

For the Fourth
Estate

The Guild Reporter

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Workers Put Mass Strength Behind Guild

2,600 at Job Security
Parley Pledge Back-
ing of Millions

By EVELYN SEELEY

WASHINGTON. — More than 2,600 industrial, agricultural and professional workers, delegates to the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance meeting here Jan. 5, 6 and 7, gave a big hand to the American Newspaper Guild in its fight for collective bargaining and freedom of the press.

When they set out by train, bus, and foot for their far-flung homes in 40 states, they had pledged moral and financial support to the Newark, N. J., Ledger strike, the Oakland, Calif., Tribune boycott, and "boycotts, strikes, or any other means the Guild is now using, or may at any time use, in their communities to uphold its right to bargain collectively and uphold the freedom of the press." New Jersey and California delegations, in particular, promised to get right down to business.

Other Labor Fights

Naturally, for the mass of delegates, this was only one fight of many in the field of labor—potentially important to them but immediately important to the Guild.

The congress was concerned with the Workers' Bill for Unemployment and Social Insurance (H. R. 2827), popularly known as the Lundeen Bill, which the Guild's National convention endorsed. Briefly, this bill, as introduced in amended form by Representative Ernest Lundeen in the present Congress, provides compensation for all workers and farmers more than 18 years of age, who are able and willing to work but are unable to obtain work in their regular occupations.

Compensation, the bill provides, "shall be equal to average local (Continued on Page Eight)

Guild When Put to It Just Goes Professional

WASHINGTON. — The Guild has at least semi-officially declared itself professional.

Early in the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, the three Guild representatives were called on to make the first official decision on that primary Guild problem. It was a question of participating in either the "professional and experts" caucus or that of the labor unions.

The Guild went professional because the delegates felt that the possibility for greater effectiveness at the conference was to be found in that quarter.

Labor Support In Oakland Now Up to Printers

Favorable Vote Will
Open Boycott Guns
Against Knowland

SAN FRANCISCO. — Support by all organized labor in Alameda County for the fight of the Guild to obtain fair treatment from Joseph R. Knowland, publisher of the Oakland Tribune and president of the California Chamber of Commerce, neared realization last weekend.

A virtual ultimatum from the Alameda County Labor Council embodying the Guild demands is ready for delivery. If Knowland does not accede to Guild demands as presented by labor's representatives, the alternative will be either an official boycott by organized labor against the circulation of the Tribune or a strong resolution of support from labor which would be used by the Guild in procuring wide support.

The Newspaper Guild of the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan District thus began its 1935 activity under its newly elected officers, Redfern Mason, president; Dean S. Jennings, executive secretary; and Pearce Davies, treasurer. Before Christmas the Labor (Continued on Page Seven)

Strike Costs Ledger 45% Cut in Sales

Russell Seeks Financial
Aid of Publishers,
Newark Hears

NEWARK. — As the Newark strike enters its ninth week, L. T. Russell, Ledger publisher is back in the front stoop of his plant shaking his finger at the Guild strikers, having returned from a long Christmas vacation.

Persistent reports in reliable quarters say that he has been seeking financial aid from fellow publishers.

However that may be, his circulation is down at least 45 per cent, according to careful check; a dozen steady advertisers have pulled out. The big circulation collapse followed newstand, bus, and trolley terminal picketing by strikers at the morning rush hour. The advertisers notified the strike committee of their move.

Unions Back Guild

Important developments continue to crop up daily. Here are the latest:

A large committee appointed recently by the Essex Trades council, central labor body representing more than 30,000 workers, is set to call on Russell to demand that he take immediate steps to recognize the Guild and negotiate a contract.

Dr. Frank Kingdon, head of Dana College, visits Russell and comes away from the interview with the announcement that he is ready to accept the chairmanship of the Ledger strike citizenship committee.

A mass labor meeting was scheduled for Jan. 13, with every indication of a record attendance.

Publisher Calls for Police
Fighting strikers with acts of violence, Russell makes extravagant demand for police protection.

Striker arrested when Ledger scab reports being assaulted. Norman Thomas pickets for Newark Guild.

Newark Guild Reporter lists scabs by name and gives unsavory record.

Strike committee reorganizes and gains efficiency. Need for additional funds develops. (Continued on Page Two)

N. Y. Jewish Staffs Strike for Back Pay

Contract Also Asked by 13 of
Bulletin and Agency

The Jewish Daily Bulletin-Jewish Telegraphic Agency unit of the Newspaper Guild of New York went on strike Jan. 10 after receiving sanction from the Representative Assembly the night before. The strike was called to enforce payment of back wages and to obtain a contract for the regular payment of wages in the future.

All the Guild members, thirteen of the fifteen members of the Agency and Bulletin staffs, walked out, while the other two employees, members of the Jewish Writers' Club, remained at work though considering a like walkout.

A total of \$1,360 in back salaries is owed to Guild members, whose average wage is \$23 a week. Jacob Landau, publisher of the (Continued on Page Three)

Jobless Unit Loses 3 And Is Happy Over It

The New York Guild's Unemployed Unit has suffered a severe loss. Three prominent members have been forced to resign. They got jobs. That is the only kind of resignation the unit favors. It hopes its mortality rate will continue high.

The three casualties: Saul Carson, formerly unit chairman and now publicity director for a philanthropic organization; Herbert Klein, who got work with a Los Angeles daily; and Martin H. Hanish, now employed by the New York Herald Tribune.

Unions to Join Guild in Parley To Buck ANPA

Publishers' Threat
Brings Call for Em-
ployees to Meet

The threat of the American Newspaper Publishers Association to hold a convention of publishers to stall action on the Jennings case has precipitated a general labor conference.

The conference, called jointly by leaders of the printing trades unions and the Guild, will take place Jan. 18 in Washington. International officers of various crafts outside the newspaper industry are expected to attend and the meeting has the approval of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

The issues at stake on Jan. 18 will be two-fold, according to Jonathan Eddy, one of the signers of the call.

"We are concerned both with freedom of the press and with a flagrant attempt to install industrial despotism over wage earners in the newspaper industry," he said.

"The one is being used in support of the other."

"The publisher-directed maneuvers of NRA and other branches of the government have driven (Continued on Page Two)

Jennings Kept Out of Job by NRA Intrigue

Publishers and Officials
Maneuver Case Into
Industrial Board

By ROBERT M. BUCK
Vice-President, 13th Region

WASHINGTON. — Incredible intrigue by publishers and public officials still keeps Dean Jennings out of his job. Twice, since the National Labor Relations Board for the second time ruled that Hearst's San Francisco Call-Bulletin must reinstate him, the publishers' case subcommittee has been here, running in and out of the White House. It was scheduled to make its third visit before this edition appeared.

As this was written, the committee had not succeeded in seeing the President. It had to be content with Louis Howe, of the secretarial battery, who appears to have succeeded Donald Richberg as volunteer browbeater-in-chief of the labor board and rose-petal distributor in the path of the publishers.

Howe Asks for Time

Howe urged the publishers to postpone their peeve-convention, announced, except for the date, after the second Jennings decision, at which they will discuss quitting the code because the NLRB took jurisdiction of the Jennings case and ruled that Jennings lost his job because of Guild activity.

The second time they saw Howe was Jan. 3. That afternoon the wire services carried the following bulletin:

"Editors: The following is carried by request of the daily newspaper code subcommittee for your confidential information."

"Confidential to publishers. Not for publication. The subcommittee of the daily newspaper national code committee met in Washington today and again discussed with administration officials the situation brought about by the attempted assumption of jurisdiction over the (Continued from Page Six)

Guild-School Tie-Up Urged To Raise Standard of Cubs

CHICAGO. — Speaking for the American Newspaper Guild at the joint convention of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism and the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, Ray S. Gillilan, vice-president of the 9th Region and chairman of the Guild's committee on cooperation with schools and departments of journalism, advocated "a close working relationship" between the Guild and the schools.

A spokesman for the teachers, Dr. Willard G. Bleyer of the University of Wisconsin, called on the convention to "stand back of the Guild whether it turns to the right or to the left."

A tentative eight-point program worked out by a joint committee of teachers and Guild members proposes the setting up of professional classifications of Guild membership, senior and junior, based on education and experience. Gillilan emphasized that the plan is subject to the approval of the executive committee and ratification by the next national convention.

The plan provides for preference to be given to graduates of approved journalism schools in hiring, and in promotion to senior Guild membership after certification by local Guild training committees.

Local Guilds, under the plan, are to "cooperate with schools of journalism in their area or region as part of the effort to improve the educational qualifications of incoming newspaper men and women in the junior and post-junior training of journalists."

Dr. Ralph D. Casey, of the University of Minnesota, editor of Journalism Quarterly, who has been in close cooperation with Gillilan, gave the keynote to the teachers' symposium on the Guild, saying, "The Guild can take the leadership in helping to remedy the serious difficulties in which the journalist finds himself today, and while meeting and solving this significant problem, it can develop a professional spirit in journalism."

Dr. Bleyer, in favoring the Guild movement, pointed out the fruitless efforts of the teachers to im- (Continued on Page Two)

Building: Walking in Fear Cajolery—Tactics

By JONATHAN EDDY

The greatest obstacle standing in the way of the Guild is fear—fear of bad assignments, fear of a late "good-night," fear of failure to receive that fondly expected pay rise. All this fear may be summed up in the need for independent security, the very object for which the Guild is fighting on all fronts. Paradoxically, we have to overcome fear individually before we can hope to overcome it collectively.

Walking in Fear

This is a long, tough pull, but it is common to all serious organizations of wage earners. Publishers, in common with other employers, like to keep their budgets down in order to keep their profits up. Until we have achieved the security enjoyed in the composing and press rooms, the security provided through the closed (or the preferential) shop under contractual relationship, some of us must walk in constant fear.

