

For the Fourth
Estate

The Guild Reporter

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NEW YORK, APRIL 15, 1935

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CodePayRule Grants Rises To About 500

PublishersProposeSlight Increases in Salary Amendment

WASHINGTON.—As a result of the heavy fighting of the Guild, the publishers have increased slightly the sop they throw in pay rises to reporters, deskmen, artists and photographers in the newspaper, code amendment on hours and wages for news department workers.

The increases are expected to benefit about 500 employees throughout the country.

In the original amendment draft submitted last May by the Code Authority, that is the publishers, the following minimum rates were proposed: In cities under 25,000 population, \$12 a week; 25,000 to 50,000, \$14; 50,000 to 250,000, \$16; 250,000 to 500,000, \$18; 500,000 to 750,000, \$20; over 750,000, \$25.

Terms of Amendment

The new amendment, which is final and may have gone into the code before this gets into print, is as follows:

In cities under 10,000 population, \$12.50 a week; 10,000 to 25,000, \$15; 25,000 to 50,000, \$18; 50,000 to 250,000, \$20; 250,000 to 500,000, \$22; over 500,000, \$25. "Beginners" will get 70 per cent of these minima.

Examination will show that there is no increase over the amendment first proposed for those in cities over 750,000—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore. In those cities those in the groups named who are getting less than \$25 will get pay rises if the papers they work on have signed the code.

The population brackets have been changed. In the lowest bracket of the new amendment, the minimum is 50 cents a week higher than in the old. There are more substantial increases in between. The following table offers a comparison, showing what the Guild got by fighting (not enough to brag much about, but something):

Population Groups	Original Code Offer	Final Amendment	Beginners
Under 10,000	\$12.00	\$12.50	\$8.75
10,000 to 25,000	12.00	15.00	10.50
25,000 to 50,000	14.00	18.00	12.40
50,000 to 250,000	16.00	20.00	14.00
250,000 to 500,000	18.00	22.00	15.40
500,000 to 750,000	20.00	25.00	17.50
Over 750,000	25.00	25.00	17.50

The division of research and planning of NRA has estimated that in the whole country 1,525 reporters, desk men, photographers and artists (none but these are affected by the amendment) get less than \$28 a week now. Of these 702 get less than \$24, 250 less than \$20, \$118 less than \$18 and 66 less than \$16.

These estimates are based on the publishers' figures and definitions of jobs. They are, therefore, not accurate, except as indicating to how few the publishers will give rises under these minima.

No change was offered by the publishers in hours from the old amendment, 40 hours a week in cities over 50,000, 44 hours in cities from 25,000 to 50,000 and 48 hours under 25,000.

The Guild asked for a 40-hour, 5-day week and a flat \$45 a week minimum everywhere, with relief for small papers that could not pay that much.

The new amendment has been approved by the 1,200 papers that have signed the code and now awaits approval of the N.R.B.

Send Three Best Issues In Local Paper Contest

The excellent quality of local Guild and chapter publications has prompted the editors of the Guild Reporter to sponsor a contest for the best paper of this kind. The best publication of the mimeographed or multi-graphed type will have its front page or most striking feature printed in the June 1 issue of the Reporter.

The entries must be in not later than May 15, 1935. The best three issues since Jan., 1935, should be sent in. They need not be consecutive.

Judges are: Warren Hall, Chairman of Daily News Unit; Don Marshall, New York Times; William Lyon, Herald-Tribune; Dorothy Loeb, president of Westchester Newspaper Guild, and Virginia Lee, second vice-president of Newark Newspaper Guild.

Winston-Salem Wins 5 Points In Negotiations

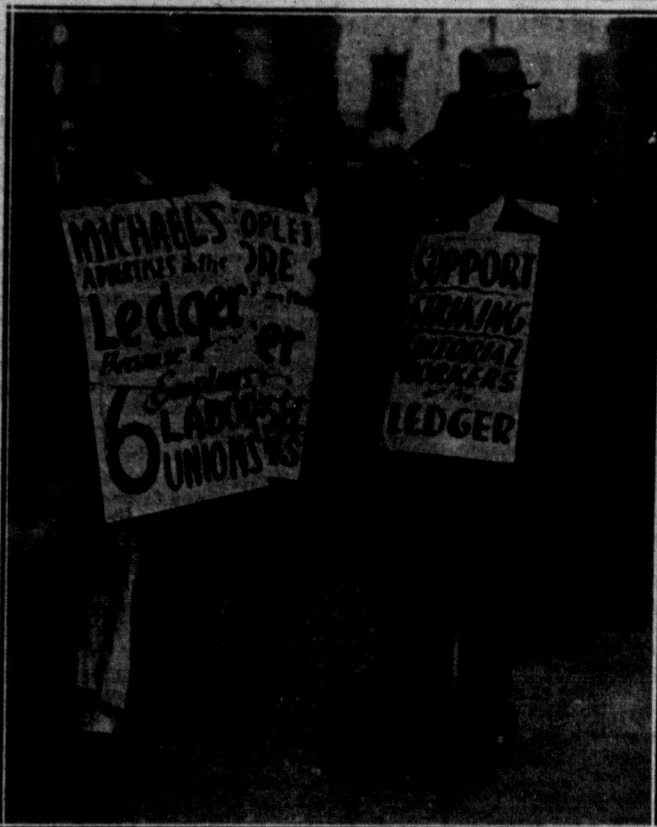
Dismissal Notice Request Granted to Carolina Guild Unit

