

WHAT DO YOU
READ?

The Guild Reporter

FOR THE 4TH
ESTATE

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COORDINATION AND ORGANIZING MUST BE CENTRALIZED

Local Officers Should Beware
of Publisher Undermining Tactics

By JONATHAN EDDY

Questions often arise as to the relative functions of the local and national Guild organizations. If a local has a dispute with a publisher, should the local or the national Guild take action? If a Guild has grown inactive, whose fault is it, that of the local or that of the national? If dues are not collected, are local officers to blame, or has the national body fallen down?

Since we are all members of the same body, the American Newspaper Guild, and since the local organizations are parts, rather than mere affiliates, of the national, the relationship and the division of responsibility are sometimes hard to define. Moreover, the attitude of the national, since its funds are limited, is bound to be influenced by expediency.

There are, however, certain functions which the national organization must carry on if it is to be a national organization at all. First among these is the function of organizing. In fact, almost every activity of the national office stems directly from that function, which, from the days before there was any formal national organization, right up to today, has been the paramount consideration in the mind of the writer.

Must Have Co-ordination

If it will be appreciated that more enrollment of members—essential though that is—marks only the beginning of organization, the necessary division of responsibility between local and national will be more readily understood. The locals carry on the activity affecting directly their own membership. The national, always seeking to reflect and foster the most intelligent local leadership, co-ordinates local activities into one unified nation-wide approach towards common objectives: a finer American press and economic well being for the workers therein.

Without such co-ordination, such leadership if you will, we should be merely several scores of isolated groups of newspaper workers lacking unity, lacking a national machinery which can function parallel to the national organization of the publishers and the NRA—lacking the means of making our common purpose effective.

But organization, in its true sense, is an exceedingly complicated business; and especially so in this individualistic occupation of newspaper work. Each of us has his own ideas, and has also the democratic machinery within the Guild with which to make them felt. We cannot go ahead on 8,000 different sets of ideas. We must stick closely to our immediate objective, a strong organization of newspaper editorial department workers; and that involves sticking closely together, despite individualistic differences of opinion.

Officers Must Watch Step

No officer of a democratic organization, if he respects and loves his work, is likely to place his personal opinions above the welfare of the organization, for, to him, the organization is everything. He may feel, like any thinking person, that he sees farther than some of those who disagree with him. His conduct may therefore occasionally perturb the latter. But the fact that it is to the advantage of employers and their agents to discredit him with the men who have elected him to the office will probably make him the more careful to scrutinize his own conduct.

The usual method of splitting and hamstringing an employee organization is to undermine confidence in the leaders—generally by raising the Red scare; and to this end the publishers have at their service their news columns, the trade publications which they control by their advertising, and, occasionally, highly paid men within our own ranks who do not realize (or do they?) that their value to the publishers as newspaper men is enormously enhanced by their value to the pub-

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Newark Police Card For Reporters Only

When the Newspaper Guild of Newark learned that the local police department issued some 1,000 press cards it protested to Public Safety Director Michael P. Duffy, pointing out that less than 400 newspaper men needed cards.

The result: One newspaper cut its list nearly 40 per cent. Another by 25 per cent. On a third the names of all top executives except the managing editor were checked off. Advertising men were denied cards.

REGIONAL DRIVE GETS UNDER WAY

Tri-State Group Seeks Strong
Organization in Penna.
Meeting

READING, Pa.—A heavy barrage is being laid down from here in preparation for a big drive to establish a strong, effective and working regional organization in line with national policy. Guild men from all Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware are planning to attend a regional convention at Wernersville, near by, and invitations have been issued to newspaper men in cities in this region where Guilds have not yet been organized.

Heywood Broun, national president, is scheduled as the principal speaker. By the time this appears this meeting will have been held, we hope with much success.

The session is set to begin with a luncheon on Saturday, October 13, at Galen Hall, followed by a business session to discuss collective bargaining, jobs for unemployed, finances, regional organization, defense fund for both national and local groups and other matters. Broun and Guild leaders from New York, Philadelphia and other cities are to speak at a dinner that night.

A business session, with committee reports, and a meeting of the regional board are to take place Sunday. Bridge, golf, tennis, swimming and riding have been arranged.

The committee which arranged the third regional convention included: John Kohl, Lehigh Valley; Continued on Page Six

RECORDS SUPPORT GUILD CHARGE OF HIGH NEWS PROFIT

Editor & Publisher's Attack
Refuted by Surveys

The September issue of the Guild Reporter featured a revelatory article on the high rate of profits in the newspaper industry. This brought from Editor and Publisher, trade weekly in the newspaper publishing field, an attack not only on the statistics presented, but on the officers of the Guild and the Reporter itself. The article in the Reporter was in essence a summary of figures available to any one and was accordingly unsigned, but, in view of the attack, the author now wishes to make himself known as Carl Bender and to reply to the attack in the following article.

By CARL BENDER

Marlen Pew, editor of Editor and Publisher, in the issue of September 22 undertook to "reply" to my article in the Guild Reporter for September concerning the very large aggregate earnings of publishers. Mr. Pew has lately been viewing every forthright act or utterance of the Guild as "radical," and he saw fit to place the discussion on an exceedingly low plane in his eagerness to leave the impression that the publishers are having a difficult time making both ends meet; but we may let that pass.

The story in the Guild Reporter which so incensed Mr. Pew was written on the basis of a factual study by the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1818 Broadway, New York. The study was based on all corporate income tax returns of all industries since the war and was published in the form of Bulletin 49, which is available at small charge to any one requesting it of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Mr. Pew, while attempting to disparage the facts, ignores the source of the information presented by the Guild Reporter, information showing the exceptionally high rate of profits made by publishers in the United States, the second highest rate among the country's industries on the basis of expressed book values of capital equipment. The study of all industrial profits was Continued on Page Seven

Negotiators Present Tentative Contract To World-Telegram

Guild's Collective Bargaining Program Followed,
With Some New Features Added—Text
Published for Study by Members

Negotiations between the Newspaper Guild of New York and the World-Telegram are being watched with the closest interest by Guild members everywhere. Three meetings have been held, with the Guild represented in each instance by members of its executive committee and by observers from the World-Telegram unit.

No one has volunteered a prediction as to when a contract will be signed, but both sides have expressed a willingness to speed the negotiations as much as possible.

OFFICERS UNABLE TO GO TO BELGIUM

Broun and Eddy Too Busy to
Attend FIJ Parley

"Guild Will Join"

Because of the press of work involved in contract negotiations and in reorganizing the publication and circulation of the Guild Reporter, neither Heywood Broun, president, nor Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary of the American Newspaper Guild, was expected, when this edition went to press, to attend the Brussels Congress late this month of the International Federation of Journalists.

In any event, the congress will receive formally the entry of the guild as the largest group within the federation, and national officers are expected to attend the next session of the federation's executive committee. Stephen Valot, general secretary of the international organization, has offered to visit this country and confer with guild officers.

FIJ Is World Wide

Although the St. Paul convention of the American Newspaper Guild voted unanimously to affiliate with Continued on Page Six

At the third meeting the Guild negotiators presented a tentative proposal contract to serve as the basis of discussion. This tentative contract, it was explained, merely puts into some kind of legal form the collective bargaining program agreed upon by the Representative Assembly; even should the publisher agree to all of its provisions it would still have to go to the World-Telegram Unit and the Representative Assembly for ratification before it could become effective.

PROPOSED CONTRACT

The tentative proposal contract follows:

Agreement made and entered into at New York, N. Y., this day of _____, 1934, by the New York World-Telegram Corporation, hereinafter referred to as the "Publisher," and the Newspaper Guild of New York, a local Guild and member of the American Newspaper Guild, on behalf of such of its members as are or may be employed by the Publisher, hereinafter referred to as the "Guild."

In consideration of mutual promises, undertakings and agreements hereinafter set forth, it is agreed between the parties as follows:

1. PURPOSE

The Publisher acknowledges that it is entering into this agreement in furtherance of the provisions and spirit of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and in recognition of the principle that the contractual regulation of matters covered by this agreement (such as hours, wages, notice of discharge, etc.) together with the establishment and operation of the Newspaper Guild of New York and the American Newspaper Guild, will serve as stabilizing and wholesome factors in the journalistic field.

2. DEFINITIONS

The term "Employee" as herein used shall mean all editorial employees, including artists, cartoonists, columnists, copy boys, copy readers, staff correspondents, critics, sub-editors, editorial writers, editorial clerks and secretaries, lay-out men, librarians, librarians' assistants, photographers, photographers' assistants, printer attendants, reporters, retouchers, reviewers, rewrite men, special writers and tabulators.

The above enumeration has been set forth herein for the purpose of clarity and not for the purpose of limiting the term "editorial employees" or excluding from the scope thereof classes of employees who, though not specifically mentioned herein, properly fall within such scope.

