

Building Resolution
Cleveland vs. NRA
Hanna vs. Stern
To Lead or to Straddle?
By JONATHAN EDDY

No New Year's resolution could be more beneficial to the Guild as a whole than one by its active members to pay much more attention to the problems of organization than most of them have done in recent months. The Guild did not originate through a few enthusiasts shouting "Abracadabra, come on and join!" Powerful and enduring organizations are not arranged so simply.

Inspiration, courage and energy are indispensable. They can be frittered away, wasted, defeated completely by failure to grasp and assimilate the logic of the underlying organizational structure. The Guild did not "just grow." It was in the main "thrust up" in advance, with parts added from time to time.

Let us start the New Year by acknowledging that while the Guild has been extraordinarily successful, some of the parts have turned out to be sheer junk, while others that might be invaluable are growing rusty from lack of intelligent use. Let us talk these matters out and talk them out again, for they involve the general approach and policies of every Guild unit in the country, of every local Guild, and of the national.

Cleveland vs. NRA
The most important Guild development since the staff of the Ledger walked out is to my mind the Cleveland News contract. Here is a promising gain that throws into relief every aspect of our organization. The NRA dramatics in Washington took a banner head in the last issue, but we have known from way back that the code and the NRA were of no help to us, and merely revolted in Washington from our assigned role of babes in the woods.

But the Cleveland contract is something else. It is the first clear-cut, big city break in the united front of the publishers as built up by the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Many things that came out back in the "earliest" (though only a few months ago) are forgotten too easily, and since it is the purpose of this column to assemble a perspective what is pertinent and so to focus attention on what makes organization effective and what retards and saps it, let me recall the first confidential ANPA bulletin that appeared in The Guild Reporter.

I refer to Harvey J. Kelly's secret warning to publishers last spring that contracts sought by the Guild were "a menace." He pointed with alarm to the Cleveland and contract incoherence, the dismissal bonus, as it does also that feature that has raised a frenzied publisher chorus, the grievance committee. Though neither are in formal form, in the Cleveland contract the principle is established, the point is won!

Hanna vs. Stern
The Cleveland contract seems more important than the Stern contract in Philadelphia, now about to expire under reported ominous circumstances. With all due credit to Mr. Stern's vision and personality, his position as a publisher was egregious. But the boy at the idea that contracts dropped from plum trees, and consequently they failed to develop the assurance that Mr. Stern anticipated, would raise the production costs of his competitors. In other words, the Cleveland contract is a first to be obtained under typical conditions of publisher reluctance.

Lead or to Straddle?
Was there an organizational reference that enabled the Cleveland Guild to win where others failed?

(Continued on Page Four)

The Guild Reporter

Copyright 1935 by the American Newspaper Guild

Vol. II—No. 2

NEW YORK, JANUARY 1, 1935

Price, \$2 a Year

PASS THIS
ISSUE TO A
FRIEND

Boycott Next, Coast Labor Warns Paper

Trades Council Moves to Aid as Oakland Cuts Circulation 4,000

SAN FRANCISCO.—A boycott by organized labor against the Oakland Tribune looms as an early development in the San Francisco Guild's campaign to get public support in its efforts to force reinstatement of three Guild members, discharged for organizational activity. The prospect has given fresh impetus to the campaign, which already has cut the circulation of the Tribune by 4,000 and brought the publisher to printing front page editorials laying the trouble to an organization from outside San Francisco.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Alameda County gave the new turn to the Guild's effort by instructing its secretary, William Spooner, to notify Joseph R. Knowland, publisher of the Tribune, that his paper would be placed on the unfair list unless three discharged editorial workers were reinstated and the staff got freedom to organize and bargain collectively. The boycott move is supported by Edward Vandeleur, president, and Paul Scharrenberg, secretary, of the State Federation of Labor.

Appeals to Labor Board
The Guild filed with the Regional Labor Board Dec. 22 a formal complaint against the Tribune. The complaint had been held up awaiting the showdown in Washington on the question of jurisdiction.

A check of the Tribune sales showed the loss in circulation. It followed canvassing for support of civic, labor, educational and religious groups in the East Bay section and distribution of 50,000 handbills from house to house, calling on the public to cancel subscriptions.

The "outside agitator" cry was heard on the west coast for the first time Dec. 12 when the Tribune started running its series of front page editorials.

The Guild speakers' bureau began making the rounds of East Bay organizations after Christmas. A public mass meeting in support of the freedom of the press.

(Continued on Page Three)

Newark Gets Advertisers To Aid Strike

Publisher Spurns Labor Board as Mediator; Trades Council Helps

NEWARK, N. J.—A steady drop in circulation and withdrawal of advertisers of the Newark Ledger testify to the progress of the Newark Newspaper Guild's campaign against L. T. Russell, publisher. The strike of editorial employees started its sixth week Dec. 22.

The latest survey of newsstand sales showed a loss of about 40 per cent in circulation since the strike started. Several advertisers, including one large account, have withdrawn from the paper. Its advertising structure has been temporarily sustained by the Christmas shopping season, but some large accounts have indicated that they will not be in the Ledger after their contracts expire.

The cut in circulation was effected despite an extensive campaign by the paper which normally would have resulted in a 30 per cent gain.

Costs Up, Revenues Down
Strike leaders therefore say that it has resolved itself into a question of how long Russell can hold out while operating at greater costs and on decreasing revenues.

Russell is still trying to bluff the strike out of existence; such, the Guild leaders believe, is the only convincing interpretation of his answer to the New York Regional Labor Board's offer to act as mediator. The offer came Monday, Dec. 10. The Guild accepted, Tuesday, Dec. 18, and again the next Sunday Russell advertised lengthy statements in the local press, declaring that his editorial staff was "now full and complete in every department" and "since in the Guild does not represent any of these employees, there is nothing to mediate or arbitrate with that organization."

From the strikers' viewpoint, the advertisement was welcome, both in publicizing the strike and, revealing to the public the fact that Russell had no intention of effecting a settlement, by mediation or otherwise, unless compelled.

Russell's advertisements gave

(Continued on Page Two)

Cleveland Contract Wins 5-Day Week, Sets \$40 Minimum

Let Labor Board Rule, Guild Asks President

Heywood Brown, president of the American Newspaper Guild, and Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary, sent the following telegram to President Roosevelt Dec. 20.

"We are informed that representatives of certain publishers are endeavoring through NRA to induce you to rule that the Newspaper Industrial Board is the final arbiter of disputes in the newspaper industry despite Public Resolution 44 and your executive order accompanying same, which have been upheld by the National Labor Relations Board in Jennings decision. We respectfully urge you to uphold the superior jurisdiction of the NLRB as a measure of protection for newspaper employees. We feel that to do otherwise would be to foster an industrial dictatorship."

2d Code Parley Promised, But Bid Is Missing

Guild Agrees to Enter if Hearing Gets Publicity; Awaits Action

WASHINGTON.—A new NRA code hearing, at which the American Newspaper Guild has been invited to return and present its data on wages and hours of news department workers, has been promised after intervention by the Labor Advisory Board here, but to date the invitation has not been formally made public and no time for the hearing has been set.

The hearing, if and when it is held, will be conducted under a changed set-up, with Gustav Peck, deputy NRA administrator and assistant of W. A. Harriman, administrative officer of NRA, sitting jointly with Jack Tate, divisional administrator of the newspaper code.

The Labor Advisory Board issued the invitation on behalf of Harriman after Robert Buck, Guild vice-president of the 13th Region, at Washington, had laid the Guild's side of the Jennings case before the board at the invitation of William Green, acting chairman of the advisory board.

(Continued on Page Seven)

Richberg in Huff Over Guild Letter

'Insulted,' NRA Chief Writes Back; Text Tells Story

The attempt by the American Newspaper Guild to determine whether it may be assured of a square deal in NRA hearings has led to an exchange of caustic letters between Donald R. Richberg, Executive Director of the National Emergency Council, and the Executive Committee of the ANG. These letters grew out of Richberg's action in the Dean S. Jennings case. It was through Rich-

(Continued on Page Seven)

News Compromises With Guild After 5 Months of Negotiations

48 Get Pay Raises Now by 1-Year Pact

Overtime to Draw Cash and Time Off; Strikes Are Ruled Out

By A. H. ROBERTS
CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The Cleveland News has signed with the Guild. After five months of negotiation, now bitter, now friendly, Party of the First Part and Party of the Second Part have put their agreement in writing, signed, sealed and delivered. The News is published by Dan R. Hanna, Jr., grandson of Mark A. Hanna.

The contract is a compromise. It embodies provisions which are unsatisfactory, perhaps, to both sides. But they are at least acceptable.

Cleveland members regard the contract as a major advance for the Guild since it is the first obtained by negotiations where the atmosphere at the onset was one of hostility and distrust. From the personal standpoint it means to members of the News staff either more money, better hours, some security in the job, or a combination of these benefits.

Drew Contract 9 Months Ago

The Guild started nine months ago by asking for wage raises, and nothing else. Some members got them, some did not. There was no acknowledgment of the Guild's efforts. So the Guild prepared a contract, asking for everything which might, by a long chance, be gained.

The Guild asked \$45 minimums after two years of "apprenticeship." It got \$40 after four years. It asked the preferential shop. It got an agreement, by letter, to negotiate this jointly with the Cleveland Press.

The Guild asked the right to veto unjust discharges. (Remember, this was a long time ago!) It did not get it. It got a grievance committee, instead.

All But 8 on 5-Day Week

The News had 27 of its 99 men working unlimited hours. The Guild asked a five-day, 40-hour week for all. It got it for all but eight (including managing editor and editor).

The Guild wanted discharge notices starting at two weeks and increasing to 12 weeks for service up to eight years. It got not notices, but cash payments, starting at one week's pay and running up in a concave curve to 12 weeks' pay at nine years' service. The publisher agrees in the contract not to discriminate in any way against any employee for Guild activity.

The Guild asked vacations and sick leave in writing. It got them, not in writing, but on the publisher's personal word. He refused to write it down and open the door to the other crafts.

The Guild asked time off or time-and-a-half in cash for overtime. It got time off or straight-

(Continued on Page Three)

Split 4 to 4, Industrial Board Weighs Tonietti Case Issues

The Newspaper Guild of New York learned something of the workings of the Newspaper Industrial Board when the Tonietti case, the first Guild complaint to reach the board, was heard at the Warwick Hotel, New York, Dec. 17 and 18.

The bi-partisan character of the board was revealed on major issues when the Guild requested a record vote on two points: Is the decision of the board final, or may it be appealed; and, has the board the right to demand the financial records of a publisher who bases dismissal on the grounds of economy? Employee members of the board voted that its decision may be appealed to a higher body, and that it may request the submission of adequate financial reports. On each issue there was deadlock by a four-to-four vote.

Despite the appearance of the complainant, Alphonse Tonietti,

II Progresso unit chairman who the Guild charged was discharged for Guild activity, and two witnesses employed by the publisher, Generoso Pope, the latter did not appear to testify. His attorney, Jacob Goodstein, succeeded in introducing an affidavit from Pope, in reply to testimony of Guild members obtained on the first day of the hearing. The affidavit consisted of a detailed and consistent list of denials of all allegations made by the Guild.

