

For the Fourth
Estate

The Guild Reporter

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Unions Join Guild Protest Against NRA

Speakers Tell N. Y. Mass
Meeting of Need for
Organization

New York labor joined with the Newspaper Guild of New York in protesting New Deal set-ups adverse to labor at a mass meeting called by the Guild Sunday afternoon, March 24, at St. Nicholas Palace. Fifteen hundred persons attended.

Each speaker on an imposing list pointed to conditions in industry under NRA and emphasized the need for employees' organization.

Heywood Brown, chairman of the meeting, startled the audience when he declared, "Labor's public enemy number one is Franklin D. Roosevelt. And labor's public enemy number two is William Randolph Hearst."

Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers of America and leader of the textile strike of 1934, declared, "Our people are desperate. Their average wage is \$10 a week. Now the employers say there is too much production and they want an organized curtailment program. They want to cut production 25 per cent and wages a like amount. Under NRA the wage differential is being rapidly wiped out and all wages are now the minimum wage."

Gorman paid a tribute to what he termed "The magnificent struggle the Guild is putting up in Newark and other places in its attempts to organize."

Charles Vigorito, president of the Paterson, New Jersey, silk and dye workers, delighted the audience with a talk full of caustic references to arbitration boards, fact finding commissions, and "chambers of comies."

William Spang, president of the Pittsburgh district of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, announced that "the slogan of the steel workers is 'to hell with all labor boards'."

Teachers Organizing
Harold O. Rugg, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, told the audience, "Teachers are now finding that their place is with organized workers. Teachers until recently

Building: Friction—Unity Company Unionism

By JONATHAN EDDY

INTERNAL friction is not uncommon in local Guilds. While it is often an evidence of vitality, and not serious, it sometimes becomes acute and results in a temporary stall to progress. Moreover, any local squabble may involve the national organization in harmful factionalism.

While there will always be the clash of opposing ideas in any live organization, I have argued repeatedly and still argue that a democratic internal machinery, with care taken that the processes of democratic procedure are strictly adhered to, will obviate much needless contentiousness and hard feeling between men and groups of men whose success, so far as their Guild interests go, is dependent upon working together rather than working apart.

I have noticed a tendency in several Guilds lately to function as

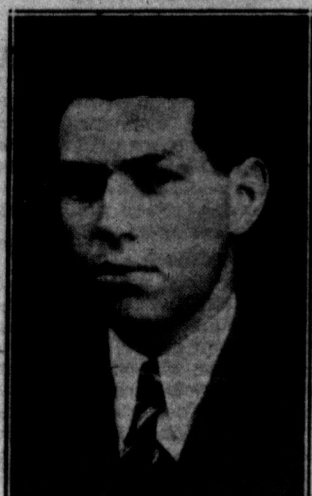
units rather than Guilds. Not only does this weaken the Guild concerned but sooner or later is sure to lead to a bitter clash. If this error in the set-up or functioning of the Guild is realized in time it can be corrected and much woe prevented.

Some Questions

A Guild officer recently put some questions to me that go to the core of this troublesome problem of making a Guild function as a Guild rather than as separate units. "Suppose our negotiations committee reports back and the unit of the Guild affected by the terms of a proposed contract accepts them," he wrote. "What then is the position of the second unit? (In his Guild there are only two units.) Will a negative vote on its part forestall signing the agree-

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Fights Injunction



Irving D. Robbins, secretary of newly-formed league.

Anti-Injunction League Formed To Back Strike

Liberal Leaders Join the
Guild in Fight on
Berry Ban

The National Anti-Injunction League was formed March 11 at the instance of several prominent civil liberties exponents to assist the Guild in obtaining mass public support in its fight to smash Vice-Chancellor Maja Leon Berry's injunction against the Newark Ledger strikers.

The League will canvass labor organizations, actors, authors and all interested groups to obtain funds for the legal battle.

Committee Personnel

Amos Pinchot, brother of Gifford Pinchot, former Governor of Pennsylvania, and a well known liberal lawyer, is chairman of the provisional committee of the League. Quincy Howe, editor of The Living Age, is treasurer; Irving D. Robbins, former assistant editor of the Guild Reporter, is secretary.

On the provisional committee are Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Bruce Bliven, editor of The New Republic; Alfred Bingham, editor of Common Sense; Frank P. Walsh, Louis Boudin, and Arthur Garfield Hays, lawyers; William Green, president of the A. F. of L.; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary.

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Newark Writ Fans Support For Strikers

Labor and Law Aid Fight
Against Injunction as
Stockholders Act

The most sweeping labor injunction in the history of New Jersey has not only failed to stifle the strike of the Newark Ledger Guildsmen, but has actually proved a boomerang to its instigator, L. T. Russell, publisher. Vice-Chancellor Maja Leon Berry's sweeping order has fanned public interest to a new high, it has spurred the support of organized labor, drawn forth an imposing array of legal talent in support of the Guild, and resulted in a mass meeting of Ledger stockholders which demanded removal of Russell and Trustee Puder.

Coming at a time when organized labor was starting its fight for an anti-injunction bill in the State Legislature and battling for a better break in Chancery court procedure, it raised labor's support of the strike to a new pitch. The drastic features of the court order, threatening free speech, freedom of the press and the right of peaceful assembly fanned to a bright glow public interest in the strike.

Picketing Continues

It has not seriously impeded normal strike activities. The Newark newspapermen continue to picket, having merely changed the wording on the placards. As the Reporter goes to press, type is being set for the strike publication. Newark Guildsmen continue to address meetings of union and civic organizations.

Thus far there have been only threats of arrests for contempt of court.

The Citizen's Committee in Support of the Ledger Strike has tripled its activity. Adhering to the view that it has not been enjoined by the Berry order, this committee on Saturday afternoon provides fifty pickets for duty at those stores which still run advertisements in the Ledger.