3. GUILD PREFERENTIAL SHOP

Whenever a vacancy occurs in any position held by an Employee, the Publisher shall apply to the Newspaper Guild of New York to supply for said position a candidate or candidates satisfactory to the Publisher. If the Guild is unable to supply such candidate, the Publisher may select his own candidate, but such candidate selected by the Publisher shall become and qualify as a member of the Newspaper Guild of New York and the American Newspaper Guild within thirty (30) days from his employment by the Publisher.

4. HOURS

No Employee shall be required to work more than eight (8) hours Continued on Page Two.

St. Louis Gets the Blues and Pew Sees "Revolt": The Tempest and Some Frank Words About It

The campaign by Editor & Publisher (trade weekly of the publishers) to disrupt the Guild has at last borne fruit—according to Editor & Publisher. A story under a St. Louis dateline in its October 6 issue carried the head "St. Louis Guild Revolts Against Union Tactics of National Body." As usual of late, the longest editorial in the magazine is devoted to an attack on the Guild, and this time it is triumphantly entitled "Breaking Up."

The news sent in to headquarters by the St. Louis Guild for this issue of the Guild Reporter was more or less trivial, but it said nothing about disruption. Editor & Publisher's story and supporting editorial, though qualifying all statements with unusual adroitness, conveyed so clearly the idea that the St. Louis Guild was seceding from the national organization that the executive secretary wired to the one St. Louis officer who from the start has tried devotedly to get the St. Louis Guild to function as a Guild.

The wire read: IS EDITOR PUBLISHER CORRECT IN STATING ST. LOUIS GUILD SECEDING RUSH REPLY COLLECT.

Wayne Parker replied: EDITOR PUBLISHER INCORRECT. IN QUESTIONNAIRE SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY HERE AGAINST SECESSION ALTHOUGH OPPOSED NATIONAL GUILD POLICY. MANY OPPOSED TO NATIONAL GUILD POLICY ARE AGAINST SECESSION, LETTER FOLLOWS.

What has happened, apparently, is that a dissatisfied group in St. Louis, led by Curtiss

A. Betts, president of the St. Louis Guild, induced the group to conduct a questionnaire asking whether members were "satisfied" with various personalities and policies, and if not, whether they thought St. Louis should secede from the national organization. The first 100 replies, according to the Editor & Publisher account, gave the leaders the basis for formulating a protest on the national policies, although not for secession.

This bit of leadership on Betts' part is the first sign of interest he has taken in the Guild since his election.

Dozens of attempts by the national office to communicate with him in the past four months have elicited a total of one reply, reading in toto: "On the question of Guild benefits I vote no."

Betts has been ill and in that his fellow newspaper men sympathize with him; but those at headquarters are puzzled to understand how, if he was to ill to reject office in an organization whose labor policies were formulated and made public at the convention—at the close of which he was elected to national office—and too ill even to acknowledge receipt of innumerable communications on the manner of carrying out national policies, he found the energy to keep up such intimate contact with the publishers' advertising medium, Editor & Publisher, and to speak in meetings in support of the disruptive policies advocated therein.

Continued on Page Three

EMIL C. CRANE

The Guild Reporter

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

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Scabs? Mob? Riots?

A recent confidential bulletin of the American Newspaper Publishers Association said that "the following excerpts from a member may prove of interest to publishers":

"I wonder if editors, in their handling of strike news, have given consideration to the powerful psychological influence and implications of the careless use of the words 'labor' and 'scab' by reporters and copy readers. I was struck by this misuse of words in some of the dispatches and headlines on the textile strike in Tuesday's papers. 'For instance, one large newspaper in its headlines referred to the men who remained at work as 'scabs'. A proper reference to them, in my opinion, would have been as 'workers' in contrast to 'strikers', the latter, of course, being those who had quit work."

"The spokesmen for the strikers were referred to in practically all dispatches as the representatives of 'labor' or the leaders of the 'workers', whereas they were neither. They were the spokesmen and leaders of a group who had quit being workers and were not at the moment labor."

"For years, in my opinion, the representatives of strikers have gained support from the public at large through reference to them as the representatives of 'labor', implying that they acted and spoke for all labor, which of course is not the fact. At no time in the history of this country has any man or group of men been authorized to speak for labor as a whole. More accuracy in reporting and a nicer use of words in head-writing would serve better to clarify the uses. In my newspaper the use of the word 'scab', except in a quoted statement is not permitted. Neither is the careless use of the word 'labor' permitted."

Since the subject has been raised, the Guild

Reporter wonders whether perhaps additional suggestions might not prove of interest to publishers. It wonders why groups of strikers are so often referred to in the newspapers as "mobs"; why their actions are so frequently called "mob outbreaks"; why the term "violence" is so often used in reference to the actions of strikers and seldom if ever used in reference to the actions of employers, their strike-breakers or the police, deputies and National Guardsmen who hasten to their aid, and why it is so difficult, in many stories dealing with strikes, to determine just who started the "violence."

Publishers may wish to caution their reporters to bring out the picture more accurately in future. They may also wish to insist upon a nicer use of words than was used in the following headline, printed in a New York newspaper on October 4:

ONE SLAIN, 100 HURT
IN A TEXTILE RIOT

Employees and Officials Leaving
Plant at Bridgeport, Pa.,
Are Attacked

DEPUTIES FIRE INTO MOB

Warrants Are Issued Against
Five, Who Defy Arrest but
Later Surrender

The story on which this headline was based said nothing about "riot," though it did use the customary cliché of "violence." It did not say that deputies fired into a "mob"; it did not even mention "mob," let alone indicate which side started the "violence."

Not until the fifth paragraph in the story was it explained what the headline meant by "warrants issued against five"; then it was revealed that the warrants, charging homicide, had been issued, not against the strikers, but "against five of nine men, deputized by Sheriff Lever to preserve order."

The Guild Reporter feels that it is doing a service to the community when it calls such matters to the publishers' attention.

If news of your guild is not covered in this issue of the reporter the chances are it failed to send in copy. Copy is expected on the 1th and 22nd of each month from local guild editorial boards, appointed by the local executive committee. Copy from guild members, whether on local editorial boards or not, is always welcome.

Free for All—No Holds Barred

Mr. Marlen Pew
Stoops Lower

Editor, Guild Reporter:

Marlen Pew's comment on the Guild Reporter's September expose of publishers' profits demonstrates that dirty journalism is not dead. In his criticism of September 22, he found himself in a very weak ground, as to whether his argument he decided to attack on other matters.

As usual, he picked out the Guild leadership for attack, saying: "We do not wonder, in view of such stupid mismanagement [does he really want the Guild to be more efficient, the New York Guild treasury is nearly empty and that a special committee has reported that nearly a third of the members will not pay the trifling monthly dues, or the special assessments to provide 'defense funds'." This is completely irrelevant to the opening discussion of his article, in which, incidentally, he cunningly ignored many items of fact cited in the disputed article in the September Guild Reporter.

But the sentence just quoted finds the Guild officers being accused of "mismanagement," the alleged proof of it being the emptiness of the New York treasury which was publicly announced by the officers. This character assassination does not scruple as to what he writes in the service of his master, the publisher, but he will let that pass. It is largely something Mr. Pew will have to square with his own conscience, except that the points he makes must be answered for the benefit of those Guild members who may believe he is their friend.

The Guild is an organization operated not for profit. Except for office secretaries, it pays no salaries. True, the dues are trifling. Mr. Pew ignores the obvious point that newspaper people are apparently one of those unable even to pay trifling dues to their own organization. This is not surprising when one considers that the average rate of pay in the industry is \$33 weekly after twenty years of service. After meeting living costs, probably after paying heavy medical bills for their loved ones or supporting for

relatives who have been made indigent by the decline in jobs and employees' earnings (not publishers' earnings), many Guild members are unable to pay \$1 a month dues. When one considers that the average newspaper people receive much less than \$33 a week, even in New York City, it is not surprising that the Guild treasury is depleted.

Mr. Pew wishes to imply that "mismanagement" has caused this depletion, although audited statements of every penny received and expended by the Guild are available to its members at regular intervals. Unlike Editor and Publisher, the Guild Reporter is not loaded with publishers' and other advertising. No revenue is derived from this source. Unlike publishers, the Guild does not make profit from the labor of other people. Hence, no revenue from this source is available to the Guild.

It may be that time will show that the grossly exploited newspaper people, working at low wages in one of the nation's most profitable industries, cannot even afford to support an organization which fights for better economic conditions for newspaper people. That would be regrettable, but the answer lies with the members who cannot pay the "trifling" dues.

Taking up the discussion of a Guild benefit, Mr. Pew turns thumbs down on this means of obtaining revenue, citing arguments advanced initially by many idealistic Guild members, tending to show that a benefit would be a "racket." Mr. Pew airily dismisses all possibilities of having a benefit and selling tickets in a dignified manner. Of the suggestion that tickets might be sold through a commercial agency, he says: "If the Guild would only hire an agency and let it do the dirty work."