Attorney for the publisher offered to show payroll records for a few months about the time of the discharge of Tonietti. Because these records would not be immediately available, the board reached no decision, and it is understood that a mail vote will be forthcoming.

Supporting Tonietti's direct testimony was John Billi, acting chairman of the II Progresso unit,

(Continued on Page Six)

Newark Gets Advertisers To Aid Strikers

Publisher Spurns Labor Board Mediation; Trades Council Helps

(Continued from Page One)
his version of facts in the strike, a version which the strikers say consists almost entirely of misrepresentations and distortions. The Guild replied with a short advertisement quoting from Russell's bulletins before the strike. It analyzed Russell's statement in the strikers' weekly publication, the Reporter.

Russell's assertion that his staff is complete is contradicted by the columns of his paper, which continue to be practically devoid of local news, except for rewrites and handouts. He has a staff of some 25 strikebreakers, most incompetent, and they continue to be unpopular at news sources.

Attack Circulation
The principal emphasis of the strike continues to be against circulation, by picketing, house-to-house canvassing, circularizing the public, sound truck addresses and addresses to labor union and other meetings. More than 5,000 cards signed by persons announcing their refusal to read the Ledger during the strike have been mailed to Russell.

The biggest factor in the fight on circulation is undoubtedly the support of labor unions and labor sympathizers. The support formally voted the Guild by all the central labor bodies here has been followed by close to 100 union locals, and the number grows daily. Most of them have voted outright boycott of the Ledger.

Labor men have displayed the attitude that the Guild was essentially a part of the labor movement. The Essex Trades Council, the principal central body, devoted more than two hours to a discussion of means of aiding the strike, and appointed a committee to aid and advise the Guild strike committee.

Advertisers Approached
The approach to advertisers has been by personal calls. A letter asking for support of the strike has been sent to all display advertisers.

The campaign to draw out the men who remained at work or have

Where Newark Strike Donations Go

Financial Statement, Newark Strike Committee (to bank closing, Dec. 31, 1934)	
Total Receipts (Nov. 19-Dec. 21, inclusive).....	\$7,430.06
Total expenditures (Nov. 19-Dec. 21, inclusive).....	6,599.34
BALANCE (at bank closing Dec. 21, 1934).....	\$ 831.32
Receipts	
Individual contributions (Newark and elsewhere).....	\$ 784.93
Expenses repaid from Benefit account for outlays for show, Dec. 9.....	400.00
Newark Guild treasury (original appropriation).....	100.23
Miscellaneous (from meetings, groups, etc.).....	624.70
From other guilds.....	5,030.55
Total Receipts.....	\$7,430.06
Expenditures	
Welfare.....	\$953.02
Benefits to strikers:	
November 23.....	\$11.00
November 29.....	688.00
December 6.....	474.63
December 15.....	461.50
December 21.....	\$81.50
Total Welfare.....	\$1,786.65
The Reporter (printing and type-setting).....	653.04
Thanksgiving Dinner, Nov. 29.....	46.50
Mimeographing (bulletins, etc.).....	110.92
Expenses for Benefit Performance, Dec. 9.....	467.95
Advertising.....	250.00
Petty cash for office expenses.....	78.34
Miscellaneous expenses (this includes telephone bills, stenographic help, printing of stationery, etc.).....	784.50
Total expenditures.....	\$6,599.34

Note: A separate account was set up to handle the funds from the Benefit, Dec. 9. From this account the following strike benefits were paid in addition to those listed above:
December 8.....\$414.75
December 12.....485.30

come in as strikebreakers has met with moderate success. In the last two weeks three strikebreakers have walked out. Two Guild members who failed to join the walk-out are wavering. There are other indications that morale inside the editorial room is low. The campaign has consisted of personal appeals and of mass picketing, cheering and singing.

Strikers Hold Firm
The lines of the strikers continue to hold firm, and their morale is high. Discipline has improved. The money to meet the needs of the strikers and the expenses of the strike continues to come in from all over the country sufficiently to meet urgent needs, but more could be used to extend the strike activities.

The problem of man power remains, in respect to extending activities. Volunteers, both from other Guilds and from local interested bodies, have been few.

Women Folk Play Vital Role In All Phases of Strike Work

By ADELAIDE WILSON

NEWARK—In the background of the Newark Ledger strike, playing a modest but vitally important role, are the women folk of the strikers. Among the actual strikers are six women who share with the men the rigors of battle and the spirit of self-sacrifice.

Well worn shoes and frocks of the feminine crusaders are the only outward signs of their unemployment. The long, weary hours on the job at the Ledger and the scanty wages paid them are forgotten in their present campaign for emancipation. They wear their cardboard picket signs like armor, striding bravely up and down the main streets and meeting friends with grim pride in the cause.

Heroines who prefer to remain anonymous, these women must be enrolled in the record of honor for newspaper history, for the names of Agnes Fahy, Mary Nichols, Juanita Clivette, Jean Vernon and Mildred Jessand will glow as long as newsgatherers remember pioneers in their profession. Readily they deserted their typewriters and joined the picket line, despite the fact that most of them need money for dependents and for necessities.

Juanita Clivette, fured to the

Ledger by a message months after she had sent in an application for a job, rushed to Newark after two years of illness, took over my job as society editor and learned within a few hours of the strike just what she represented in her new-found and much-needed job. Miss Clivette walked out.

Miss Fahy, as church, news editor and political reporter, chose honor rather than ignominy by joining the fight and the picket line.

Miss Vernon, victim of one of L. T. Russell's most recent payrolls, is doing a martyr's share of work on the welfare committee.

By practical womanly scheming, Miss Vernon has kept coal in electric lights burning. She has arranged free haircuts, shoe repairs, cleaning and pressing, laundering and medical, dental and chiropodist treatments.

Strikes of a few weeks have postponed housemaking to work at headquarters with their men. The women reporters have given up their rooms and apartments to move into humble quarters provided free by sympathetic citizens. They have shouldered half the burden with honest pride in the ideals of the craft.

Stage Union Gruff, But It Comes Through

NEWARK, N. J.—Gruff but big headed is the leadership of the Newark Theatrical State Employees' Union. A delegation of Ledger strikers sought to attend a meeting of the union to state their case.

"Screen," said Tom Green, union official. "We don't need you to tell us our duty."

The delegation screamed. It was learned later that the union not only voted active support of the strike, but decided as well to supply without cost all stage labor needed at the Guild benefit show, which was held Dec. 9.

The Newark Musicians' Union dug into its own treasury to pay the orchestra furnished for the benefit.

"Screen," said Tom Green, union official. "We don't need you to tell us our duty."

The delegation screamed. It was learned later that the union not only voted active support of the strike, but decided as well to supply without cost all stage labor needed at the Guild benefit show, which was held Dec. 9.

The Newark Musicians' Union dug into its own treasury to pay the orchestra furnished for the benefit.

Dies in Auto Crash

Daniel de Souza Instantly Killed In Auto Crash

Capital Guild Head Was on Way to Newark; Companion Hurt

WASHINGTON—Daniel A. de Souza, 33, president of the Washington Newspaper Guild, was killed, and William E. Peake, 32, a fellow Guild member, was injured Dec. 23 when the automobile in which they were driving to Newark, N. J., crashed into a truck near Hyattsville, Md.

De Souza and Peake had loaded their automobile with toys collected in Washington for children of the striking reporters in Newark. They had driven only a few miles when the accident occurred. The toys were strewn over the highway. De Souza was killed instantly.

Peake, formerly of the Washington Herald, who was driving, was injured about the head and face. His condition is not serious. Simple funeral rites were held for de Souza Christmas Eve under the auspices of the Washington Guild. Robert M. Buck, Regional vice-president, spoke briefly.

De Souza, one of the founders of the Washington Guild, had been its president since its inception. He was unanimously re-elected after the St. Paul convention.

De Souza was born in Jamaica, and with his family later moved to Nicaragua, where he spent his boyhood. He came to this country in 1922, and enrolled in Johns Hopkins University. Later he studied at the Columbia School of Journalism. His first newspaper job was with the Washington Daily News.

He worked for the Washington Times before going to the Star about five years ago. While on the Star, de Souza studied law at George Washington University, and became a member of the District of Columbia bar.

De Souza never practiced law, although he was offered jobs which would have paid him far more than he could have hoped to receive on the Star. He said he didn't want to fail his comrades in the Guild.

He made his home in Alexandria, Va. A wife and two young children survive.

Newsman Issue Paris Tribune As Paris Chicago Tribune Dies

Can a publisher really sell a newspaper to another publisher? That question has been raised in a surprising way by American newspaper men in Paris.

On Dec. 1 the Chicago Daily Tribune, Paris edition, ceased to be. It had been bought and merged with the Paris edition of the New York Herald. But on the same day former members of the merged paper issued and sold the first copy of a weekly called The Paris Tribune.

"One month ago Chicago Tribune readers and Chicago Tribune writers as well—learned with amazement that two gentlemen sitting in an office somewhere across the Atlantic Ocean had signed a document which disposed of the Paris edition of the Chicago Tribune to the Paris edition of the New York Herald."

"The arrangement gave the New York Herald the right to add to its title the words Chicago Daily Tribune. Perhaps the publisher expected to believe that the transfer of these three words to the newspaper which was the Chicago Tribune, Paris edition. The public is likely to prove obdurate."

"What is a newspaper? Is it a

Daniel de Souza Instantly Killed In Auto Crash

Capital Guild Head Was on Way to Newark; Companion Hurt

WASHINGTON—Daniel A. de Souza, 33, president of the Washington Newspaper Guild, was killed, and William E. Peake, 32, a fellow Guild member, was injured Dec. 23 when the automobile in which they were driving to Newark, N. J., crashed into a truck near Hyattsville, Md.

De Souza and Peake had loaded their automobile with toys collected in Washington for children of the striking reporters in Newark. They had driven only a few miles when the accident occurred. The toys were strewn over the highway. De Souza was killed instantly.

Peake, formerly of the Washington Herald, who was driving, was injured about the head and face. His condition is not serious. Simple funeral rites were held for de Souza Christmas Eve under the auspices of the Washington Guild. Robert M. Buck, Regional vice-president, spoke briefly.

De Souza, one of the founders of the Washington Guild, had been its president since its inception. He was unanimously re-elected after the St. Paul convention.

De Souza was born in Jamaica, and with his family later moved to Nicaragua, where he spent his boyhood. He came to this country in 1922, and enrolled in Johns Hopkins University. Later he studied at the Columbia School of Journalism. His first newspaper job was with the Washington Daily News.

He worked for the Washington Times before going to the Star about five years ago. While on the Star, de Souza studied law at George Washington University, and became a member of the District of Columbia bar.

De Souza never practiced law, although he was offered jobs which would have paid him far more than he could have hoped to receive on the Star. He said he didn't want to fail his comrades in the Guild.

He made his home in Alexandria, Va. A wife and two young children survive.

