

For the Fourth
Estate

The Guild Reporter

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To a Friend

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Vol. II.—No. 7

NEW YORK, MARCH 15, 1935

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NRA Assails Press Board For Inactivity

**Harriman Rebukes Kelly,
Demands Quick Action
to Create New Setup**

Failure of the Newspaper Industrial Board to accede to the requests of the NRA to revise itself so as to handle 7-A cases in an equitable manner is criticized by W. A. Harriman, administrator, in a letter written on March 6 to Harvey J. Kelly, head of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association's standing committee, and chairman of the NIB. The letter followed a Chicago meeting of the board at which proposals by Jonathan Eddy, Guild executive secretary, to bring about adequate reforms were voted down by the publisher members almost without discussion.

The NRA, in response to complaints by the Guild, had offered to pay the salary and expenses of a government official who would serve as impartial chairman and had suggested that copies of the transcripts be made available without cost to labor members of the board as well as to publishers, for whom the Code Authority supplies transcripts.

Cites New Responsibility
Rebuking the board, Mr. Harriman remarked that since President Roosevelt's intervention in the Jennings case the NRA "has felt more responsible than ever for the proper functioning of the NIB."

The text of the letter follows: "On February 6, 1935, Division Administrator Tate forwarded his comments on the conference between members of the Newspaper Industrial Board and several officials of the National Recovery Administration with suggestions for a procedure to facilitate the prompt and fair handling of cases brought before it.

"I have been discussing the matter with Mr. Tate and Mr. Peck and they have furnished me with a summary of the minutes of your last meeting. Frankly, I do not find in those discussions a grappling with the central difficulty experienced by the Newspaper Industrial Board.

"As you know, the officials of the National Recovery Administration who attended the conference with the members of your board were under the impression that the board would proceed at once to the completion of its panel of impartial chairmen. It appears that certain inconclusive steps in this direction were taken at your recent meeting.

Can't Understand Year's Inaction
"It is difficult for us to understand why, after almost a year, this panel should remain incomplete. Whatever differences of opinion may exist between the members of the board, it would seem that their community of interest would be sufficient to permit the conclusion of this responsibility.

"Since the issue of the letter by the President, concerning the matter of jurisdiction between the Newspaper Industrial Board and the National Labor Relations Board, the NRA has naturally felt more responsible than ever for the proper functioning of the NIB. As you know, one of the great sources of dissatisfaction has been the deadlocking of the board on fundamental matters, including even the question as to what may be submitted to the ninth member. The minutes of the last meeting of your board do not

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Wise Men Organize, Guild's Foes Admit

SAN FRANCISCO.—In an editorial, the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, the paper which fired Dean S. Jennings for attending the 1934 Guild convention and therefore broke up a Guild unit (since reorganized) says the following:

"Wise men are wise. They are well organized. The wise men of California are convinced that they can achieve no stability in their industry without organization. They must be intelligently united for their own interest."

Akron Presses For Contracts With 2 Papers

**Beacon Journal Would
Sign 'Mutually Satisfactory' Pact**

AKRON, Ohio.—The Akron Newspaper Guild, which claims to be one of the strongest organizations in the country, is now negotiating with the Beacon Journal and the Times Press for contracts.

Negotiations, in the hands of a committee of four, have been progressing in the Beacon Journal offices several weeks. A contract, presented to the Times Press editor a few days ago, must be taken up with the general offices of the Scripps-Howard organization in New York.

Promises Contract
John S. Knight, editor of the Beacon Journal, promised at the last meeting to sign a contract when a mutually satisfactory agreement was reached, and the Akron Guild considers that promise an important victory. Knight made other minor concessions, and negotiations will continue apace.

The Guild negotiating committee is headed by B. E. Malden-burg and Harold J. Taylor, of the Beacon Journal; and Ray C. Sut-liff and Paul W. Van Camp, of the Times Press.

During the Beacon Journal negotiations, Robert Stopher, copy desk chief, and Lynn Holcomb, assistant city editor, were called in as non-speaking observers.

Ask Wage Increases
Concessions made to the Guild by the managements haven't been startling, but it is the consensus of the committee that a bit more dickering will bring forth a mutually agreeable contract. The managements of both newspapers have been extra-liberal in the way of vacations, sick benefits, insurance and so forth.

The committee has decided that the next major point to be brought

(Continued on Page Two)

Writ Gags Newark Strike; Guild to Challenge Ruling

**Wholesale Arrests for Defiance
Held the Way to Beat Injunction**

Guild leaders are determined to smash the injunction against the Newark Ledger strike. They declare that to fail to disregard its sweeping prohibitions would mean the betrayal of the strike.

In vigorous statements the Guild leaders pointed out as soon as the injunction was issued that it was a last-stand effort of publisher Lucius Russell, taken when his whole procession of legal and extra-legal weapons had failed him. It is the strongest weapon an employer has to wield, they remarked, but also a weapon that has aroused

bitter antagonism on the part of organized labor and much of the public.

The fact that Russell is willing to risk the good relations with local unions, which he has sought hard to obtain and hold, is regarded as a sign that every other means of defeating the strike has failed him. While the injunction is a hard blow and will impose a severe test on the strikers and their loyal allies throughout the country, Guild leaders point out that it is the greatest tribute that could be paid

(Continued on Page Two)

**Court Halts Anti-Ledger
Pickets, Bans Reporter
in Sweeping Order**

**Broun Wins Wagner
to a Federal Inquiry**

**Asks Labor Committee to
Visit Scene; Will Risk
Jail in Test Case**

A temporary injunction restraining all Newark Ledger strike activity was obtained on March 7 by trustees of the Newark Ledger from the New Jersey Court of Chancery. Its permanence will be argued March 19 before Vice-Chancellor Maja Leon Barry, who issued the injunction. The writ enjoins the ANG, the Newark Guild, Ledger strikers and sympathizers from "molesting" present employees of the Ledger, from using all forms of picketing and boycott, from distributing handbills and "flysheets," including the Guild Reporter and the Reporter of the Newark Guild, and from "threats of violence and insults, annoying language" in any broadcasting device.

Order Served on Broun
Copies of the order were served at Newark headquarters, 78 Bank street, Newark, at 9:30 p. m. by two constables and Paul Smith, managing editor of the Ledger. It caused immediate cessation of normal strike activities.

Heywood Broun, ANG president, was served soon afterwards, as he stepped out of a taxi in front of strike headquarters, and immediately characterized the writ as "one of the most sweeping anti-labor injunctions ever issued in America."

Broun said that the order restraining the ANG from using its national organ, denying strikers the use of offices rented as a headquarters, and prohibiting the Guild going on the radio to state its case to the general public restrains "freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of the air."

"It may be stated here and now," he said, "that American newspapermen have not the slightest intention of respecting such a tyrannical injunction."

Senator Wagner Promises Aid
Broun sent to Senator Robert P. Wagner in Washington the following telegram:

"American Newspaper Guild requests that Senate committee considering your labor board bill send a subcommittee in conformity with recognized senatorial practice to Newark to examine into newspaper strike and existing injunction. The injunction by Judge Barry goes beyond all other labor injunctions by even endeavoring to control distribution of newspapers and use of radio. This situation in our opinion is direct result of the President's letter upsetting the Jennings decision after two hearings and two victories for the Guild. Subcommittee of the Senate committee, on one-day trip, can get more real evidence on subject matter of your proposed legislation than in three weeks of hearings in Washington."