This discussion is not concerned with benefits, but with the way Mr. Pew turned what was intended to be an answer to a financial analysis into an irrelevant attack on Guild finances. Apparently Mr. Pew's motto is: "When the truth hurts, kick below the belt."

Has any one ever seen Mr. Pew, when the question of selling tickets for a benefit came up in any other

GUILD IS GAINING
IN SAN FRANCISCOBoard Hears the Evidence in
Jennings Case

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 6.—With a new chapter added, a new membership record set, a downtown headquarters opened, a sweeping constitutional reorganization under way and a series of Sunday breakfast meetings the gun, the Newspaper Guild of San Francisco Bay Metropolitan District has, in the last thirty days, made a regulation San Francisco earthquake and phoenix stunt.

For the natural quiescence of the movement during the summer's vacation and post-convention period was added to here not only by the irregular conditions of newspaper life throughout a wave of major industrial turmoil. The succession of shocks to this young guild in the Burgess and Jennings cases and the outright intimidation which broke the backbone of the Call-Bulletin chapter seemed at times almost cataclysmic.

To many a few weeks ago it probably seemed that the Guild was so puny a drunk it would never get on its feet again. But the apparent prostration and the sudden leap to both feet were no accident at all. Both were the result of deliberate strategy by the men elected by the new constitution to lead them. These leaders never for a minute lost faith that this big bunch of newspaper men, even if somewhat bewildered by swift blows, could roll with the punch, take a nine count and prove their guts. Not only that, but the new constitution was very conducive to hard thinking. And the average newspaper man has figured out a great many things about whether or not he needs the help which organization alone can give men, and about who are his real friends.

New chapters are being organized in the Oakland Tribune, which completes the representation of that city's newspaper men. The Oakland Post-Examiner, has been strongly organized from the first. On the San Francisco side the News, the Examiner, the Call-Bulletin and the Associated Press are well organized. This leaves only the United Press, the half dozen working for the Universal Service-I. N. S. and the large staff of the Chronicle unorganized, although there are a half dozen members now in the Chronicle by importation from other staffs.

The American Newspaper Guild membership card system has been put into effect here, with 184 cards issued and the supply exceeded by the demand for 100 more cards are on their way from New York. A breakfast meeting tomorrow is to take up discussion on a proposed new constitution to be submitted to a ballot of the membership. In broad outline, it provides for the setting up of an enlarged executive committee which shall be an executive council—a sort of vest pocket committee, one representative for each ten men in the Guild. Some

letter from a woman free lancer, whose name was deleted.

"New York, Sept. 14, 1934. "Dear Mr. Fredericksen:

"I want to apply for membership in the Newspaper Guild. I am 'regularly employed' as a regular contributor to the — and I spend a major part of my working time on this work. I realize that I am not a regularly salaried, 'regularly employed' by hours, worker, but nevertheless I feel that I belong within the Guild, being by profession and practice a journalist."

"May I take the opportunity of questioning the Guild's wisdom in narrowing its membership so rigidly as is indicated in the clauses referring thereto in the constitution? It seems to me that if only out of sheer self-defense the Guild should make it possible for every professional journalist, no matter what his or her present status, to become a member. There are many 'free lance' writers such as myself, who can surely add strength to the Guild and some of these, unfortunately, may also turn out to constitute an 'open-shop' danger, as, too, some of the unemployed. I hope you will bring these matters to the attention of the Guild and may I say that I shall be pleased and proud if the Guild all unemployed newspaper workers who have not held a newspaper job since December 15, 1933, should be greatly modified by the next national convention."

PAUL FREDERICKSEN.

NEW YORK STARTS
UNEMPLOYED UNITSaul Carson Heads New Group
—Employment Drive Starts

A genuinely new deal may be in the offing for jobless newspaper men as a result of the formation of the Unemployed Unit of the Newspaper Guild of New York, said to be the first organization of its kind in the United States, which was organized last month with a comprehensive program for the advancement of welfare of the members of the craft deprived of work.

The purposes of the unit, as defined in its constitution adopted September 24, "shall be to advance the economic well-being of unemployed newspaper men and newspaper women; to obtain and guarantee employment for the unemployed members of the newspaper craft; to obtain employment for such members."

Other points, including all those mentioned in the American Guild constitution, are covered in the plan of action, but those just enumerated are sufficient to show why the new unit is different.

That the example of New York

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new elections will be necessary, notably of an executive-secretary, through the impending resignation of Don Stevens to devote his efforts to the negotiations with Roy Howard by the New York World-Telegram.

The Associated Press chapter, one of the most solidly enrolled here, has an appreciative eye cocked toward the expected arrival here within the next fortnight of the five-day, forty-hour week which hour and working conditions will be determined and any later adjustments shall be made either by agreement or, in case of disagreement, through the mediation or arbitration of State or Federal agencies.

"I shall not ask either employers or employees personally to join the new unit, but I shall endeavor to lay aside the weapons common to industrial war."

Manufacturers Jump
To Welcome Idea

The response to this speech was immediate. The National Association of Manufacturers, not finding the recent strike wave to its liking, issued a statement saying:

"The employers of the nation will welcome the proclamation of a truce period, similar to that during the war, in which neither group or the Government will attempt to change existing relationships by force, and challenges organized labor to bring forth a similar acceptance from its convention now in session."

Of course manufacturers would welcome a no-strike promise at a time when millions out of employment, serve as a constant factor for lowering wages, but what of organized labor?

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., said he would be glad to confer with the President and talk things over. "I am sure his suggestion will prove instrumental in a new and better set-up for employer and employee alike," he said.

"What guarantee is there for labor, especially if Garrison's successor turns out to be an anti-labor man, that arbitration either by this board or by some agency selected by it will turn out satisfactorily? This is a matter for Guild men to ponder."

The National Manufacturers Association seems to be in an anomalous position. Not long before it suggested that the President decree a truce on the basis of the status quo, it at-

NRA Developments Increase Puzzles for News Workers

Is There Really Peace
in the President's
Truce Proposal?

"PRESIDENT Calls for Labor Truce"; "Employers Defy Bargaining Rule"; "Steel Challenges the Labor Board"; "NRA Reorganized"—such headlines as these raise important questions for Guild folk. Let us, as Guilders, examine the stories a little.

The "labor truce" was called for by President Roosevelt in his speech of September 30. He said:

"Step by step we have created all the Government agencies necessary to insure, as a general rule, industrial peace, with justice for all those willing to use these agencies whenever their voluntary bargaining fails to produce a necessary agreement."

There should be at least a full and fair trial given to these means of ending industrial warfare. . . . Accordingly, I propose to confer within the coming month with small groups of those truly representative of large employers of labor and of large groups of organized labor, in order to seek their co-operation in establishing what I may describe as a specific trial period of industrial peace."

From those willing to join in establishing this hoped-for period of peace, I shall seek assurances of the making and maintenance of agreements, which can be mutually relied upon, under which wages, hours and working conditions may be determined and any later adjustments shall be made either by agreement or, in case of disagreement, through the mediation or arbitration of State or Federal agencies.

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Legislative Committees

By PAUL FREDERICKSEN
Secretary New York Guild

I wish to urge, as strongly as I can, the setting up of a national legislative committee of the Guild and the creation of local legislative committees to assist it. I believe such action would strengthen the Guild and unify its purposes to an extent not generally dreamed of.

Today the newspaper men and women of America suffer from lack of information concerning matters that affect them vitally. What is Washington going to do? Their State capital? Their city government? What taxes are about to be imposed on newspaper workers? What rights of theirs are being threatened, here, there, everywhere? What is their outlook for the future?

No single newspaper worker can find the answers to these questions himself, unless he possesses six-league boots and can get all over the country at once; for in any city of the United States movements may be starting whose effects may spread to the ends of the nation.

It is not time that newspaper workers, who are on the scene when such things start, develop a clearing house to which they can supply their information and from which they can receive, in return, not only a clear picture of what is happening throughout the country but an interpretation of those happenings and, where feasible, recommendations as to what they might do about it.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association has long had such a clearing house. It informs its members of developments that are likely to affect their rights or their pocketbooks or the conduct of their business as publishers. On September 7, for instance, it told of bills before the Board of Aldermen in St. Louis which threatened to tax the gross sales and gross advertising revenues of newspapers; it told of censorship movements as far away as Lithuania and Spain; it welcomed reports from publishers as to whether dental associations in their States were trying to obtain the enactment of State laws to prevent dentists from using newspaper advertising. Other bulletins have informed publishers of various Guild activities and policies and have given the publishers advice concerning them.

Yet the working newspaper men and women of the country have in no wise developed a method of correlating information that to them is at least as vital. They have joined a Guild whose essential function is collective bargaining, and yet they have no knowledge of correct collective bargaining methods or of the best course to pursue if a deadlock in negotiations occurs. They know that prices and taxes are rising and that salaries, except in a few instances, are not, and yet they have not the facts at their disposal upon which they can intelligently plan ahead even for a few months. They sense that they have the power to protest against laws that they do not like, but no accurate knowledge as how best to make their protest felt.