Newsman Issue Paris Tribune As Paris Chicago Tribune Dies

Can a publisher really sell a newspaper to another publisher? That question has been raised in a surprising way by American newspaper men in Paris.

On Dec. 1 the Chicago Daily Tribune, Paris edition, ceased to be. It had been bought and merged with the Paris edition of the New York Herald. But on the same day former members of the merged paper issued and sold the first copy of a weekly called The Paris Tribune.

"One month ago Chicago Tribune readers and Chicago Tribune writers as well—learned with amazement that two gentlemen sitting in an office somewhere across the Atlantic Ocean had signed a document which disposed of the Paris edition of the Chicago Tribune to the Paris edition of the New York Herald."

"The arrangement gave the New York Herald the right to add to its title the words Chicago Daily Tribune. Perhaps the publisher expected to believe that the transfer of these three words to the newspaper which was the Chicago Tribune, Paris edition. The public is likely to prove obdurate."

"What is a newspaper? Is it a

Cleveland News Contract Sets 5-Day Week, \$40 Minimum

5-Month Talks With Guild End In Compromise

48 Get Pay Raises Now Under One-Year Pact; Overtime Draws Cash

(Continued from Page One)
time in cash, but not more than a quarter of the overtime may be paid in cash. This is designed to avert constant overtime paid for in cash.

The Guild wanted the checkoff of dues. It failed to get it. (The unit is and has been paid up to the minute).

The Guild wanted to break an inter-newspaper agreement whereby no Cleveland newspaper hires from another. It did, substantially.

The Guild attempted to get a provision allowing almost unlimited freedom to market spare-time literary and journalistic work. Unable to get anything satisfactory, it dropped that fight until next year, leaving things on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

The Guild asked wage raises for every one, from 1-3 per cent at the bottom to 15 per cent at the top. It got raises for 22 employees through provision of a \$40 minimum, and raises for 26 more who were making from \$40 to \$50 a week inclusive.

Firing—But With Bonus
The publisher wanted authority to fire at will. He got it, but he must pay the dismissed bonus except in cases of "wilful breach of duty." This phrase is the only arbitrable point in the contract.

The publisher wanted freedom to cut wages, above the minimum, in any number. He is now limited to five individual cuts in a year. This, he contended, is to allow him leeway for the obsolescent employee who might otherwise be fired.

In direct return for this guarantee against destruction of wage standards through individual cuts, the Guild yielded on a no-strike clause. The Guild will not strike unless there is a general wage cut or the contract is violated by the publisher.

General wage cuts must be negotiated, but the Guild, in event such a cut is made against its will, must then decide whether economic conditions warrant the cut or whether it shall strike.

A Guild Birthday Present
The contract was signed Dec. 20 by Hanna and Lloyd White, president of the Cleveland Guild, in the presence of the following members of the negotiating committee:

Elmer O. Fellhaber of the News, chairman; Garland Ashcraft of the Press, I. L. Kennen and A. H. Roberts of the News, Jack Closser of the News, alternate committeeman, and Bill Davy, executive secretary of the Cleveland Guild.

For sentimental reasons, the effective date was made Dec. 15, the first anniversary of the American Newspaper Guild. The first pay envelope to contain the raises came Dec. 24, in time for members to catch the late Christmas shopping rush.

With the News contract out of the way, the Guild next week starts negotiations with the Cleveland Press of the Scripps-Howard chain.

Next, probably, will come the establishment of a Guild school for its apprentices and journeymen. It is hoped to combine classes or lectures in general

Highlights of Cleveland Contract at a Glance

Here is the story, in brief, of the Cleveland News contract:

WAGES: \$40 minimum for journeymen. This means 22 raises. \$20 to \$40 for apprentices, increasing \$2.50 every six months over a four-year period. \$15 for librarians and tabulators for first year, \$20 for second and third years, \$25 thereafter. \$15 for office boys, except for first 90 days, when they are paid \$12.

HOURS: Five-day, 40-hour week. Six "executives", excepted.

RAISES: 10 per cent for those getting \$40 to \$50, inclusive. This means 26 more raises.

DISMISSAL PAYMENTS: Cash, not notice, on following schedule:

Employed 6 months to 1 year..... 1 week's pay
One year to three years..... 2 weeks' pay
Three years to four years..... 3 weeks' pay
Four years to five years..... 4 weeks' pay
Five years to seven years..... 6 weeks' pay
Seven years to nine years..... 8 weeks' pay
Nine years or more..... 12 weeks' pay

VACATIONS, SICK LEAVE: Not in contract. Publisher gives word that present arrangement will continue. Now have two weeks' vacation with pay, unlimited sick leave.

PREFERENTIAL SHOP: Not in contract. Pub-

lisher agrees, by letter, to negotiate it jointly with Cleveland Press.

DISCRIMINATION: No discrimination for Guild activity.

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE: Yes. This is Guild's arbitration board, consisting of one from Guild, publisher's representative and public conciliator, to act if publisher denies dismissal payment for "wilful breach of duty."

SCOPE: All editorial employees, except editor and managing editor, regardless of Guild membership. Helps prevent future undermining.

REOPENING: For general wage increase or decrease, on 10 days' notice by either side. Minimum cannot be cut without Guild's consent. Wage cut deemed as general if more than five individuals are cut in one year. No other reopening.

LENGTH: One year, with automatic renewal for 60 days during negotiations for new contract.

OVERTIME: Must be paid in units of at least a day. May be paid in cash, at straight time rate, up to 25 per cent of accumulated overtime.

NO STRIKE: Guild agrees not to strike except after general wage cut or violation of contract by publisher.

RAIDING: Inter-newspaper agreement against hiring from each other is abrogated.

He Signs With Guild

Ben R. Hanna, Jr., publisher of the Cleveland News, who has entered into a contract after lengthy negotiations.

background courses with practical drilling in the city room.

In the long and sometimes exhausting negotiations which led to the contract, the turning point came some two months before the end. This was when the Guild was confronted by clever and apparently insurmountable opposition by Joseph C. Hostetter, law partner of Newton D. Baker and attorney for the holding company which owns the News and Plain Dealer.

Two bitterly fought meetings of the News unit were held on the question, to strike or not to strike.

For the first time since the establishment of the Guild at the News, the members chose their sides, left or right, for or against a strike. There were hot words, accusations of "selling out" and whatnot. But the strike vote was never taken.

There was apparently a majority for a strike, but not the two-thirds required by the Cleveland constitution. A compromise healed the split in the ranks, for working purposes, and the issues of preferential shop and dismissal protection were laid aside until the Press reaches a similar point in its bargaining.

So the negotiations were resumed. Hostetter, suddenly, stopped attending, nor has he been present since. And then, for the first time, did the parties begin to lay the cards on the table.

The rest was hard work, but work which meant progress.

Fight Tactics Upheld
Guild leaders here believe that the Tribune fight presents a nationally significant new defense tactic for such cases. Here the Guild has put the fight where leaders believe the whole fight in this industry must be decided: on the battleground of public opinion.

Membership Stands Firm
The resignations of leaders caused some floundering at first, but repeated meetings showed that the rank and file was stronger than ever. There has been some disruption of routine work during the Tribune fight, with the remaining leaders swamped by work. W. H. Grattan, vice-president, has carried on as head of the Guild since Caylor's resignation.

A ballot for new local officers was mailed Dec. 22. Howard Hill of the Oakland Post-Examiner and Redfern Mason are nominees for president. Dean Jennings and George B. Scherck of the San Francisco Examiner are candidates for executive secretary, and Grace Davies, Associated Press, and Louis Janofsky, Examiner, candidates for treasurer.

The Guild voted unanimously at a membership meeting Dec. 18 indorsement of the strike tactics in Newark and confidence in the national leadership.

Newark Mourns de Souza
NEWARK, N. J.—A special meeting of the Newspaper Guild of Newark called for the death of Daniel A. de Souza, president of the Washington Guild, became known, passed a resolution of sympathy for the family of de Souza, and for the Washington Guild in the loss of its leader.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Labor Threatens to Boycott To Aid Guild in California

Trades Council Moves to Help as Oakland Gets Circulation 4,000

(Continued from Page One)

press was planned in Oakland. Labor and neighborhood papers have been publicizing the editorial workers' fight, and the entire section has become Guild conscious. Funds are badly needed to carry on the basic activities of the campaign, although local contributions have been good.

Arthur Caylor, of the San Francisco News, resigned suddenly from the presidency of the local Guild Dec. 6 when the newly enlarged and elected executive council voted down almost unanimously his proposal to halt the public fight against the Tribune. His resignation was soon after that of Ben Horne from the chairmanship of the News unit.

Minor defections in membership on the Scripps-Howard News had occurred before, those resigning blaming so-called radical tactics. The resignations have now stopped. Membership gains were made elsewhere at the same time.

The resignations of leaders caused some floundering at first, but repeated meetings showed that the rank and file was stronger than ever. There has been some disruption of routine work during the Tribune fight, with the remaining leaders swamped by work. W. H. Grattan, vice-president, has carried on as head of the Guild since Caylor's resignation.

A ballot for new local officers was mailed Dec. 22. Howard Hill of the Oakland Post-Examiner and Redfern Mason are nominees for president. Dean Jennings and George B. Scherck of the San Francisco Examiner are candidates for executive secretary, and Grace Davies, Associated Press, and Louis Janofsky, Examiner, candidates for treasurer.

The Guild voted unanimously at a membership meeting Dec. 18 indorsement of the strike tactics in Newark and confidence in the national leadership.

Newark Mourns de Souza
NEWARK, N. J.—A special meeting of the Newspaper Guild of Newark called for the death of Daniel A. de Souza, president of the Washington Guild, became known, passed a resolution of sympathy for the family of de Souza, and for the Washington Guild in the loss of its leader.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high experience average, were prepared by a committee of the Guild and used as a basis of argument with the publisher.

New York City Elects Entire Assembly Slate

Randau Outlines Program for Coming Year on Five-Point Basis

In the heaviest vote yet polled on any matter submitted to the membership, the New York City Guild elected the panel of officers put up by its representative assembly in annual balloting completed Dec. 17. The officers, most of whom are veterans from last year, told the annual meeting, at which the results were announced, that they considered the vote an indorsement of policies and methods that have been pursued in recent months.

The officers elected are: President, Carl Randau, World Telegram, 768 votes; first vice-president, Heywood Brown, World Telegram, 756; second vice-president, Paul Fredericksen, Times, 561; secretary, Morris Watson, Associated Press, 755; and treasurer, C. C. Nicolet, Post, 763.

Randau and Brown succeeded themselves; Fredericksen moved up from the secretaryship; and Watson, now secretary, was formerly treasurer. Nicolet was the only new man on the ballot. Fredericksen was the only candidate opposed, Bernard R. Mulloy of City News having been nominated by petition. Mulloy polled 231 votes.