The Essex Trades Council Committee in Support of the Ledger strike also continues active.

Legal Battle Planned

The Newark and American Newspaper Guilds have laid plans for an epic legal battle. A. J. Isserman, counsel, has been joined by Arthur Vanderbilt, Essex county counsel; Nathan Green, who collaborated with Professor Felix Frankfurter on a book dealing with labor injunctions; Morris Ernst, counsel for the New York

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Publishers' Plot Against Contracts Bared in Hearing

Boston Paper Had Pamphlet From Publishers on
Thwarting Collective Bargaining, Herald-
Traveler Lawyer Reveals

BOSTON.—Proof of the long-suspected fact that American newspaper publishers had their fingers crossed when they wrote a "guarantee" of collective bargaining into the newspaper code, was developed here last week before the Newspaper Industrial Board.

First Iowa Unit Formed by 17 At Des Moines

Register and Tribune Act
Despite Opposition of
"Front Office"

DES MOINES, Iowa.—The first Iowa chapter of the American Newspaper Guild has been organized here with seventeen paid-up members. Officers of the Des Moines chapter are Milton Lomask of the Des Moines Register, president; Stanley Coultas of the Des Moines Tribune, secretary, and Hugh Jencks of the United Press, treasurer.

Drafted by the executive council, the constitution has been adopted and signed by the members. Dues are set at \$1 a month for Des Moines editorial workers and 25 cents for workers outside the city. An invitation to membership in the local organization was extended to all Iowa newspaper men and women not otherwise affiliated.

The election meeting climaxed three weeks of organizational effort, carried on in the face of active opposition from the front office of The Register and Tribune, Iowa's largest newspapers.

The drive was launched during a visit of Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary of the national guild, to Des Moines. Application cards were taken to eligible workers individually and the first meeting held after twenty-five signatures had been obtained.

Represented in the membership

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With a ninth member as chairman to prevent a deadlock, the board was rehearing the Boston Guild's case against the Boston Herald-Traveler, charged with refusal to bargain collectively. When the case was heard in New York in January, the board deadlocked, and did so again here, thus automatically calling for the vote of the chairman, Federal Judge Robert R. Nevins of Dayton, Ohio, who will give his decision after reading the transcript.

Tactics Exposed

Disclosure that the ANPA was supplying its members with information on how to stall the Guild, prevent collective bargaining, and generally give Guild men a run-around, was brought out, curiously enough, by counsel for the respondent newspapers. This lawyer, Stuart C. Rand, lacking background of publishers' maneuvers developed the proof for the Guild unwittingly hoping to aid his case by showing that the publisher of the Herald-Traveler had the advice of the publishers' association in "properly and legally" dealing with the Guild.

Rand asked his witness, E. W. Preston, Herald-Traveler publisher if he had not acted on the advice of a pamphlet issued by the ANPA. Preston admitted he had, and accordingly, the "advice" was introduced in evidence.

This extraordinary document, which will be reproduced in full later, instructed publishers that they could best circumvent the Guild by telling its committees that negotiations should be taken up with all publishers in a city simultaneously. If the Guild fell for this, the pamphlet indicated, the publishers should then say the publishers in a group could not be compelled to deal with the Guild.

The pamphlet, which counsel for the Guild, Herbert B. Ehrmann,

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Benefit for Emergency Fund Friday Gets Broadway Talent

The New York Newspaper Guild, after a preliminary venture into a theatrical benefit—which netted the Newark strikers some \$700—has decided to go in for a benefit in a "big way."

The result of the committee's efforts—authorized by the Representative Assembly—will be known next Friday, March 29, when the entertainment, dance and buffet supper will take place at The Manhattan, 311 W. 34th street. The place accommodates approximately 4,000 persons.

Under the chairmanship of Henry Paynter, of the New York Post, the committee has succeeded in coralling an imposing array of talent, headed by a reunion "for youse newspaper guys" of Clayton, Jackson and "Schnozzola" Durante. Additional talent promised includes Rudy Vallee, Joe Penner and his Duck, Beatrice

Lillie, Sally Rand, Jack Benny, Phil Baker, Lou Holtz, Fred Allen, Eddie Cantor, Block and Sully, Jack Dempsey, Milton Berle, Paul Whiteman and Morton Downey.

Stars of Broadway musical revues and night club floor shows, as well as half a dozen noted orchestras will lend their talents to the affair, proceeds of which will be turned over to the New York Guild's emergency fund. The general public has been promised an opportunity of hobnobbing with the city's front page newshounds. Heywood Brown and Mark Hellinger have been slated as masters of ceremonies.

Tickets are obtainable at the Manhattan box office, at all Postal Telegraph agencies or from Unit chairmen. The general admission is \$1.50, including the buffet supper, with \$3 for a reserved balcony or box seat.

Miners' Union Sends \$1,000 for Newark

A check for \$1,000 for The Guild's strike in Newark has been received from the United Mine Workers of America, the powerful A. F. of L. union in the coal industry. The check was sent to the American Newspaper Guild Emergency Fund by Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer.

Acknowledging the contribution for the Guild, Jonathan Eddy wrote Mr. Kennedy that it would give the strike a lift at a time when this lift is of the greatest importance to the Guild "in the struggle which is teaching us more clearly than ever before that our interests are those of labor."

A. F. of L. Affiliation—Members Present Arguments Pro and Con

The A. F. L. Issue and The Rank and File

Akron, Ohio.
Editor, The Guild Reporter:
While every alert newspaperman certainly is in accord with the fine analysis Jonathan Eddy has made on the question of our

possible amiation with the A.F. of L., it seems to me that there are other important steps which must be taken if we are to progress in this direction.