They wait for light, and perhaps strive indig-

manously to get it, but in the fast-moving, complex life of today their best efforts, as individuals, are woefully weak in candle-power.

Feeling this deeply, I introduced at the St. Paul convention a resolution calling for the establishment of a national legislative committee which, in co-operation with local legislative committees, should keep the Guild membership informed as to social, economic, political and governmental matters affecting, or likely to affect, Guild members, and that this national committee should have power to make recommendations. The convention approved the principle expressed and turned the resolution over to the national executive committee.

So far no definite action has been taken by the national executive committee. But as a starter the representative assembly of the Newspaper Guild of New York recently elected a local legislative committee and defined its powers as follows:

"Resolved, that this committee shall make regular reports to the representative assembly and executive committee as to legislative developments and other social, economic, political and governmental tendencies of interest to the Guild; that it shall make recommendations for action when it deems feasible, or on request of the representative assembly; that it shall provide the committee on freedom of speech and press with such material and views as it possesses bearing on that committee's work, and that the reverse shall be true; that it shall assist at all times, and in every way possible, the national legislative committee, if and when one is set up, and

"Resolved further, that this committee shall consist of five members of the Guild, subject to the call of the committee chairman, who shall report to the representative assembly, no less often than every second meeting of the assembly, the record of attendance and activity of the committee members, so that this assembly may replace inactive members by further election."

By a further resolution of the work of the committee on freedom of speech and press was merged with that of the legislative committee for the time being.

The action of the New York Guild, it seems to me, invites wider action on a national scale, both by local Guilds in setting up their own legislative committees and by the national executive committee in setting up the type of national legislative committee suggested at St. Paul.

I believe the national legislative committee should be headed by the strongest and most intelligent Guild members in Washington, and I have already sounded out one or two who might be prevailed upon to accept appointment. I believe these Washington men should receive regular reports from local Guilds everywhere, and that on the basis of these reports, together with their own observations at the nation's capital, they would be in a position to answer for all Guild members—through the Guild Reporter and otherwise—such questions as these:

What is happening that affects me?
How does it affect me?
What shall I do about it?

What is happening in NRA?
We see that General Johnson is out, and that with him went George Buckley, administrator of the Daily Newspaper Publishing Code, but what is behind all the changes?
The first man to tell us how the shift in policy is going to affect the newspaper code, and whether labor on newspapers is to have voice in any changes that occur, gets a red apple.

We think we know the answer to the second part. When "self-government by industry" is mentioned, "industry" refers not to the majority, who are the workers, but to the smaller class of owners.

Big Boys' Profits Increase
What has happened so far under NRA? Well, profits of the big boys have gone up, anyway. A news item says that "aggregate net income of fifty-six representative industrial corporations during the first half of this year increased 174.6

Manufacturers Jump
at Idea; But How
About Worker?

per cent over the first half of 1933."

The President says: "Under these (NRA) codes, in the industries covered, child labor has been eliminated. The work-day and the workweek have been shortened. Minimum wages have been established and other wages adjusted toward a rising standard of living." Is he speaking of the Daily Newspaper Publishing Code?

Alfred T. Falk, director of the Advertising Federation of America, said at a recent conference that success of those parts of the New Deal which aim to control production would mean stabilization of the American standard of living "at or near the depression level."

Even in 1929 the United States was not supplying sufficient goods to supply the needs of its citizens, he added. In that year, according to figures prepared by the Institute of Economics of Brookings Institute, only 10 per cent of the families in the United States had income sufficient to buy a "liberal diet" as defined by the Department of Agriculture.

As for the immediate future, the AAA predicts rising food prices "because of the drought." This rise is in addition to the 7.1 per cent general increase of food prices during the past three months.

"Living costs are increasing," says Mayor LaGuardia in opposing further pay cuts for New York City employees. "The higher level to which commodity prices are advancing is part of the program of the Federal Government for recovery. This cannot and must not be ignored."

What About New Taxes?
New York City tries new taxes to finance unemployment relief. The city is going to pay the city, along with other citizens, an amount equal to 15 per cent of their income tax payment to the Federal Government. At the same time business concerns are to pay over one-tenth of one per cent of their gross receipts, and for fear that they may not be able to pass on this extra expense to their customers (won't they, though?) they can deduct this tax from the amount of income tax they pay to the city.

Who gets off best here, the salaried employees who can't deduct, or the business men who can? Well, the business men put the idea over.

But the bankers are not satisfied. They want these taxes cancelled, and demand, instead, a tax on salaries and pay rolls and a sales tax, both of which would strike even harder at the wage and salary earner.

The most recent proposal before the Mayor calls for a 1 per cent straight income tax on incomes over \$1,500. This would catch all the little fellows—and let the big ones get by on the same rate.

This tax business is mentioned just to put you wise. What they are trying in New York City they may try in your town next. What should Guild men do about it?

What Do Changes in NRA Mean?

What is happening in NRA? We see that General Johnson is out, and that with him went George Buckley, administrator of the Daily Newspaper Publishing Code, but what is behind all the changes?

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Who Should Preserve Law and Order?
The first concentration camp for strikers in America was set up in Georgia during the textile workers' strike. It had

Continued on Page Seven

TOLEDO STIRRED BY FLYING SQUAD

Cleveland, Akron Leaders Ask Safeguards in Contracts

TOLEDO, Ohio. — A "flying squad" of Cleveland and Akron Guild leaders helped stir up enthusiasm among members of the Toledo Guild at a meeting of the latter group September 23.

Called together to receive reports on wage negotiations with the publishers of the three Toledo dailies, the Toledo members heard the visitors warn them against satisfaction with monetary considerations without safeguards for the individual and the Guild. All the Toledo papers have instituted salary increases following Guild negotiations.

Don M. Strouse, regional vice-president of the American Guild, addressed the Toledoans regarding the necessity for regional organization work, and the members took steps looking to a probable increase in dues.

The Cleveland visitors included Lloyd White and Garland Ashurst, president and treasurer respectively of the Cleveland Guild; Bill Davis, executive secretary; Elmer O. Fehlhaber, E. George Green, Jack B. Clowser, Frank Fiske, Beatrice Laurence, Winifred French, Tom Menkel, A. H. Roberts, William Miller and two officials of the Lorain unit of the Cleveland Guild—Johnny Dunn and Maurice Merryfield.

Several of the Clevelanders pointed out the dangers of allowing unit officers to negotiate directly with publishers instead of through the executive committee representing the entire Guild. This followed the disclosures that the Toledo unit officers had been negotiating with their management.

President Adamchick and Secretary Overmeyer of the Toledo Guild conducted the meeting, during which there was considerable discussion of the feasibility of sponsoring some sort of social function to raise funds for regional organization work.

N. Y. Guild Forms

Unemployed Unit

Continued from Page Four

It is likely to have far-reaching effects and result in a nationwide network of similar groups is the hope of the initiators of the movement.

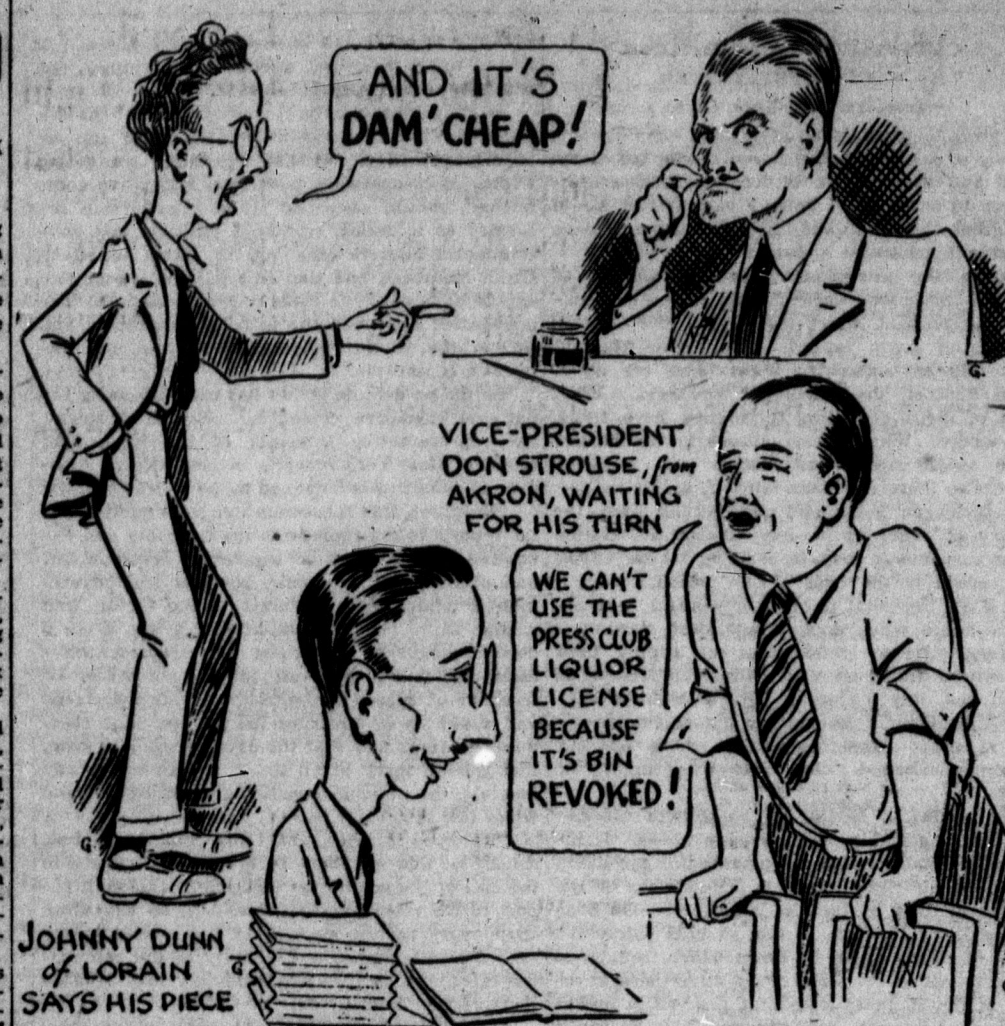
Authorized by the representative assembly of the Newspaper Guild of New York, Secretary Paul Freerickson summoned an organization meeting. Saul Carson, whose activity on behalf of the Philadelphia Newspaper Guild resulted in his loss of employment on a newspaper in that city, was active in launching the unit and, after the adoption of the constitution, was elected chairman.