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—The Journal-Sentinel Guild unit's second "contact" with the front office has resulted in five Guild requests being granted. They are:

- (1) Dismissal notices based on continuous service and ranging from two weeks to three months (present notice ranges from one to two weeks.)
- (2) Paid vacations ranging from one week to a month, based on continuous service (one week has been the custom with no pay for extra time taken off). It was also agreed that this vacation allotment could be applied to sick leave.
- (3) Gasoline allowances for employees who have to use their own automobiles (an allowance).

(Continued on Page Eight)

Victorious Strikers Move To Clinch Newark Gains



Tense little drama enacted in Newark shows picketing striker Jerome Kurtz, now back as theatrical editor of the Ledger, meeting with former lodging house resident hired by L. T. Russell as counter-picket. Photograph was taken by Andrew Denarie, Ledger photographer.

Strength of Guild and Its Right To Bargain Tested Successfully

By VICTOR PASCHE

Member of the Ledger Strike Board

The Newark Ledger strike was called to preserve the Guild in the Ledger office, and its right to bargain collectively for its members.

It is necessary to keep that in mind in appraising the results. The dismissal of eight reporters, which was the immediate cause of the walk-out, would not, as an isolated incident, have caused a strike. L. T. Russell had fired larger numbers before. But this dismissal was an obvious part of a campaign to put the Guild out of business. Russell

(Continued on Page Two)

Justice for 8 Fired First Task of Men Back at Ledger Jobs

NEWARK, N. J.—The Newark Guild is moving swiftly to consolidate the gains made in the victorious 19-week Ledger strike.

Preparations are being made for opening of negotiations with George W. C. McCarter and Henry S. Puder, trustees appointed by the courts in a receivership action against the Ledger. They have expressed a desire for negotiations as far as possible of the points left to arbitration in the strike settlement agreement.

Conferences probably will start within two or three days, to establish hour and salary minima, and a basis for working conditions. First to be taken up will be the cases of the eight staff members dismissed November 14, the act which precipitated the strike.

Meantime the reinstated striking group is back at work, producing a paper far different from the morning rehash turned out by the strikebreakers. An exclusive political story under Emmet Crozier's name in the first issue written by the returned strikers attracted special attention. Crozier was chairman of the strike committee.

Climax of Strike Pressure

The strikers started work March 31. They were put back on the payroll March 29, twenty-four hours after Guild officers had signed the agreement. Toward that agreement the strike had ridden through a final week of excitement, not on the picket line, but in and out of the courts in a series of dramatic events brought on by earlier strike pressure.

The beginning of the end came the afternoon of March 23, a Saturday when streets and stores were crowded with Spring shoppers. The Citizens Committee in Aid of Ledger Strikers that afternoon had deployed sixty pickets about the stores of the few remaining Ledger advertisers. Strikers were patrolling downtown streets with placards carrying legends worded carefully on the right side of the sweeping injunction issued by Vice Chancellor Maja Leon Berry.

Russell's "Counter-Pickets"

Onto this battlefield moved L. T. Russell, publisher, with a final tactical blunder. Sandwich men later described as "counter-pickets" appeared on the streets. They bore signs proclaiming that "Soandso Advertisers in the Ledger because it Employs Six Labor Unions." On Monday came more sandwich men, telling the public that the "Ledger pays Newark \$25,000 in Taxes and Charity."

Downtown Newark looked upon the counter-picketing with amusement. Vice Chancellor Berry who had been widely criticized for his sweeping injunction against the strikers showed considerable anger at Russell's stunt the following Tuesday, when an array of Guild counsel appeared before him in moving for dismissal of the injunction.

Berry announced first that he was seriously considering dismissal of the trustees. Their hands were no longer clean, he said. They had "engaged in a process of counter-picketing" against which very thing they had sought to prevent.