Senator Wagner immediately telegraphed the following reply:

"I am not a member of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor which will hold hearings on my bill, but I am going to take up immediately with the committee through its chairman the suggestion which you have made in your wire as I think that your idea is an excellent one. I suggest also that you get in touch directly with Senator

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Labor to Meet With N. Y. Guild In Mass Rally Protesting NRA

**Union Leaders From 4
Industries to Speak
With Broun, Eddy**

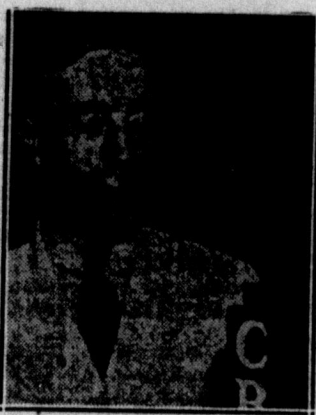
Spokesmen for organized employees in the textile, steel, automobile and newspaper industries will participate in a meeting of protest in New York against the employer bias of government boards established under NRA. The meeting was arranged by the Newspaper Guild of New York for Sunday afternoon, March 24, at St. Nicholas Palace, 69 W. 66th street.

The industries to be represented are those particularly hit by NRA decisions, in which the rights of employees have been over-ridden by the top machinery of NRA and in some cases by the President himself, it is announced by the committee.

Francis Gorman, vice-President of the United Textile Workers of America, and Charles Vigorito, president of the American Federation of Silk and Rayon Dyers, Local 1733, will represent the textile industry; William Spang, president of the Pittsburgh district, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the steel industry; Matthew Smith, general secretary of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the automobile industry; and Henry Berger, vice-president of the Patterson Typographical Union, and John Eddy, executive secretary of the American Newspaper Guild, the newspaper industry.

Professor George S. Counts, of

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Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers of America.

Guilds Formed In Connecticut, North Carolina

**Meriden Unit, With 15,
and Greensboro's 13
Apply for Charters**

New chapters of the American Newspaper Guild have been organized in Greensboro, N. C., and Meriden, Conn. Charter applications for both organizations have been received by the national head-

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Labor Injunctions Smashed by Mass Violations

By IRVING D. ROBBINS

The injunction sued out against the American Newspaper Guild in New Jersey Court of Chancery is one of the most sweeping issued against labor organizations in the forty-seven years since that weapon was first used by employers.

Some of the most notable victories of labor have been gained through hard-fought struggles in the face of injunctions. The organized trade union movement has learned through experience that the best way to defeat this infringement on the constitutional rights to assemble and speak like

free men is to violate the court order.

In 1888 during the early period of the development of the American Federation of Labor, when the struggle for the eight-hour day was gathering impetus, the employees of the English Springhead Spinning Company in Massachusetts went on strike for improved working conditions. After an effective strike and when it appeared that a favorable settlement was at hand, the strikers became non-plussed when served with an injunction which prohibited them from "displaying banners with de-

vices as a means of intimidation to prevent persons from entering into or continuing in the employment of the plaintiff." The strike was broken.

An injunction played an important role in the crushing of the Pullman strike of the American Railway Union in 1894. In addition to the calling out of Federal troops and the employment of lawless elements as strikebreakers, the arrest of Eugene V. Debs and other strike leaders for violation of an injunction did much to hamstring the walkout.

By 1897 American labor had

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The Guild Reporter

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Editor: Cyril Beale, The New York Times

Assistant Editors: Edward Adolph, The New York Herald Tribune

Irving D. Robbins, The New York Journal

Leon Swirsky, The New York World-Telegram

Staff: Benjamin Levine, Charles Calkins, Kenneth Howry,

John G. O'Brien, Morris Colman, Harry Raymond, Randle Fowley, Robert Stevens, Frank

Waters, Bernard Tassler, Daniel Schwartz,

Tim J. Sullivan, Jr., Elhu Joseph

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Russell Finds a Friend

The strike of the forty-three Newark Guild men and women to assert their right to bargain collectively has taken a dramatic turn. Lucius T. Russell and the two trustees who nominally replaced him, being slowly but surely overwhelmed, have sought and obtained the strong arm of governmental power.

The extraordinary injunction granted by Vice-Chancellor Barry not only prevents the striking pickets and their volunteer helpers from the streets, but also seeks to suppress the Guild Reporter, to shut the radio to the strikers and in all ways to silence their appeal to the public. This is a denial of the fundamental human rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

This is the medicine for the strikers—while the publisher, whose violation of the NIRA started the trouble, is allowed to go about the breaking of the strike unchallenged.

The consequences of such an order, if allowed to stand, would be certain. The brave group of Ledger workers would lose the fight they have so long fought; the Guild's first major effort to defend its fellow members would be defeated.

But the band of forty-three embattled Ledger employees, the Guild members from far and near who have fought beside them, the American Newspaper Guild itself are not alone in this battle. Organized labor and liberals of all shades have learned that injunctions are an intolerable invasion of the liberties of free men. They have learned that it, of all treacherous weapons, must be broken.

Publishers themselves have on occasion raised their voices against the labor injunction. In 1932 the New York World-Telegram, commenting on the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction bill, said: "At last victory is in sight for the man at the bottom of the ladder. The anti-injunction bill . . . will at least give him a fighting chance to obtain decent wages, decent working conditions and a decent sense of responsible manhood."

The American Newspaper Guild cannot submit. The fight will cost money. It will demand sacrifices by every Guildman. But it will enlist newspaper men and women not only in a crucial battle for their own welfare and for the improvement of their wages and working conditions, but also in a historic defense of human rights.

This is a landmark. The victory may come high. But no price can be too great.

The First Five

Today five newspapers in this country are published under Newspaper Guild contracts whereby all members of the city room-staffs except top executives must also be members of the Guild. These papers are the Philadelphia Record, the Madison, Wis., Times, the Madison State Journal, the Reading, Pa., Times and the Jewish Daily Bulletin of New York.

Despite the fact that publishers have been shouting to high heaven that Guild contracts would infringe upon the freedom of the press (whose freedom of the press?), no complaints have been heard along these lines from these papers since signing with the Guild. The "freedom of the press" smoke screen and the strange ideas broadcast by the business manager of the New York Herald Tribune, who is also head of

the reactionary American Newspaper Publishers' Association, to the effect that the Guild seeks to wrest control of the news from the newspaper owners, is exposed for what it is: worth by the peaceful functioning of these first contracts.

Still more significant is the fact that at least three American newspapers have decided that friendly relations with the Guild build reader confidence. These three are the Reading Times, the Eye Opener of Butte, Mont., and the Fair Dealer of Mishawaka and South Bend, Ind. The Reading paper plays up the fact that it employs "union labor" in its editorial department. It makes a general appeal to all classes of readers. The two general papers appeal chiefly to groups associated with the labor movement and are published in places where no Guild contract is practicable because of the absence of local Guilds. Their small staffs are enrolled directly in the national.

In the course of the protracted struggle on the Newark strike front, L. T. Russell made such vigorous attempts to obtain the union label, issued by the local Allied Printing Trades Council, that the Guild had to take the matter up with the international heads. As the Guild became better known to the reading public, the ANG seal of fairness will become more and more of an asset on the masthead of American newspapers. This imposes the gravest responsibility for fairness and honesty on news workers who are members of the Guild.

Brain Trusts for Guilds?

Obviously the fruit of a sincere desire to help the Guild, Samuel Freedman's letter, published in this issue, suggests what would turn out to be an undemocratic procedure.

The role of an appointed "brain trust," as he calls it, to do the thinking for the membership and its elected officers, is after all the role of leadership itself.

The committee method of working out specific problems, which is employed by all Guilds and units, is an essential device of democratic organizations, but leadership remains the role of the elected leaders. The necessity to thrash out questions in executive and membership meetings, though it may take time, remains the condition for the healthy existence of any democratic organization.