Randau Outlines Plans
Randau outlined a five-point program for the coming year: (1) broader participation by Guild membership in Guild affairs; (2) pressure on collective bargaining; (3) use of every available government agency; (4) refusal to weaken the Guild's position by disclaiming any weapons at its command; (5) being polite and dignified as long as possible in all negotiations. Mulloy, speaking on invitation of Fredericksen, said that he was out of town at the time of the campaign, and expressed regret that the campaign waged in his behalf had identified him with a "reactionary element."

"I am sorry," he said, "that my name has apparently been used to drag out the last active Guild members under the impression that I represent a different point of view from that of Fredericksen." Mulloy's motion to make the election of Fredericksen unanimous was ruled out of order.

Membership Increases
Milton Kaufman, executive secretary of the New York City Guild, announced that the present city membership was 2,100 in 35 units, compared with 1,600 in 32 units last summer. Urging more members to take active part in Guild business, Kaufman said, "Let's not have a hierarchy of officialdom."

A theater benefit for the Newark strikers realized \$1,168, it was announced by Henry Paynter, of the benefit committee.

Marc Connolly, president of the Authors' League, discussed the League proposal that the Guild become an affiliate.

Winston-Salem Gets Salary Increase Pledge
WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—The Winston-Salem Newspaper Guild, first to be organized in North Carolina, has obtained a promise of salary increases to start Jan. 1. The concessions were obtained in negotiations with Owen Moon, publisher of the Journal and Sentinel.

Statistics on editorial pay, indicating a low salary average and a high

The Guild Reporter

Published on the 1st and 15th of each month, except July and August, when it is published monthly, by the American Newspaper Guild.

Subscription \$2 a year in the United States and Canada, \$3.00 foreign.

Headlines: the 7th and 22nd of each month at New York. All contributions should be addressed to the editor. No manuscript will be returned except by request of the sender.

All matter contained in this issue of The Guild Reporter is protected by copyright and is not released for publication elsewhere until the date of publication as printed below, except by special permission of the editor.

This issue set up and printed by the Caden Newspaper Press, Inc., 300 Varick Street, New York City.

Editorial Office: 49 West 43rd Street, New York City.

Telephone: MAY 5-5700

Editor: Clyde Beale, The New York Times

Assistant Editors: Edward Adolphe, The New York Herald Tribune; Irving D. Robbins, The New York Journal

Staff: Robert Neville, Bureau; Tassler, Morris Coleman, Kenneth Howry and Daniel Schwartz

Entered as second-class matter May 7, 1924, at the Post Office at New York under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 2, No. 2 January 1, 1935

Congratulations

Congratulations, Cleveland! No one, least of all the members there, will be overjoyed with all the terms of the contract. It has the earmarks of compromise at many points. But those very earmarks in this case are in many ways badges of honor for the Cleveland Guild. Nothing could tell better its refusal to take repeated "Noes" seriously. At each point the status of editorial employees on the Cleveland News was definitely pegged a little higher. It is a significant first step and a heartening example of unified purpose and determination.

Are They Mice or Men?

We have often wondered how representative the American Newspaper Publishers Association is of American newspaper publishers. We believe that it is adequately representative of the publishers with towering capital investments. We feel sure, however, that it does not represent all of them. And as for the smaller associations of publishers, we can find reason to believe that it represents them very little, if at all.

Early in the days of the NRA, it will be recalled, the publishers fought among themselves over the length of time editorial department workers would be worked under the President's employment agreement, with the result that differing features were incorporated in the two codes covering newspaper publishing.

The code for the Daily Newspaper Publishing Business itself contains evidence that publishers are not united behind the policies of the ANPA. The code does not entrust appointment of all members of the code authority to the ANPA. On the contrary, it was found necessary to give a place on the code authority to each of five regional associations of publishers.

The little oligarchy that runs the ANPA, however, was strong enough to obtain five places on the authority, and, in addition, the chairmanship.

The avowed objects of the ANPA are not known. Judging from such of its activities as meet the light of day, it is concerned principally with maintaining the position of the publishing business as the second most profitable in the land. It fights radio broadcasters that encroach on the publishers' news monopoly and it fights newspaper manufacturers. But mainly it fights the ITU, the IFEU, the ANG, and other organized newspaper workers.

That this fight against workers is contagious to the point of affecting workers, not only in the newspaper industry but outside it, is becoming increasingly evident—as witness the confidential bulletin proposing legislation for compulsory arbitration recently printed in the Guild Reporter. Inasmuch as the vast majority of the public are wage earners, any secret and concerted action against their interests by the proprietors of our free press is of tremendous and appalling import for all of us.

We have lately, in connection with the Jennings case, had occasion to assail a code agreed on in private conferences between representatives of the publishers and the government, alleged secret understandings within the NRA, engineered dark maneuverings within the NRA, engineered through "Assistant President" Richberg by the representatives of the ANPA—and the resultant temporary withdrawal of a decision favorable not only to newspaper employees but to others. Can it be that all publishers, or even a majority, support the ANPA in this sort of procedure?

Our vigilance has been a shield, but when the ANPA undertakes to set itself above Congress and the President, as it most certainly has done in the Jennings case and in its whole attitude

towards its unique "assent" code, vigilance by a year-old organization is not sufficient. If the little oligarchy that runs the ANPA continues its present tactics, we predict that there will be a somewhat odoriferous Congressional investigation.

We Must Buckle Down

The Newark strike has entered its sixth week. For strikes, that is not a long period. Forty-five minutes ride away from the Ledger headquarters, in Paterson, a strike of the International Typographical Union has been in progress eight months. For so-called white collar workers, to whom this weapon strikes a strange feel, however, the Ledger Guildsmen have shown a tenacity which must be surprising to many veterans.

Their morale is still high, and they are in a mood to win. But let us not minimize the difficulties. They are a plain lesson to all of us that newspaper editorial strikes will not be won merely by light-hearted enthusiasm. The Ledger is able to muster only a small part of a staff, its members are rebuffed constantly by the news sources whom they approach, the paper's circulation has been cut by about half, and advertisers are beginning to drop out. Yet in the face of all these blows given it by the strikers, the paper keeps on appearing; some 20,000 readers are still buying it—or at least getting it. A newspaper receiving a news service on which it can call for extensive coverage, buying syndicate "funnies" and features from out of town, and receiving plentiful publicity handouts which can be used with the aid of little more than paste, can, with a few hams, still resemble a newspaper. No paper has ever lived long on such stuff; it can only fool the public for a while. Lucius T. Russell is apparently gambling heavily on being able to hold out a day longer than the strikers.

What this means is that such a struggle is a deadly serious matter. The paper's strength can be undermined sufficiently to force the publisher to give in, but the attack must be pushed vigorously, resourcefully and long. Unions and other organizations must be addressed, and their support won; large numbers of the population must be approached individually with handouts and in house-to-house canvasses and told the facts. Calls must be made time after time on advertisers. And all this while two other subtle but vital factors must be watched: The morale of the strikers must be preserved, and the drama of the situation must be kept at fever pitch to hold the public sympathy.

We Guildsmen have had to learn most of these methods in the midst of this strike. In spite of that, we have been steadily improving; we have in the last fortnight registered clear gains; the advertisers are beginning to drop out, and with the Christmas shopping season over, more may be expected to do so. We have solid grounds for good cheer.

But there is a clear lesson in this struggle for all of us. We must buckle down! Not only must the funds keep coming without a let-up; members from all nearby Guilds must go to Newark and help. Man—and woman!—power is needed for all departments of the fight. Now is the time for the firm resolution that holds to the task and drives straight through to victory.

One Worry Put to the Test

A newspaper operating under a Guild contract loses none of its editorial freedom.

Last April, J. David Stern, publisher of the Philadelphia Record, signed a contract with the Newspaper Guild of Philadelphia and Camden. It provided for a scale of minimum wages, vacations, dismissal notices, closed shop, check-off and several additional points which gave definite economic security to the members of the staff.

But it had no bearing on the editorial policy of the paper.

Since the Record's purchase by Mr. Stern, the paper has attracted attention by its vigorous editorial policy. A close inspection of the editorial pages of the paper, during the past six months since the Guild contract was signed reveals that it has lost none of its punch.

If further evidence is needed, there is this quotation from a recent editorial in the Post (Mr. Stern's New York City paper):

"The Post has said before and says again that collective bargaining, minimum wages and abolition of child labor do more to endanger 'Freedom of the Press' than zoning, fire or sanitary regulations. A newspaper could be closed up for violation of sanitary regulations, but who would argue that this endangers the freedom of the press?"

Strange how newspapers that make the least use of freedom of the press do the most talking about it.

It is evident that contracts guaranteeing decent working conditions for reporters do not hinder honest expression of editorial opinion.

Assistant President



Labor Affiliation Technicalities

JOINING A. F. OF L. HELD UP TO NATIONAL GUILD

Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, debated vividly within the Guild, raises many questions of procedure under the constitution of the Guild and the A. F. of L. These problems are considered by Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary, in a statement requested by members in St. Paul, Minn. The comments follow:

The national convention went on record to defer consideration of A. F. of L. affiliation until the next convention. A. F. of L. affiliation by any local guild is a matter which would influence and affect the whole national Guild.

The local guilds are bound, I should say, by action of the national convention. Therefore it would seem to me that before a local guild could affiliate independently with the A. F. of L., it would have to obtain the consent of the national. Since the convention of the national is the highest authority in the national

and since the last convention postponed consideration of A. F. of L. affiliation until the next convention, national officers would not have the power to grant such consent before that time.

I would feel that it would be inadvisable for a local to step away from the national until the national had had a chance to pass on it.

Many Ways to Affiliate

There are three possible forms of affiliation with A. F. of L.: federal union, international union, and indirect affiliation through the Typographical Union. Federal unions accept the executive council of the A. F. of L. in lieu of autonomous national set-up. In order to obtain affiliation with the Typographical Union, the latter would have to apply first to the A. F. of L. executive council for permission to resume jurisdiction over news writers, which it surrendered in 1922.

If my information is correct, the I. T. U. has no disposition to take jurisdiction over news writers. Even if it were to do so, we may feel assured that it would insist on separate locals for the editorial departments; and that the Guild would have very small representation in the national executive council of the I. T. U.

On Direct Affiliation

The question then remains of affiliation with the A. F. of L. as a separate national or international union. The per capita cost under this arrangement, I believe, is only a cent a month—not large enough to worry about. Any single local which desired to affiliate in this manner would have to assume the responsibility, or at least make some show of organizing the newspapermen on a national basis—otherwise there would be no reason for a national or international charter.

For the above reasons, it would seem that any local convinced of the desirability of A. F. of L. affiliation should seek it through the ANG rather than independently, and that this course is advisable from the local point of view as well as the national.

That is the sort of work that makes an organization.

It's St. Louis's War, Parker Says

St. Louis, Mo. Editor, The Guild Reporter:

We are taking part in a strike in St. Louis. It is our strike even though the action is occurring half a continent away. In Newark, we got our call twenty-four hours after the Ledger battalion began the attack. It was an S.O.S. from Jonathan Eddy.

"Let's go," he said.

The telephone jangled as I finished reading Eddy's bulletin. It was David Brown, acting president of the St. Louis Guild. He thought we should call a special meeting of the executive committee. I thought so, too. We did.