Other officers are: Martin H. Hanish, vice-chairman; Paul V. Demianoff, secretary; and Milton Kaufman, executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild of New York, who automatically became controller as provided in the unit's constitution.

Cognizant of the fact that to justify its existence it must embark upon a course of result-bringing action, the unemployed unit named a committee, proposed by Lucien Zacharoff, to investigate the possibilities of establishing an employment service, and to report on ways and means of its operation. In addition to Demianoff and Zacharoff, the committee includes Jack Hyatt and Martin H. Hanish.

Other probable steps of the committee's findings were unavailable at the time of going to press, it was reported the committee will urge the setting up of an employment service in charge of a full-time, salaried member of the unit to be operated as a high-grade clearing house for the benefit of newspaper men and women seeking employment. In addition to seeking to place them in positions with CWA and other Government projects, it will probably be recommended that the service contact the better employment agencies and concern in various lines of business, with records and qualifications of the newspaper workers registered. An advertising campaign on behalf of members in need of work is also expected to be recommended.

Meet the Guild Leaders of the Buckeye State



JOHNNY DUNN OF LORAIN SAYS HIS PIECE

SECRETARY OVERMEYER, OF TOLEDO, EXPLAINS.

GUIDER GIBBS, OF TOLEDO, IN ACTION.

GUILD WILL OWN FULL THIS MONTH

Brown, Eddy Too Busy to Go to Belgium Congress

Continued from Page One

The Federation, commonly known as the FIJ, many of us have not realized that that action placed each of us in the ranks of newspapermen throughout the world as striving for common objectives.

To American newspapermen, the idea of forming an organization and working as a group, rather than as individuals, for a finer press and a better life, was so novel they did not grasp the fact it was "old stuff" to thousands of our fellow newspaper men and women in other countries. Still further from their realization was the fact that what these foreign newspaper workers have accomplished has had a crucial bearing on our own program and the chances for its success.

If successful organization of newspaper workers had never taken place abroad, its denunciation in this country by publishers such as Hearst would have carried far more weight. Publishers could have more easily maintained, as does the Southern California Newspaper Publishers' Association, that editorial department organization constitutes an unprecedented menace to untrammeled news.

It was through the FIJ and the International Labor Office at Geneva that the American Newspaper Guild, in its earliest days, obtained precedent, guidance, and justification in the mind of the public and the government for its aims. Without them, we should have been held indeed to demand a limited work week and dismissal notice extending up to one year.

But certain member groups of the FIJ had already obtained such benefits through the exchange of information and experience they were carried to other members in the same way that gains by one guild tend to benefit all guilds. The result has been a world-wide movement to elevate and protect the status of newspaper workers. Now that we are about to be formally inducted into this distinguished organization—and as its largest constituent body—its history, set-up and objectives should

become better known in this country.

The FIJ's objectives parallel closely our own. They are:

1. Safeguarding by every means the freedom of the press and of journalism and insuring this freedom by law.

2. To constitute a moral force capable of intervening with authority against any threat to the rights, liberties or person of one or many journalists by a government, or organization or other agency.

3. Study, conservation and publication of all documents, statistics, or other matter calculated to assist in defense of the profession.

4. Study of the means of aiding the institution of working contracts, individual and collective; propaganda on behalf of the same; general surveillance of the application of these contracts wherever accepted.

5. Examination of the best methods for assisting the profession and making them effective for the organizations which wish to avail themselves of this service.

6. All possible action tending to better the material and moral conditions surrounding practice of the profession in matters which concern in common the journalists of the entire world.

7. Regulation of professional questions in which the absence of jurisprudence or established practice may be prejudicial against journalists.

8. Extension to the journalists of all countries of advantages and rights gained by any national organization of journalists.

Through the Speakers Bureau established last summer, representatives of the Newspaper Guild of New York have brought to the attention of numerous trade union members throughout the city the fact that newspaper men, too, have organized with the purpose of improving their economic position.

Letters were sent to more than one hundred trade unions and associations of professional workers requesting that guild representatives be permitted to address their members. In a great many instances there were prompt replies inviting the Guild to present its case. The response has been friendly.

Guild Aims Told To Trade Unions

Through the Speakers Bureau established last summer, representatives of the Newspaper Guild of New York have brought to the attention of numerous trade union members throughout the city the fact that newspaper men, too, have organized with the purpose of improving their economic position.

REGIONAL DRIVE GETS UNDER WAY

Tri-State Group Seeks Strong Organization in Penna.

Continued from Page One

Chairman: John Sullivan and Roger Butterfield, Philadelphia; Camden; William Frank, Wilmington; Penrose E. Spohn, Harrisburg; and Jack Kaufman, Berks county. Members are expected from Philadelphia, Camden, Atlantic City, South Jersey, Wilmington, Berks county, Lehigh Valley, York, Harrisburg, Johnstown and other cities.

New York Acting

Region 2, comprising New York State and part of New Jersey, will hold its first regional convention not later than January 15, if action initiated at a meeting on October 7 of the executive committee of the Newspaper Guild of New York is carried through.

The New York committee, voted to urge the local representative assembly to name two men to a proposed regional board, the regional board to conduct a State-wide campaign preliminary to the convention. Even without active work by such a board, Region 2 is already one of the most promising Guild regions on the map.

Hinghamton, with the election of John Spargo, was the first to name a regional board member in the area. The Tri-State Guild, including Albany, Schenectady and Troy, is expected to follow suit shortly.

No word had yet been received from the Guilds in Buffalo, Rochester, Jersey City (Hudson County Guild), Newark or Yonkers, all of which lie within the second region.

The move for perfecting regional organization was precipitated, oddly enough, by a plan of the officers of the Hudson County Guild to join the New York organization. Officers of the two Guilds conferred, but Newark Guild leaders voiced opposition to the merger on the grounds that it would weaken organizational efforts by the Hudson County Guild.

Action on the tentative petition of the latter to join with the New York organization was deferred by the New York executive committee until all details can be gone into by the regional convention. Approval of the vote by the representative assembly is required before it can become effective.

STAFFS REQUIRED TO BUY OWN PAPER

Waterbury Guild Attacks Publishers' Practice

Problems of policy and organization which may confront, or already do confront, guilds in other cities are considered in a spiritedly mimeographed newspaper which the Waterbury (Conn.) guild publishes, a copy of which has just come to guild headquarters.

The "lead" story in its last issue is severe on the part of a policy in its last issue, with the question of initiation fees for newspaper men not yet enrolled, preparatory to a meeting called to discuss the subject.

"One school of thought holds that the persons who are eligible for membership but who have not yet enrolled should be charged dues retroactive to the date of the organization meeting," it reads.

The other opinion is that this policy is severe on the part of a young association seeking to recruit all eligible members and might prove to be short-sighted.

Amnesty Urged

The suggestion has been made that a general amnesty on penalties be declared, and that the assembly of the guild should vote the period up to the annual meeting in February as a period of recruiting, dues to be collected from the date of enrollment. After that an initiation fee should be levied.

The alternative idea is that all employees, irrespective of membership, share in the benefits from guild activity and should be expected to share equally in obligations.

An editorial in the Waterbury Guild News concerned the deduction from employees' salaries of amounts for subscriptions to their paper. "By coincidence," it said, "the dues of the guild coincide precisely with the amount deducted by some newspapers for employee subscriptions to papers. The abolition of this improper deduction would, on today's basis, give us the guild for nothing."