'Life Begins at \$40'

This is the title of an article by Chester M. Wright in a recent issue of Printers' Ink, organ of the advertising industry. It means what it says—that the American family cannot buy the basic necessities and begin really to live until it passes the income level of \$40 a week.

This was the conclusion also of the Brookings Institution, which made an exhaustive study of the matter. Its charts showed lines or blocks above the necessities level, marked savings and "other living." These items bound upward above the \$40-a-week line. For families with an income over \$4,000, "other living" constitutes three times the entire expenditures of the income groups from \$1,200 down.

This "other living," according to Wright, means the ability to buy good things—"the medium to fancy automobiles, the good and satisfying cuts of meat, the household labor-saving appliances," voyages on the Ile de France.

"It is only now and then that a Thoreau shows how to live without regard for cash," he says. "For the bulk of the population it is purchasing power that marks out the boundaries of life."

And it is only above \$40 that one can attain any degree of security through savings.

How many of us are "living"? The Brookings Institution found that at the height of "prosperity," in 1929, three American families out of five had an income of \$40 a week or less. One out of five got less than \$20 a week. One out of five got between \$20 and \$30. The 36,000 richest families, receiving more than \$75,000 a year each, had nearly as much as the lowest two-fifths of the population, 12,000,000 families.

The Guild survey last year showed the average newspaperman in the United States had to work twenty years to attain a salary of \$38 a week. The median wage for reporters was \$30.70.

"Printers' Ink is interested in this question because, as Wright says, 'life begins at \$40 and sales begin at that same point.' Real prosperity demands a cultural level of wages for the whole population, he says.

The American Newspaper Guild came into being so that newspapermen might begin to live. That is why it now proposes that the Newspaper Code guarantee to experienced editorial workers a minimum wage of \$45 a week.

An "Ivory Tower Movement"

WILL MORAL SUASION SOLVE GUILD PROBLEM?

Alexandria, Va.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Marion Pew has gone through labor pains (probably to continue for some time, to judge from his howls) and brought forth a plan for a newspaperman's organization which, like Castoria, will be harmful to none and soothing to all.

His article describing it in a recent Editor & Publisher was largely in reply to a request from me that he clear up his yague but positive ideas on trades-unionism.

Pew begins his sermon with the laudable idea that the principle of his organization would be to "advance, not degrade, journalism and journalists." To which the Guild has not as yet declared its opposition.

Moral Suasion

He says, "I would prescribe patterns of ethics, fair practices, eligibility, welfare and it would fix an economic program . . . and would induce publishers to accept its terms by force of moral suasion, by far more potent (when the element of mutual respect is present) than any system of boycott, strike or other form of compulsion."

This brings us to the point that

Mr. Pew's Ideal

vs. Publishers

San Francisco, Calif.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

That remark about "moral suasion" apparently fair-minded director of Editor & Publisher, suggests a substitute for the ANG. He offers us for a model to be imitated the American Bar Association.

The kind of organization he has in mind would, he says, "cooperate with, but not deliberately resist, the publishers." Such an organization, he believes, would "induce the publishers to accept its terms by force of moral suasion."

Professionals Don't Take Orders

That remark about "moral suasion" makes one wonder what would have happened to Pew's idealism if he had faced the publishers of the Hearst contingent in San Francisco. How far would his "moral suasion" have gone with men who declined to discuss the Guild with its members on any terms whatever, and discharged or demoted them with an almost rhythmic periodicity. Can it be that Pew has never come in contact with hard-boiled executives?

More destructive, however, to Pew's ideal is the inherent difference between the journalistic profession and that of the lawyer and the doctor. The lawyer's clients visit him in his office; the doctor's patients call on him by appointment. The writers, on the other hand, work in their employer's place of business for so many days a week. They are not consulted as one consults an expert; they obey orders.

How to Fight a Publisher?

If Pew will reduce his rather nebulous project to propositions which can be read and analyzed; if he will tell us what we can do when the publisher is a Russell, a Knowland or a Hearst, newspaperman, I am sure, will study it in the hope that the editor of Editor & Publisher is a journalistic Messiah.

But, until he does this, we must turn to the men who, in the past, have fought the publishers and beaten them. Today the Typographical Union is an accepted condition of the newspaper. Twenty years from now we hope that the Guild will be found a satisfactory solution of the problem of the writer.

WESTERNER.

CARLTON SKINNER.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Among the advantages to be expected as a result are the following:

The adoption of sound measures on existing problems, local and national.

to train members gratis and, incidentally, use up Guild members' time that could be devoted to the problems of the day. Significantly, in the same issue appeared a long complaint from a former Philadelphia Guild member about all the fringes taking place in Philadelphia, without a peep out of the Guild. I have since heard that even the president of the Philadelphia Guild, Paul Comly French, has been summarily discharged by the Philadelphia Record.

What in the world is the matter down in Philadelphia? Why are these things happening? What is the organizational structure of the Philadelphia Guild, its theoretical approach (if any) to the problems of newspaper workers; and its general working? Very little news appears in the Guild Reporter from Philadelphia, which appears to be a town where the Guild members have allowed a few not very interested and not very diligent members to run things with the result that the main effort of the Guild seems to be the formation of schools, the passing of resolutions for raising ethical

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

In the Dec. 15 issue of The Guild Reporter appeared letters from Philadelphia members protesting against my observations concerning a school of journalism started by the Philadelphia Guild

A. F. of L. Affiliation: What Would It Mean to Strength of Guild?

By JONATHAN EDDY
National Executive Secretary

In the last issue of The Guild Reporter I stated that the American Newspaper Guild should affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, provided that it could obtain an international charter. In this piece I am to discuss the possible effects of affiliation upon enrollment and on collective bargaining—on the strength of the Guild in general.

A disposition is evident in some quarters to assume that affiliation with the A. F. of L. would give us such an access of strength that publishers who have hitherto been arrogant in their attitude toward their editorial employees would abruptly be forced to sit down at a table and bargain like gentlemen.

Expects No Miracles

Let us dispose of this notion at once. To begin with, affiliation would not necessitate any structural change in the units or local Guilds. Nor would the functioning of the national Guild be changed—unless unforeseen and unlikely stipulations were made. Any alterations brought about would be mainly by the initiative of the locals and regionals. Any future accretion of strength still will result from the activities of the units and Guilds just as at present.

The question then arises: "Why affiliation at all?" And the answer, as stated in the last issue, is bound to be: in order to become definitely associated with the labor movement in this country, an integral part of that movement, like any other union. Or, putting it more concretely: in order to avail ourselves of an organic connection with the machinery, the apparatus, of the A. F. of L. Of what value is this machinery? In seeking an answer, let us review our own recent history.

In a Test of Strength

When the Guild gets into difficulties with publishers, each side is prone to believe itself in the right. If the issue be joined, decision resolves itself into a test of strength between those who do the work and him who pays out of the profits of this work the wages of the men and women who perform it. If the organization of the workers is able to control the supply of workers—if it is able to bar substitutes—the workers win. They may not have to TEST their strength, for if the strength is obvious, the publisher may prefer to reach a reasonable settlement without risking a test.

In the typical situation at present, however, the Guild's strength will not be obvious—production may be crippled but not stopped. Assuming that the demands are reasonable, the Guild may win, or the publisher may win.

The recent Guild strike on the Jewish Daily Bulletin was a strike in that production was virtually stopped. A settlement was reached promptly. The strike on the Newark Ledger is an much demonstration, leading to boycott, as it is strike. The Ledger strike halted production only temporarily. The boycott nevertheless cut, not production, but income, through reduction of circulation.

Experience With A. F. L.