But a great part of our battle has been fought for us by others. The pressure of labor fights has achieved verbal recognition in the famous Clause 7A—in fact in the

setting up of the whole creaking "recovery" machinery. A good many publishers seem indifferent to the 7A mandate that "Employees shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor or their agents in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

How large the Guild would be today had the government seen fit to enforce this law, who can say? It took us months even to get the National Labor Relations Board to recognize its application—and how little such a decision may mean to publishers, even as moral suasion, is indicated, not only by the further delays, but by the bald-faced maneuvering recount in Bob Buck's amazing story in this issue from Washington.

But the decision did get into the official record a true picture of the conditions in the face of which we are building the Guild today.

Cajolery

"It is difficult," says the Jennings decision, to escape the con- (Continued on Page Eight)

Strike Costs Ledger 45% Cut in Sales

Russell Seeks Financial Aid of Publishers, Newark Hears

(Continued from Page One)

The Essex Trades Council committee, composed of prominent members, in announcing that it would call on Russell, said:

"Russell will undoubtedly make a long winded speech. However, he must immediately recognize the Guild by signing a contract. The contract must contain an iron-clad clause protecting the Guild from Russell's further attempt to destroy it. All scabs must be dismissed immediately. If Russell refuses, his action must be considered a challenge to all organized labor and organized labor will know how to treat his defiance."

Russell put the committee in a fighting mood by sending a letter indicating that he would not allow the strikers to return to work, charging that they had placed him under personal attack. The publisher claimed that the strikers and the strike leaders were using the strike as a "meal ticket."

The committee was to meet Russell Jan. 10.

The mass meeting, co-sponsored by the Guild and the Essex Trades Council, will bring together speakers of national prominence including Louis P. Marcante, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor; Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Mrs. Harrison M. Simmons, president of the Consumers' League of New Jersey; and Heywood Brown. O. Henry Gross, secretary of the "Trade Council," will be chairman of the meeting.

A special committee of the Essex Trades Council, set up to assist the Guild in its strike activity, cooperated in planning the meeting and a full attendance from all affiliated unions was assured.

Civic Committee Proposed

Dr. Kingston, a noted liberal with a large following, after being cloistered with Russell, said that he was convinced that the publisher would not, of his own volition, agree to a fair settlement of the dispute. Amused by Russell's arguments, he called on Newarkers to join him in forming a civic committee.

Immediately after returning to Newark from his California visit, Russell wrote a letter to Police Chief McFall in which he branded the strikers as "racketeering hoodlums." He claimed that his home had been stoned and that sand had been placed in his managing editor's radiator.

Admits He Hired Guards

He wrote that since the first day of the strike it had cost him \$200 a week for bodyguards and that he refused to continue this expense. He demanded that the department furnish at least sixteen policemen to act as constant escorts for his strike-breakers and that policemen be furnished as night watchmen for the Ledger building and for one of his local homes.

He charged the police department was in sympathy with the strikers.

When word got out that Russell was ready to fire the bodyguards, a powerful stench bomb was dropped in the Ledger building. Its odor pervaded strike headquarters next door.

Russell blames the Guild, but strike leaders believe the publisher plotted the bomb in a desperate hope of embarrassing the strikers or that the job was done by his hoodlums who wanted to convince him that their services were still needed.

The Rogues' Gallery of Newark Strikebreakers

NEWARK, N. J.—Residents here

perked up when they read the Ledger strikebreakers, printed in a recent issue of The Reporter, strikers' organ. The list, as it appeared in The Reporter, an excellent exhibit for any rogues' gallery, follows:

Charles P. Marshall, city editor—dismissed by the Newark Evening News for receiving money on a public payroll through a political connection while holding a reportorial position of trust.

Joseph G. Donovan, sports editor—whose principle income is composed of "gratuities" derived through printing professional sports publicity in the Ledger column.

James P. Powers, copy editor—

Morris Udansky was arrested for assault and battery after Stuart Morrison, scab, complained in police court that the Ledger strikebreaker had beaten him on Newark's main stem. Bail was set at \$100.

Norman Thomas, after delivering a lecture in a local church, headed a picket line of more than 100 persons and marched for a half mile to the Ledger building. He addressed a crowd from the steps of strike headquarters. Russell's hirelings tried to get police to interfere. Police pointed out that Thomas was speaking from private property.

The local Reporter story listing the names of six scabs and giving the highspots in their spotty careers created a sensation. The list is printed in another part of this edition.

As strike activity has grown high, the strike committee reorganized. Four members—Emmett Crozier, Robert C. Ring, N. L. Goldberg and Victor Pasche—were detached to form a board of strategy. E. B. Berlinut heads a group to administer discipline, handle strike benefits and attend to other details not directly concerned with broad policy. Relieved of responsibility from routine activity, the compact strategy board is now concentrating on devising means for winning the strike. The change in policy met with the unanimous approval of the strikers.

Money is still coming in, but there was a sharp decrease just before Christmas. It was necessary to cut all strike benefits 10 per cent. The Guild is handicapped in running its advertising campaign and in publishing its weekly Reporter.

These important activities must not be curtailed, the strike committee maintains.

Guild Men at Hauptmann Trial; Newark Ledger Not Represented

FLEMINGTON, N. J.—Hundreds of thousands of words are filed daily out of this town on the Lindbergh trial, but not one word has gone out to the Newark Ledger, against which the Newspaper Guild is striking. Desk assignments left room for the Ledger, but no reporter for that paper has shown up, although the newspaper representation here is probably the greatest this country has ever seen.

The Ledger's coverage of the trial has been through A.P. only. Both Richard Snape, wire chief for Postal Telegraph and Emil Visconti, of Western Union, said that neither service has cleared to the Newark daily.

The newspaper representation here is strongly Guild, the majority of workers being members. The guilt or innocence of Bruno Richard Hauptmann is not the only subject of conversation among the men and women covering the trial. They are proud of the fact that, contrary to prophecies of newspaper publishers, Guild membership has not interfered with the coverage of the biggest news story in years. Instead, competition, particularly among afternoon

figures in a recent Detroit bank scandal. He had received a "policy" (not to be paid back) loan.

Aubrey Pierce, night city editor—former puglist convicted in New York State of assaulting and permanently disabling a man in a fist fight, got a suspended sentence on his promise to make restitution, and has been habitually delinquent in these payments.

Rod McInnes, sports writer—an alien, in this country illegally through failure to renew a visitor's permit. His employment is especially forbidden under the terms of his entry.

Lester Barnard, reporter—a professional strikebreaker of Belleville, Ill.

Teachers Study School Tie-Up With the Guild

(Continued from Page One)

prove the lot of Journalism school graduates by seeking the favor of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The society "deserted" Journalism students in the recent Washington hearing on minimum editorial wages under the NRA code, he declared.

Gifflian proposed a program of cooperation with the educational institutions without compromising what may be the Guild's objectives as organized labor.

Objectives Reasonable

"The Guild already has shown, in its negotiations with publishers, that its objectives are reasonable and practical and it has also shown, in a few cases, that its friendship is more valuable than the lack of it."

Gifflian attacked what he termed "unwarranted bitter abuse" showered on the Guild, and especially, on its loyal national officers, because they have dared to defy the steam roller tactics of employer-hating owners of certain notorious newspaper sweatshops.

The Guild cannot be classified as either "labor" or "professional," declared Gifflian. Journalism needs college trained workers, he said, but working newspapermen feel that the schools will flood the editorial departments with graduates willing to work for little or nothing.

An entire session of the convention was given over to the Guild.

Guild Men at Hauptmann Trial; Newark Ledger Not Represented

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papers, is intense. Loyalty to the employing newspaper is very much in evidence.

Further evidence of Guild interest was shown when a box, with a coin slot in top, was placed on the tobacco counter in the lobby of the Union Hotel, madhouse headquarters for the press. The box bears this message: "The Newark Ledger: unit of the Newspaper Guild needs your help. Still on strike." It was placed on the counter by Lou Wedemar, of Universal Service. There is also a movement afoot to have a number of the reporters hire a bus and run down to Newark, to join the picket line.

Various Guild leaders on the story are Carl Randau, president of the New York Guild, who is writing the lead story for the New York World-Telegram; Joseph F. Driscoll, for the New York Herald Tribune; Johnston D. Kirkhoff, who is doing the lead story for the New York Journal; Henry Paynter, here for the New York Post; and Lou Wedemar, mentioned previously. In addition, every man of the 25 sent here by the Journal is a Guild member.

N. Y. Mobilizes New Help for Ledger Strike

Collection and Picket Committees Active in City's 39 Units

Fresh and larger reinforcements are being mobilized by the New York Guild to aid the Newark Ledger strike. In each of New York's thirty-nine units, special strike committees are being organized to insure regular weekly collections from the 2,100 members. The committees will also make a concerted effort to recruit groups of volunteers for the Newark picket line.

"It is important," said Hugh Holahan, chairman of the emergency committee, "that not an additional day be lost in mobilizing the entire strength of the New York Guild. The outcome of the Newark strike will definitely affect the future of every Guild in the country. It would surely be tragic if, for lack of the additional effort needed, the Newark strikers should fail to win as quickly as their courage and the justice of their cause warrant."

The emergency committee was originally established last summer after nine employees of the Long Island Daily Press had been fired for Guild activity. Called into being overnight, it led a spirited and successful drive that resulted in the re-instatement of all nine of the discharged members. The committee was not disbanded at the end of its first campaign, but was made a permanent arm of the New York Guild, its members being instructed to keep themselves in readiness for a call from Holahan at any time.