I believe that the national committee should urge and request every Guild to organize a youth

every God to appoint a committee to make a study and report to the membership on this question. Obviously, the correct policy is fruitless unless the rank and file membership is convinced of it.

perspective of what will happen to the American Newspaper Guild

If it affiliates (increase our power, etc.), but it seems to fall in discussing another equally important problem, namely, what our role in the labor movement of America will be.

and can make as its task the liberalizing of the A. F. of L. as a whole. Surely we newspapermen can't and won't act in any way to increase the power of any reactionary or bureaucratic elements. Surely, if we affiliate with the A. F. of L. we must understand that our place is with progressive

There is no question in my mind that the national officers have given these problems their serious consideration—their writings indicate as much—but I believe it can not be overemphasized that the large body of Guild members must be made to think on these prob-

ems. Only as the Guild as a whole increases in its political and economic astuteness can the American Newspaper Guild take its rightful place among the leadership of the labor movement.

B. J. WIDICK.

Cleveland Prepares

Cleveland, Ohio.
Editor, The Guild Reporter:
 The Cleveland Newspaper Guild
 has never taken a record vote on
 affiliation with the American Fed-

Realizing that the question will come before the delegates at the national convention, the Cleveland Guild voted several weeks ago to appoint a committee of five to study the advisability and inadvisability of affiliation.

Members of the committee are Ralph Burkholder, Lloyd White

Ralph Burkholder, Lloyd White and Garland Ashcraft, all of the Cleveland Press, and Jack Kenon and the writer, both of the Cleveland News.

connected with labor as a whole, and believes that the step would be too radical. Another believes that the A. F. of L. is a conservative movement under its present leadership and has done much to thwart the progress of labor. Those who favor affiliation seem to feel that the step should not

E. O. FEHLHABER,
President,
Cleveland Newspaper Guild.

Press Is Far From Free, Bruce Bliven Asserts

The degree of freedom actually enjoyed by the American press and various methods, direct and indirect, by which censorship is exercised were discussed by Bruce Bliven in the annual Don Mellett Memorial Lecture at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y., on March 20.

The Mellett lectures are supported by a fund administered by Colonel Robert McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune; Marlen Paw, editor of Editor and Publisher, and Dr. Henry B. Rathbone, head of the Department of Journalism at New York University. The address was as follows:

By BRUCE BLIVEN

When one speaks of journalism in relation to public affairs nowadays, it is legitimate to think to include not only periodicals but the radio and the motion pictures as well. Within the past fifteen years, these two new inventions have become instrumentalities of the greatest importance for influencing public opinion.

Indeed, in several parts of the world we see dictators or would-be dictators who care little about the attitude of newspapers toward themselves, if only they can control the radio. A conspicuous example of this attitude is Huey P. Long of Louisiana, who has repeatedly won overwhelming victories in that state by means of the radio, when the press was solidly against him. Hitler in Germany is another man who regards the control of broadcasting as all-important, and there are many more. In what I have to say, I shall therefore discuss all three of these media.

If we look at the problem of freedom of speech, including freedom for all these instrumentalities for creating public opinion, on a world-wide scale and in a perspective of decades rather than years, we find the outlook to be gloomy. There has never been as much freedom as most Americans probably suppose, and that freedom has been of a dubious and restricted sort, but such as it is, and has been, today it is rapidly disappearing.

Two-thirds of the world's population, or about 1,400,000,000 people, now live under an absolute and rigid censorship; they learn nothing of what is going on in their own country or the outside world, except when their rulers believe it is good for them to know.

About two-ninths of the people of the world, or 400,000,000 people, live in countries where there is a limited and fluctuating degree of freedom, where some of the news is reliable but most of it is not. Only one-ninth, or 25,000,000 people, live under the degree of freedom that exists in the United States and Great Britain, or in other words, in a situation where most of the censorship that is applied comes not from the government but from other sources.

Even in these countries, it is my opinion that the danger of suppression, and the number of instances of it, grow steadily worse. If I read the signs of the times aright, we are probably in for a rather long period when the most desperate efforts will be made to curb the freedom of the individual in all of the directions I am discussing. While I certainly believe that we should fight with all our strength against this tendency, I have to record the fact that throughout most of the world this battle has been and is a losing one for the forces of freedom.

A Period of Transition

With Poor Leaders

To a certain degree, the restrictions that we now see in a rising tide throughout the world are natural, and to be expected, however much we may regret them, and however tragic it may be when they are enforced by the wrong people from the wrong motives. The world is today at the beginning of an extraordinary difficult period of transition. Our mechanical ingenuity has far outrun our instruments for the control of our society, we need desperately to reorganize the whole basis of our life to take account of the situation produced by the inventions

that have enormously multiplied the productive capacity of the individual. This situation, more than anything else, was responsible for the Great War and the conflicts, or threatened conflicts, that have followed its close. Our situation is somewhat like that of passengers on an ocean liner that has suddenly developed a bad leak; in such times, every man and woman on board has to do what the captain tells him. The tragedy of our situation is that so often we have the wrong captain, one who, primarily, I think, through ignorance, makes the leak worse while trying to repair it.

It is a delusion of many Americans that grave problems exist in Europe from which we are free. Our only freedom lies in the fact that we do not have countries that are potential enemies on all sides of us, and there are many more. In what I have to say, I shall therefore discuss all three of these media.

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of the motion picture, there is in most instances another censorship; that of the advertiser. It is well known that nearly all periodicals cost to produce far more than the reader pays for them. In many cases, the subscription price represents only 10 or 20 per cent of the cost of the product, the balance of which, and all the profits, come from advertising.

My radical friends often overstate both the effectiveness of this advertising censorship, and the simple and direct way in which it is applied. They think of the advertiser as standing together and dictating to a cringing and reluctant editor what he shall say in his paper. In fact, on most subjects most advertisers are not in agreement, sometimes their interests are directly opposed to one another, and generally speaking, instead of exerting pressure on an editor directly, they exert it indirectly by giving their advertising appropriations to the periodicals with whom they find themselves "sympathetic." Nevertheless, advertising censorship does exist, in one form or another, and it does play an important part.