We had no standing or influence in either body, except on sufferance. We had to deal through third parties. Our problems were largely discussed and disposed of in our absence. They were decided favorably to our cause because many of members regarded us as fellow members of the labor movement. But, because we were outsiders, it took months to bring about a disposition of our plea. We could not argue our own cause in labor's inner councils, nor shall we be able to until we have the formal standing of a national or international union.

In Newark, the fact that we were outside the A. F. of L. was used against

to train members gratis and, incidentally, use up Guild members' time that could be devoted to the problems of the day. Significantly, in the same issue appeared a long complaint from a former Philadelphia Guild member about all the fringes taking place in Philadelphia, without a peep out of the Guild. I have since heard that even the president of the Philadelphia Guild, Paul Comly French, has been summarily discharged by the Philadelphia Record.

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Should the Guild affiliate with the American Federation of Labor? This question, sidetracked by common consent at the St. Paul convention last year to avoid a hasty settlement, has grown more insistent ever since, and seems certain to come up for a decision in Cleveland.

While the vote will be taken there, however, members will be making up their minds now in preparation for giving instructions to their delegates. The Guild Reporter is therefore asking various members to contribute articles on the question. Jonathan Eddy completes a series of two herewith. At the same time, all members are urged to write their opinions in letters, as many as possible of which will be printed in subsequent issues.

and advertising revenues. It promises to be successful.

The demonstration and boycott aspect of labor struggles is not peculiar to the Guild; any industrial dispute involving the production of consumer goods develops into demonstration and boycott action if an immediate adjustment is not reached. Often, as in the Ledger strike, the boycott becomes the decisive factor. The boycott is of course dependent upon consumer support—upon the public.

Main Source of Support

Where can we find the readiest public support when a publisher's unfairness precipitates a struggle whether strike, boycott, or both? In my opinion, from those groups that have endured similar struggles. From organized wage earners. Obviously, we shall find most of them in the American Federation of Labor. Their support is not only the readiest, but it is the most effective because it is organized.

The proposition is often advanced by those who are not aware of the facts of the case that can be given by organized labor, but who feel that it is wrong for newspapermen to affiliate themselves organizationally with other wage earners, that we can obtain that support now, as we are. Therefore, why affiliate? they ask.

Let us turn to more specific experience. In Oakland, our battle with the Tribune took on for some time the aspect of a battle to obtain the support of the local Central Trades and Labor Council. We went to it as outsiders and pleaded for support. We were referred to the local Allied Printing Trades Council, comprising the heads of the typographers', pressmen's, photo-engravers' and stereotypers' unions. There, too, our struggle against the Oakland Tribune took on the aspect of a fight to obtain the support of the Council.

Experience With A. F. L.

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to train members gratis and, incidentally, use up Guild members' time that could be devoted to the problems of the day. Significantly, in the same issue appeared a long complaint from a former Philadelphia Guild member about all the fringes taking place in Philadelphia, without a peep out of the Guild. I have since heard that even the president of the Philadelphia Guild, Paul Comly French, has been summarily discharged by the Philadelphia Record.

What in the world is the matter down in Philadelphia? Why are these things happening? What is the organizational structure of the Philadelphia Guild, its theoretical approach (if any) to the problems of newspaper workers; and its general working? Very little news appears in the Guild Reporter from Philadelphia, which appears to be a town where the Guild members have allowed a few not very interested and not very diligent members to run things with the result that the main effort of the Guild seems to be the formation of schools, the passing of resolutions for raising ethical

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Should the Guild affiliate with the American Federation of Labor? This question, sidetracked by common consent at the St. Paul convention last year to avoid a hasty settlement, has grown more insistent ever since, and seems certain to come up for a decision in Cleveland.

While the vote will be taken there, however, members will be making up their minds now in preparation for giving instructions to their delegates. The Guild Reporter is therefore asking various members to contribute articles on the question. Jonathan Eddy completes a series of two herewith. At the same time, all members are urged to write their opinions in letters, as many as possible of which will be printed in subsequent issues.

and advertising revenues. It promises to be successful.

The demonstration and boycott aspect of labor struggles is not peculiar to the Guild; any industrial dispute involving the production of consumer goods develops into demonstration and boycott action if an immediate adjustment is not reached. Often, as in the Ledger strike, the boycott becomes the decisive factor. The boycott is of course dependent upon consumer support—upon the public.

Main Source of Support

Where can we find the readiest public support when a publisher's unfairness precipitates a struggle whether strike, boycott, or both? In my opinion, from those groups that have endured similar struggles. From organized wage earners. Obviously, we shall find most of them in the American Federation of Labor. Their support is not only the readiest, but it is the most effective because it is organized.

The proposition is often advanced by those who are not aware of the facts of the case that can be given by organized labor, but who feel that it is wrong for newspapermen to affiliate themselves organizationally with other wage earners, that we can obtain that support now, as we are. Therefore, why affiliate? they ask.

Labor 'Bill of Rights' Drawn Up By N. Y. as Guide for Congress

Guild Suggests Separate Bargaining Law Making Employer Mal-Practices Punishable

What might be termed a call for a labor Bill of Rights was adopted without dissenting vote by the Representative Assembly of the New York Guild March 6. It took the form of a resolution which had been prepared by the Guild's Legislative Committee in four extended sittings during which labor attorneys were consulted.

It was voted to send a copy at once to Senator Robert M. Wagner, sponsor of a labor bill in Congress, and later to every Congressman in House and Senate, as a statement of the New York Guild's position on labor legislation. Meanwhile copies were to be sent to other Guilds with a request for cooperation if they were in agreement.

Resolution Falls in 2 Parts

The resolution falls into two sections, the first outlining what employers can get away with under present legislation and the second containing the proposed bill of rights in which new legislation is suggested. The Wagner bill is briefly analyzed, and a large number of modifications and additions are proposed with the intention of strengthening the position of labor. The document opens with this statement:

"In labor relations in the newspaper publishing business there exists a serious emergency which is related to a larger emergency in labor relations in all fields in this country. Employers, in large part, have gathered together in organizations with governmental assistance, have in many cases by coercion, interference, discrimination and adroit use of courts and executive machinery, prevented the free organization of their employees for purposes of collective bargaining. Hence, though they form only a small minority in themselves, they have an undue advantage over their larger numbers of employees in matters that may mean the difference between life and death."

Citation of Instances

Various instances are cited to support that statement. Among them is this, referring especially to the newspaper industry:

"In the newspaper publishing industry two precedents have been set with the active support of the President. The first is that the President may not amend the code without the consent of the signatory employers; the employers' voice is to govern. The second is that, because the employers provided in their code, with the President's consent but not that of the employees, for a Newspaper Industrial Board of final jurisdiction, newspaper workers are denied the right to appeal to the National Labor Relations Board created under later authority of Congress; they must either take their case to the Newspaper Industrial Board, in which they have never placed reliance, or strike to gain their rights under Section 7-A."

"Should Declare Illegal Practices"

The second part of the resolution, including the Bill of Rights phase, follows:

In view of the fact that Congress is now considering legislation in the field of labor relations, the Newspaper Guild of New York respectfully urges Congress to re-examine Section 7-A, entirely from the NRA, where it applies only to coded industries and where it is subject to administrative modification, and to recast it in separate legislation. As recast it should declare certain practices on the part of employers to be criminal and should provide specific substantial penalties recoverable by the aggrieved employee or his representative. It should state fully and clearly the rights of labor, including the right to organize and carry on union activities and to bargain collectively."

"On the hypothesis that the Wagner National Labor Relations Act

may form the basis of discussion in the enactment of new labor legislation, the Newspaper Guild of New York notes that this bill falls to meet a number of the points deemed essential, and that it contains provisions that would militate against the exercise of an employee's rights.