Though the emergency committee was formed originally to fight New York's battles, the Representative Assembly decided that the seriousness of the issues in Newark merited an extension of the committee's duties. Hugh Holahan was instructed to mobilize his members and, through them, the entire New York City Guild. Two meetings of the committee have been held, and its plan of campaign is being used successfully in fifteen units.

president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; H. C. Fremming, president of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and J. A. Egan, president of the International Typographers' Union of North America; Leon DeVoss, president, International Stereotypers and Electrotypes' Union of North America, and Eddy.

Myers Notices Eddy

That the conference was to be called had been known in NRA circles in Washington since the last week of December. Under date of January 4, A. Howard Myers, executive director of the Labor Advisory Board, notified Eddy that that Government group had decided to call its own conference "toward the close of this month."

The conference will take the form of a public hearing.

Eddy was advised that "this offers an unusual opportunity for organized labor in every industry to present to the public and to the Administration its views as to desirable changes to be made in the code procedure and structure, and as to the direction which administrative action should take to provide a better condition for labor."

Notification "at the earliest possible date" as to who would represent the Guild was requested. Eddy said that Heywood Brown, president; Robert M. Buck and Morris Watson, vice-presidents; and himself would represent the Guild. He asked members who wish their local to present data at this conference to file notice with the Labor Advisory Board and to get in touch with national headquarters.

SUPPORT

The Newark Strike

Jennings Case A Major Issue President Told

San Francisco Wire Urges Enforcement of Published Decision

SAN FRANCISCO.—Warning to President Roosevelt that "a do-nothing element which has gained control of publisher organizations" publicly threatens to attempt to wreck the American recovery machinery if their seeking of special privilege is unmet, was the message in a telegram sent by the Executive Council of the Newspaper Guild of San Francisco. The telegram was a plea to the President to insist that the NRA enforce the Jennings decision, arguing that a showdown with this "domineering element" must come sooner or later anyway. The telegram read:

"Mr. President, in this storm center six good newspapermen have lost their jobs for daring to take office in the Guild. Mr. President, you asked all Americans to try in good faith the Labor Board machinery. Through weary months we have done that. We submit to you, Mr. President, we have kept our part of the bargain."

Not Even Back Pay

"In our lone victory before the board, Jennings, with wife and child, did not even get back pay ordered for six months out of the job. Now a domineering element in the Guild has gained control of publisher organizations publicly threatens to go a long way toward wrecking the recovery machinery and psychology of the nation if their special privilege seeking under the guise of freedom of the press is unmet."

"Some showdown eventually was inevitable with any truly democratic government. The decent elements of the press, perhaps befuddled by axe-grinding lawyers, need the quick help only you can give them. To say nothing of the public they can no longer fool as to the real issue."

"We believe that, if any uncertainty remains about the Labor Board's jurisdiction, you alone may interpret your own executive order; if no uncertainty, NRA should act especially quickly to remove Call-Ballin, Blue Eagle and get showdown bound to come sooner or later."

"Sacrosanct Pettifoggers"

"These sacrosanct pettifoggers about constitutional rights to child labor and sweatshops and denial of American citizenship rights to news writers are in no position to bluff this nation and the sooner it is demonstrated the better for them and for American faith in government and, supremely, for the sake of such freedom of the press as citizens of our nation have died for."

The San Francisco Executive Council also telegraphed the Compliance Division of the NRA "respectfully to suggest" the need for promptness in taking the Blue Eagle from the San Francisco Call-Bulletin as recommended by the National Labor Board. The council pointed out that Jennings was "only one of six men who lost their jobs for daring to take office in an organization which never even approached publishers for bargaining here" and warned the Compliance Division "further, republishing likely if government hesitates."

Fought for Fairness

I have seen him fight fiercely to keep himself and his newspaper associates free of the faintest phantom of obligation to report events with bias. Coupled with this, he perceived clearly the dual role of a virile newspaper as, simultaneously, an organ of opinion and a purveyor of news. He wanted to see faithful reporting in news columns and unequivocal statement of policy in editorials; the two not mixed.

He perceived many newspapers serving business goals in a way that outraged his integrity. He saw

A Social Note!



Mr. and Mrs. Heywood Brown, whose marriage was a surprise of Jan. 9. The former Miss Connie Madison, widow of Ray Dooley, the actor, is herself an actress.

Cleveland Picked For '35 Convention

National Executives to Meet Before June 2-3 Session

Cleveland is the national officers' choice for the 1935 American Newspaper Guild convention. Ten regional vice-presidents who answered the postal card poll favored the Ohio city, with none opposing. June 2 to 5 is the convention date, with sessions to be held in the Hotel Holloman.

The convention, expected to last five days, will be preceded by a meeting of the national executive committee.

Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, advancement of collective bargaining, and reorganization of the fourteen national regions are issues expected to be discussed.

In Memory of Dan de Souza

WASHINGTON.—At a service as unique as the man whose memory it honored, Washington newspapermen paid tribute Christmas Eve to Daniel A. de Souza, president of the Washington Newspaper Guild, who was killed in an automobile accident on route to Newark in the role of Santa Claus.

The Washington Newspaper Guild was in charge of the non-religious service at the request of Mrs. de Souza. Robert M. Buck, vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild and an intimate friend of de Souza, officiated.

Special committees from the National Press Club and the Washington Newspaper Guild and prominent citizens attended the service in a chapel of a Clarendon, Va., undertaking. Floral wreaths were sent by Guilds in other cities.

Buck's eulogy said:

Out of his early schooling Dan de Souza gathered a somewhat unusual knowledge of English and skill in writing it. The subject interested him more than others. When he entered newspaper work he developed into a writer, a many talented for news gathering. He had a retentive memory. He was one of those reporters who took few notes and, therefore, had a maximum of attention free for the color of a story.

He became well educated, rather than well schooled. His mind was trained to do its work. This made him particularly valuable as a reporter of complicated, or technical stories.

His equipment made him critical of himself and others practicing his art; of newspapers and newspaper makers. It gave him concern for improvement of artistic standards in journalism.

I think it is not outside the scale of careful measurement of words to say that the world has never contained a more honest man than Dan de Souza. His integrity was too rugged and complete to be expressed by the word honest as it is commonly understood.

He perceived many newspapers serving business goals in a way that outraged his integrity. He saw

Howard Says Code Doesn't Bind Workers

They Had No Voice in Its Making, Head of Typo Union Notes

Workers in the newspaper industry are not bound by the provisions of the Newspaper code, in the opinion of Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union. Publishers, on the other hand, are legally bound, he believes, because the code is an agreement between them and the Government.

"It is entirely unreasonable," Howard wrote in the Typographical Journal, "that employers could enter into an agreement with the government whereby they could bind a third party when the third party had no effective voice in making its terms."

The point of view of Howard, the typographers' representative on the Newspaper Industrial Board, is of particular importance to the American Newspaper Guild at the present time because of the hearings recently held by the Newspaper Industrial Board on the Tonetti and Crosby cases and also, because, in the Jennings case, the publishers took the position that the National Labor Relations Board had no jurisdiction, since the code provided a medium for settling labor disputes.

"In the alleged code," says Howard, "there is a provision which had for its purpose the forcing of compulsory arbitration on the organized employees in the daily newspaper publishing industry. The best evidence of the truth of that statement is to be found in the interpretation that has been placed upon the provision [establishing the Newspaper Industrial Board] by the publisher members of the Newspaper Industrial Board. They contend that any controversy between an employer and employees must be arbitrated. That would mean unrestricted, unlimited, compulsory arbitration. And to such a policy the typographical union will never agree. We know of no legal authority who will contend that even the Congress has the power to adopt a law compelling arbitration."

N. Y. Jewish Staffs Strike for Back Pay

Contract Also Asked by 13 of Bulletin and Agency

(Continued from Page One)

Jewish Daily Bulletin and managing director of the prosperous Jewish Telegraphic Agency, would give no assurance to a Guild committee that back and future salaries would be paid.

Mr. Landau has been served with a request subpoena issued by the State Department of Labor on complaint of the Guild for his failure to pay. The Labor Department has no enforcement machinery.

The paper's managing editor, Victor M. Blumenthal, announced within an hour after the strike call that the paper would suspend at once. It was subsequently said to a representative of the Jewish Writers' Club that the publication would not suspend until Jan. 13.

The Bulletin has failed to pay regular salaries for four months. Instead, it handed out \$5 and \$10 periodically. The staff feels that Landau has made no sacrifice on his own part, but has thrown the entire burden on his employees. It is reliably reported that he is seeking to sell his paper.

Efforts will be made by the strikers to reach the Jewish press and other publications using Agency material. Picketing is expected.

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Harry Raymond and Leon Svirsky

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Nine Thousand to One

The longer the Newark strikes goes on, the clearer it becomes that the most significant aspect of this contest is its trial of the cohesiveness of our young national organization of 9,000 newspapermen and women, of our ability to function as a team.

Mr. Russell, publisher of the Newark Ledger, is of little consequence as a symbol. He is not typical of the forces with which we would ordinarily have to contend. The most authoritative available information indicates that he is fighting virtually alone, and that publishers have not considered it worth the risk to give him financial help. Certainly he could not have been acting on the advice of the shrewd ANPA in attempting to launch the abortive company-union, the American Editorial League, under circumstances which doomed it from the start.

Were it not for Mr. Russell's eccentric stubbornness and pride, his losses would undoubtedly have induced him to quit long before this. It is this tenacity that is significant to us as an organization. It is like a heavy door that a battering ram must eventually breach.

Nine thousand to one are heavy odds, if the nine thousand work as one. That is the whole story. This is the first time that we have come to grips with an opponent as a national organization under circumstances that require material as well as moral teamwork. We believe it will be the making of the Guild, will weld it into a unit. We are lucky to have an opponent we can beat at this early stage.