Another type of censorship must be mentioned is the one exercised by the publisher-owner, on the editor, who is almost always, nowadays, a salaried employee. Even here, the publisher of the situation is usually rather inaccurate. The favorite concept is of a conservative publisher who hires a radical editor, and then compels him to present only the conservative side of things.

But there are, as a matter of fact, many conservative editors who are working happily for conservative periodicals; there are some conservative publishers who, with a queer devotion to honesty, will print facts in their columns that are highly disagreeable to most of the members of their own group, and now and then you find a publisher who is liberal, if not radical, and still manages to get pretty well in a financial way for his paper and himself.

Administration's Influence On the Press Weighed

When we come to the relation between government and journalism in the United States in the past and in the future, we find a curious situation. We see a curious situation, some of them have misrepresented what the Government was trying to do.

Certain hostile newspapers have also published special articles from Washington, that have shown bias or distortion of the facts, or I am sure, however, that the overwhelming majority of all news items published even in these newspapers have given a reasonably fair and accurate picture. They have for the most part reported in detail and correctly the almost innumerable speeches made by the outstanding members of the Government Administration, in which these men have made the case for themselves as well as it could be made.

There are, to be sure, important exceptions to the foregoing. The Hearst newspapers appear to be quite ruthless in the manner in which they carry on their various propaganda campaigns, some of which are directed against policies of the Roosevelt Administration. They attend the same press conferences, receive the same copies of Government publications and press releases, as do the representatives of the most slavishly friendly journals.

There have been one or two examples of members of the "New Deal" like General Johnson, who attempted to take steps against certain correspondents who, they felt, were persistently misrepresenting their views to the public; but the very fact that these efforts were immediately and widely reported, shows, I think, that to the whole, the charge of suppression is groundless.

It is true that many working people are fighting what is likely to be a losing battle against the forces of repression that are growing in this country as they have done and are still doing throughout the world. The question may be asked legitimately, what can any individual do in order to participate in such a struggle?

Memorial Speaker

growing in this country as they have done and are still doing throughout the world. The question may be asked legitimately, what can any individual do in order to participate in such a struggle?

This is hard to answer. I can offer no guarantee, certainly, that much can be done at all, and this is particularly true of the individual as compared to the group. Broadly speaking, I can see no evidence that most of the people of the United States care deeply on this subject.

Now and then, for example, some newspaper is conspicuously unfair to organized labor, and the union members in that city are ordered to boycott the journal in question. These boycotts nearly always break down after a few days. If it is impossible to get union members to refrain from buying papers hostile to them, how much more difficult it is to keep the general public from buying newspapers that are disloyal to the cause of the truth!

Much could certainly be done if all the people who feel intensely about this matter were to act on their feelings, even for three months' time; if they stopped buying goods advertised in newspapers of which they do not approve, if they stopped reading such newspapers, if they wrote letters of protest to the editors of such papers, or even on occasion sent delegations to visit the editor and protest in person.

I am assuming, of course, that if these were done these individuals would also be patronizing the papers they regarded as fair, supporting their advertising and encouraging their friends and neighbors to do likewise. Candor compels me to admit that I have seen very few examples of this sort of thing.

In the long run, the sickness with which our journalism is today afflicted is a symptom of the sickness of society as a whole. Journalism is no more derelict to its duty than are those other great social forces, the church and the school. I think I can match every example of a timid, time-serving person in an editor's office with a similar individual in the classroom, or the pulpit. We must advance, if we are to advance at all, along the entire front of our life. Our journalism can never be truly free, until our society is free.

Anti-Injunction League Formed to Back Strike

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treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Dr. Henry R. Lavin, president of the Teachers' Union; the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Harry F. Ward, and Reinhold Niebuhr, religious and educational leaders; Elmer Rice, playwright; Frank Palmer, editor of the Federated Press, and Corliss Lamont, educator.

Finch's Franchise Guild

In a statement sent to several thousand individuals known to be interested in the preservation of civil rights Mr. Finch said:

"This strike is primarily the responsibility of the American Newspaper Guild. An organization less than eighteen months old, it has supported the campaign at a cost of more than \$20,000. It proposes to continue until the fight is won, but anti-labor injunctions saddle the defending organizations with crushing costs. The Guild is unable to bear this burden alone."

Full-page ads containing Mr. Finch's plea for financial aid were printed in the name of the League in the Nation and New Republic, liberal weeklies.

Working out of its national office at 154 Nassau street, New York City, the League expects to line up committee members and organizations throughout the country in support of its campaign against anti-labor injunctions.

Publishers Deplore Injunction As Menace to Press Freedom

N. Y. Post Sees Unveiling of "Bunk" in Issue; Other Editorials Attack Guild

A number of newspaper publishers, who had exploited the issue of the freedom of the press in fighting to eliminate all compulsory features from the Newspaper Code, were quick to place themselves on record as repudiating the injunction against strike activities and distribution of the Guild Reporter, obtained by the publishers of the Newark Ledger from Vice Chancellor Berry.

The New York Post, one of the few papers which has been deriding the publishers' "crusade" for "freedom of the press," stated the issue thus:

"Here is a sharply dramatic unveiling of all the bunk and phoniness in the 'freedom of the press' issue."

Unjust Injunction

"The Newark Ledger has pleaded that 'freedom of the press' is endangered by Guild organization of its plant. The first thing it does when it gets into a corner is to appeal to the court and receive an unjust injunction violating the very right for which it pretended to speak."

The Post challenged the American Newspaper Publishers Association and "Colonel Bertie McCormick" to fight for the freedom of the press in this case.

