an unflinching regard for the interests of labor, published in one of the boroughs of New York City, would be of decided importance to the A. F. of A., now and in "future contingencies." The site, he pointed out, offered many strategic advantages. He said that it would have to be a newspaper, first and last, if guild members were to edit it—not a medium for crying up one side of a cause at the expense of the editorial integrity the guild stands for. It was his opinion that the existing New York dailies were not always ideal servants of the public in this respect.

Mr. Broun told how Crosby had been fired, after attempting to establish a guild unit on his paper, and how the New York Guild had established picket lines, held street meetings and employed other means to carry to the 25,000 readers of the Advance the true story of the young editor's dismissal.

Staten Island has only one newspaper, and the unions have never been able to organize the mechanical department.

UNIONS AND GUILD LINE UP AS ALLIES

Open-Shop Paper Must Appear All to Win Armistice

Several months ago five New York Guild members journeyed to Paterson, N. J. The types of two papers were striking. The newspaper men took their place on the picket line at 1 o'clock in the morning. Several of them carried picket signs for the first time in their lives. What started them on this new adventure was the report that the publisher was requiring news men in the plant to read proof; that is, to scab on the striking composing room men.

This was the first step made by the New York guild toward co-operating with the mechanical unions. Several days later the action of these individual guild members was officially sanctioned by the Representative Assembly.

Settlement Must Satisfy All

This week the membership of the Newspaper Guild of New York voted overwhelmingly to authorize a committee to enter into a written compact with four "other unions in the newspaper industry in our fight against the management of the Staten Island Advance." The guild bound itself to deal jointly with the publisher of the Advance and to settle only when the other employee organizations were ready to do likewise.

The New York Guild has thus taken seriously the stand adopted by the national convention: to co-operate with other labor organizations in the field. The development leading up to the action of the guild in the Staten Island fight, however, was not the result of a deliberate effort to carry out the recommendation of the national convention. It simply proved the inherent logic of the convention's stand.

The circumstances surrounding the Staten Island Advance dispute were of such a nature that seeking the aid of the established unions in the allied printing trades was indispensable. "Big Six" took the lead, setting up a committee of nine to work with the guild. Without delay, members of the pressmen's, stereotypers', mailers' and handlers' unions were drawn in. These preliminary meetings revealed at once the need for a detailed working agreement between the various organizations to make the fight against the Advance effective.

Joint Action Contemplated

This need will be met Wednesday, September 5, when, properly authorized, all organizations are expected to sign a compact to carry through joint action in Staten Island. Since the Advance plant is completely non-union, the mechanical unions have a vital interest in the battle.

Cameras Create Stir in Washington Guild

Continued from Page One

little thinking. For the door of his sanctum opened quietly and Mr. Managing Editor emerged with a slip of paper in his hand. He went directly to the bulletin board and pinned the paper on it. Then, almost stumbling over Dan Chase, whose loyalty to the paper rather than to the guild is widely known in Washington, he started back to his den.

Old Dan read the newly typed announcement in a glance. It was on official stationery, and it was in the typing of the Managing Editor's stenographer. "The matter of having reporters carry cameras," it said, "will be discussed at a special meeting of the Star Guild chapter tomorrow afternoon."

"Mr. Kuhn," quavered Old Dan. The Managing Editor turned. "Mr. Kuhn, I just read this notice you put on the board. Does that mean we all must join the guild?"

Mr. Managing Editor let out a roar that wiped his earlier roars from memory, and Old Dan fled down the corridor.

The Star chapter meeting was held, but nothing was done about cameras for reporters. Nothing had to be done. It seems some guild official had been talking to Mr. Managing Editor and had told him reporters didn't want to keep photographers out of work. Further, he hinted to Mr. Managing Editor that reporters were reporters, not cameramen.

The cameras remained unused, and the Star, after a few days, hired a new photographer.