The bill would set up a permanent National Labor Relations Board, which alone could take initiative in the courts in the event an employer was guilty of certain "unfair labor practices," enumerated in the bill. The Newspaper Guild believes that additional practices should be listed as unfair and that all unfair labor practices should be declared criminal. The Guild believes that boards within single industries should be abolished.

Direct Recourse to Courts

The Guild believes, further, that the National Labor Relations Board should be given jurisdiction in particular cases only at the request of the employees involved, or their representative. The Guild believes that the right of direct recourse to the Federal courts, either without their calling upon the board or after the jurisdiction of the board has been requested, and that the board, in taking jurisdiction, should in no case be permitted to appoint as its agents to enforce the act any persons with the areas involved or any one with business interests in that area.

Unless these rights of employees are specifically set forth, the Guild opposes the creation of any National Labor Relations Board of the type proposed.

Abolition

Every precaution should be taken in the phrasing of the bill to prevent the board from setting up itself powers of compulsory arbitration. Section 12 (a) now gives the board the power to set up "parties agree" to submit to such arbitration. This phrasing should be altered to prevent the board's arbitrating a case without the expressed request of the employee or his representative.

Section 7 of the Wagner Act, which deals with the rights of employees, should state positively the right of employees to strike, which is stated negatively in the present Section 15, and their right to boycott in strike situations. Under no circumstances should the act be authorized to prohibit, restrain, interfere with or influence employees in their right to strike or to join or not join any such provision is added to the act, the Newspaper Guild is unalterably opposed to the enactment of the measure.

The act should state that picketing, a labor or the preparation for or prosecution of strike activities, should state positively the right of employees to strike, which is stated negatively in the present Section 15, and their right to boycott in strike situations. Under no circumstances should the act be authorized to prohibit, restrain, interfere with or influence employees in their right to strike or to join or not join any such provision is added to the act, the Newspaper Guild is unalterably opposed to the enactment of the measure.

Unfair Practices

As to Section 8, which defines four "unfair labor practices," the Newspaper Guild of New York believes the following should be added:

"(5) To interfere with, influence, or coerce employees in the preparation for, the declaration of or the maintenance of a strike. . . .

"(6) To refuse, under any circumstances, to recognize or deal with the representatives chosen by his employees for collective bargaining. . . .

"(7) To refuse to make every reasonable effort to reach an agreement with such representatives. . . .

"(8) To refuse to sign a contract with a labor organization chosen to represent his employees, once the terms of employment have been agreed upon. . . .

"(9) When pleading financial inability to meet proposals of his employees or their representatives, to refuse to open his books and records for their inspection if they request him to do so with the purpose of forming a judgment upon his financial ability. . . .

"(10) To maintain an espionage system or other instruments capable of being used to restrain the exercise by employees of their rights under the act. . . .

The Guild believes that the employee or his representatives should have the specified right to go into the Federal courts, to collect substantial damages, in cases of unfair labor practice. It believes that the damages should run at least until

Labor to Meet In N.Y. Protest Against NRA

Union Leaders From 4 Industries to Speak With Brown, Eddy

(Continued from Page One)

Teachers College, editor of the Social Frontiers, and active in reviewing the close relationship of the press to education, also will speak. Heywood Brown, president of the A.N.G., will be chairman.

Many Sponsors

Among those who are sponsoring the meeting are: Authors' League of America; American Federation of Musicians, Local 802; American Civil Liberties Union; Equity Local 100, Brotherhood of Utility Employees, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Pittsburgh district; Labor-Professional Association for Social Insurance; Mechanics Educational Society of America; the Rev. John Haynes Holmes; Paterson Typographical Union; Henry Lavin, president, Teachers Union, the United Textile Workers of America, and the Office Workers Union.

Proceeds of the meeting will be turned over to the Newark Ledger strike committee.

The committee in charge of arrangements is centering its efforts to have the trade unions, schools and liberal groups lend support. Members of all trade unions in the metropolitan area are to be invited.

"Organized wage-earners have suffered severely from recent developments of NRA policy," the invitation to unions reads.

Cites Wartime Decision

"The Wartime steel decision of the Federal court, upheld, in effect, company unionism. Two state NRA acts have been declared invalid. Upon the insistence of the administration, the Wagner Act has been sustained despite the wishes of the American Federation of Labor. The precedent has been set, with the aid of President Roosevelt, that the representative chosen by a majority of employees may not bargain for all the employees if a minority has chosen separate representation.

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Reference is made to the Jennings decision, and the President's ruling that defeated the move for Jennings' reinstatement.

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Capital Expects NRA to Expire, But Not Minimum Wage Scales

New Deal Revision May Abolish Newspaper Code; Wagner Bill Speeded

WASHINGTON.—Three bills of major importance to newspaper workers will come to a head in the next few days. This may put a different light on some of the current headlines on Washington dispatches.

1. **NIRA.** There is a possibility that Congress may get in such a tangle that NIRA will die June 16, but most Progressives will insist on continuing the wage, hour and child labor requirements of the code with as little price-fixing as possible.

2. **Picture Still Hazy.** It is a pretty good bet that the Newspaper Code will be tossed overboard by the Administration, along with the others which have caused the most trouble. The picture won't be clear for some weeks, but the Administration probably will use some pressure to keep up the minimum wage scales.

3. **In general,** for newspaper editorial workers as well as all others, the outlook now is that they must fend for themselves—for all above the minimum; this has been so all along, of course, but hasn't been as widely understood as it might be.

4. **The Wagner Labor Relations bill,** setting up a Labor Supreme Court to stop company union promotion by employers and to give free reign to labor organizations. Hearings are scheduled on this bill before the Labor Committee of both House and Senate.

5. **The Administration's** almost certain to push some kind of a bill to continue a Labor Relations Board, such as the present one headed by Francis Biddle. But everything depends on whether it is a good or bad bill.

6. **The present Labor Board** has many friends, as far as its personnel and principles are concerned. But it hasn't power, and the Justice Department and the White House have all hindered its feeble attempts to move on its principles.

7. **Bargaining Protected.** The Wagner bill would give the new permanent board enforcement power and machinery of its own. It does not promote unionism, or anything like it; rather it puts it squarely upon the workers to organize, outside of company unions, and to bargain with their employers to improve their lot. This through the operation of the majority rule principle, which is strongly advocated by the present Labor Board and the A. F. of L.

8. **Majority rule means** that a labor organization must get the majority of employees in the plant, shop, or other unit, to support it. If its demands are to be made to stick. On the other hand, employees are entitled to know they're dealing with men who have the support of their employers.

9. **President's Position Not Clear.** President Roosevelt has been very coy about the Wagner Bill. Secretary of Labor Perkins has been evasive, too, and her attitude on majority rule has been rather unclear. If they desire to bargain with their employers to improve their lot, they must get the support of the majority rule principle, which is strongly advocated by the present Labor Board and the A. F. of L.

10. **The Ways and Means Committee** has been re-writing the bill as drafted by the Administration's experts and originally introduced by Sen. Wagner and Rep. Lewis. The re-writing is intended chiefly to reduce the scope of the bill, thereby making it easier to enforce and, more important, reduce the Federal government's power to enforce decent standards of living.

11. **The "state's rights" idea** dominates the Committee. One fear of Southerners of which much is heard is that, in the case of old-age pensions, for instance, Washington would require them to pay \$15, plus a Federal \$15, to support an aged Negro for a month. In many cases this would be more than able-bodied Negro workers could make at a job in these States.

12. **Other revisions** which will reduce the bill's effectiveness are made in exemptions of domestic farm-hands, and the employees of small business men. Exemption of "non-profit corporations" from the unemployment insurance requirements, unless special steps are taken, may exempt the Associated Press from this part of the bill.