(Continued on Page Two)

Call to the Second Annual Convention Of the American Newspaper Guild

Two years ago the newspaper men and women of the United States were unorganized. They had made many attempts to form professional societies and unions but with little success. Lacking this means of self-protection and advancement, their wages were cut and cut again during the course of the depression. In some cities even so-called press clubs were banned by publishers, so great was the opposition to an economic organization in the city rooms.

In the Summer of 1933, when the NRA was set up to counteract the unrest resulting from the depression, news workers took renewed courage and formed groups in Cleveland, St. Paul and Minneapolis, New York and elsewhere. These groups sent delegates to Washington on December 15, of that year, where the American Newspaper Guild was formally organized. Formation of local Guilds and enrollment of members proceeded rapidly thereafter, until, at the second convention, six months later in St. Paul, approximately 8,000 members had enrolled.

Economic well-being was concluded to be a prime essential to the advancement of the profession and collective bargaining was determined upon as the means thereto. In the course of the next few months, wherever this program was adhered to, with very few exceptions, material improvements were obtained and the status of the profession or craft improved. Throughout the past

Winter, the entire organization endured a test of method and of strength in the long and bitterly waged strike of the Newark Ledger Unit. The Guild was victorious.

Now we approach our third foregathering, the Second Annual National Convention.

At Cleveland, Ohio, in the week of June 2 to 8 will convene the elected delegates of local Guilds throughout the nation to evaluate a tremendous fund of experience and to chart the course for another year. Among matters to be considered will be our internal organization, our policies with respect to the organized labor of this country and to the American scene in general. In the two preceding years we have established ourselves and made gains such as to show clearly enough that the decisions of this convention will inevitably affect the lives and future of all of us and of our families.

Guildsmen, discuss your problems, formulate your program, and elect delegates, three from every Guild, plus one for each 200 of local membership. On toward 100 per cent Guild enrollment throughout the nation. Let's make the attendance twice that of last year. On to the most important gathering in the history of American journalism.

HEYWOOD BROWN
President
JONATHAN EDDY
Executive Secretary

Newark Leaders Weigh Results of Long Struggle

(Continued from Page One)

A. J. Iserman, strikers' counsel, and his associates jumped through the open door. Morris H. Ochs, counsel for the trustees, argued that McCarter and Puder were not responsible for Russell's acts. Berry held them responsible nevertheless.

Iserman asserted that the trustees had dirtied their hands with acts of bad faith throughout their dealings with the Guild. He succeeded in forcing out of the record 96 of the more than 100 affidavits submitted by the trustees, on the grounds that they were improperly notarized and, in some cases, untruthful. Made by newsmen, the affidavits charged strike activities damaged their business.

The changing scene caused abandonment of a plan to have Heywood Brown attend the temporary injunction in court. Instead, he defended himself against charges of violence and was duly "acquitted."

Ledger Near Taking the Count. Morris L. Ernst, counsel to the American Newspaper Guild, William Hamilton Osborne, associate counsel for the Newark Guild, Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Essex County counsel, and Nathan Greene of New York, were associated in the argument against the injunction. Ernst accused the trustees of concealing from the court the true state of affairs. Ochs in presenting his case, said the damage to the Ledger threatened to become irreparable.

Motions to dismiss the injunction were taken under advisement, along with the court's own threat to discharge the trustees.

Columns of publicity adverse to the Ledger, and a local Reporter, distributed in face of the injunction, immediately before and after the hearing meant a while brought to a climax the alarm and confusion of the Ledger's preferred stockholders. C. Wallace Vail, attorney for a group of about 50, was reported ready to demand some court action the following day. He found McCarter and Puder in court ahead of him, with a petition requesting instructions on the "Retention of Russell." Vail joined in that motion, and pressed the trustees for a settlement of the strike.

Strikers Ready Post. Paul W. Chappell, coordinator of the U. S. Labor Department, moved into the breach, and into the camp of the harassed trustees. It was Chappell's agreement which they signed on the 28th, and sent to the strike committee.

Relinquishment of the strikers came after an hour's discussion, and soon after dark Iserman, Chappell, Vail and Ochs drove 65 miles through the rain to the home of Berry at Toms River. There Berry approved the document.

The following morning the Ledger carried on page two the Associated Press story of the strike settlement.

Ledger Mourn. To the time of this writing, more than a week later, the Ledger had made no formal announcement of the settlement, or advertised it in any way. The Guild circulated advertisements, labor unions and other organizations, thanking them for their support and informing them that the strikers and the Guild had pledged themselves to do what they can to make the Ledger a bigger and better paper.

Downtown newsstand circulation was reported to have jumped immediately. Advertising lineage is coming back to the Ledger rapidly.

Tension in the editorial room upon return of the strikers was relatively slight. While there was no comradeship between the strikers and the few who remained on the job, they worked together to the satisfaction of the management. L. T. Russell has kept strictly to himself.