Irritating, Unfair

"Think it over. The subscription deduction isn't, perhaps, one of those things which inspire men to go to the stake singing hymns, but it is irritating and unfair."

"The premise on which it is based is specious. The circulation department defends it lightly by pointing to the need for those extra paid subscriptions."

The inference is that there is no other way to get around it. With this, we cannot, however, agree with the implication that since 1931 the "panic years of 1932 and 1933" have changed the picture of publishing profits. We will show, on the basis of statistical probability, why it is safe to believe that publishers' profits in 1934 are much higher than in 1931.

Furthermore, the account clearly stated that the years 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1931 alone were included to give some idea of the tremendous profits obtained by publishers from their employees who average \$38 a week income after twenty years of service, as was disclosed by the Division of Research and Planning of the NRA and reported in the Guild Reporter for October 1, 1934. Did newspaper employees derive any great benefits during those years? Did the reserves piled up by the newspapers during those years prevent pay cuts in 1931, 1932 and 1933?

Sharp Increase in 1934

However, as Mr. Pew says, this is 1934. It is a year in which company profits in general have increased very sharply over 1933, which in turn was a year when company profits in general increased sharply over the previous year. Mr. Pew refers to the "dire panic year" of 1932 and 1933. We should be obliged to Mr. Pew if he would assemble concrete data on the profits of the newspaper industry for those years, audited and checked by neutral accountants and statisticians. If he can show that newspaper proprietors suffered heavily we would be the first to join him in weeping.

In the very bad business year of 1931 the publishing industry took a profit of 7.4 per cent, compared with 18 per cent in 1929. The average return for all American industry in 1931 was only 0.8 per cent and in 1929 was only 10.5 per cent on the basis of the Government study prepared by the N. B. E. R.

Far Above Average

This clearly establishes that on the basis of book value the publishing industry was very far ahead of the average of industries. The reason it could be so far ahead is obviously, that its labor costs were extremely low, since all value is created by labor. Perhaps Mr. Pew would dispute this economic truism, which is verifiable in any standard book of economics, yet Guild members need merely imagine the withdrawal of labor from any enterprise to see that no value could then be created. On the other hand, imagine the withdrawal of the publisher alone (assuming that he is not already in absentia) and ask yourself whether production need stop.

Facts on Newspaper Publishers' Earnings Substantiated by Figures

RECORDS SUPPORT GUILD CHARGE OF HIGH NEWS PROFITS

Editor & Publisher's Attack Is Refuted by Surveys

Continued from Page One

made by the National Bureau of Economic Research in response to Senate resolution No. 220, Seventy-second Congress, which asked the Department of Commerce to have some suitable agency prepare figures on the distribution of national income for the years 1928-32.

Radicals? The National Bureau of Economic Research is under the guidance of such outstanding "radicals" as Dr. Oswald W. Knauth, director of R. H. Macy & Co.; Professor Joseph H. Williams, dean of the Wharton School of Finance of the University of Pennsylvania; George Soule, prominent economist, an editor of the New Republic and director of the Labor Bureau, Inc.; Shepard Morgan, vice-president of the Chase National Bank; Charles A. Bliss, and Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University.

Mr. Pew studiously ignores the distinguished auspices under which the study was made; he says, however: "We are living in the year 1934, following the dire panic years of 1932 and 1933, yet the guild has the audacity to spring 1931 figures on a presumably unsuspecting membership."

That sentence is venomous because it suggests that the guild membership should "suspect" its leaders, who serve without pay, rather than a person like Mr. Pew, who serves an organ dependent upon the advertising of publishers.

No Change in Picture

Leaving this aside, Mr. Pew implies that later figures on publishers' profits would have more current value, and with this we can only agree. We cannot, however, agree with the implication that since 1931 the "panic years of 1932 and 1933" have changed the picture of publishing profits. We will show, on the basis of statistical probability, why it is safe to believe that publishers' profits in 1934 are much higher than in 1931.

Unfortunately, the study of the N. B. E. R. ended with 1932 and was clearly stated in the Guild Reporter for March, 1934, say a labor leader, "the figures on net income, including officers' salaries and expenses, for 1932 are not available in the report, which is based on an examination of all income 'tax returns' during the post-war period."

It is obviously not the Guild Reporter's fault that the N. B. E. R. did not make figures later than 1931 available.

Furthermore, the account clearly stated that the years 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1931 alone were included to give some idea of the tremendous profits obtained by publishers from their employees who average \$38 a week income after twenty years of service, as was disclosed by the Division of Research and Planning of the NRA and reported in the Guild Reporter for October 1, 1934. Did newspaper employees derive any great benefits during those years? Did the reserves piled up by the newspapers during those years prevent pay cuts in 1931, 1932 and 1933?

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It was pointed out in the September issue of the Guild Reporter that if the very weak job-printing and book publishing branches of the publishing industry were eliminated from the N. B. S. R. study, the profit going to newspaper and magazine publishers would be shown to be very much higher than 18 per cent in 1929 and 7.4 per cent in 1931. Mr. Pew complains that the Guild involving the way for the increase in job printing and book publishing when newspapers alone are under discussion, and that the inclusion of the book and job printing returns in the figures for the publishing industry merely served to reduce the apparent rate of average return to the industry because book and job printers run steadily in the red, and their losses are good years. It is anybody's guess what newspaper proprietors actually made in 1928-1931, but it was more than 10 per cent in the former year and more than 7 per cent in the latter year, because this is the average of the publishing industry, including even the unprofitable branches.

National City Bank Testifies

But this is 1934! Very well. The National City Bank bulletin of May, 1934, is authoritative for the year in that the first quarter of 1934 no less than 210 representative industrial companies reported a net profit after paying bond interest (another form of profit but not a greater volume of advertising, the aggregate deficit of \$22,674,000 for the same companies for the first quarter of 1933. The publishing industry during 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1931 led all except the building industry in the rate of profits. Is it not logical to assume that in the revival of all industry, with the placing of a greater volume of advertising, the publishing industry was boosted proportionately much higher? Is this not plain logic in view of the constant merely the original investment of the industry? The publishing industry was second in the rate of profit among all industries in the country?

As for the whole "panic" year of 1933, the National City Bank bulletin for March, 1934, says a labor leader, "the figures on net income, including officers' salaries and expenses, for 1932 are not available in the report, which is based on an examination of all income 'tax returns' during the post-war period."

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Big Six and Guild Go Forward In Staten Island Advance Fight

Newhouse Comes Out With Raises as Mass Picketing Begins to Show Effect on Staff

Direct appeals to the employees of the Staten Island Advance through Saturday morning mass picket lines has been the strategy of the Newspaper Guild of New York during the past few weeks in the continued fight against S. I. Newhouse, publisher, who branded this raise as a bribe, and urged the newspaper men and women on the paper not to forego their right to join the Newspaper Guild because of a pittance such as this.

Now plans are under consideration that would effectively undermine the support of advertisers. Plans are still being worked out for a new newspaper on the island. A Staten Island Standing Committee has been appointed, while not supplanting the Emergency Committee, will apply itself exclusively to the Staten Island campaign.

The committee consists of: Irving Robbins, Journal; Morris Coleman, Daily Workers; Elmer Joseph, Home News; Leo Margolin, Herald Tribune; Mrs. E. H. Little, Times; Leon Swirsky, World; Telegram; Alexander Crosby, Staten Island Advance; Bernard Mullaly, City News; Tom Fabian and Quince, United Press; Paul Carson, Unemployed Unit, and David Davidson, Post.

Members of Big Six, the Electrical Workers and the Guild, speaking from a sound truck provided by the Motion Picture Operators Union, Local 308, are slowly breaking through the coercive tactics of the publisher, paying the way for the voluntary affiliation with the various organizations on the part of employees in the plant.

Several weeks ago, it was learned, the editorial staff was given a \$5 raise, which, according to the speaker at meetings in front of the plant, indicates that Newhouse has become alarmed at the persistent campaign of the Guild and Big Six. Speakers

panies selling stock to the public, still if ordinary accounting procedure is followed they exist in some degree.

Mr. Pew carefully avoids reference to the following in the Reporter account for September: This industry has recapitalized itself and increased capital from time to time, not through the issuance of new stock or bonds, but by turning profits back into the business. . . . Such profits become capital."

No Need to Borrow

Newspaper proprietors have not found it so necessary as other industrialists to borrow money or to take outsiders into partnership; for large part they have themselves retained exclusive control. They have enjoyed this fortunate position because the profits made for them by their employees have sufficed for expansion purposes. When such profits have become capital, the increased capital of profit has served to reduce the rate of profit but to increase the aggregate profit. If one considers merely the original investment of any newspaper proprietor that has not recapitalized itself by borrowing or floating stock, one would have a rate of present return in very many instances running far above that shown in the survey of the N. B. E. R.