13. **The Supreme Court's** decision this spring may be even more important than what Congress does. Feeling is general that the Nields decision against Section 7-A in the Weirton case will be reversed, both as to steel-making not being interstate commerce and the beneficial effects of company-financed unions. This reversal may come in some earlier case already before the Court, instead of waiting for the Weirton case to reach Washington.

14. **War Plans to Stifle Free Press Decried.** Organization Held Only Aid for Free-Minded.

Strong organization is the only shield newspapermen have against the "particularity" of the law. The "free-minded" journalists in the next war, declares R. J. Cruikshank in the Foreign Press Correspondent.

Cruikshank warns of the "power of rigid censorship that reaches in the mobilization plans of the War Department," as revealed in the Senate inquiry, and continues: "The draft legislation prepared by the War Department, the Administration would commandeer newspaper, ink and all other newspaper supplies. This means, as Senator Bennett Clark pointed out, in the next war, declares R. J. Cruikshank in the Foreign Press Correspondent.

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Herald Tribune Unit Insists on Further Talks

Asks Guild to Push Hour and Wage Discussions Despite Rebuff

In the face of new rebuffs from the management of the New York Herald Tribune in collective bargaining with the Newspaper Guild of New York, the Herald Tribune unit of the Guild rallied behind the city executive committee last week and demanded that the negotiations for better conditions and an eventual contract be pressed with renewed vigor.

On Feb. 28 the city Guild received from the Herald Tribune a letter categorically refusing all ten demands in the Guild's program, as well as minimum wage scales sought for groups of employees other than reporters and copy readers, and concluding: "The management has decided not to enter into a contract with the Guild."

Insists on Oral Discussions

Five days later the Herald Tribune Guild members turned out in record numbers for a protest meeting at which they drafted and adopted unanimously a strong resolution which reviewed the eight-month history of the faltering negotiations and wound up: "The chapter states its intention to press forward by the employment of all honorable means at its command toward the objective of attaining assent to what it believes to be its fair and just requests."

Stimulated by this whole-hearted support, the city executive committee moved at once to obtain a fourth conference with the Herald Tribune management. Hereafter the Guild will insist upon oral discussions with the Guild's representatives, in place of the exchange of letters that have thus far taken place at conferences. The Herald Tribune unit supports that only by frank over-the-table arguments can justice be done to the issues at stake.

See More Bargaining Points

After reviewing the Guild-Herald Tribune negotiations from the beginning, the unit's resolution answered points raised by the management. It said:

"The unit states its conviction that the possibilities of bona fide collective bargaining have not yet been exhausted and that the fullest effort has not yet been made by the management to seek a basis of agreement regarding conditions of employment."

Requesting that the publisher continue negotiations, the resolution called on the New York Guild executive committee to "seek opportunities for continuation of face-to-face verbal discussion of the issues."

Protests Wage Discriminations

Citing the inequalities of the adjustments made on hours and wages, the resolution repeated its protest against "obvious discrimination involved in granting the five-day week and protective wage minimums to about half of the editorial department and withholding them from the other half."

The management's views were called illogical in ignoring such groups as copy boys, statisticians, library workers and secretaries.

With regard to the grievance committee clause of the Guild's program, the resolution said it should be pointed out that the management had rejected it without offering a counter-proposal. It declared that an alternative should have been suggested.

Medill Press Week in April

EVANSTON, Ill. — Journalism week at the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University will be held April 29 to May 4. Nationally known newspapermen are expected to attend.

Buy Bonds? What With? Press Asks President

That the overtones of the Jennings decision are still disturbing official Washington was suggested by Westbrook Pegler in his New York World-Telegram column March 2. Pegler wrote:

"Mr. Roosevelt weighed in with a little plus for his baby bonds at today's press conference, and when he said he hoped all the reporters had bought some too, one of the reporters—a girl, by the way—asked 'With what?' Which may have been a crack at Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward the Newspaper Guild. The Newspaper Guild thinks Mr. Roosevelt ran out on the gentlemen and ladies of the press."

Press Congress to Have Office

COLUMBIA, Mo. — Dr. Walter Williams, president of the University of Missouri, reported that the permanent executive office of the World Press Congress, of which he is honorary president, probably would be established here. He said that an international convention would be held next year in Melbourne, Australia.

Ex-U. P. Man Writes Book

Eugene Lyons, former Moscow correspondent for the United Press, is the author of "Moscow Carrousel," a book which tells of the new Russia in a light vein. The volume was published last week by Alfred Knopf.

Single-Space Irks Printers

DES MOINES, Iowa.—Leon A. Link, superintendent of the composing room on the Register and Tribune here, is on the warpath against single-spaced mail stories sent out by the press associations. Elimination of this practice was among many suggestions for effecting savings which he believed in an address before the mechanical division of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association.

Authorisation for the presentation

of a play, "Bleed Event," to be staged April 24 to April 27, for charity, was given. A committee of Overmeyer, Mitchell Woodbury, Ben Mendon, Ingrid Jewell and Bertha Evans is in charge.

A committee of William S. Hall,

Michael Desmond and Helenas was appointed to arrange for an apprentice school. Acting on the recommendation of the 4th Region Advisory Board, the Toledo Guild voted to send an amount equal to 10 cents a month a member to the regional treasurer.

The executive board will ask a conference with publishers of the News-Pee or the Times within a few days.

Coast News Tactics Assailed by Lindley

He Warns Anti-Sinclair Fight Invites Retaliation

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.—Reference to the "practical unanimity, with which the press prevented its news columns" in the anti-Upton Sinclair crusade in California last fall was made by Ernest K. Lindley, of the Washington bureau of the New York Herald Tribune, in an address here March 4 before the Rutgers University Institute of Rural Economics.

Lindley warned that the California methods of defeating Sinclair by Red-baiting constituted a threat against American democratic institutions and civil liberties.

"The spectacle in California last fall was by no means reassuring," he declared. "I refer to the campaign against Sinclair. The large proportion of class had good reason to oppose his election. But a distant observer could not help being alarmed by the strident character of the campaign, and more especially by the practical unanimity with which the press perverted its news columns in the crusade. Tactics of this type invite retaliation, just as the rigorous and indiscriminate Red-hunting in which California indulged following the San Francisco strike a few months previously tended to invite retaliation."

Canadian Writers Returning

TORONTO, Ont.—Word received here from Canadian delegates to the fifth Imperial Press Conference, which closed its sessions at Johannesburg, South Africa, Feb. 28, reveals that the Dominion journalists will not make the return trip as a unit, some planning to stop off in England while others proceed by way of Madeira.

Hearst Units In N. Y. Plan Joint Parley

Executive Committees to Discuss Collective Bargaining

The executive committees of Guild units on Hearst newspaper enterprises in New York have been invited by the Evening Journal unit to meet together in the near future to discuss problems pertaining especially to Hearst employees.

John D. Kerkhoff, vice-president of the Evening Journal unit, suggested the scheme, which the unit adopted.

In a letter before the unit membership, Kerkhoff said, "The Guild must draw all employees of each newspaper chain together to meet their common collective bargaining problems."

"To some extent, as in the matter of pay cuts, all employees have suffered the same grievance. There should be a continual liaison between units, and if at all possible The Guild Reporter should print news of a chain paper which would be of interest to the employees of other papers in the same chain."

SUPPORT The Newark Strike!

What aid can employees' organizations expect to receive through governmental machinery set up under the NIRA? This question was discussed at a recent general meeting of the New York Newspaper Guild by Abraham J. Iserman, counsel to the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and the Newark Newspaper Guild. Iserman's speech follows:

The whole machinery of the New Deal in respect to the enforcement of its labor provisions is well designed to get the promise of 7-A merely a promise, and nothing more. The machinery of "enforcement" of section 7-A and the other labor provisions of the code is so designed as to make actual enforcement in any particular case a remote possibility. The remedies given to employees as against workers are speedily, effectively, and by the entire weight of the courts and the police power of the government, local, state, and national.