Guidemen giving their dollars at this time and going on the picket line in Newark are building an organization, not merely bringing to terms a publisher.

The holiday slump in contributions made it necessary to reduce strike benefits 10 per cent to the forty-four strikers, who are showing magnificent cohesion despite offers of jobs on other newspapers. This is a serious let-down that should be corrected immediately. But the most vital thing is that every one of our nine thousand make some contribution to this organizational effort.

Does It Pay to Be Honest?

We wondered aloud in our last issue what proportion of the publishers is represented by the little oligarchy that controls the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The flashing generalship of that clique in engineering the firing of an ultimatum—rather conspicuously outdated—against the NRA, and more particularly the National Labor Relations Board, has brought to light at least one gentleman in the field who is still thinking for himself. The publisher of the New York Post dissented sharply from the view that the order for the reinstatement of Dean Jennings is a threat against the freedom of the press. The Post said, in part:

Because this newspaper is dedicated to the principle of "freedom of speech and of the press," it bitterly resents the attempt to misuse the sacred term for selfish ends.

Stripped of technicalities, the dispute between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the National Labor Relations Board centers on this issue:

Whether the Federal government is attempting to abridge the constitutional guarantee of "freedom of the press" by demanding that newspaper publishers, in their labor relations, obey

the same laws which all other business men must obey.

On this question the Post wishes to make its position clear.

It may be best to recall that the Constitution reads "freedom of speech or of the press."

That is, the right to express opinion is no more sacred with the press than with the individual.

The man who manufactures boots, motor cars or can openers has the same right to express his opinions and to publish them, if he desires, as the editor of a newspaper.

To demand that the publisher obey the law, as embodied in Section 7a of the National Recovery Act, is no more of an infringement of the publisher's freedom of the press than it is of the manufacturer's freedom of speech.

The editorial continued:
Unionization has been accepted without question in the manufacturing end of the newspaper business. To the Post there appears no good reason for denying the right of collective bargaining to the other departments of a newspaper.

And the Newspaper Guild can no more interfere with the right of a newspaper to express its editorial views than can the members of the pressmen's union.

The fact that the National Labor Relations Board ordered the San Francisco Call-Bulletin to reinstate a rewrite man cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be construed as an infringement of that newspaper's right to express its editorial opinions.

By a coincidence that will surprise no veteran newspaperman, the Post is forging ahead rapidly in circulation. It has a long way to go, to be sure, having barely passed 114,000, but little more than a year ago it was an almost abandoned derelict. It is coming back by the same route that paper after paper in this country has traveled to success. It is the route of outspoken, hard-hitting liberalism.

It is unbelievable that all publishers have forgotten that elemental bit of tactics, that all of them are willing to substitute the dubious advice of the ANPA for their own experienced judgment of what the public will and will not swallow.

For the ANPA is not guiding them in the publication of fine papers. It is conducting a rear-guard action to stave off that terrible day when employees will have a more democratic voice in governing working conditions. The fact that the public at large believes in these more democratic methods, has, through Congress, written them into law, does not concern the genius of the ANPA, Elsie Hanson. Nor does it matter to him that he is making his publisher followers look to the public like a pack of decadent Bourbons. But those facts will some day matter very considerably to those publishers.

Who Flouts the Industrial Board?

The Newspaper Industrial Board seems to me a clumsy mechanism. I base this judgment not on a survey of many cases, to be sure, but I did sit up with one complaint for some 15 or 20 hours. The Board, of course, represents two blocs—employers and employees. The history of the Board, with very few exceptions, is that the decision is always tied four against four. This seems to me an almost inevitable result. Frankly, both sides are thinking a little less of the case immediately in hand than the precedent and principle which is likely to be set.

The choice of a ninth member, a so-called neutral arbitrator, leaves a great deal to be desired. Waiving the arguments against arbitration itself as an instrument, you have a ninth person coming in who has to acquaint himself with the merits of the controversy on the basis of the record. He was not present during the proceedings. And even the most faithful record stirs over certain important facts, leads and hints which come out of the behavior of the witnesses themselves.

It has been said on several occasions that the Newspaper Guild has flouted the Industrial Board. This charge hardly holds true. In the Tonitelli case the Guild has displayed a willingness to explore the possibilities of the Board to the full extent. As a matter of fact, it was the defendant in the action who displayed a contempt for the Industrial Board. Mr. Geneser Pope sent a sworn statement, but failed to appear in person and subject himself to cross examination. Even the employer members were ready to admit that this was a breach of courtesy and a breach of fair practice.

The Guild has every reason not to place implicit confidence in the Industrial Board as the sole medium for its cases until it finds the owners themselves taking the board's authority a little bit more seriously.

HEYWOOD BROWN.

'The Guild Gets The Run-Around'

NEW PUBLIC CONSIDERS
JENNINGS CASE TYPICAL

(Reprinted by Permission of
The Dean Jennings case follows the familiar pattern of events that workers have come to call the "National Run-Around."

The Dean Jennings case follows the familiar pattern of events that workers have come to call the "National Run-Around."

It is another repetition of the almost habitual failure of the N.R.A. to enforce the decisions of the labor boards. Mr. Jennings has won a clear decision from the National Labor Relations Board, but, thus far, he has not been able to get his job back.

In the Jennings case, however, a larger issue is involved. For the action of Mr. Donald Richberg in supporting the publishers' contention that the Newspaper Industrial Board is a fair tribunal to hear labor disputes amounts to a betrayal of the rights of workers. This board has eight members, four representing the publishers and four representing the workers. It perpetually deadlocks on vital issues and is thus, by its nature, incapable of speedy action.

Indeed, it is almost incapable of any action. One of the rules of this board is worth emphasizing: in hearing labor complaints, the board requires that evidence, to be admitted, must receive a majority vote. Thus the four publisher members can—and frequently do—bar testimony that we do not wish to hear. Obviously, a set-up of this character militates against a fair hearing for labor.

The functioning of the board becomes even more biased when one or more members are absent from a hearing. Evidence must then receive a unanimous vote to be admitted. Accordingly, if one publisher is absent, any one of the remaining publishers can bar evidence by declaring that he believes it "irrelevant" or "improper" or so on. Yet it is on the basis of hearings held in accordance with these rules that labor disputes in the newspaper industry are supposed to be adjudicated. If one publisher is absent, the board itself cannot reach a decision, as an "impartial" ninth member must be agreed upon. He must

then attempt to reach a "fair" decision on the basis of a transcript of the hearings—a transcript that very likely excludes much evidence that might be favorable to cause of the labor complainant. For this judicial service, the judge receives a fee of \$250—half of which the labor complainant or his union is expected to pay.

These rules are enough to discredit the board as a fair tribunal. In addition the board is utterly unsatisfactory in that it does not sit regularly. It meets whenever the members can find time to get together—once a month, once in two months, etc. Furthermore, it does not necessarily meet in the city where the labor dispute is being heard. The workers in Boston must then pay the expenses of the trip themselves.

What the N.R.A. expects this board to decide is a mystery. It has already vetoed on the question of whether it has exclusive jurisdiction in newspaper disputes. And its vote, true to form, was a deadlock. The four publishers voting for exclusive jurisdiction and the four workers voting against it. What the N.R.A.'s action actually means is that a real show-down in the Jennings case will be delayed for perhaps another month. When the board last convened in New York, it decided that it would be unable to meet again until late in January—if then.

Meanwhile, the newspaper workers have learned that they can expect no more from the N.R.A. than can any other group of workers. Like the steel, the automobile, the textile workers, they are merely referred to another board. It is unlikely, however, that the Newspaper Guild will submit to a board that represents the publisher-controlled code authority—even on Mr. Richberg's recommendation. Like the textile workers, newspaper men and women know that such boards are not established and do not function for the betterment of labor.

Fake Issues Anger
San Franciscan

San Francisco.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

It is a strange commentary on both the laws of our land and our economic system that the newspaper publishers can hide behind their smoke screen of "freedom of the press" and go unchallenged by constitutional authority.

The Government, with its courts, its various agencies for enforcement of the laws, its Department of Justice and its far flung National Recovery Administration set-up, contents itself with an attitude of supine submission, lack of force and initiative in the face of flagrant violation of national law.

Meanwhile, the publishers of the land, keenly alert to protect their collective pocket book and the unabridged power they have always enjoyed, act with the full force of their millions and blatant propaganda, to confuse issues, to distort facts, and to turn to their own advantage, the mass psychology of the nation.

What they are doing in the Jennings case is making a fight to the death against The Guild. On the Guild's part, this case is a fight for the humane humanitarian principles for which the cause of labor has stood for generations.

The so-called "freedom of the press" is not at issue in the Guild fight, neither is it an issue in the enforcement of the Newspaper Code. The publishers of the nation seek to make an issue of it, however, because collectively, they would like nothing better than to repudiate the code, and thus to

I.N.S. Unit Thanks Guild
For Lawrence Aid

New York City.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Will you please convey to your readers and to the officers of the New York Guild the sincere gratitude of the membership of the International News Service Unit for the truly splendid way in which they came to the aid of the beleaguered family of the late Gene Lawrence.

The generous action of the New York Guild in donating a portion of the receipts of its benefit for the Newark strikers to the Lawrence family will be gratefully remembered for a long, long time, not only by Mrs. Lawrence and her two children, but by every member of the International News Service Unit.

In actions such as these we find added proof of that which we of the Guild have long recognized, but which, undoubtedly, is not so well known to others. That is that it is something deeper and more enduring than mere economic necessity which binds our organization together.

HOMER H. METZ, Chairman, International News Service Unit. (At a general membership meeting of the New York Guild it was voted to send a contribution to the family of Gene Lawrence, former I.N.S. sports writer, who died in Florida recently after a serious illness. The executive committee allocated \$100 from the receipts of the Newark strike benefit.—Editor.)

escape its restrictions and its obligations.