Staff Work

That afternoon our unit started operations. A hurried collection in the office yielded \$12. This we dispatched with a wire to Emmet Crozier. That would let them know we felt and help keep them buoyed up until we could organize our supply.

Press association reports, all too meager, mostly quoted Russell's bluntness. Crozier's bulletins were necessarily brief and sketchy. It was like hearing the booming of guns from afar and being unable to tell how the tide of battle was running.

We thought maybe the strike might end in a few days. It did not. Some wondered if the Ledger fellows weren't feeling their oats a bit and losing the chance for a quick, substantial victory by an adroitly timed attack.

I didn't think so, but I called strike headquarters by long distance that night. The fellows assured me that Russell was saying one thing for public consumption and taking an entirely different attitude when it came to negotiating.

Good News Comes

News mimeographs from strike headquarters the second week were cheering. They told of responses from Guilds all over the country.

Then there was the news about the ten strikers who had quit their jobs; even in their necessity too decent to scab. They are the four-star heroes of this fight.

Home. "Is it over yet?" asked Mrs. Parker.

"Nope. It looks like Russell is going to need a lot of kicking."

"Well, I guess we can give more if it gets that bad," she said. "Cut down on the Christmas pres-

Philadelphia Inquirer Unit Lives

ANSWER TO THE CHARGE THAT IT IS 'LYING DOWN'

Philadelphia, Pa. Editor, The Guild Reporter:

In a letter printed in the Dec. 15 issue of The Guild Reporter, Leland M. Ross, former president of the Philadelphia Inquirer unit, complained bitterly about what he termed the "long inaction" of the "formerly promising" Inquirer unit. Citing the discharge of three presidents of the unit, including himself, Ross concluded that "a long list of socks in the jaw have been taken lying down."

Therefore, I address the following directly to Ross, though it should be of general interest. His letter to The Reporter needs an answer and, incidentally, some correction.

Dear Lee:

Your letter left me, for the moment, speechless. Its truths were so interspersed with half-truths that it sounded true—and that was bad. It was bad because the Inquirer unit has arisen from its still warm ashes and ranks, in point of dues to third in the city.

Three unit chairmen were fired, but not for drunkenness. It was libel to your fellow workers to have said so. Mykes Pickering,

Can Newspapermen Become Professionals?

YES: DEVELOP COLLECTIVE POWER TO ESTABLISH STATUS, IS ADVICE

New York City. Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Among Guild members throughout the country there has been much talk recently about the merits of a union organization as opposed to those of a professional organization. If newspaper people are professionals it is clear that the Guild should be an organization operated on professional lines. If, however, they are not professional people, then a professional organization would be dangerous.

Obviously many newspaper people regard themselves as professionals. Others feel they are not, but years to be so regarded.

The first question, then, is: What is a professional worker? Everybody will agree that doctors, lawyers, engineers, dentists, teachers, authors, composers, musicians, painters, sculptors, scientists, etc., are professionals. The distinguishing characteristic of all these as well as other professional people is a very high degree of specialized skill, a skill much more specialized than that of the skilled mechanic, for example.

Are News Men Skilled?

Are newspaper people as skilled as any of these professionals? Is there any newspaper man who compares his skill, his specialized knowledge, with that of a doctor, a lawyer, a biologist, an engineer, a musician? The answer would seem to be in the negative, although certain newspaper people undoubtedly come very close to approximating that specialized skill. Certain newspaper workers, like book, music and dramatic critics, might well be regarded as professionals. Men who have demonstrated special aptitudes, like Heywood Brown, Floyd Gibbons, Paul Y. Anderson, might well be so termed.

There is also the condition of employment of professional people. In most professions, collective effort does not appear. The doctor tends alone to his patient, does not function in a large group of doctors and I can do without a partner and some other things until spring.

That's the way we feel about it. Russell started this fight. Now he's got us all to kick. We're digging in till New Year's; till Easter—till victory.

WAYNE PARKER.

Because the newspaper business does make use of the services of professional people, it is no reason for the run-the-mill newspaper worker—including many who esteem themselves as top-flight experts because they are drawing \$100 or \$150 a week—to confuse themselves with these people.

A hallmark of the professional is the wide disparity in incomes as between professionals in the same profession. Some engineers are lucky to make \$50 a week, while others earn up to \$100,000 and more a year. A hallmark in the case of the factory worker is the narrow disparity of his wages; there is a graduated scale ranging from about \$15 to \$50 a week, in latter for skilled mechanics, foremen and the like.

Newspapers the Same

A similar hallmark is found in the newspaper industry: the disparity in editorial workers' salaries is perhaps a little wider than in the case of the factory worker, but not nearly so wide as in the case of professionals. The Guild questionnaire has found most newspapermen's pay well below \$40 a week, with some few extend-

ing up to \$100. The average is well below \$40 a week, a return which stigmatizes professional people as economic failures.

Lastly, newspaper workers have hours more like those of factory workers than those of bona fide professionals. They work rather long hours for set periods. In certain cases the newspaper routine is so slight as to give the individual the illusion of a professional atmosphere. In certain cases he may even have a semi-professional status, working only on special assignments; but, unlike the professional, he is held in abeyance during high hours determined by his employer and removed from the possibility of employing his time as he sees fit.

Professionals Work Alone

There are some exceptions. Musicians and actors, professionals all, usually engage in collective work to put forth a finished product. The principle test, however—the individuality and intangible quality of the work—finds most specialized workers functioning alone, the final authority on their work.

Another test is to be found in the method of employment of professionals. Most professionals are not on regular payrolls, although here again, there are exceptions. Most professionals work for stipulated fees, often collected in advance. When, as sometimes happens, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc., are found on the regular payroll of corporations or institutions, they are usually the solitary representatives of their profession in the institution.

Test of Professionalism

High skill, individuality of work, remuneration by fee rather than salary, and remuneration in general prevailing rates of pay for white collar workers and coarse labor—by applying all these tests in combination and studying the result, we find that newspaper workers (1) are not professionals and (2) if they were professionals they would have to function in the Guild as professionals engaged in collective work.

Professionals are Individuals

In the case of an actor or a musician or a teacher on the contrary, the personal element is precisely what the individual is hired for. Although subject to certain general directions, no one presumes to dictate what the finished product shall be like.

With certain people in the newspaper business, the case is different. They are hired and paid because they have well-known convictions. These convictions are known to the employer and are capitalized by him in the sale of his product. Men like Arthur Brisbane, Mark Sullivan, Heywood Brown, O. O. McIntyre, Bugs Baer and Westbrook Pegler fall into the status of professionals.

Similarly the method of hiring them differs from that of the ordinary newspaper worker. They usually work under contract or for a stated term, like an engineer, an actor or a teacher. They are professionals undoubtedly and in a matter like the Guild have the individual personal right to avow their allegiance wherever they wish.

Because the newspaper business does make use of the services of professional people, it is no reason for the run-the-mill newspaper worker—including many who esteem themselves as top-flight experts because they are drawing \$100 or \$150 a week—to confuse themselves with these people.

A hallmark of the professional is the wide disparity in incomes as between professionals in the same profession. Some engineers are lucky to make \$50 a week, while others earn up to \$100,000 and more a year. A hallmark in the case of the factory worker is the narrow disparity of his wages; there is a graduated scale ranging from about \$15 to \$50 a week, in latter for skilled mechanics, foremen and the like.

Newspapers the Same

A similar hallmark is found in the newspaper industry: the disparity in editorial workers' salaries is perhaps a little wider than in the case of the factory worker, but not nearly so wide as in the case of professionals. The Guild questionnaire has found most newspapermen's pay well below \$40 a week, with some few extend-

ing up to \$100. The average is well below \$40 a week, a return which stigmatizes professional people as economic failures.

Lastly, newspaper workers have hours more like those of factory workers than those of bona fide professionals. They work rather long hours for set periods. In certain cases the newspaper routine is so slight as to give the individual the illusion of a professional atmosphere. In certain cases he may even have a semi-professional status, working only on special assignments; but, unlike the professional, he is held in abeyance during high hours determined by his employer and removed from the possibility of employing his time as he sees fit.

Professionals Work Alone

There are some exceptions. Musicians and actors, professionals all, usually engage in collective work to put forth a finished product. The principle test, however—the individuality and intangible quality of the work—finds most specialized workers functioning alone, the final authority on their work.

Another test is to be found in the method of employment of professionals. Most professionals are not on regular payrolls, although here again, there are exceptions. Most professionals work for stipulated fees, often collected in advance. When, as sometimes happens, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc., are found on the regular payroll of corporations or institutions, they are usually the solitary representatives of their profession in the institution.

Test of Professionalism

High skill, individuality of work, remuneration by fee rather than salary, and remuneration in general prevailing rates of pay for white collar workers and coarse labor—by applying all these tests in combination and studying the result, we find that newspaper workers (1) are not professionals and (2) if they were professionals they would have to function in the Guild as professionals engaged in collective work.

Professionals are Individuals

In the case of an actor or a musician or a teacher on the contrary, the personal element is precisely what the individual is hired for. Although subject to certain general directions, no one presumes to dictate what the finished product shall be like.

With certain people in the newspaper business, the case is different. They are hired and paid because they have well-known convictions. These convictions are known to the employer and are capitalized by him in the sale of his product. Men like Arthur Brisbane, Mark Sullivan, Heywood Brown, O. O. McIntyre, Bugs Baer and Westbrook Pegler fall into the status of professionals.

Similarly the method of hiring them differs from that of the ordinary newspaper worker. They usually work under contract or for a stated term, like an engineer, an actor or a teacher. They are professionals undoubtedly and in a matter like the Guild have the individual personal right to avow their allegiance wherever they wish.

Because the newspaper business does make use of the services of professional people, it is no reason for the run-the-mill newspaper worker—including many who esteem themselves as top-flight experts because they are drawing \$100 or \$150 a week—to confuse themselves with these people.

A hallmark of the professional is the wide disparity in incomes as between professionals in the same profession. Some engineers are lucky to make \$50 a week, while others earn up to \$100,000 and more a year. A hallmark in the case of the factory worker is the narrow disparity of his wages; there is a graduated scale ranging from about \$15 to \$50 a week, in latter for skilled mechanics, foremen and the like.

Newspapers the Same

A similar hallmark is found in the newspaper industry: the disparity in editorial workers' salaries is perhaps a little wider than in the case of the factory worker, but not nearly so wide as in the case of professionals. The Guild questionnaire has found most newspapermen's pay well below \$40 a week, with some few extend-

He Wants to Hear from Publishers

Cleveland, Ohio. Editor, The Guild Reporter:

In the Guild's attempts to improve the economic status and to obtain a certain degree of job security for its membership, it seems that the invariable clarion cry of the publisher is that these attempts "endanger the freedom of the press."

One way of perhaps clearing up the principles involved in this pretty-sounding phrase would be to invite those publishers who wish to expound their theories and beliefs on this subject to do so in the columns of the Reporter and thus enlighten many Guild members who need clarification.

Freedom or Power?