An injunction against a picket line of strikers can be obtained almost for the asking, and many times without notice to the persons who are enjoined. The sweeping and drastic injunctions so obtained go far beyond the protection of the employer against unlawful activities. Legitimate, concerted activities by way of strikes and organizations are often completely prohibited. It is no defense to the strikers held in contempt of court to say that what he did was legal and that the injunction was illegal. The mere fact that he violated the injunction, illegal though it might be, is a ground for speedy punishment.

Difficult to Enjoin Employer

To enjoin an employer, however, to prevent his unlawful activities in his labor relations with his employees in violation of his obligations under section 7-A is not such a simple matter. A complaint for such violation must first be made to a Regional Labor Board. This board while acting in a judicial capacity has been given no power whatsoever, to obtain such a full hearing as can be obtained in other courts. The board has no power to subpoena witnesses, no power to compel attendance of the employer, no power to punish for contempt. It even lacks the power to administer an oath to the witnesses who appear before it.

If the board, after hearings on the complaints which in many cases are obtained after long delays, finds that the employer is guilty, all that it can do is to make recommendations. If the employer fails to obey these recommendations, the case may then be referred to the NLRB in Washington.

Further hearings may be held there, resulting in more recommendations. If the employer pays no heed to these recommendations, the NLRB has the power to suggest to the employer that he remove the Blue Eagle from his premises. If the employer is really concerned about the removal of the Blue Eagle, he may agree before the compliance division that he should be allowed to retain it. The compliance division is not obliged to follow the recommendation of the NLRB.

Injured Employees Get Runaround

After the Blue Eagle is removed the case is referred back to the NLRB, which then has the right to refer the matter to the Department of Justice for prosecution. The Department of Justice has two courses open. It may seek through the United States District Attorney's office to get an injunction against the employer or it may seek through the United States District Attorney's office to get an injunction against the employer.

The injured employees have no voice in the making of these decisions. . . . It cannot be said that this government machinery is not effective. It has a high percentage of efficiency in breaking strikes, delaying decisions, and in giving the injured employee a runaround until their cause is lost and they are no longer able to insist upon a vindication of their rights. The maxim, "a delay in justice is a denial of justice," is especially true in labor cases.

Since the inception of the NIRA, and not withstanding countless violations of section 7-A by employers, the government has not in a single case obtained an injunction against any employer to prevent these violations. The government has not in a single case obtained a conviction, nor even an indictment against a single employer for his refusal to obey the law as to 7-A.

NLRB Has Little Power

Undoubtedly the administration has never intended to use coercive measures against employers to compel adherence to section 7-A. When Congress adopted resolution 44, under which the NLRB now functions, in answer to whether this resolution gave the labor board any power within its adjudication of controversies arising under section 7-A, Senator Walsh of Massachusetts said:

"There is

Guild to Carry L. I. Press Case To News Board

Will Ask That Nine-Man Body Rule on Discharge of Photographer

Filing of a complaint with the Newspaper Industrial Board, charging a series of coercive acts against Guild members on the Long Island Daily Press, was decided on by the Representative Assembly of the Newspaper Guild of New York March 6.

The Guild will request that a nine-man board sit on the case. The action was precipitated by the recent discharge of Henry W. McAllister, news photographer.

Early last fall there were more than 20 working Guild members on the Press. In the interval, forced resignations and discharges have whittled down the unit to eight. Recourse to the Newspaper Industrial Board was recommended to the Assembly because of the comparatively weak position of the unit. More than 50 staff men are employed on the paper.

History of the Case
Last summer, Newhouse, the publisher, threatened to discharge nine staff members. Before the Guild could swing into action, the unit voted to disband, having been informed by the management that dissolution of the unit would avert the wholesale discharge. The 11 members who had voted against disbanding immediately reestablished the unit.

The Guild engaged in a swift campaign with the result that an agreement was reached in three days, providing for retention of the nine threatened with dismissal, the establishment of a grievance committee, and the promise of the publisher to negotiate a detailed contract in three months. The reformed unit grew to include 22 members, half of its original size.

Pressure by Publisher
Immediately preceding negotiations for a permanent contract, the publisher obliged his editorial employees to sign individual contracts, naming the city editor, news editor and Sunday editor as their representatives in bargaining. Guild members refused to sign these contracts, regarding them as yellow dog agreements. Individual increases, in one case amounting to \$7.50, were withheld from Guild members who had rejected this method of dislodging their organization.

Newhouse, after protracted negotiations, made as a condition of his signing a contract the acknowledgment by the Guild that past discharges, after investigation, were found to be justified. The Guild executive committee refused to consider this because it was contrary to its knowledge of the circumstances.

Staff Wins Bonus As Unit Speaks Up

N. Y. Journal Shop Paper Gets Employees \$1,200

Bonuses totaling \$1,200 have been authorized for the New York Evening Journal staff that covered the Hauptmann trial at Flemington.

The allowance was made ten days after the Evening Journal Unit, in the first edition of its shop paper, called attention to the benefits given to Flemington staffs by other New York newspapers.

The money was appropriated by the Hearst management for distribution by Amster Spiro, city editor, who selected about twenty men and women to share the bonus, including five office boys. All those who handled the story at Flemington and in the office benefited except one or two notable exceptions.

Foreign Writers' New Head Hails His American Colleagues

R. J. Cruikshank Glad of 'Grand Stand Seat' in Guild Fight

The prestige of journalism in England has increased in direct proportion to the improvement in salaries and working conditions, in the opinion of R. J. Cruikshank, New York correspondent of the News-Chronicle of London, who, March 1, was elected president of the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents.

Other officers are A. Bernard Maloney, of Reuters, Great Britain, and D. A. Morawski-Nawench of the Polish Telegraph News Agency, vice-presidents; and Roger Dapigny of Havas News Agency, secretary-treasurer.

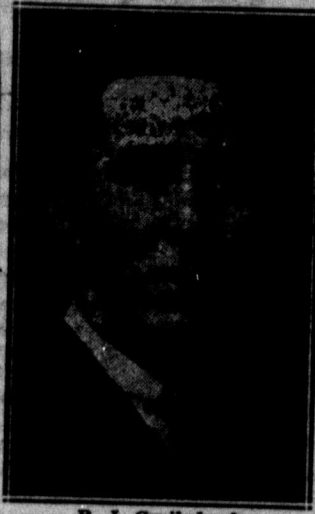
"I am genuinely glad to have this chance of hailing our colleagues of the Newspaper Guild," Mr. Cruikshank said in a statement to The Guild Reporter.

"I have been in the United States long enough to know what cheek it is on the part of an outsider to give his uninvited views on any subject that concerns Americans alone. This patient and generous country has suffered too long from the atrocities of foreign critics who seem inspired with all the malevolent genius of a mother-in-law comic strip.

"While I cannot speak for my colleagues, who have very adequate voices of their own, on my own behalf I should like to say that I have watched the growth of the Newspaper Guild rather with the emotions of a man who has a seat in the grandstand at the making of history. It reminds me of the struggles of the National Union of Journalists in my own country 20 years ago.

"There is no need to tell you once again how much better the financial position of the British journalist is than his American counterpart, more particularly when the difference in the standards of living between the two countries is taken into account.

Yet, it is no business of mine to say what American newspapermen or publishers should do. The Guild may be on the right track or the wrong. It would be impertinent for an outsider to do anything beyond discreetly holding



R. J. Cruikshank

his tongue and keeping his breath to cool his own porridge, but I can't help recalling that the prestige of journalism in England has increased in direct ratio to the improvement in salaries and conditions."