GUILD MEMBER.

The Free For All

It Doesn't Pay to Be Lukewarm

SIFTING OUT OF SHIRKERS
HELD POTENTIAL NECESSITY

San Francisco.
Editor, The Guild Reporter:
("Are you going to be a worker or a shirker?"—Louis Burges at the 1934 ANG Convention.)

Each day of the Guild's growth emphasizes that question. In areas yet unorganized, or but partially organized, it can be asked with some measure of every newspaperman and newspaperwoman.

In areas where the Guild has been for a considerable period a going concern, with plenty of time for thought by everyone, it applies more forcefully.

Obviously it applies to Guild members to some extent, as to their relative activity, willingness and financial support.

Time for Weeding Out?

But may not the time come when, for the good of the sincere majority, the true must be publicly separated from the false?

That is, after a long period of Guild activity has been shouldered in a certain area, may there not be small lists of persons who, pretending to play ball and then deserting the Guild and sabotaging it under fire, should be the subject of pitiless publicity pithily purged?

It might come to the time when the real newspapermen of this country would demand to have certain interesting reading in their journal, The Reporter, concerning men they once knew, or still know, in other cities—and may meet again some day—in some such form as follows:

Podunk, Ark., Punk List
JOE GLUTZ, Morning Bugle reporter, "left" for its dullness when he was given the Guild Reporter to write for the Guild Reporter.

PETE ZILCH, Evening Clarion, assistant city editor, one of last men to join Guild in May, 1934; never paid dues after first month; never attended a meeting; never showed any interest in or did any work for Guild; ANNIE ROONEY, Daily Blast, low paid reporter for seven years, joined Guild May 10, 1934, to get on handwagons; got job as assistant society editor of Podunk Record on Aug. 1, with better pay; quit paying dues; confided to new friends: "I'm sitting pretty at last; the Guild doesn't interest me."

Waiting to See?
JACK RIPPER, Illustrated Scandals photographer, held out when contract was signed; 10 months later he joined Guild and got five-day week; his work, with more rest and better morale, improved and paper began crediting his pictures; opposition hired him; Guild weak there; Jack doesn't pay dues any more and is again "waiting to see."

A very close shave indeed—intending to lambaste guys for talking about the non-existent "average newspaperman," and starting as I did in that first sentence!

Well as I was saying, a great many writers over there is such a thing as the "average newspaperman"; and even when they declare, as does Kenneth Campbell of the World Telegram, writing in the American Spectator, that there ain't any such, they still fall back on the "typical newspaperman."

And some of these writers, especially Ken (western familiarity) have given me rather bad moments with their convincing analyses—taking "typical newspapermen" all apart and purporting to prove that you can't put 'em back together again. That is, that you can't organize 'em and keep 'em that way.

In fact this Ken, as I jogged along on my mule, following him "Riding the Fire Engine," had me in a flat spin before I knew it, and

during retrenchment shakeup on Clarion this winter; Diamond hired another fellow for a permanent job that opened up recently on the Chronicle. Badde is on the SERA.

SHARPE SCHUTTER, then assistant city editor of Morning Eagle, joined Guild after it got going; was very active and was elected chairman of chapter and finally president of local city Guild on Oct. 15; meanwhile he had become city editor; Guild about this time got into a row with the Record, member of same chain as Eagle, and when Guild overwhelmingly voted for a boycott campaign against Record, Schutter resigned the presidency; then, LEAD ALL: The Record signs a contract with the Guild; the Eagle agrees to open negotiations for a contract. Sharpe Schutter does a crystal gazing act and puts an advertisement for another job in the Editor & Publisher, explaining he simply seeks a change in climate. Everybody else happy in Podunk, including publishers.

Yes, maybe the time is not yet ripe, but how handy, pasted in the hat for future reference, would be such little lists for the Guilders who are taking it on the chin today, but will be the hirers and firers of tomorrow, to say nothing of passing on future applications of birds who wander into Guild preferential or closed shops. How handy, too, for publishers, who understand character and where they will find, in the showdown, the kind of man who is really loyal.

—D. S.

Editor's note: If the Cleveland who wrote giving the Guild Reporter "hell" for its dullness will send his name, the Guild Reporter will be glad to print the comment.

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No Holds Barred

Badgering Newark Scabs Disliked

CRITIC OF GUILD'S METHODS
MUST LEARN A FEW FACTS

Leona, N. J.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

On Dec. 20 a bulletin sent out from the united front strike headquarters in Newark urged Guild members to annoy editorial employees of the Newark Ledger by sending them post cards, letters and telegrams (God bless our pocketbooks).

To quote the bulletin:
"Badger them so they won't be able to do a day's work."

I regret greatly this policy of the Guild, because it disregards the rights of others in a very selfish manner. I also am greatly concerned about it for another reason.

If the Guild has no thought for the rights of any set of persons, how long will it be before the administrative officers of the Guild who inaugurate such a policy have no thoughts for the rights of Guild members?

How long will it be before they will badger members who are not in complete sympathy with every one of their ideas, whether they be truths or fallacies?

The Tolerant Newspaperman

For many years I have respected newspapermen for having a little more intelligence than the average man, for having a little more tolerance and for being able to be a little more impartial in their judgments. It takes character (which includes guts), however, to be unselfish and to respect the rights of others, and I have been greatly disappointed from time to time to find one-fourth of the character displayed by the Guild.

The Guild is fighting the publisher of the Ledger. It has no right with its editorial employees. It cannot want their jobs, because it would badger them. Yet it would badger them because it would discomfort the publisher and thereby benefit the Guild.

To follow out this brilliant logic,

A strike is not a situation where strikers and their supporters and we are supporting the Ledger (we) quibble over matters of abstract justice and reduce them to a debating society basis. A strike is industrial warfare, and must be handled realistically, with the thought of final "justice" for all workers uppermost in the minds of the strikers.

Be not so concerned with the "rights of others" as you express it, when the "others" are strike-breakers who are betraying their fellow editorial workers by scabbing on them. Think straight on this. When a Guild unit strikes, its only chance to get the job back is to cut so deeply into the circulation and advertising of the paper, and make its coverage of news so poor that the editor will be forced to reinstate them. To do less than this would be simple suicide.

The Real Betrayal

Further, it is the strike-breakers who have perpetrated the "betrayals." They have been imported to take the places of the strikers. By accepting these jobs, they are undermining the strike. They are determining the wage standards of all newspapermen and women of the country. As a Guild member, you presumably believe in the objects for which the Guild was formed, one of the largest of which was to raise the economic condition of newspaper workers. If any publisher, who wishes to rid himself of the incubus of the Guild, can catch his staff into the street and fill up with cheap help (or even with temporarily high-paid help, whom he will put on half or third rations the minute he has crushed the strike), the Guild movement is licked before it begins.

We note that you live in Leona, N. J. Drop in on the Newark picket line some day soon. It will clear the cobwebs from your mind. You will find the strikers are decent men and women fighting the battle of all newspaper workers for "rights" and "justice" to all.

THE EDITOR.

THE EDITOR.

THE EDITOR.

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Guild to Attend Resumed NRA Code Hearing Jan. 17

NRA Intrigue Keeps Jennings Out of His Job

Maneuvers Get Case Into Industrial Board's Lap

(Continued from Page One)

The subcommittee will meet again in Washington on Jan. 9. The convention call will not be issued before that date, (Signed) Howard Davis, chairman.

On the day the foregoing bulletin was issued, the publishers tried to see the President, but failed. It was expected that they would see him Jan. 9.

In the meantime, the NRA compliance division, in consultation with Blackwell Smith, NRA general counsel, performed the amazing and unprecedented act of appealing from the National Labor Relations Board to the National Industrial Board in the Jennings case.

The NRA made history in this downstate appeal. Never before has a national board decision been referred to a code industrial board.

A Division of Labor

The NRA office memorandum setting up the procedure for Blue Eagle matching from recalcitrant employers, dated Dec. 4, the day after the first Jennings decision—the day Donald Richberg demanded that the case be reopened—reads:

"An interchange of letters between officials in NRA and the National Labor Relations Board, worked out a division of labor between these organizations in respect to compliance with decisions of the National Labor Relations Board. This memorandum is being distributed for information of the organization. The agreement follows:

"1. In the normal case where the National Labor Relations Board finds a violation of section 7-A and the company, within the time allowed, is not restored, it is the duty of the National Labor Relations Board to refer the case to the National Industrial Board for restoration.

"2. In the normal case if, after the employer's Blue Eagle or other NRA insignia has been removed because of violation of section 7-A, the employer petitions for restoration thereof, the petition will be referred to the National Labor Relations Board for consideration.

"3. Whenever for any reason the NRA Compliance Division believes that in a particular case there is reason not to follow the procedure outlined above, a joint conference will be arranged between the Compliance Division and the National Labor Relations Board for a discussion of the matter, it being understood that so long as the responsibility for the removal of the Blue Eagle or other NRA insignia remains with the Compliance Division, the ultimate decision with respect to its removal and restoration must remain with such division."

One Step Forward, But . . .

Dec. 28, several days after the 10 days had elapsed in which the San Francisco Call-Bulletin was ordered to reinstate Jennings, the NLRB sent the file to the NRA Compliance Division with a request for removal of the Blue Eagle. Dec. 27 the NLRB issued a press release so stating.

The press release announcing the unprecedented decision to refer the case to the newspaper

Guild Seeks \$45 Minimum for News Men; Asks National Five Day Week in Code Plan

A 5-day, 40-hour week and a minimum wage of \$45 for all newspaper men throughout the country, except learners and copy boys, are proposed in the program developed by the American Newspaper Guild for submission to the hearing on the Newspaper Code, and which will be submitted at the hearing arranged for Jan. 17 in Washington.