It seems to me that no one in the newspaper business would refute the opinion that the freedom of the press is indeed a lofty ideal and one well worth striving to achieve and protect. I frequently wonder if the publisher is not confusing the freedom of the press with the power of the press. We newspapermen are aware that there is a power of the press, a power that can build or destroy an individual.

But just where does the line of demarcation lie? What is the publisher's interpretation of the freedom of the press as differentiated from the power of the press and as abuse of this power? And under just what circumstances is this power abused?

Privilege to Distort?

Does the publisher's conception of a free press give him the privilege to exercise his judgment in the printing of news, excluding such news as seems fit to exclude?

Our Guild Reporter has in the past been a medium of expression for the newspaperman's thoughts on Guild activities and policies. Surely, there are some publishers and newspaper executives who look upon the Guild as a potentially beneficial force in newspaperdom, who would be pleased to offer constructive criticisms on Guild policies or set-ups?

How do executives in whose plants the Guild has already become established through contract feel about the Guild set-up? How about Milwaukee and Scranton, where Newspaper Writers' Unions, with A. F. of L. affiliations have been set up? Do these publishers see any benefits to be derived from such an affiliation in their editorial departments?

MID-WESTERNER.

'Unfair' Lists for Boycotts?

NEWARK STRIKER CALLS IT EFFECTIVE WEAPON

Newark, N. J. Editor, The Guild Reporter:

In view of developments in the Newark Ledger strike, I should like to suggest that the national Guild and the local consider organized labor's "unfair" lists.

The boycott is one of the strongest weapons in any struggle, and, as long as the craft union set-up prevails, this weapon is virtually the only one available to labor in a dispute with a publisher. As advocacy of a boycott is restricted or outlawed by statute in certain states, notably New Jersey, the use of "unfair" lists becomes the more essential.

When a labor union comes out in favor of a strike against a publisher, union discipline and practice makes it possible for a boycott to be applied without any physical resemblance to Mr. Ruth. The test would come when we went to bat—and fanned ignominiously.

Until such a time, it seems to this writer that it would be a grievous fallacy to try to proceed as professionals. It would be much as though an individual announced he was Babe Ruth because of a physical resemblance to Mr. Ruth. The test would come when we went to bat—and fanned ignominiously.

CARL BENDER.

This is only another way of saying that we are being driven, not by theories, not by class consciousness or radicalism, but by sheer necessity, to identify ourselves with organized labor. Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor will probably be the subject of discussion in all Guilds between now and the June convention.

MEMBER OF NEWARK STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Hearing Becomes 'Mellydrama' As Lawyer Sneers His Worst

Toniatti Is Hero, but Unhappy One, When Labor Member Insists His Name Is Tortoni

By EVELYN SKELEY
When you are a cub you write a piece called "Girl Reporter Meets First Prince," and when you grow up you write one called "Newspaperman Meets First Newspaper Industrial Board," or what might better be called "How I Learned the Facts of Life."

The Newspaper Industrial Board hearing of the Toniatti case Dec. 17 and 18 was, in the first place, educational. It was a lesson in labor history, new style, Newspaper Guild special. It was an exciting battle of wits. It was a mellydrama. It was sad and it was funny. But the outstanding impression was that this fresh young brat, the Newspaper Guild, had got itself some gym pants and was springing straight across squares other peoples' pious ground.

Must Take Opposite Stands

An NIB hearing is a place where four publisher members sit on one side, four employee or labor members on the other, and when on any vital point the publisher members vote "yes," the employee members vote "no," and vice versa.

As an "impartial" board it was not so crude as the Regional Labor Board hearing of the Burgess case in San Francisco when John Francis Neylan, Hearst No. 1 man there, hogged the floor and bullied the board into postponement, and when a diminutive copywriter was shouldered at his retreating back, "We're bigger than you are, you son-of-a-bitch!"

But the quality of its "impartiality" was the same. Here they sat—Harvey J. Kelly from Chicago, chairman of the ANPA standing committee, suave and dignified and judicial; Merrill M. Lord, Chicago Examiner business manager, blue-eyed and unruffled and healthy; Emmanuel Levi, Louisville Courier-Journal, Ed and bored and annoyed; Edward H. Harris, Richmond, Ind., Palladium, absent-minded. For labor—Edward J. Volz of the International Photo-Engravers' Union, square-jawed, stalwart, thoughtful; Leon De Vese, International Stereotypers' Union, small and curt and aggressive; Jonathan Eddy for the Guild, and the writer on the proxy of Charles Howard of the International Typographical Union.

Publisher's Lawyer Sneers
Down below sat Jacob I. Goodstein, attorney for Generoso Pope of the Progress, master sneerer; Mrs. Teresa Anastasi, business manager of the Progress, fiery-eyed, proud, smartly dressed; Dr. Falbo, chief editor, sad-eyed and gentle.

Opposite them Alexander Lindley, young and brisk, pulling no punches; Brown and Toniatti. It is a painful business to Toniatti, who has lost his job and now must fight to get it back. It is humiliating to see his newspaper life spread out there and pulled to pieces by the management, to have to listen while they belittle his competence, to have to tell all the details of hours and salary and why he asked for a raise because he was going to get married.

Goodstein even argues with him as to the date of his marriage. Toniatti, who likes to think that women are finer than men, is pained to see Mrs. Anastasi, who had been—his thought—friendly to the Guild, during to testify against him.

Toniatti is going to bat for the Guild's right to organize, but he is a badgered and unhappy hero. Brown, as Goodstein's sneers fall too heavily on Toniatti, moves up to sit solidly beside him. It does not help Toniatti's feelings, either, when De Vese, had at Italian names, calls him Tortoni.

Life on the NIB is one deadlock

Cleveland Disbelieves In 'Local News First'

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Is the signing of a Guild contract news? Maybe, but it isn't in Cleveland. The Associated Press carried 250 words on the contract with the Cleveland News, 24 hours after the United Press had sent out a meager account. A stoppress order from the business manager killed the story in the Cleveland Press. The edition was delayed seven minutes.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer

printed nothing. The Cleveland News printed nothing.

Can't See Books

The labor members want the Progress's financial statements over a period of a year, since the Progress pleads economy. The publisher members are as emphatic that no board can compel, and they will not invite another publisher to show his books.

"Why not?" asks one Guild member.

"The experienced labor members will understand," replies a publisher, "the same."

But the experienced labor members go along with the upstarts. Stereotypers and photo-engravers used to be good people on another floor who seldom saw. Now they are our pals.

The hearing ended in another deadlock.

"Why not decide the case now?" suggested a Guild member to the hungry and weary eight.

"Aye," voted the employee members.

"No," voted the publishers.

Presto! and Here's a New Chapter

Dayton Guild Born in Two Hours

Of Pep, Speed and a Firm Hand

By GARLAND ASHCRAFT

Member, Fourth Region Organizational Committee
DAYTON, Ohio.—Fourth Region officers organized a new Guild completely in Dayton in one meeting which lasted scarcely two hours. The technique as applied in Dayton is offered to the country, with the warning that conditions still vary in different cities, and that common sense is a good technique anywhere.

Selling the potential members is not so hard. The problem is to plan organization meetings so that a few obstructionists cannot thwart the plans, so that a few ignorant ones may not confuse them, and so that those who are fearful may be reassured and protected.

The best method of quashing "borders from within" at the initial organization meeting is to have the procedure planned thoroughly.

To protect the fearful and the fearful and the fearful is to plan the meeting as a mass proposition, and get the job of organization over at once.

This program carried out, the uninformed will give no trouble, and I believe we can depend on the majority, honestly and intelligently for the Guild, to put it over.

At this stage of Guild development, especially in cities where publishers have been overtly or

Split Appears At Industrial Board Hearing

Members, Divided 4 to 4, Weigh Toniatti Case; Will Vote by Mail

(Continued from Page One)
who declared that the management was trying to establish a newspaper club; Frances Pozzi, chairman of the Corriere d'America unit, who gave evidence of intimidation in the second local paper published by Pope; Heywood Brown and Milton Kaufman, executive secretary of the New York Guild.

Alexander Lindley, attorney, represented Toniatti. Morris Ernst, counsel for the Guild, in his introductory remarks declared:

"If the publishers at this table really believe that the only hearings that could properly be held here are those where there is an agreement of finally, you might as well make a ruling to that effect and then we can do what we please with that ruling."

Two Publisher Witnesses

Two witnesses appeared on behalf of the publisher: Mrs. Teresa Anastasi, business manager of the Progress, and Dr. Falbo, chief editor.

Members of Board

Sitting on the board were: For the publishers, Harvey J. Kelly, chairman; ANPA standing committee, chairman of the board; Edward H. Harris, Richmond, Ind., Palladium; Morris M. Lord, business manager, Chicago Herald-Examiner; and Emmanuel Levi, Louisville Courier-Journal.

For labor, Edward J. Volz, International Photo-Engravers' Union; Leon De Vese, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union; Evelyn Seely, Newspaper Guild of New York (proxy for Charles Howard, International Typographical Union), and John Eddy, executive secretary, American Newspaper Guild.

Lindley argued successfully on several occasions against introduction of legal technicalities which would have barred valuable evidence.

Reading Weathers Storm

With Chapter of 20

READING, Pa.—Organized in the summer of 1934, the Reading Newspaper Guild weathered a storm that threatened to wreck it. Members of the staff of the Reading Eagle, the Times and the Eagle, were members of the first organization, but disbanded when no progress was made. The Guild now has 20 members.

Advises Energetic Battle

These are some of the thoughts that came to the mind of this guinea pig. How about his poor me to be the first guinea pig of the NIB. O.K., inject, amputate, dissect, do anything.

I try to follow and grasp the significance of legal arguments and questions. Had it really to be a test case. So let us forget and repress moral indignation and try to adduce the cold provable facts. I read my statement. Then I am examined by our Guild counsel, Alexander Lindley. Pope's counsel takes his turn and does his worst to queer me, bulldoze me into making generic answers to misleading questions. He is forced to be more specific as his friends there is logic to my madness.

After listening to Buck, Sidney Hillman, a member not only of the Labor Advisory Board but also of the National Industrial Recovery Board which governs NRA, said that he had discussed the matter with Harriman and that the latter had authorized the invitation to the Guild to return to the hearing. Time will be given them for an analysis of the publishers' latest figures, it was said.

John Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, asked Buck if the Guild would accept the invitation, and Buck said it would if publicity were given to it. Hillman promised a press release on the matter.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

Toniatti Felt Like 'Guinea Pig' At Industrial Board 'Trial'

Fired for Guild Activities, N. Y. Man Tells How Hearing's Events Impressed Him

Columbia, S.C., Guild Born in Delicatessen

COLUMBIA, S. C.—The Columbia Newspaper Guild was born in a delicatessen store. Five members of the staff of the State met there April 30, 1934, and, deciding the Guild was neither a bomb-tossing clique nor a picnic club, organized. The Record (afternoon) and the Associated Press soon fell in line.

Since it has lost five members, who moved to better jobs in other cities, its changing personnel has prevented it from fixing permanent local policies so far.