The New York Herald-Tribune, whose Howard Davis is president of the A. N. P. A., after erroneously stating that the Guild had rejected an offer from the trustees, (neither Russell nor Pader, one of the trustees, had approved this "offer," called the injunction an infringement of civil rights.

The New York Times spoke of the "biased quality" of the Guild Reporter; and said the court had "the duty to protect Ledger trustees and Ledger employees from unwarranted interference on the part of the Newspaper Guild," but it added that the court should not "curb a legal action by illegal methods."

Editor and Publisher's View

Editor and Publisher called the injunction "a reactionary, intolerant assault on the principle and

of free press." Expressing its abhorrence of "the contemptible violence of labor warfare," the publication said Publisher Russell, who had previously "established an all-American record for firing people on short notice," had started the conflict with his reporters through "tyrannical, wholesale" discharges.

It said Russell had fallen into a Guild "trap with a bang which delighted the Brown revolutionaries." Naturally they make the most of the situation to convince Washington that American publishers are a desperate lot of tyrants, and the publishers' organ, the American Press, a monthly, also declaring itself out of sympathy with the Guild strike, said "every sincere believer in the rights of which we have been speaking must come to the support of the Guild."

"Unreasonably Drastic"

The New York World-Telegram condemned "unreasonably sweeping and drastic" injunctions. Without commenting on the freedom of the press issue, this newspaper pointed out that the Berry injunction restrained the Guild from practically any act "calculated to make more effective its strike against the Newark Ledger."

"Labor should be encouraged to trust the courts, not to feel that the first move of the courts is too likely to be summarily and sweepingly against it," said the World-Telegram.

Said the Akron Beacon-Journal:

"One of the most serious blows at the freedom of the press in recent years has been landed by officials of a newspaper. Shameful it is to admit it, but the facts are inescapable. . . . This newspaper, for one, deeply regrets that any such temporary injunction was issued. . . . In defense of the newspaper business we can only say that the whole Newark situation is an unusual one."

The Beacon-Journal suggested that the trustees of the Ledger "should do the newspaper world a favor by resigning their posts immediately."

Unions Join Guild Protest Against NRA

(Continued from Page One)

have been a lot of scared rabbits. One million American teachers are waiting to the recognition of their power, just as you, if you solidify your forces. You and we, newspapermen, teachers, workers of hand and brain, these are the American people. We propose to build a distribution system as good as our production system. So if we can't organize our resources under private industry we'll organize under some other form to give the people what they want."

Henry B. Berger, vice-president of the Paterson Typographical Union, which organization has been on strike for ten months while other craft unions continue to work in the plant, came out strongly for industrial unionism.

Eddy Outlines Aims

Jonathan Eddy discussed briefly the aims of the Guild, the need for cooperation between the Guild and trade unions, and the possibility of there being set up labor and trade union publications of improved quality. Eddy said that the Guild was the logical place for the unions to get trained editorial workers for such publications.

William Galvin, president of the Inside Bakery Workers' Union, who has been leading a strike of Uneda Bakery Workers for ten weeks, asked the audience to spread the slogan "Don't Need a Biscuit!"

Guild Winning New Friends in The Northwest

Movement Attracting Wide Attention Among Oregon's Liberals

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

SALEM, Ore.—The American Newspaper Guild in the far Northwest has found a solitary but militant champion in State Senator Peter Zimmerman, militant liberal and leader of the newly-organized Oregon Progressives, who beat the Republicans and narrowly pressed the Democrats in the last election. In the senate last week Zimmerman introduced a resolution to put the legislature on record favoring establishment of Guilds throughout the state. At the same time two of his colleagues, Representatives Smut-thwaite and Bull, put the resolution in the hopper of the lower house.

Zimmerman's action was a signal for a sharp attack by the publishers, and his resolution was soundly defeated—but not until he had made the first speech in legislation. "The newspaper writers are entitled to this protection," Zimmerman said. "In no profession is intellectual integrity and security so important as that of reporting the news. How can we expect our disseminators of information to be free from intimidation and requests for distortion when we give them no protection whatsoever?"

Senator Duncan, leader of the revolt that the resolution was not necessary, that the reporters could form a Guild any time they wished. "Oh, yes, this resolution is necessary," Zimmerman replied. "The newspaper boys are just afraid that they'll lose their jobs if they try to organize. The least this assembly can do is go on record as favoring collective bargaining and other rights for these people; then the publishers would face a trial at the tribunal of public opinion if they fired their writers for starting Guild activities."

The senate buried Zimmerman's resolution. However, his action started whisperings of a wide Guild movement for the first time in this state, and his 100,000 followers are ready to back any militant action for a newspaper union. Zimmerman, a former manager for old Bob La Follette, is expected to head a Northwest Farmer-Labor party soon. It is no secret that his efforts in behalf of a Guild have the publishers talking to themselves, particularly on the Oregon Journal, which champions the New Deal.

Inquiry Suggested

The article thus continues:

"The full story of the Van Swearingens and the fouling by them and their bankers of certain sections of the national press cannot be told because of the timidity of certain reporters in revealing the conditions under which they are forced to work."

Such a time as these conditions are changed or Congress takes upon itself a fearless and comprehensive investigation of the role which the press plays in perpetuating the people's innocence."

Another article recently published in the same magazine was written by Kenneth Stewart, formerly of the New York Herald Tribune and now on the staff of The Literary Digest. It is entitled "The Free Press in California." Mr. Stewart tells the true story of the San Francisco longshoremen's strike. He quotes the headline of an article in Editor & Publisher boasting triumphantly how "Dallies Helped Break General Strike."

How the newspapers lied about actual conditions, how they gave credence to absurd stories about dynamite plots and red scares and how they made it seem as if the strikers were going to starve out the city is all told in this article.