This is the first time the national Guild has taken an official stand on wages and most of the other points represented in the program.

The plan, presentation of which is held up pending settlement of the Guild's dispute with the NRA, was drawn as a substitute for Article IX of the code, which the publishers were required to submit after a survey of present hours and wages in the industry. Under the Guild program, the average economic level of newspaper men and women all over the country would be lifted and conditions of employment would be made more attractive.

The proposal follows:

Text of Program

The Guild's substitute for proposed Article IX of the code follows:

Section 1. Publishers shall not work any news day except on a seven-day period, nor shall the board be issued by the NRA Dec. 28. It said:

"The National Industrial Recovery Board today announced it will ask the recommendation of the National Labor Relations Board on the Dean S. Jennings case before acting on the request of the National Labor Relations Board for restoration of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin's Blue Eagle.

"The Newspaper Industrial Board, composed of eight members, one half representing publishers and the other half representing newspaper workers, is the agency created by the National Labor Relations Board for the handling of labor disputes.

That Gentlemen's Agreement

"A recently published agreement between the NRA and the National Labor Relations Board provided that while in all ordinary instances of Blue Eagle removal under section 7-A, the NRA action would be taken automatically on recommendation of the Labor Board, in exceptional instances NRA would retain ultimate jurisdiction as to restoration.

Paragraph 3 of the memorandum quoted in the early part of this article says that in special cases, a joint conference will be held between the Compliance Division and NLRB. No such conference was held. Instead, in violation of its own agreement, NRA sent the case to the Newspaper Industrial Board at once and directly.

The first sentence of the NRA press release of Dec. 29 says that the National Industrial Recovery Board announced that it would ask the recommendation of the National Labor Relations Board in the Jennings case.

Board Not Asked

The board did no such thing. The question was not propounded to the board, and the board had no opportunity to consider the action. There are labor representatives on that board. Someone else sent the case to the Newspaper Industrial Board.

This action of the NRA, it is believed here, may prove a boomerang. It is inconceivable that the Newspaper Industrial Board can agree on even a remote approach to consideration of and recommendation in the Jennings case. If it does not, it is likely to spell the doom of that board, for it will be proof of the failure of the Newspaper Industrial Board to function of the National Labor Relations Board in assuming jurisdiction in the Jennings case.

A protest against the reference of the Jennings case to the Newspaper Industrial Board has been made to President Roosevelt in a telegram by C. M. Baker, first vice-president of the International Typographical Union. The telegram said:

"The International Typographical Union protests any extension of jurisdiction of Newspaper Industrial Board established under the provisions of the Code for the Daily Newspaper and urges that the decision of the National Labor Relations Board be maintained."

On the same date, Dec. 27, a formal notice of the hearing went out over Harriman's signature.

Call Delayed Two Weeks by Tate Tactics

Word 'Opportunity' Used to Disguise Real Nature of Invitation to ANG

WASHINGTON.—The public hearing by the NRA on wages and hours of newspaper workers under the Newspaper Code will be resumed Jan. 17 at 10 a. m. in the Pan American room of the Mayflower Hotel here to allow the American Newspaper Guild to present its arguments.

Gustav Peck, deputy NRA administrator and assistant to Administrative Officer W. A. Harriman, will be associated with Acting Divisional Administrator Jack B. Tate in presiding over the hearing.

This adjourned session was arranged after the Labor Advisory Board of NRA had concerned itself with the Guild's walkout at the original hearing Dec. 5, basing that action on the charge that the trial was biased in favor of the publishers, as evidenced by what took place in the Jennings case.

Invitation Authorized

By agreement between Harriman and Sidney Hillman, who is a member of the Labor Advisory Board, and also of the National Industrial Recovery Board which now governs NRA, the Labor Advisory Board was authorized to invite the Guild back into the hearing.

The NRA ran true to form in that, after the invitation to return was extended and accepted, two weeks of delays ensued. It appeared that the Tate alone was responsible.

The Labor Advisory Board extended the invitation to a resumed hearing Dec. 14, when Robert M. Buck, Guild Regional vice president, appeared before the board to set forth the Guild's position. He accepted it for the Guild with the understanding that there would promptly be a press release.

No press release was forthcoming for six days and when it did come, Dec. 20, it described a letter to Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary of the Guild, inviting him to a "conference," not a hearing, and with no mention of Peck's participation.

Tate, who signed the letter, explained subsequently that his invitation was to a "post-hearing conference," such as follows every wage hearing. It was not until a week later that he could be made to recognize the terms agreed to by Harriman, his boss.

A new press release issued Dec. 27 named Peck and in an uncharacteristic manner called the proceeding a hearing, but still larded with words in such a way as to conceal the real nature of the invitation. It described it as an "opportunity" for the Guild.

Second Release

The text of the second release follows:

"An opportunity will be given the American Newspaper Guild on Jan. 17, 1935, to present data on wages, hours and working conditions in the newspaper publishing industry for use in connection with proposed wage and hour amendments to the code."

"The Administrative Officer has delegated Dr. Gustav Peck . . . to represent him in association with the deputy administrator in charge of the code who will preside at the hearing."

"On Dec. 5, a hearing was held by Deputy Administrator Jack B. Tate to secure data upon which to base a determination relating to the proposed wage and hour amendments. At this time, representatives of the American Newspaper Publishers Association presented a wage study, but because of the withdrawal of Guild representatives no wage study was made by this group."

"On the same date, Dec. 27, a formal notice of the hearing went out over Harriman's signature."

questions arising as result of application to the Code. Protest assumption of jurisdiction over cases resulting from violation of Section 7-A of National Industrial Relations Act and urge National Labor Relations Board exercise jurisdiction over all 7-A cases. Have petitioned National Labor Relations Board.

The stand taken by the International Typographical Union is similar to that contained in a telegram dispatched to President Roosevelt previously by Haywood Brown and Jonathan Eddy in behalf of the American Newspaper Guild.

On the same date, Dec. 27, a formal notice of the hearing went out over Harriman's signature.

Employers Told How to Fight Employees, Organized or Not

'Labor Relations Bulletin' Outlines Procedure to Offset Collective Bargaining Pressure

The "Labor Relations Bulletin," issued by the National Association of Manufacturers to tell employers how to fight organized labor and organize company unions, in a recent issue presented a suggested procedure for employers harried by collective bargaining pressure.

Much of this suggested procedure has been encountered by the Guild in their attempts to bargain collectively with publishers. The procedure is as follows:

"Until a judicial interpretation has been rendered, it is suggested that an employer meet a representative or representatives of employees without questioning as to the identity of principals provided only he is sure the persons presenting themselves do represent some employees. It is also recommended that employers continue to deal with employees individually or through representatives. Such dealing with it is felt, eliminate to a considerable extent the filing of complaints with labor boards for violations of Section 7-A for alleged failure to bargain with employee representatives and also the possibility of holding elections and the raising of the question of majority rule."

Should Avoid Commitments

"A. When approached for an agreement the employer should make no commitments until he has time to give careful consideration to the proposal submitted, thus preventing any claim of not acting in good faith. Employer should keep in mind that he cannot be compelled by law to make any agreement with the union as such."

"B. If a written agreement is submitted, then an employer, to show his good faith, should take time to study it before answering, and thus be prepared to make reply to each point. If any point of agreement is reached, a written contract should be avoided."

"C. When an employer has answered a complaint by correspondence he may receive a letter from the board stating that such a method is unsatisfactory and that a personal appearance should be made before the board. It is suggested that the employer reply by letter explaining that he sees no necessity for a hearing since his previous letter or letters have given all the facts of the case."

"D. Next the board will probably ask the employer to state the employer's position definitely in writing. It can be done by a statement of policy placed on the bulletin boards, or by a letter to all the employees."

"E. A complete memorandum of all conferences held, giving dates, parties present and subjects discussed should be kept for future evidence to answer possible complaints before the labor board."

"F. In event of a finding which the employer is unjust or unwarranted, he may deem it advisable to confer with the Regional Board representative without a previous appointment, or let the matter be referred to the National Board. It is preferable to try to settle the matter without reference to the National Board."

"G. In case of reference to the National Board, the course of action to be taken should depend upon the circumstances presented. If the National Board finally renders an unfavorable decision, then future action is a question of policy for the employer to determine in the light of competent advice as to his legal rights."

Alternative Action Outlined

"Again let us emphasize the fact that if the loss of the Blue Eagle or the fear of prosecution is an important consideration, a different course is indicated from the one set forth above. In such a case it may be advisable to agree to an appearance before the board. If a favorable decision is obtained the matter will probably be closed at this point."

The memorandum advises employers to ignore, in practice, the NLRB's ruling that the representatives chosen by a majority of employees shall bargain collectively for all. With regard to company unions, it says:

"An employer must avoid doing anything to unduly influence his employees in self-organization, which might be construed as coercion, interference, or restraint. He may, of course, advise with his employees, especially if they come to him for suggestions."

The memorandum says, in its conclusion:

"It should be emphasized that the employer possesses certain definite legal rights which have been but little affected or modified by the NRA and which, Dec. 27, 1934, he was advised to exercise (to that of investigating the facts at issue and the rendering of find-

N. Y. to Push Legal Reforms For Employees

Legislative Program in Nation and State Is Adopted by Guild

A program of legislation recommended for the Guild to press at Washington and at the New York State capital, Albany, was submitted to the Representative Assembly of the New York Guild on December 28 by its legislative committee. The program was adopted in its entirety by the Assembly on January 9 after being held over for a session to enable the delegates to study it. The gist of the report follows:

The committee is of the opinion:

"That a large section of industry and business is seeking to destroy the general costs of government as possible under the National Industrial Recovery Act."