Half the Guild members have received raises this year, and others have received promises.

Guild Cards Get Entree

At Lansing's Big Fire

LANSING, Mich.—Membership cards in the American Newspaper Guild, held by the 21 members of the Lansing Guild, were recognized as sufficient identification in passing through police lines at the Hotel Kears fire here Dec. 11.

Every member of the Guild helped cover the disaster, classified as one of the worst in the country.

Both Lansing police and Michigan State Police passed any Guilders through the lines who were the Guild membership card in his hand.

Reading Weathers Storm

With Chapter of 20

READING, Pa.—Organized in the summer of 1934, the Reading Newspaper Guild weathered a storm that threatened to wreck it. Members of the staff of the Reading Eagle, the Times and the Eagle, were members of the first organization, but disbanded when no progress was made. The Guild now has 20 members.

Advises Energetic Battle

These are some of the thoughts that came to the mind of this guinea pig. How about his poor me to be the first guinea pig of the NIB. O.K., inject, amputate, dissect, do anything.

I try to follow and grasp the significance of legal arguments and questions. Had it really to be a test case. So let us forget and repress moral indignation and try to adduce the cold provable facts. I read my statement. Then I am examined by our Guild counsel, Alexander Lindley. Pope's counsel takes his turn and does his worst to queer me, bulldoze me into making generic answers to misleading questions. He is forced to be more specific as his friends there is logic to my madness.

After listening to Buck, Sidney Hillman, a member not only of the Labor Advisory Board but also of the National Industrial Recovery Board which governs NRA, said that he had discussed the matter with Harriman and that the latter had authorized the invitation to the Guild to return to the hearing. Time will be given them for an analysis of the publishers' latest figures, it was said.

John Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, asked Buck if the Guild would accept the invitation, and Buck said it would if publicity were given to it. Hillman promised a press release on the matter.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

Rockford, Ill., Wins 10% Pay Increase

By ALPHONSE TONIATTI

When I was asked to write a story on "How it feels to be the first complainant before the Newspaper Industrial Board," I realized that this was the first time I had been called on to break the rules of the game by writing an editorialized story on my own case. So I will not stop to analyze or classify my feelings. I merely will jot down the random ideas that came to me during and after the "trial" for which I had been prepared.

What do I mean when I say "prepared"? You see, the Guild's stumbling block in availing itself of the ostensible benefits of Section 7A has been this Newspaper Industrial Board. We all know why. Hence the best I hoped for or expected was a deadlock.

Nervous Feeding Fears

When I went before the board Dec. 17 I was momentarily a prey to nervousness. But as I looked at the members of the board I could easily discern that they were generally well meaning people who had their own lives to live, their own interests to protect.

My first impulse was to get up and say: "Members of the Industrial Board! Why don't we follow the example of Heywood Brown and join him at the bar? Gentlemen, fold up your brief cases and go home, happy at having met kindred spirits who, while sharply disagreeing with you, at least share your opinion that law has no logic other than might in this sad life. So let us drink the health of the New Deal, for you are but the moving shadows of eight logs of deadwood. So deadlock and scum!"

Vote Results in Deadlock

The trial begins with Morris Ernst insisting on the appealability of the board's decision, and Harvey J. Kelly, chairman, upholding its finality. Then they vote on it and lo! it's a deadlock. I am next told that Ernst wants me to be the first guinea pig of the NIB. O.K., inject, amputate, dissect, do anything.

I try to follow and grasp the significance of legal arguments and questions.

Had it really to be a test case. So let us forget and repress moral indignation and try to adduce the cold provable facts. I read my statement. Then I am examined by our Guild counsel, Alexander Lindley. Pope's counsel takes his turn and does his worst to queer me, bulldoze me into making generic answers to misleading questions. He is forced to be more specific as his friends there is logic to my madness.

Advises Energetic Battle

These are some of the thoughts that came to the mind of this guinea pig. How about his poor me to be the first guinea pig of the NIB. O.K., inject, amputate, dissect, do anything.

I try to follow and grasp the significance of legal arguments and questions. Had it really to be a test case. So let us forget and repress moral indignation and try to adduce the cold provable facts. I read my statement. Then I am examined by our Guild counsel, Alexander Lindley. Pope's counsel takes his turn and does his worst to queer me, bulldoze me into making generic answers to misleading questions. He is forced to be more specific as his friends there is logic to my madness.

2d Code Parley Promised, But Bid Is Missing

Guild Agrees to Enter if Hearing Gets Publicity; Awaits Action

(Continued from Page One)

Buck described how the publishers had had access to all Guild figures and how the figures submitted in the publishers' first survey had been denied to the Guild. The publishers, Buck said, had submitted their survey on the very day of the hearing, with Tate refusing to allow either Buck or Morris to see the figures. Tate, however, counsel for the Guild, an opportunity to see the report.

Tate Goes With Smith

Buck told the board that Tate had accompanied Smith, general counsel of NRA, to the offices of the National Labor Relations Board after the Jennings decision had been written but not released, and that there they had asked what effect the decision would have on the code.

After piling up the evidence without reference to the Jennings case, Buck said:

"The attempt of Richberg and Blackwell Smith to swing the big stick over NLRB in the Jennings case was in defiance of the President's executive order creating the board. If Richberg had acted alone, some might have held that NRA had nothing to do with it, but he hooked it fast to NRA by causing Blackwell Smith to sign the written demand for rehearing and append thereto his title.

Tribunal Prejudiced

"It was the final straw. It said to us that the tribunal before which we were to appear the next day to plead for decent wages and hours was an unfair tribunal, biased against us."

"Administrative Tate will decide whether to approve or amend the determination of wages and hours submitted by the publishers who constitute the Code Authority. He was formerly employed in the legal division, where he was subordinate to Blackwell Smith and Richberg. To what extent, if any, is he still under their influence?"

"Richberg and Blackwell Smith have openly and flagrantly assailed the independence of NLRB, have flouted the executive order of the President and have, in our opinion, prejudiced whatever chance we may have had of a fair deal in the NFA setup."

"Richberg has at least implied, and it is reported that he stated, that NRA will under no circumstances take the code eagle away from the San Francisco Call-Bulletin for non-compliance with the NLRB order in the Jennings case."

Hillman Tells of Talk
After listening to Buck, Sidney Hillman, a member not only of the Labor Advisory Board but also of the National Industrial Recovery Board which governs NRA, said that he had discussed the matter with Harriman and that the latter had authorized the invitation to the Guild to return to the hearing. Time will be given them for an analysis of the publishers' latest figures, it was said.

John Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, asked Buck if the Guild would accept the invitation, and Buck said it would if publicity were given to it. Hillman promised a press release on the matter.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

On the evening of Dec. 20 an official press release was issued quoting a letter from Tate to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, asking if the Guild would be willing to attend an "open conference" with NRA officials and submit its data.

As this issue of The Reporter goes to press, the whole business is held up pending decision as to what kind of an offer has been made.

Richberg in Huff Over Letter on Hearing; 'Insulted' by Plea for Impartial Attitude

(Continued from Page One)
The President in his criticism of Article VII.

On Monday late afternoon, Dec. 3, 1934, the NLRB ordered the case reopened at the request of our subordinate, Blackwell Smith. The work-week newspaper men of the nation will not be satisfied until you disclose what happened between Monday evening and Tuesday evening.

We ask you, therefore, to state what happened. Who saw or telephoned you? With whom did you consult? What was said? What did you tell the NLRB?

It was commonly rumored in Washington that, among other things, you told the NLRB that no matter what their final decision, NRA would recall the code eagle from the San Francisco Call-Bulletin. In any event, your statement on Thursday, Dec. 6, 1934, to the NLRB indicated unusual disapproval of that board's findings.

In view of all this we ask you to state whether or not the NRA will refuse to act 'in comity' and 'in concert' with the NLRB in attempting enforcement of its order that the Call-Bulletin reinstate Jennings. It seems to us that unless NRA does thus support section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, it is impossible for us to hope for equity before an NRA tribunal.

At the NLRB hearing Friday, Dec. 7, 1934, it was stated that Mr. Tate accompanied Blackwell Smith as a visit to the offices of the NLRB after its decision had been written and before it had been released, to discuss that decision.

Facts Requested
We look to you to furnish us with the facts as to why Mr. Tate went there and what was said, in order that we may form an opinion as to whether our confidence in Mr. Tate's fairness is justified or has been misplaced.

Elisa Hansen fought hard against the NLRB in the Jennings case. He was defeated. Thereupon you and your subordinate, Blackwell Smith, in a joint with you as counsel for the publishers and resigned his case more powerfully than you are released.

How do you propose to convince the working newspaper men of the country that you are not interested in employment matters enough to be willing, even, to set yourself in opposition to the president and to violate one of his Executive Orders, in order to get the NLRB out of the picture?

And with the General Counsel of NRA in open opposition to us, to what circumstances may we look for an indication of intention by him in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Our exhaustive statistics as to wages, hours and working conditions in the editorial departments of this country's newspapers are available at any time to any interested and impartial agency.

Hearst 'Terror Drive' Alleged By Educators

Attempt to Foster 'Red Scare' Is Charged by University Group

Based on their accusations in alleged attempts of Hearst reporters posing as prospective university students to foster a "red scare" in the colleges, a group of educational leaders of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York University, Union Theological Seminary, and other New York institutions have requested the McCormick-Dickstein Congressional committee to investigate a "campaign of terrorism" which the group says is in progress against teachers.

"If William Randolph Hearst succeeds in his efforts," said Professor George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University, "he will reduce American universities and schools to the ignominious condition of the German schools and universities under Hitler."

The professors point out that as a fundamental civil liberty, academic freedom is quite as important as freedom of the press.

William Curley, managing editor of the New York Evening Journal, could not be reached for

Guild to Send Delegates to Social Insurance Congress

Capital Parley Landeen Bill Is Significant, Russell Sage Expert Asserts

Labor, Professional and Social Groups to Meet Jan. 5-7

Putting real punch behind the American Newspaper Guild convention's endorsement of the Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Act, Robert M. Buck will be Guild delegate to the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance in Washington Jan. 5, 6 and 7.

At least one local guild—the New York chapter—will have its own delegates at the historic Congress, called, according to its sponsors, "to present the united forces of all who need and all who favor immediate enactment of a sound, comprehensive system that will embody all the essential provisions for adequate social insurance."

The New York Guild Dec. 20, voted unanimously to send two delegates, one from the Unemployed Unit, one from another unit. One aim of the dual representation will be to show the particular interest of unemployed and employed newspaper men and women in an insurance system from which they both will benefit.

Has Wide Support

The delegates will represent labor union, unemployed, professional, social service and religious organizations all over the country. The National Sponsoring Committee expects two or three thousand delegates.

Heywood Brown told the New York membership meeting that the Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Act was the only measure endorsed by the ANG, and furthermore was the only unemployment insurance measure which provided for payment of benefits to men and women already out of work.