How Press Fought Strike

"It is common knowledge among newspapermen," writes Mr. Stewart, "that the major headlines and editorials of these two papers (the San Francisco Chronicle and its competitor, the Examiner) during the crucial period were synchronized through Der Fuehrer Neyla (Hearst general counsel), enthroned in Room 6001 of the

Iowa Group Forms First Des Moines Guild Unit

(Continued from Page One)

are The Des Moines Register, The Tribune, The Farm Holiday News and the United Press. An active campaign for more members is now under way.

As part of this drive, two bulletins, sent to all Des Moines newspaper employees, have been issued with more to follow; letters have been sent to out-of-town newspaper men; contacts made with guilds in surrounding states; press releases issued to all news sources; and a statewide announcement of the formation of the local guild broadcast over WWHO, Des Moines station.

Support for the guild has emanated from many sources outside the newspaper world, notably from individuals within the ranks of organized labor, several of whom have been generous with advice and material assistance. A large downtown hotel, The Savary, has offered its rooms rent free for meetings.

Magazines Record Evidences Of Suppression and Distortion

Writers Cite Contradictions to Contention That Press Is Now Free

Tales about what newspapers have printed in the last few years, and more particularly about what they have not printed in notable cases, are being told with surprising regularity these days in the monthly magazines. Three articles especially have replied sharply to the publishers' contention that the press was at present free.

The February issue of the American Mercury (which has since passed into new hands) contained an exposure of newspaper practices by Daniel Dodge, a New York newspaper man, who described the building up and subsequent collapse of the Van Swearingen Railroads.

This article states that "an active worker in the Van Swearingens' behalf is Lionel C. Prober, a vice-president of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway," and asserts that he is of value to the Van Swearingens "as a publicity man working on the principal theory that no publicity for the brothers is the best publicity."

Reporters' "Hot Bath"

"Reporters writing realistically about the brothers," the article continues, "find themselves in a constant state of hot water boiled by the indignant Mr. Prober."

"Tangible evidence of how the press is found in the case of Franz van Swearingen, who was named on to his reward as vice-president of the Newmont Mining Corporation, was financial editor of the New York Evening Sun. His appreciation of the brothers earned him the purchase of 500 shares of Allegheny common stock at a price of \$20 each when the market price was between \$31 and \$35 a share. (Previously the article explained how J. P. Morgan & Co. had distributed Allegheny stock by means of its famous preferred list of 170 insiders. Mr. Schneider was on this list.) A year later the firm carried reassuring statements about the brothers' enterprises during the market collapse."

Reports Code History

Mrs. Keating writes: "Protesting strongly at first against being codified at all, the publishers finally submitted a document which insured their right to employ child labor, made no arrangement for a shorter work week, established no minimum wages, and provided that no changes could be made in their code without specific consent from the country's twelve hundred assenting publishers, lest the government infringe on the freedom of the press."

"It is the only code under the NRA with such a provision. And at the risk of repeating let me emphasize again that it was drawn up not by the country's editorial employees who are the immediate guardians of press freedom, but by the business branch of the newspaper industry which is concerned with keeping costs down and profits up."

"It was the freedom of the press issue that incensed Guild members as much as the denial of a place on the Industrial Board. For the men and women who write the news, many of them now college-trained, know more, I dare say, about the history of freedom of the press in this country than do the publishers. Further, they know quite as intimately as the publishers how often that freedom is misused, to tout this advertiser or that one, this social clique or that society, at the behest of the executive office. They know that freedom of the press is a right sacred to the editorial rather than the business office. They were accordingly astonished and then outraged at this attempt of big business (for remember, the A. N. P. A. is concerned only with the business side of newspapers) to use a sacred American right as a smokescreen to cover up economic injustice."

Palace Hotel to keep the old rivals goose-stepping against the common foe of labor."

Another excerpt from this article: "A cub reporter for the Examiner told me that he spent several hours at the police station in an unsuccessful effort to dig out dirt, on orders, against a striker. Naturally, the files could yield no parallel record of depredations of a ship operator."

"Reporters elsewhere mentioned that Postmaster General Farley, visiting the West, planned hearings on government ship subsidies with possibility of cancelling ocean mail contracts. The matter was heart-peddled in San Francisco. Hearst barred the ugly word 'subsidy.'"

Brown's Column Jerked

Also: "What it seemed to Heywood Brown was that 'lawless employees, should be restrained, and if they don't like it, here I see no possible objection to sending them back where they came from,' the Scripps-Howard News jerked his column from later editions after advertisers had protested."

Also: "Reporters knew that in each raid hired wreckers arrived on schedule a few minutes before the police who completed the damage. Yet their stories told of conservative union men 'purging their own ranks.'"

An article appearing in the March issue of Harper's is entitled "Reporters Become Agents." It is the story of The American Newspaper Guild in Action and is a careful survey of the Guild's history. Isabelle Keating, the author, was until recently on the staff of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle and was at one time a member of the executive committee of the New York Newspaper Guild.

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Labor and Civic Leaders Heard In Harrisburg

Associate Member Class Suggested as Charter Is Presented

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Creation of an associate membership class in the American Newspaper Guild, to enable former newspaper men and women and other professional writers to give their financial support to the Guild movement, was suggested at a dinner held by the Newspaper Guild of Harrisburg March 16.

The proposal was made by Richard J. Beamish, political editor of the Philadelphia Record until he became Secretary of the Commonwealth in the cabinet of former Governor Gifford Pinchot and now an appointee of Governor George H. Earle as chief counsel for the Public Service Commission.

Would Have No Vote
Beamish, for many years an advocate of organization of news writers, suggested that anyone with newspaper or other professional writing experience be admitted as sustaining or associate members of the Guild. They would pay dues of \$10 a year and would be placed on the mailing list of the Guild Reporter. They would have no vote or voice in affairs of the Guild.

Heywood Brown urged that the Guild become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to strengthen its position.