"That it is seeking a governmental benediction for company unions. That it is seeking to outlaw strikes."

"That it is seeking to saddle the costs of relief and as much of the cost of government as possible upon low-income groups, including newspaper workers."

"That it is striving to have relief payments set so low that the vast body of unemployed, to avoid starvation, will be anxious to obtain work at any price and so will be used to beat down the wage levels of moneyed classes and to defeat strikes."

"As a specific legislation, the committee recommends, as a partial program, that the Guild work for the following:

At Washington:

"(1) A reinstatement in law, outside of the NRA (so that they will apply to all industries, whether coded or not), of labor's rights, in the event of a finding of unfair labor practices, and the method of enforcement. The new law or laws should include:

"A guarantee in full of labor's rights of collective bargaining, with a definition of collective bargaining to the end that signed contracts may be the final fact."

"A prohibition of the company union, a clear-cut prohibition of it, and a provision that the existence of company unions shall be prima facie evidence of compulsion on the part of the employer."

"A specific prohibition of yellow-dog contracts."

"A prohibition against the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes without hearing, and for a jury trial in all cases of alleged violations of the new law."

"Clarification of the powers of the National Labor Relations Board to the end that employer-controlled industrial boards may not defeat the rights of labor by the issuance of company unions."

"A provision granting specific indemnity to an employee discharged by labor organization activity, which he may choose in preference to reinstatement with back pay."

"A provision that when an employer pleads financial inability to meet a proposal or proposal of employees, during collective bargaining, his books shall be open to all parties concerned when requested either by National Labor Relations Board or the labor organization involved."

"A provision that any governmental agency, investigating or charged with determining hours, wages and working conditions, shall have free access to complete data on employment, wages, profits, production, income, costs and whatever other data it finds necessary or desirable."

"(2) A law making available to labor organizations and to newspaper workers all governmental records, including those on incomes, containing any data that might be of help to labor in collective bargaining."

At Albany:

"(1) The enactment of state legislation to include as many as possible of the foregoing provisions and, in addition, a specific prohibition against the issuance of injunctions or restraining orders in labor disputes without hearing, and a provision for jury trials in all cases of alleged contempt of whatever law."

"During the discussion in the Representative Assembly regret was expressed that the Guild lacked a national legislative committee to coordinate the activities of local Guild legislative committees."

Labor Support in Oakland Fight Depends on Stand of Printers

Sympathetic Resolution Will Give Free Hand to Central Body to Call Boycott

(Continued from Page One)

Council voted condemning the Knowland stand on the Guild, but an amendment tabled a boycott move pending contact by William Spooner, council secretary, with Knowland to attempt an adjustment of the Guild controversy.

Action Awaited Printers

Knowland is generally known to be antagonistic to labor, and Spooner was authorized to proceed with the ultimatum, but he held up such action until the East Bay Cities Allied Printing Trades Council could register its attitude on the boycott.

Spooner's referring of the matter to the printers came about when a question arose as to the right of the Labor Council to declare an official boycott while the mechanical unions were under contract in the plant. Knowland was expected to try to influence the printing trades to oppose the boycott.

The executive council of the San Francisco Musicians Union has already been addressed by Redfern Mason, 21 years a music critic on The Examiner. Mason recently left the Examiner when, immediately after he was elected to succeed, as Examiner chapter chairman, Louis Burgess, fired for the same reason last spring, he was contemptuously removed from his music job and told he could write hotel items as he pleased.

The two other meetings to be addressed were a general meeting of the far-famed San Francisco local of the International Longshoremen's Association and a similar meeting in San Francisco of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, also a prominent organization in last summer's fight for better conditions on the waterfront.

Each Guild speaker is instructed to make a strong plea for understanding by labor union men of the position of the newspaper reporter and cameraman during industrial strife as mere wage workers under orders from employers and not responsible for a paper's policy or butchery of news.

An aid to newspaper organization, it was to be suggested that in any question of cooperation with newspapermen at work, union men should at least make it a point to ask a showing of Guild card.

Regional Board Won't Touch Coast Cases

SAN FRANCISCO.—A dispatch from this city in the January 1 issue of the Guild Reporter reported that the Tribune firing case had been filed with the Regional Labor Board. As a matter of fact, only an attempt to file the case could be made, since the board informed the Guild attorney, Henry Robinson, that it had been instructed to refer such cases henceforth to the Newspaper Industrial Board.

The cases therefore were sent on to the ANG headquarters for advice and an effort to get them before the National Labor Relations Board.

The status of the contemplated charges against the Examiner in the case of Redfern Mason, prominent music critic relieved of his critic's duties, is much the same. The delay and furor over the Jennings case has interfered with speedier procedure in new cases.

Attorney Robinson, who fought the Burgess case and still is fighting it and who fought the Jennings case to a showdown, is a member of a distinguished San Francisco law firm. "Hank" has been on call to the shoving aside at any moment night or day of his regular work in a busy practice—for Guild work for many months. He has served without pay.

Severance Pay

"2.—As an alternative to reinstatement of these men, if you do not desire to order it, or if any of them do not desire to accept it in view of the trouble they have had with you, that you pay them . . . severance pay of eight weeks for Ward, five weeks for Scofield and seven weeks for Vaughn, exclusive of whatever severance pay they may already have received."

(Scofield is now on the Sacramento Bee. Ward is bailiff of the State Supreme Court. Vaughn was recently reported about to start on an SERRA library project. Each man received some two weeks severance pay when fired.)

Reinstatement

"3.—That in meeting either of the above conditions, you agree to deal directly with the Newspaper Guild of the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan District or its designated agents, whether or not any of them are employed by you, and recognize the Guild's right to represent in collective bargaining whatever number of your employees it shall be attested by R. C. Wagnat, director of the San Francisco Regional Labor Board, have from time to time chosen the Guild to represent them; and that until such time as a definite collective bargaining program is presented to you by the Guild on behalf of any of your employees, the names of Guild members on your staff shall not be required by you, but on the word of Wagnat that such members exist you agree to and do recognize and discuss with a Guild committee any and all matters concerning the Guild which the Guild shall feel it necessary to discuss with you."

Only a Personal Invitation

(Knowland has refused to talk with a Guild committee as such, has offered to talk with "any of my own employees" who wish to be heard from in his den—a venture none has attempted, the chapter having been but 22 men of some 60 on the editorial payroll when the blow fell after only a few weeks of beginning organization.)

"4.—That you post conspicuously . . . in the Tribune city room a notice to your employees that honor forth they are accorded their full rights under Section 7-A of the National Labor Relations Act and that they are to be treated as individuals and not as a group, and that you agree to and do recognize and discuss with a Guild committee any and all matters concerning the Guild which the Guild shall feel it necessary to discuss with you."

Musicians' Union Contacted

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SUPPORT

The Newark Strike!

Workers' Parley Pledges Mass Effort to Support Guild

40 States Send Delegates to Security Parley

Session Demands Administration Pass Lundeen Job Bill Promptly

(Continued from Page One)

wages, but shall in no case be less than \$10 per week plus \$3 for each dependent." Those working on part time would receive the difference between their earnings and the average local wage for full-time employment. In case of a rise in the cost of living, the minimum compensation would be increased proportionately.

This compensation provision is based on the theory that the nation has sufficient productive capacity and physical requirements to provide a living wage for all, and that as unemployment in the vast majority of cases is not the fault of the individual, but of the economic system, the individual should not be penalized for it.

Millions Represented

The bill also provides payments for old age, sickness, maternity and industrial injury. The crux of the measure is that its cost shall be paid by the Government and the necessary taxation levied on inheritances, gifts and incomes of \$5,000 a year or more.

Delegates, estimated unofficially as representing some 8,000,000 workers (tabulation was going on as this issue went to press), provided a dynamic cross-section of the manual and professional workers of the country. For the first time in this country, professional workers lined up with other workers in a common cause.

Varied Sponsors

This is what Guild delegates saw and heard:

Before a sentimental stage backdrop of a palatial manor, and beneath a great congress banner that read "We Unite in a Determined Fight for Genuine Unemployment Insurance at the Expense of Government and Employers," sat sponsors ranging from ministers to strike leaders.

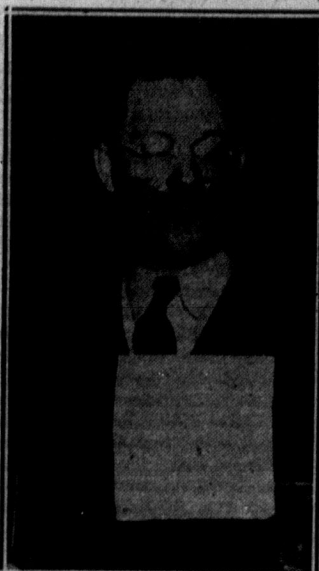
The sponsors, not all of whom were present, covered as broad a scope as these names picked at random from the program: Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Herbert Benjamin, National Unemployment Council; Alfred M. Bingham, editor of "Common Sense"; Harry Bridges, president of San Francisco local, International Longshoremen's Association; Prof. Paul Brissenden, Columbia University; Heywood Brown, who could not attend; Malcolm Cowley, editor of "New Republic"; Lem Harris, Farmers' National Committee for Action; T. Arnold Hill, National Urban League; Corliss Lamont, author; Jules Korchien, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; John F. Sloan, United Mine Workers; Alfred Winters, American Association of Social Workers.