Prominent Leaders Sign Call

The "call" for the congress was signed by Brown; Professor Paul Brissenden of the Columbia University School of Business; Winifred L. Chappell, secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service; Mary Van Kleeck, chairman of the Inter-professional Association for Social Insurance; Esther Penn, national secretary, American Federation of Government Employees; Alfred G. Winters, personnel director, American Association of Social Workers, and many others associated with labor unions, organizations of the unemployed and professional bodies.

The call declares that the Lundeen Bill embodies principles which "will insure the masses against any lowering of their living standard, will increase purchasing power, stimulate productivity in the interests of a higher living standard, and lead to necessary redistribution of wealth that is withheld from circulation."

It declares the opposition of the signers to "the many proposals and measures which have been brought forward as substitutes for genuine unemployment and social insurance." Among these it lists the Wagner-Lewis Bill, the Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Act and the Townsend Plan.

3 Atlantic City Staffs Win 40-Hour Week

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—Publishers of the Press Union newspapers have granted editorial workers a 40-hour week. Members of the editorial staffs of The Evening Union, The Daily Press and the Sunday Press, the three papers owned by the company, had previously worked an eight to twelve-hour day.

Miss Van Kleeck Tells How Social Legislation Would Protect Unemployed Newspapermen

By HERBERT KLEIN

In the midst of distinctly editorial work—correcting proofs for which the printer was clamoring—Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of industrial studies of the Russell Sage Foundation and authority on problems of social insecurity, as well as security, paused to talk of the particular significance to newspaper men and women of the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance in Washington Jan. 5 to 7.

Miss Van Kleeck was elated at hearing that the membership meeting of the New York Guild the night before had voted unanimously to send to the congress two delegates, one from the Unemployed Unit and one from another unit.

"Newspaper men, and editorial workers generally, have an interest as great as any group of salaried professionals in furthering the immediate establishment of a genuine social insurance system on a nation-wide basis," Miss Van Kleeck said. "At this moment a high percentage of unemployment exists amongst qualified journalists—and this unemployment is certain to persist."

Sentiment for Insurance

"Pressure of popular sentiment has brought about general agreement on the part of all political parties that 'some kind' of social insurance against the risks of unemployment, is necessary. But there is a very great difference, for professional and white collar no less than manual workers, in what kind of employment insurance is established. It means all the difference between unchanged insecurity and privation on the one hand, and some measure of protection and compensation on the other."

"President Roosevelt, during the recent Conference on Economic Security called by the Secretary of Labor, revealed the narrow limits which would be imposed on his Administration's program for social insurance. Speaking of the unemployed now on relief, he said: 'We must get them back into productive employment, and as we do so, we can bring them under the protection of the insurance system.'"

"In other words, the payment of social insurance benefits only to those who become unemployed at some time in the future."

Lundeen Bill Most Practical

"Such a prospect cannot be satisfactory to those now unemployed or who may be out of work before such a system can become operative. The Wagner-Lewis Bill would not begin to collect money until July 1, 1935, and benefits would not be available until July 1, 1936."

"Of the many plans and drafts proposed for enactment, only one is without the drastic defect. That one is the Lundeen Bill (HR 7598) which is specifically designed to go into effect and begin payment of benefits immediately. Furthermore, it includes workers in all occupations: industrial, agricultural, domestic, and professional, who are to receive benefits to cover all time lost."

Five bills for unemployment insurance have already been proposed, and the Administration is now drafting a sixth. Of the proposed bills, perhaps the most-discussed are the Wagner-Lewis Bill and the so-called Wisconsin Act.

Under the Wagner-Lewis Bill, the benefits would be only \$7 a week and they would be received for only ten weeks, or in ratio to

length of employment. The insured would receive compensation only if they had been contributing to the fund for a year.

The Wisconsin Act limits payments to not more than \$10 a week or 50 per cent of wages; these rates may be lowered when the reserve runs low. The benefits are to be paid for not more than ten weeks in any year, and employees who have worked less than a year may not receive more than one week's benefits for each four weeks of employment the previous year. Employees may be disqualified from benefits for "misconduct," quitting "without cause," or not applying for work at "prevailing rates."

The revenue, under the Wisconsin Act, which is based on the principle of individual plant reserves, comes from contributions by employers, who are taxed no more than 2 per cent of their payrolls.

"The Wagner-Lewis Bill, the Wisconsin Act and certain other plans," said Miss Van Kleeck, "leave out large and important groups, including many professional workers. Others contain provisions which would make them valueless to newspaper men and women, employed or unemployed."

Revenue Source Important

"The source of revenue for payment of benefits is important. The Administration has announced that its measure would be financed 'by contributions, not taxes.' But these contributions would reduce wages received by workers, since employers would try to pass on to the consumers their share of the 'contributions.'"

Funds for the universal social insurance under the Lundeen Bill, the only social insurance measure endorsed by the ANG St. Paul convention, would be collected by the Federal Government through taxation on personal and corporate incomes of more than \$5,000; on inheritances; and on gifts.

"The Lundeen Bill in operation," said Miss Van Kleeck, "would not reduce the standard of living of the masses of wage and salaried workers either by taking away part of their money income or increasing their cost of living."

Miss Van Kleeck said that in connection with the Lundeen Bill it was sometimes asked whether it would be too costly. The answer, she suggested, is contained in another question, "Who is paying the cost of unemployment now?" Obviously, she held, it is the unemployed who pay the cost of privation and the employed, salaried and wage workers, who are bearing the brunt of the burden of maintaining the unemployed on inadequate relief, besides sales taxes, taxes on foodstuffs, and so forth.

Would Spur Purchasing

The income thus diverted would become in the hands of the unemployed immediate purchasing power for consumption.

"Mass provision by government and industry to compensate for mass insecurity is the new definition of social insurance," Miss Van Kleeck said.

The Lundeen Bill has particular significance for members of the Newspaper Guild in view of the situation now existing in the Newark Ledger fight and in other efforts of the ANG, she declared.

"The Lundeen Bill provides specifically that full benefits shall be paid all those unemployed as a result of strikes or lockouts. It is not capable of being used as a strike breaking instrument, as are other measures now being considered."

Home Town Men Praise Action Taken by Biddle

PHILADELPHIA.—Compliments on his "high courage" in the Jennings case have been sent to Francis Biddle, of Philadelphia, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, by the 700 newspapermen of his home town and Camden, N. J. The letter said:

The Newspaper Guild of Philadelphia and Camden, representing some 700 newspapermen in your home town, express appreciation of your high courage in the Jennings case.

It leads us to believe that we may hope for some favorable consideration from government boards when our problems are presented to them.

San Francisco Thanks Board
SAN FRANCISCO.—The Guild of San Francisco, where the Jennings case originated, in a resolution adopted Dec. 16, thanked the National Labor Board for its fairness toward Dean S. Jennings and the Guild.

Toledo Guild Asks General Pay Rise

Assesses Members to Assist Newark Strike

TOLEDO, Ohio.—A mandate to the executive board to push negotiations to obtain contracts for editorial department workers was voted by the Toledo Guild at its quarterly meeting Dec. 16. A general salary increase is the chief objective. The executive board is planning early conferences with publishers of three papers.

It was voted unanimously to assess each member making \$50 or more a week 50 cents a week, and those making less than \$50 a week 30 cents for the duration of the Newark Ledger strike. It was estimated that the collections would net between \$30 and \$40 a week.

Profits of \$70 on a benefit dance Nov. 3 were assigned to the national defense fund.

Paul Evansted, News-Bee city editor, heads a committee to study plans for a gridiron dinner.

A proposal that the Guild produce a play, half the proceeds to go to charity and half to the Guild, is being discussed. Two years ago editorial workers of the three Toledo papers produced "The Front Page," three performances netting \$4,100 for charity.

Eastern Virginia Guild Sets Up Defense Fund

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The Virginia Peninsula Newspaper Guild includes 100 per cent membership for all news room employees of The Daily Press, publishers of the Times-Herald and the Daily Press. The personnel of the three bureau offices also are 100 per cent Guild members.

Close contact with affairs of the national guild and the nearby Norfolk-Portsmouth Guild has been maintained by the Peninsula Guild.

The guild membership rejected a motion to abolish local dues, voting to maintain the local organization intact and to continue the present schedule of dues. It voted to raise a defense fund to send to the national treasurer for expenditure as directed by the national organization.

Fort Worth Drafting Bargaining Agreement

FORT WORTH, Texas.—The Fort Worth Newspaper Guild, organized largely among the editorial workers of the morning and evening Star-Telegram and the Fort Worth Press, is now drafting a contract for collective bargaining.

Jennings Rule Reaffirmed by Labor Board

Declines Plea for His Back Pay, However; Rebukes NRA

WASHINGTON.—The National Labor Relations Board reaffirmed its decision on the case of Dean S. Jennings and the San Francisco Call-Bulletin Dec. 12, and again ruled that the newspaper had "interfered with the self-organization of its employees in violation of Section 7A" and had forced Jennings to resign. The board ordered Jennings's reinstatement within 10 days. A motion by Morris L. Ernst, counsel for the Guild, that Jennings's lost wages, amounting to \$1,200, be restored, was denied.

Donald R. Richberg, executive director of the National Emergency Council, and Blackwell Smith, general counsel of NRA, whose belated intervention and sharp statements brought the reopening of the case, were rebuked by the board in restrained, but positive, language. The board observed that neither had presented any new evidence. In refutation of Richberg's argument that the board had broken faith in entertaining the Jennings case, the board said:

Faith Breach Not Involved

"No question of breaking faith can be involved—unless, indeed, we are obliged to take account of some extrinsic understandings not embodied in the documents. . . ."

In answer to Richberg's argument that "may" should be taken to mean "shall" in the President's order permitting the board to refuse jurisdiction and send cases to the code industrial boards, the NLRB decision said: "It is unnecessary to torture the meaning of plain language."

As to Smith's argument that the National Labor Relations Board occupies the position of a superior tribunal and that by the "familiar rules of administrative law it should not therefore take jurisdiction until the remedies provided on a lower level have been exhausted," the board said:

To Follow Set Routine

"We concur with this statement of a general principle. We do not anticipate frequent occasions to exercise our jurisdiction in industries having special industrial boards. Certainly we shall adhere to our general practice not to entertain a 7-A complaint where the complainant has not sought his remedy before an appropriate industrial board adequately empowered to deal with the case. But where there exists some reason which makes it otherwise fitting for us to act, it is not the part of wise administration to decline jurisdiction merely because our power is vigorously challenged. Such a course can only prejudice our assertion of jurisdiction on subsequent occasions."

"In our previous decision we set forth the exceptional circumstances under which the Jennings case came before us. . . . Under these circumstances, it was plain common sense for us at this point to dispose of the case on the merits."

No Move for Reinstatement

SAN FRANCISCO.—The 10-day period during which the Call-Bulletin was called on to reinstate Dean Jennings has expired with no move upon the part of the publisher to restore Jennings to his job.

Dec. 21 Jennings with Don Stevens, regional vice-president, visited W. Holliday, Call-Bulletin editor. In reply to a query from Stevens Holliday said he knew nothing at all about what procedure the publisher would follow.