Cruikshank said that the Foreign correspondents liked to think of themselves as "hard-boiled Realists." "We are apt to shudder slightly," he said, "when Eminent Persons, beaming benignly through horn-rimmed spectacles, address us as a Miniature League of Nations or the Parliament of Man."

"Some of us who have been laboring in the political and journalistic vineyards these many years know that only the sourest of grapes are plucked in the hot-house of false idealism and false romanticism."

He disagreed with a Victorian belief that one way to make people love one another was to enable them to know one another, by adding that "the swift interplay of nations nowadays has simply led to an increase in mutual dislike and rampant nationalism that would have caused our dear, dead Victorians to swoon."

That the success of the Foreign Correspondents Association is a triumph of experience over hope is Cruikshank's opinion. "We manage to live together in more or less amity because we do not expect too much of one another," he concluded.

Guilds Asked to Check Reporter's Mail Lists

It has been the policy of the circulation department of The Guild Reporter to welcome names and addresses of non-members to be placed on the mailing list. However, The Reporter now is forced to economize stringently. To facilitate this step at the national office and to avoid mistakes, will all Guild secretaries who have not already done so please send in rosters of paid-up members to 49 West 45th Street? Where lists are not received, old records will be used, and men who have since become members may be taken off the mailing list.

Coast Guild Backs Street Car Labor

'One-Man' Cars Fought to Save Threatened Jobs

SAN FRANCISCO.—The San Francisco Newspaper Guild's executive committee Feb. 20 adopted a resolution supporting organized labor in its stand against the Market Street Railway, subsidiary of the powerful Bylesby Utility Corporation, which seeks to have an ordinance prohibiting one-man cars set aside.

The Guild resolution opposed repeal of the ordinance on the ground that it would result in throwing more than a thousand families on the relief rolls, already heavily taxed.

A former newspaperman, Frank R. Havenner, has been fighting the case alone in the board of supervisors, of which he is a member.

In 1933, when the Market Street Railway sought to bring one-man street cars into this city, the move was defeated with the help of editorials in all the Hearst papers. Havenner, referring to these editorials, charged before the board of supervisors that the newspapers now are being "influenced" and "silenced" by the Chamber of Commerce. The papers have failed to answer this accusation.

Labor has given the Guild support in the latter's struggle to organize in the bay region and in the Guild's fight for reinstatement of three Guild leaders discharged by the Oakland Tribune for organization activities.

Injunction Assailed By Herald Tribune

Editorial Charges Newark Unit Curtails Civic Rights

The sweeping injunction issued against the strikers of the Newark Ledger drew one editorial of criticism in New York on the second day, and other editorial comments were understood to be in prospect.

Calling the action of Vice-Chancellor Maja Leon Berry a violation of constitutional rights, the Herald Tribune March 9 said that "it is the duty of a judge before acting upon such an application to make sure that the acts sought to be enjoined are not civil rights guaranteed to every citizen and essential to his status as a free man."

The editorial, while criticizing the Guild leadership, characterized the injunction as "much too broad" and pointed out that "the restraint on the distribution of the Guild Reporter" was a "clear violation of freedom of the press."

"We think the restraint upon threats of violence by radio and sound truck is also unsound," said the Herald Tribune. "Here again the fundamental right of every citizen is encroached upon."

Gastonia textile workers, the Ledger strike, with the injunction's blow at free speech and free press, may overnight become a national issue outside the Guild.

News Integrity Drive Backed By Educators

2 Groups Endorse Move to Root Out Press Distortion

Supporting the program for the guarantee of the integrity of public information advanced by a committee composed of educators, clergymen and members of the American Newspaper Guild recently in New York, two large groups of educators in the last fortnight passed resolutions for academic freedom.

One group was the Progressive Education Association, which held its session in Washington. The other comprised 1,000 delegates to the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, who attended a symposium on educational problems held prior to the organization's convention in Atlantic City.

Both groups endorsed the movement proposed by the committee for the formation of a nation-wide federation to press for the dissemination of truth on public issues.

Guarantee of Integrity
The Progressive Education Association resolution pointed to the "immediate need for the formation of a nation-wide federation to secure and guarantee the integrity of information on public issues and to safeguard citizens in their rights to free discussion." It called for the affiliation of all citizens whose controlling interest is the dissemination of truth, and urged educators to affiliate with groups and individuals "in an aggressive campaign against the enemies of freedom, of speech, press and school."

Attack on Hearst
At the Atlantic City meeting, the educational group stressed the importance of defending the right of a free people to discuss public questions freely and to stand together against insidious influences that attack academic freedom.

Resolutions attacking William Randolph Hearst on journalistic practices were widely discussed at the convention, but failed to be adopted.

Heywood Brown, president of the ANG, spoke before both the preliminary meeting and the regular session of the NEA.

General News Leads In Reader Interest

N. Y. U. Survey Shows 'Ads' and Columnists Next

A one-year survey of the reading habits of 22,401 New York families, completed recently by Prof. Hugh Agnew, of New York University, indicates that general news and advertisements are the most widely read items in New York City daily newspapers—the appeal of columnists notwithstanding. The by-line boys were, however, a fairly close third.

The subjects, listed in order of interest, follow:

General News (domestic and local)	10,793
Advertisements	8,941
Columnists	7,340
Features	6,468
Comics	6,277
Sports	5,457
Photographs	5,164
Fiction	3,625
Women's pages	3,614
Financial news	3,122
Political news	1,193
Radio news	1,014
Scandal	915
Theatrical news	825
Fuzzies	657
Books	634
Cartoons	322
Society	295
Foreign news	246

The majority of the families indicated they subscribed to only one newspaper, but a considerable number said they read two or more papers each day.

Labor Injunctions Defeated By Mass Violations in Past

(Continued from Page One)

learned the most effective means of smashing an injunction: mass violations. The first great victory in the face of an injunction was achieved by the United Mine Workers of America when, with but 10,000 members and the slogan "A Larger Piece of Bread," they pulled out more than 150,000 miners in all mine states. The Federal District Court was quick to slap an injunction on the miners prohibiting meetings or attempts to persuade strikebreakers not to work. Over a three-month period hundreds of miners were jailed, but as a result of a continued drive the strike was settled with an unqualified victory for the men, including a 20 per cent increase in wages, establishment of an eight-hour day, and union recognition.

The smashing of injunctions through mass violations has become regular practice in American labor relations.

During the summer of 1934 the Miller Parlor Furniture Company moved from New York to Jersey City to break a contract with the Furniture Workers Industrial Union. The union also moved across the state line and opened up a fight against the lockout. The company quickly obtained an in-

junction in the same court as the Ledger obtained one. Then began a series of violations which pleaded the strikers' cause in the newspapers everywhere. Noted liberals, Corliss Lamont, Alfred Bingham, picketed and were arrested. Finally, the injunction was tossed out in Federal Court as Abraham J. Laxerman, counsel to the union who is now counsel to the Newark Newspaper Guild, was upheld in his contention that no injunction could have been sued out under the Norris-LaGuardia act, since the workers as one party were from another state.

As issuance of the injunction against the Guild became known, the Ohrbach department store strike in New York was being settled to the advantage of the strikers. More than 1,000 persons had been arrested for violation of a sweeping injunction, in this strike, but the strike gained momentum on the wings of the injunction.

From the recent history of labor injunctions it would seem that the Newark Ledger strike is bound to gain impetus. The Civic Liberties Union, labor organizations, liberals everywhere are quick to leap to the challenge of an injunction. More than \$500,000 was raised to fight the injunction against the