Backgrounds Differ, Too

The delegates were as varied in background as they were united in support of the Lundeen bill. The first man in from California had made his way, and had to get back, on a total amounting only to \$10. Ed Smith, a tall, lanky, Wyoming rancher wearing khaki and corduroy and fleece-lined windbreaker, rolled up, with five Denver delegates, in a homestead shack on wheels. Their cupboard had been filled with fried chicken and pie made by Smith's mother; baked beans from Denver. Frank Kidneigh, gray-haired, eagle-faced boiler maker from Denver, Socialist and A.F. of L. organizer for 35 years, came in Smith's "home."

Neighbors of an Ohio farmer, minus funds to come to the Con-

Foster Father



—John Mills Photo
Elmer Brown, of the typographical union, aided Guild delegates. He said, "We printers feel the Guild is our stepchild."

gress, raffled off a pig to raise the necessary money.

Broadus Mitchell, Socialist, handsome and urbane, came from Johns Hopkins University with a stock of funny stories and an eloquent appeal for a united front for social insurance.

Mary Van Kleeck, chairman of the Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance, director of social studies at Russell Sage Foundation, had her Colonial Dames membership card next to her honorary membership in the Unemployment Council.

Marc Connelly sent a wire generally supporting the Congress. John Howard Lawson, Mathew Josephson, William Rollins, Henry Hart, Michael Gold, Nathan Asche, Michael Blankfort, Paul Sklar were among writers at the Congress.

From the country at large there were weather-beaten farmers, factory-pale workers; big-muscled steel workers; sallow miners; bow-legged cowboys; broad-minded longshoremen; the bearded architect, the suave professor, the fact-filled social worker, the pretty stenographer, the teacher.

Elmer Brown, red-haired printer, master of Roberts rules of order, officially national chairman of the Amalgamation Party of the International Typographical Union, opened the meeting, and as chairman held that varied and militant crowd in remarkable order.

Benjamin Keynote

Benjamin keynoted the convention with an ironic picture of the country, dominated by President Roosevelt's "genial smile"—a picture that showed 5,000,000 more on relief than at the lowest point of the economic crisis, and in New York City one person dying of hunger every 12½ days.

Miss Van Kleeck analyzed the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill as "the first national expression of a people's movement for security." She said, "The American people, and especially the workers, have been drawing together during these years of insecurity and distress—and the basis is thereby laid for united action in which workers in the professions shall contribute out of their technical knowledge to make this movement sound for the development of the United States."

"An increasing number of professional workers and technicians are ready to place at the disposal of the organized labor movement not only the technical, professional and scientific knowledge which is needed for the solution of the nation's problems, but also the devotion and loyalty of a group to a movement, which in all history is alone the source of progressive

Newspapermen Carry Message Of Guild to Security Congress

Guild Members, Working With Professions, Get Backing for Free Press and Honest Reporting

WASHINGTON.—For the first time in the history of the American Newspaper Guild, its members took an active part—rather than only a reportorial interest—in cooperation with professional and manual workers from all fields, in a broad symposium on social ills, the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

Two newspapermen, Lucien Zacharoff and Edward Adolphe, represented the New York Guild. Evelyn Seeley, also of New York, attended as a deputized delegate for District 12, the West Coast. Many other Guild members attended as delegates for other organizations, or as working newspapermen.

Guild Strikes Indorsed

The principle achievement by Guild delegates was passage of a resolution indorsing Guild-sponsored strikes and boycotts and of "any other means the American Newspaper Guild is now using or may at any time use to uphold its right to bargain collectively and to obtain true freedom of the press." By this resolution the 2,600 delegates bound themselves to seek for the Guild the active moral and financial support of their respective organizations. Specifically, they would refuse to buy newspapers the Guild might be fighting and to patronize the advertisers in such publications.

Later in the session, Zacharoff explained to the delegates the peculiarities of newspaper strikes, pointing out that complete stoppage of production is impossible

social change."

Representative Ernest Lundeen, Farmer-Labor, of Minnesota, bald, kindly, quizzical, talked of his bill and told of the new "gag" rule Congress had just passed that will make it necessary to work even harder for the bill.

"We must see to it," declared Lundeen, "that workers' organizations everywhere demand this bill—and then the 'gag' rule don't matter. I come from the little Congress to the big congress. If those fellows on Capitol Hill don't carry out your wishes and keep their promises to you, send them home and fill their places with men who will."

Leo Linder, New York attorney, spoke in detail on the constitutionality of the bill, a fact its enemies dispute. Prof. Dorothy Douglas, of Smith College, analyzed the British system of unemployment insurance as more generous than anything the American government ever has proposed, but still inadequate to support life and giving no share in its administration to the unemployed.

Picture of Realism

A procession of delegates spoke for their organizations, giving a picture of the whole country its various occupational types and their problems, hard to excel in realism and color. There was the lone delegate from Oregon, the little share-cropper from Virginia, who lost his mules to the mortgage company, and his ability to work the land to the "fellow who came along with a fine wagon and a pair of mules." There was Mother Bloor, veteran revolutionist and young-looking at 72, who brought the great Congress to its feet in enthusiasm for her and her words against war.

Delegates representing 867 trade union organizations, including 300 representatives of A.F. of L. unions; 202 of professional groups, and farmers representing many groups, passed resolutions indorsing the Workers' Bill and pledging support toward its enactment.

as long as a publisher has at his disposal hand-outs, wire services and a single "scab" copyreader.

In the caucus of "professional and expert" workers, the Guild delegates set forth the Guild's principles, achievements and difficulties to a group possessing vocations and social positions similar to those of Guild members.

The delegates shared the belief that even a loose form of affiliation with professional persons would be an asset and decided to propose to their respective Guilds and to the American Newspaper Guild that they immediately join the Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance. The aim of the association, it was explained, is a general betterment of professional status, considering social insurance in its broadest meaning.

The professional caucus adopted a program calling for participation in workers' attempts in the direction of social insurance and pledged the professionals' social and technical position to furthering the aims of the Congress. Adolphe opposed an implication

in the latter part of the program, which had been drawn up by a committee lacking newspaper representation, that professionals in a "strategic position" would attempt to obtain space in the press for social insurance propaganda. He pointed out that the Guild to commit itself in this way would imply that its members were ready to color the news. Zacharoff also took exception to the expression. He denied that professionals could obtain newspaper space merely through their positions.

The phrase was deleted and the group went on record in support of honest reporting.

Two Guild delegates were elected later to a new editorial committee, which revised the caucus's program slightly before it was presented to the Congress.

Hit "Fabrication" Charge

Otherwise, the Guild delegates adopted the role of observers, except in supporting all action in behalf of the Lundeen bill and in maintaining a watch for matters affecting the freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Adolphe refrained from voting on a resolution condemning the Dickstein investigation of un-American activities. Zacharoff and Miss Seeley were absent.

Zacharoff subsequently attacked a statement made from the floor expressing the belief that reporters habitually and intentionally fabricated.

Building: Walking in Fear Cajolery—Tactics

By JONATHAN EDDY

(Continued from Page One)

clusion that the attitude of the management was colored and effected by an anti-Guild bias. . . . The whole procedure might be characterized as a more artful technique than the first impulse of the publisher to "fire the whole staff."

The "artful technique" has as many variations as there are managements with the "anti-Guild bias." The readers of certain "liberal" and "impartial" metropolitan dailies would be intrigued by knowledge of how their news gatherers and writers are cajoled and bulldozed out of their interests, both professional and economic.

Tactics

Another angle of the "technique" adumbrated in the Jennings decision has to do with getting rid of a wobbling organization while the getting is good. The executive in this case has read the law or, has been advised and accordingly merely announces that he sees no need for a Guild.

He looks about for some Guild officer of the type that can be counted upon to accept any statement from a superior as disinterested and oracular and who will be flattered to be treated as a confidant and equal by the big boss. Thus there filters through the "impartial" opinion that the management does not care whether there is a Guild or not, and that it simply is not wanted by the men.

This attitude is built up by the arguments publicized in the publishers' trade organ—the Guild is a vertical union because we enroll all editorial department employees; the Guild is too militant, the Guild is dying out; Roosevelt was going to ask for the five-day week anyway, the Guild's demands that the management follow the request only made the publisher mad—HE was going to give it to us anyway.

But such an "artful technique" proves inadequate when the Guild is growing constantly in numbers and "solidarity" elsewhere in the same city and throughout the country. Then the management's "anti-Guild bias" takes on a more direct form. On one hand the management fosters the company un-

ion idea (that is, the idea that the superior men in the company concerned have fundamentally different problems and should therefore sever themselves from their fellows elsewhere); while on the other hand anyone who shows signs of leadership in the organization is made conscious of being "on the spot." The routine of home life is broken up by a series of strange assignments at unpredictable hours; the boss wise-cracks about the Guild; he confronts the culprit with the fact that he is on some Guild committee, and the point goes home without need for incriminating embellishment.

Or, if certain groups or departments of the staff have shown leadership, they are attended to separately before the staff as a whole has come to understand their protective strength as a unit—a number of men not too obviously identified with the Guild are fired in a "readjustment," another group is suddenly required to account in writing for every half-hour of working time.

And there is spread quietly where it will be most effective a sense of insecurity; if not in one's job itself then in the chances of getting good assignments and advancement. "Interference, restraint or coercion . . . in concerted activities?" Heaven forbid so outrageous an accusation! Nobody was fired in the Jennings case. But, dipping again into the decision:

"In the end, all but four of more than 40 employees of the Call-Bulletin withdrew from the Guild, and the chapter was pretty well broken up. The law in the matter is clear. . . . It is a question of fact, and the fact is the motive of responsible officials who acted in the matter. Evidently they had no use for the Guild."

The other side of the case was presented by the management with the aid of extremely expensive legal talent. Chairman Biddle of the NLRB was not gullible and neither are most newspapermen. The Call-Bulletin situation appears in a hundred variations, some of them mild, some flagrant, all of them interesting.

SUPPORT
The Newark Strike!