When Mr. Pew states: "There are no authentic statistics on the subject of newspaper earnings," he is not being exact. Statistics on the earnings of newspaper proprietors exist in the Department of Internal Revenue. One cannot, fortunately for Mr. Pew and his friends, get at these figures now, but these were the figures examined by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Government Can Reveal Truth

As soon as the Guild begins to view its problem in the proper atmosphere it may take steps to have the Government make these figures available for the study of the Guild. The figures exist and are not sacred. All that is required is the lifting of the finger of the proper official in Washington to have the figures disclosed. Fingers have been known to lift in the past. It is merely a matter of getting the disclosure of these figures to the Guild through their friends, relatives, Congressmen, et al.

But to get back to Mr. Pew's reminder that this is 1934. The National City Bank bulletin for August, 1934, says: "A tabulation of the reports published thus far by 250 companies having an aggregate worth of approximately \$9,724,000,000 shows combined net profits, less deficits, of \$276,563,000 for the first half of this year, as compared with a profit of \$86,282,000 in the first half of 1933. These profits represented an annual rate of return upon net worth of 5.7 per cent last year and 1.7 per cent last year."

Rate of Return

In 1931, the rate of return to the publishing industry was seven times greater than the average for all other American industries combined.

IS THERE PEACE IN LABOR TRUCE?

Continued from Page Five

better food than the camps in Hitler's Fascist Germany, but the idea was there, all right. Francis J. Gorman, strike chairman of the textile workers, objected to strike-breaking efforts of State and local authorities. He said that if strikers were deputized "we would see that order was maintained and that those officials guilty of killings were restrained."

The New York Times, in an editorial under the heading "Strikers' Law," took him to task, talked about "the lawful officers of the law," which, under his plan, were to be "superseded by the breakers of the law." To which Gorman replied in a long statement, which the Times printed. He said, among other things:

"The trouble with your editorial is that it assumes that the so-called officers of the law are in reality peace officers, trained and capable of impartiality in the performance of duty. That happens not to be the case."

"For example, one specific report shows that in a Pennsylvania community thirty-eight out of forty special deputies were men of no occupation, that they had never worked and that they were of the type commonly found around pool rooms and such other places. These men were being paid \$10 a day."

"We do not want our people to be officers of the law. But neither do we want them to be submitted to the danger of deputized forces that are merely armed mobs. One mill had its strike-breakers deputized."

"What we want and what we never get is true law enforcement. We get enforcement of the will of mill owners. Nine of our men are in their graves today because the mill owners control law enforcement. Most of these men were shot in the back, and there is enough sophistication in the editorial rooms of The New York Times to understand what that means."

"You say I am deeply concerned about violence when resorted to by the National Guard or by the State. Yes, I am, when the State becomes the tool of special interests and when the National Guard becomes the private army of mill owners."

Unemployment Insurance Only on Wide Basis

At the A. F. of L. convention, the Massachusetts Federation of Labor pushed a resolution opposing any form of unemployment insurance "based on the principle of separate company reserves and demanding that only the plans be considered as include one pooled fund for the State or nation as a whole, to which all employers in the State or nation should contribute and to which workers in all industries should look for compensation."

The Guild is a step ahead of the A. F. of L., having endorsed at the St. Paul national convention the Lunden unemployment insurance bill calling for Federal unemployment insurance for all workers, to be raised by income tax and by diversion of the funds now going to warship construction.

Fines Established For Delays in Dues

The representative assembly of the New York Guild established at its last meeting a plan which, it is hoped, will act as a tonic on dues collections.

Starting November 1, each member will pay a fine of 25 cents if he is in arrears one month, and an additional 10 cents a month for each additional month in arrears. Coincidental with the fine system dues are to be increased to 75 cents and \$1.25. If however, a member pays his dues on or before the 20th, he receives a remission of 25 cents. Hence the prompt dues payer will enjoy the same dues basis as in the past. The resolution as finally adopted provides for exemptions in exceptional cases.

Division of Duties Between Local and National Guilds Outlined

FUNCTIONAL LINES DRAWN FOR LOCAL, NATIONAL GUILDS

Countrywide Organization Will
Help If Unit Fights,
Eddy Says

(Continued from Page One)

ishers as informers and agitators. Lack of definition between the responsibilities of the local and the national organization is bad in any case, since it leads to buck passing and dissension. Today, since it plays into the hands of those whose interests would be served by destroying the Guild, or at least curbing it, it is doubly important that we endeavor to reach a clear understanding.

Local Must Give Backing

A primary sphere in which there seems to be considerable confusion is that involving the Guild's relation to the NRA. When difficulties arise with publishers involving NRA violations as to hours, wages, stalling of collective bargaining, or intimidation—who is to cope with this, the national or the local? If our resources were as large as an old established union with high dues and ample fines this work might fall to the national group under most circumstances. But even then it could only be done effectively when the local was behind the fight. This is said from experience.

A Guild or unit leader with years of valued service to his paper is discharged soon after Guild activity and all his friends know that that was the real reason. Discharge for such activity, however, is against the law, and the publisher gives as the cause "incompatibility," a sudden deterioration in the quality of his work, or the need for economy. At a meeting the victim, unwilling even after discharge to challenge the publisher, declares he is not sure why he was fired, and the Guild accordingly takes no action. Or, the victim boldly accuses the publisher of firing him for Guild activity, and the officers of the local, confronted with the possibility of having to beard the publisher, hesitate and rationalize until they have convinced themselves that the victim is a self-anointed martyr—and, again, no action is taken.

Bad Moral Effects

The newspaper men and women of the community, not weighted down by the cares of office and the unpleasant developments that might ensue should action be taken, know merely that his interest in the Guild got the victim into a jam, and that the Guild has done nothing about it. They approach their officers and receive the explanation that the local officers took the matter up with the national and that they did nothing about it.

In one case when a local failed to back the fight, the victim filed a complaint with the Regional Labor Board on his own hook—instant of the whole local Guild, as a Guild, backing the fight, the victim filed complaint as an individual. The board dillyed and dillyed, and, as an individual, the victim was unable to obtain a hearing. Here was a Guild member making a lone fight. The national organization stepped into the picture. The executive secretary made a long trip, and, backed by preparation in Washington, forced a hearing in the local board. The publisher's representative attacked him in the hearing as an outsider trying to tell native sons how to run their own affairs. This attack was characteristic of the methods used by the publishers when the national organization attempts to step into an employer-employee dispute before the local organization has made its own position clear. In general, the national organization cannot effectively carry on a fight that is not backed by (1) the party or parties immediately concerned, and (2) the local Guild where the controversy has arisen.

Local Guild Must Act First

Despite past experience, circumstances may conceivably arise where it will again be advisable for the national organization to back an individual who lacks the backing of his own Guild, but such action will take place in the future only if the national officers are convinced that the local has been so

Newark Guild's First Anniversary Shows All Shops Organized but One

By STEPHEN MERRILL

NEWARK, N. J.—The Newark Guild approaches its first anniversary with every shop in the city organized except one, with committees at work drafting contracts to be submitted to employers and with a record of a number of important gains in negotiations with publishers.

There were dark days for the Newark Guild during the past year, days during which dues payments were at a standstill and morale seemed hopelessly shattered, but a new spirit became evident after the St. Paul convention, a spirit of determination and co-operation that brought the Newark Guild up from the depths. The Guild now has 150 paid-up members and efforts are being made to bring the delinquent minority up to date.

Acting on a petition by the Morning Ledger unit, the Guild negotiated with the publication for vacations. The vacations were granted and further negotiations for greater job security and the Guild shop were undertaken.

derelict in its duty as to give the whole nationwide Guild organization a black eye—and no local has been quite that derelict to date. By acting otherwise, the national organization would not only be entering the fight at a disadvantage, but would, by its very entry, be stepping over the head of local Guild officers.

This still leaves open the question of how much the local is expected to do before the national steps in. In general, it is felt at headquarters that in matters involving differences with publishers, the local organizations should keep the national constantly informed, and that before the local calls upon the national for anything involving an expenditure of funds, the local should exhaust every practicable means at its own disposal to obtain a satisfactory adjudication of the differences.

Thus, it is within the scope of any local to file complaints with the Regional Labor Board, the Code Authority, the Newspaper Industrial Board or local courts. The national office is always ready to furnish detailed information as to procedure, and, indeed, can sometimes file such complaints itself, provided the local furnishes the national office with sufficient detailed information. In general, however, the national cannot file such complaints until the local membership is clearly on record requesting such action.

National Ready to Act

In matters of disputes with publishers, then, the division of responsibility as between local and national Guilds may be summed up thus: the national provides information as to ways and means, but initiative rests with the local membership. Once the local has taken that initiative, is clearly on record, and has evinced a serious intention of fighting the case through to the limit of its abilities, all the facilities and strength of the American Newspaper Guild are behind it. In other words, the national fights for the locals that fight for their own members.