Needs More Than Majority
He said, however, that affiliation should not be attempted unless far more than a mere majority of members of the Guild were for such action.

"I want to see the Newspaper Guild advance to the point where the right of newspaper workers to organize cannot be challenged," he said.

John A. Phillips, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, welcomed the Guild into the field of organized labor.

Cites Coloring of News
Rabbi Philip David Bookstaber, chairman of the Pennsylvania Committee of the Civil Liberties League, declared that real freedom of the press will come only when writers are free of the obligation to color news to suit advertisers or other special influential interests. Leon Lowengrad, publisher of the Sunday Courier, expressed sympathy with the Guild movement. Publishers of the four daily papers in Harrisburg sent word they had previous engagements.

At the close of his talk Brown presented a charter in the national Guild to Penrose K. Spohn, president of the Harrisburg Guild. Membership in the local Guild was boosted by 20 per cent in the several days following the dinner.

Akron Officers Exchange

AKRON, Ohio.—Harold G. Taylor, former secretary of the Akron Newspaper Guild and aviation editor of the Beacon Journal, has been elected president of the Guild. He succeeds Ray Sutcliffe, political editor of the Times-Press, who was elected secretary to succeed Taylor. Harry Harriman of the Beacon Journal was reelected vice-president; and Frank Seaver of the Times-Press, treasurer.

Dayton Awards Prize

DAYTON, O.—Glen Stadler of The Dayton Journal carried off the honors in the local American Newspaper Guild chapter's first monthly contest for the best story with an entry on the beginning of the new year, 1935. He was awarded a copy of "City Editor." Since the prize award, Stadler has transferred to an Evansville, Ind., paper.

Newark Injunction Acts As Boomerang in Strike

(Continued from Page One)
Guild, and William Hamilton Osborne.

Several other outstanding lawyers, although not officially connected with the case, are contributing advice on strategy. Little doubt is felt that the Guild will be able to remove the proceedings from Berry's jurisdiction into Federal court.

With the court fight on his hands, Russell is confronted with several other problems designed to provide the need for a ton of aspirin.

Picketing of merchants last week brought such squawks to his business office that he was forced to hire fifty pickets to parade the city's streets with the message that the Ledger "employs more union men at higher wages than any other newspaper in New Jersey."

This move helped him but little. It provided the strikers with extra newspaper publicity.

Stockholders Meet
Following the noise made by the issuance of the injunction, more than 150 Ledger stockholders held a mass meeting in City Hall and demanded the removal of Russell and Trustee Henry Puder.

That meeting had Russell plenty worried. He had help on hand to distribute circulars headed:

"Stockholders, Listen."

Then followed in Russell's usual hysterical language an attack on the Guild. He told the stockholders that the strikers were out to take over the management of the newspaper and that their equity would be destroyed.

The stockholders, unfortunately for Russell, didn't "listen," having "listened" once before to a

Join Today—It's the Only Way

From a message to non-members, sent by the organization committee of the Newspaper Guild of the San Francisco Bay metropolitan area:

Fellow newspaper worker:

As the gatherers of the news of a nation it is fitting that we unite in a common cause. Hence, we have the American Newspaper Guild.

A single issue of importance confronts the Guild—to attain the strength to accomplish at the earliest aims that will make the lot of newspapermen and women a happier one.

Security must be brought to a calling that at best has been insecure. A fair standard of pay must be attained in keeping with the training and ability of newspaper workers. Ethics of the trade are to be established. In short, the organization offers for the younger element hope for the years ahead, and for those of advanced years the realization that their rich experience shall not go for naught.

The Guild itself is an amazing achievement. In the past the efforts of newspapermen and women to organize have been frustrated by publisher opposition.

The solution to the problems confronting every newspaper worker is in organization. Without it there can be no hope, and we must remain a backward element in the economic scheme.

As long as you remain a non-member, you are retarding a movement which means much to you. . . . Your Guild is working for you. This is your cause, and your help is needed. Join with those who are giving time and effort and thought to lift this business of ours to the status so much to be desired. Think of the years ahead. Shall we not strive for improvement so that those years can be made more worth while?

circular rhapsodizing about Ledger stock.

The appearance of P. W. Chappell, Department of Labor conciliator, dispatched here at the request of President Roosevelt, produced one offer from Russell. As usual, it was phoney.

Provisions of Offer

It intimated that Russell was willing to fire all but three scabs—city editor, courthouse reporter and society editor. It denied a grievance committee and preferential Guild shop. It provided no protection for returning strikers

after a thirty day period.

The offer carried the proviso that it must be accepted "as is" and threatened arrests for contempt if it were not accepted before Chancery court opened the next morning.

The strikers turned it down unanimously.

Chappell remains on the scene, still hopeful that he will be able to bring about a settlement.

Guild contributions from around the country show a slight improvement. The morale of the strikers is higher than ever.

Guild in Detroit Is Active Again As National Unit

Newark Strike Trouble Reawakens Interest Among Members

DETROIT.—The Detroit Newspaper Guild, long inactive as a national unit, now is ready to step forward as an active part of the Guild's united front.

Enthusiasm, which was allowed to wane during the summer and early winter months, has been revived; once apathetic members have paid up their back dues and a concerted drive by unit treasurers has brought the bank account back to a level which permits the Detroit Guild to do its part once again.

At press time, City Treasurer James S. Haswell has sent to National Headquarters \$206 which, it is believed, is the amount the Detroit Guild owes in unpaid national dues.

The Detroit Guild is sending a weekly check to Newark.

There are at present 50 members with dues paid to last Jan. 1 and at least an additional 50 who are making weekly payments in efforts to bring them up to date.

Newark Strike Did It

Ironically, it was the struggle of another unit, Newark, rather than their own plight which awakened the Detroit Guild members from their national hibernation.