When a local fails to function, when instead it comes down with a case of what Treasurer Crozier has labeled encephalitis (sleeping sickness), where does the responsibility lie? In so far as the national organization may have failed to keep open the channels of communication, may have failed to keep the membership informed of the measures they can take through their local and how to take them, the responsibility lies with the national. Of course, the opportunity for productive work along these lines by the national is limited only by the extent of the national's financial resources. It costs money to get out an adequate publication and to keep the membership informed personally through organizers, as do the unions. But on the whole this responsibility lies mainly with the national. Local Guild publications, not to mention unit bulletins, are of great service, but regular issue of The Guild Reporter, a secretarial staff at headquarters, and an executive secretary who can visit Guilds that need the guidance of the nationwide organization are essential.

Granted that these channels of communication are open, failure of a local Guild to function in the protection and advancement of its

Negotiations between Paul Block and the Guild led to the reinstatement of an aged employee who had been fired from the Star-Eagle and to the establishment of larger dismissal pay on a scale ranging from one week's pay for a year's consecutive employment on the paper to six months' pay for ten years' employment.

Guild units have been organized on the Ledger, the Star-Eagle, the Sunday Call and the Associated Press, leaving the News the only unorganized paper in Newark. Overtures have been made to the News staff, but even Guild officers admit that these have been weak. Some believe that the News employees will organize a Guild unit within a short time, but even if they do not the Newark Guild is confident that the Guild has established itself firmly in New Jersey and will continue to grow in numbers and strength. Evidence of this is seen in the inquiries concerning the Guild that come from newspaper men in smaller Jersey cities.

As an aid in organization, members of unorganized staffs are among the guests invited to a buffet supper to be given by the Newark Guild October 25. Members of the Hudson, Hackensack and Atlantic City Guilds also will attend. The speakers will include Heywood Brown, Jonathan Eddy and Carl Randau, president of the New York Guild.

The work of committees drafting contracts to be presented to publishers has revealed a divergence of opinion among the Guild members, some fearing that detailed contracts may lead to "calcification" of the profession and that newspaper men cannot discipline themselves to the limitations of a contract. These members also believe that a publisher has the right to display a certain amount of caprice in choosing his staff. However, the far greater majority believe in the necessity of obtaining contracts which provide for a general uplift in the standards of work and pay and which permit the publisher his caprices provided he pays for them in the form of a just dismissal bonus.

Can Publishers Tell Employees What to Write Out of Office?

By JAMES L. HARTE

When press discriminates against press whence comes freedom of the press? When publisher uses work done out of office hours as an excuse for discharging a crack-a-jack newspaper man is it not high time for action? These questions come to mind when studying the case of Merlin N. Hanson.

Hanson was with the Mobile (Ala.) Press-Register. He also is Southern Digest of Kosmos, a Philadelphia magazine. His Kosmos work as well as his contributions to other such periodicals was all done on his own time. Yet he was dismissed from the Press-Register for writing "A Knife to Kill" in the May-June issue of Kosmos.

Because every newspaper man with a newspaper man's interest at heart knows the cussedness of such discrimination, and because it is such discrimination the Guild seeks to abolish, we quote from Hanson's correspondence with Jay Harrison, former newspaper man and now editor of Kosmos:

"My article about the South in the American Spectator caused a little flurry here. But when it was reprinted in the March New Current Digest these good old Mobilians trying to deny conditions out of existence began howling. Complaints were made. Among them a delegation of physicians asked that I be dismissed.

"Then came my story in Kosmos. Just who complained I do not know, nor how many, although I understand that a number of people stepped into the office and voiced objections. R. B. Chandler, publisher of the paper, running true to form, left town, leaving in-

structions for me to be dismissed. Incidentally, Chandler once wrote to a friend that 'Hanson is the best newspaper man in Mobile,' so it cannot be that I was dismissed for inefficiency, since I'd been with him eight years.

The more I think about the matter the more I see in it a bold attempt to throttle any kind of expression in this section unless it conforms with the self-appointed dictators. Am I or any one else to receive orders of approval from certain ones in order to write?

"More persons than I are involved. It affects every writer or person who has writing inclinations. It is far worse than suppression of books, for there it is circulation of expression which is denied, while in a plight of this kind it is expression itself which is refused or aborted.

"I shall not stop writing the truth about the South. Even though I love my country and my section I must write truthfully."

Theodore Dreiser wrote to Hanson: "Of course the publishers have to protect themselves by the obvious and brutal method of discharging men from their jobs. It is fear, as you know, which motivates them, not the indignation about unjust statements. Remember that your present situation has been shared by a long line of distinguished and forceful people. I certainly admire your spirit."

The Writers' Union and various other sources have taken up the battle. Jay Harrison has communicated with our president, and Mr. Brown has promised to bring the matter before the Guild.

members lies with the local itself. Not only local officers, but the entire membership of the Guild concerned is at fault, for, while inert or equivocating leaders can stall action until interest in the Guild concerned seems at a standstill, the membership itself always has the power either to spur the leaders on or to replace them by leaders who will actually lead—and national leaders would seem to be responsible to the general Guild membership to assist the latter when such action becomes necessary.

All Responsible for Dues

As for the division of responsibility between local and national in the collection of dues, dues form so integral a part of any labor organization that here, it would seem, national officers, local officers and every sincere and active member must accept an equal burden of educating our laggards. Many of our members who would actively support the Guild in any crisis are not, it must be realized, interested in the humdrum details of organization and do not appreciate how important are those details, including prompt and regular dues collection. The national officers cannot reach these men directly; they can only hammer away at local officers. In the larger Guilds it is physically impossible for the local officers to

reach everyone directly, so that this Guild chore devolves upon the more aware and active elements in the various offices.

However, if the national group falls down in getting our publication into the hands of all of us at regular intervals, if it fails to keep all of us informed of Guild activities, if its office routine in sending out information, notices and acknowledgements is slipshod, if its accounting system is cumbersome and faulty, finally if its fails to provide the intelligent leadership upon which any successful organization is dependent, local organizations with few exceptions will go by the board, not only in the matter of dues, but in every thing else.

It all amounts to this: without the locals there would obviously be no national, for the locals are the national; without the national, even the best locals would stand lonely and shorn of their strength, while the rest would pass quietly out of existence—or desperately join the A. F. of L. But all these "withouts" are somewhat a play on words, for each local is "one and indivisible," the ANG is "one and indivisible," an autonomous part of the whole, and with that strength of unity, we are working out our problems and getting along rather well.

—JONATHAN EDDY.

CO-OPERATION DOES NOT MEAN AFL AFFILIATION

Joining Up Not Essential to
Winning Federation Aid

Many weird rumors are circulated among newspaper men and women in communities without Guild organization. One reason advanced for eschewing the Guild is that it is about to join the A. F. of L. Word has come to headquarters that in some places publishers are even passing out the word that the guild has already entered negotiations looking to such affiliation.

Aside from the merit or demerit of affiliation, it is well that the facts be made plain.

(1) At the St. Paul convention the American Newspaper Guild voted to defer even consideration of joining the A. F. of L. to the next convention, which will take place in June, 1935. This action was taken because the matter had not been adequately threshed out in the locals, and it is the practice of ANG local and national officers to act on matters of policy only after consultation with the membership.

(2) The Guild has received no official information from the A. F. of L. that it would welcome our affiliation. Our officers were not invited to attend the A. F. of L. convention in San Francisco this month even as observers.

(3) Co-operation with other organized groups of wage earners was made a matter of ANG policy by convention resolutions. Accordingly in a few places, notably New York, the Guild is co-operating with other labor organizations in matters of common policy, such as the fight for the right to organization and collective bargaining on the Staten Island Advance. Co-operation is not to be confused with affiliation.

(4) The ANG cannot affiliate with the A. F. of L. or any other labor federation except by a vote of the national convention. Judging from past Guild precedent; the convention, if it had to consider the question, would want a clear-cut vote of the membership before acting, so that action on affiliation is unlikely except as a result either of a nationwide Guild referendum or of petition by a majority of the guilds. Even should the ANG decide that it wished to affiliate with the A. F. of L., it could not, of itself, go beyond application for a charter of one form or another, and we have no assurance that it would be granted.

EDDY PROMISES BINGHAMTON AID

Local Must Take First Step
in Morning Sun Case

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—The Guild, faced with the problems arising through the withdrawal of members from the Binghamton Morning Sun, met September 30 with Jonathan Eddy, national secretary, who assured members that alleged intimidation tactics of Morning Sun executives will be combated by the national organization, provided the local takes the initial action.

The Guild is determined to regain its strength. At the same time it will exert efforts to organize a regional body of guilds throughout the Southern Tier of New York State.

Discharge of Ernest Noonan, on the Sun staff for sixteen years, because of what is believed to have been membership in the Guild, was followed by mass withdrawal of other members from the same newspaper. This necessitated election of new officers. They are: Erwin C. Cronk, president; Sidney M. Cavanaugh, vice-president; Charles Villency, secretary, and Catherine D. McFall, treasurer.

George H. Sparge, a member of the executive board, one of the organizers of the Guild movement here, was elected regional organizer for the Southern Tier district.