Support and dues poured into the local guild with every additional bulletin from strike headquarters and the Newark fight was the inspiration which pulled the Detroit men back on their feet.

The first social enterprise ever undertaken by a group of Detroit newspapermen was the Guild's strike benefit party in January.

Although it was a party exclusively for newspapermen and several expensive prizes were given away, the net proceeds were over \$200.

This was immediately placed in a separate Newark fund. Some of it was sent down at once and for eight weeks the Guild has sent a regular check which it pledged will continue until the Russell fight is won.

A delegation of about 25 from Cleveland and Toledo accepted the Detroit Guild's invitation to its second party.

Several brief talks were given. Among the speakers were William Davy, Elmer Fehlhaber and Garland Ashcraft of Cleveland and Forrest Davis of New York. Bernard McGroarty, president of the Cleveland Stereotypers local, also attended and spoke.

Officers of the Detroit Guild are Ralph Holmes, president; James S. Pooler, vice-president; James S. Haswell, treasurer, and John Drelake, secretary.

New unit officers are: **TIMES:** Milton M. Murray, president and treasurer; John McClellan, vice-president, and Ray Girardin, secretary and member at large.

FREE PRESS: Sherman R. Miller, president; Joseph A. Kalec, vice-president; Herman Wise, treasurer, and Robert L. Perry, treasurer and member at large.

New York Guild Asks Radio Program Scripts

The New York Guild is negotiating with two local stations for a regular weekly broadcast beginning in April. The programs under consideration are dramatizations of big news events and dramatized versions of the "Inside of the News," to be presented on alternate weeks.

Members of the Guild throughout the country are urged to send the "Inside" stories of events of national interest to the Radio Committee, Newspaper Guild of New York, 49 West 45th street, New York.

England Finds The Union Pays

ITS ACHIEVEMENTS CONTRASTED WITH INSTITUTE'S SOMNOLENCE

The National Union of Journalists of Great Britain, affiliated with the trades union movement, has been responsible for the improvement in salaries and working conditions of British newspapermen, according to data supplied to the American Newspaper Guild by H. M. Richardson, general secretary of the union.

Critics outside the American Newspaper Guild who advocate a professional organization for newspapermen, as opposed to a union, have credited the high pay and good working conditions of editorial workers in England to the British Institute of Journalists.

Institute Has No Contracts
Pointing out that all agreements between employers and editorial employees in Great Britain had been obtained by the National Union, Richardson said:

"The institute has no agreements and never had one. The union was started in 1907 because the institute, which had then been in existence some 20 years, had never done anything to improve the status or material well-being of journalists and was unable, because of its lack of trade union power, to do anything effective. Nor, for the same reason, has it done anything since."

"The suggestion that membership in the institute is a guarantee of quality is just ballyhoo. Some of the best journalists are members, and some of the worst. But we have a preponderance of members on all papers of any importance, as well as in the smaller papers."

Union on the Big Papers

"The Evening Standard, Daily Sketch, Daily Herald, News-Chronicle, Daily Express, Manchester Guardian, Yorkshire Post, Scotsman, Birmingham Post are all staffed almost entirely by our members. At the Daily Telegraph, Times and Daily Mail, our membership is greater than that of the institute."

"Our total membership is more

than 5,600, whereas the institute has about 2,000, many of whom are not journalists within the meaning of our rules. Many are proprietors of papers, and, as Lord Northcliffe said many years ago, 'It is not wise or politic for proprietors and journalists to belong to the same institution.'"

Institute Lacks Power

"The fundamental difference between the union and the institute is that the union has the power of effective collective bargaining because it can call and maintain a strike or maintain members who are locked out, whereas the institute has no such power. The most it can do is to ask employers to do things. If the employers decline, the institute is impotent to do anything."

Richardson reported that the London correspondent of "Editor and Publisher" was sending the publication a report pointing out mistakes in a recent article which gave the institute credit for gains won by the union.

Under the union's contracts, the lowest wage paid a reporter or sub-editor with three years' experience in London is nine guineas a week (about \$45). Hours are 38½ a week for sub-editors and 44 for reporters, with three-week annual vacations.

Pays Unemployment Benefits

"The union has paid more than \$500,000 in benefits to its members. It pays unemployment benefits of about \$12 a week for the first eight weeks, \$10 for the second eight and \$5 a week for the following ten weeks to members who become unemployed after one year's membership. Members of five years' standing are entitled to \$5 a week for twenty-six additional weeks of unemployment."

The union also assists members to move from one town to another, gives them legal advice and assistance in difficulties relating to their occupation, doubles the sickness insurance provided by law, provides low-cost old-age pensions,

offers medical and dental care at low rates and supports widows and orphans of deceased members. Full membership costs six shillings a month.

Labor Tie-up Brought Contracts

Trade union tactics won the British journalists' benefits. Virtually all their contracts with publishers were obtained soon after they joined the British counterpart of the American Federation of Labor.

"The turning point in the Union's history," says a pamphlet published by the union, "was in 1919, when the membership, which was then more than 4,000, decided to affiliate with the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation of the United Kingdom. By this step the union assured itself of the active support of all other workers in newspaper production."

"Many journalists who had long held the muddle-headed view that men were paid what they were worth and that trade unionism was not quite nice or respectable were rapidly converted to a more modern view when they saw that unity gave them a much better livelihood than could be achieved by individual efforts."

Peace Without Strife

"Affiliation to the P. K. T. F. carried with it participation in the Joint Industrial Council for the printing and newspaper industry. This council, which was formed in 1919, has been instrumental in bringing many improvements in conditions without recourse to strikes, and has settled many disputes which without a J. I. C. would have led to long and bitter disputes."

The union is affiliated with the National Federation of Professional Workers and the International Federation of Journalists. In 1928 negotiations for amalgamation of the union with the institute failed when it was found that the institute's character from the crown prohibited participation in trade union activities.