Newark Guild Found Organized Labor Strong Ally During Strike

By ROBERT C. KING

Member Ledger Strike Board. With civic clubs, clergymen, professional men and business leaders insistent on remaining "neutral," the Newark Guild, when its existence was threatened by L. T. Russell, found a powerful ally in organized labor.

More than 100 union locals lost little time in endorsing the Ledger strike. That they gave more than lip service was demonstrated by surveys which revealed that the drop in Ledger circulation was heaviest in areas where wage-earners predominated.

The Essex Trades Council was outstanding in the Guild's behalf. Harried by a group of selfish labor leaders, some reactionary, some corruptly this central labor body was unwavering in its loyalty to the newsmen on the picket line.

Those union leaders who opposed the Guild relined the cry that it had no right to the support of organized labor because it had spurned affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Representatives of the Allied Printing Trades asserted that the strike was endangering the jobs of union men working in the Ledger plant. A Building Trades representative reminded the delegates that the newspapermen, more often than not, had written unfair strike stories.

Called Rosengades. These leaders, fearful but crude, were able to sway but small cliques in their own unions. Essex Trades delegates called them rascals and pointed out that the Guild's fight was the fight of all organized labor.

Because Russell threatened union men with loss of jobs unless the Guild strike was smashed, Printing Trades presidents attempted to bring about a settlement. They bungled the job because they faced the task with a crooked attitude. Then they refused to admit that the publishers had rebuffed their efforts at conciliation.

For this they drew criticism from following rank and file. Unable to stand the scorn of the Essex Trades Council, the Printing Trades Council withdrew from the county's central labor body.

Rewarding scathing denunciations, the Building Trades Council also seceded. Few of the affiliated locals of either the Printing Trades or the Building Trades followed them out of the Council.

The loss of two strong factions did not deter the Essex Trades Council. Here is a resume of its activity:

For several months Ledger strike problems dominated every meeting. Routine council business was shoved to the background.

Sponsored Mass Meeting. It sponsored a mass meeting attended by more than 1,000 persons. John Walsack, president, served as chairman.

Walsack appointed an intelligent, militant committee, headed by Jacob C. Bear, general vice-president of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association.

This committee held two five-hour sessions with Russell in an effort to bring about a settlement favorable to the Guild.

The council committee sent speakers to union locals, asking those bodies to address protests to the Ledger and its advertisers. It distributed large placards stating the strike was backed by the Essex Trades Council and appealing to Newark residents not to read the paper.

When the injunction was issued, the committee, with the approval of the Council, sent protests to the proper authorities. This was done despite the warning of a Printing

Trades representative that the council was in danger of being cited for contempt of court.

Refused Strikers' Merch. The support of the Essex Trades Council did much to bolster the morale of strikers.

In the meantime other labor organizations were far from idle.

The International Ledger Guild, Western Union, among labor action during the early days of the strike with David Dubinsky, international president, taking a human personal interest. The ILGWU contributed cash in substantial amounts and gave the Guild the services of Peter Delafosse, one of its finest organizers. Delafosse worked with the strike committee day and night.

Vincent Murphy, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, after getting telegraphic permission from William Green, began to exert the organization's pressure in behalf of the Guild.

Many unions levied 50 fines against members nabbed reading the Ledger. The Moving Picture Operators Union made the fine \$50. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were generous with financial assistance and free access to their hall.

With its offer of its cooperation, Fred Castle and Harland Holmden of Local 305, Motion Picture Operators Union of New York, from the first day of the strike to the last, supplied Newark with a sound truck. The same service was presented by Peter Zimmer Cushman of the Union County Moving Picture Operators Union.

Strength of Guild and Its Right To Bargain Tested Successfully

(Continued from Page One)

all had refused repeatedly to bargain with the Guild. He had threatened members who insisted on collective bargaining.

The discharge of November 14 was the first overt act in carrying out that threat. The Guild had the choice of striking or surrendering its Ledger chapter and allowing many members to lose their jobs.

In that respect the strike was a complete success. The men who took the strikers' jobs are out, in a body. The men and women who walked out are back at work, and the wave of firing started November 14 has been cut short. There is a contract giving effective recognition, a 30-day guarantee against any dismissal, and arbitration machinery to prevent a repetition of Russell's attacks. If after the 30-day period any one is discharged for economy, he must be rehired before any new man is hired for the same class of work. If fired for any other reason, and the charge of discrimination for Guild activity is raised, the case goes to a standing arbitration committee. The strength of a union lies after all in its organization and membership, not in a contract. But insofar as a contract can protect a union, the Ledger settlement provides fairly adequate machinery.

Fights Not Won. Important points which were not won include the immediate reinstatement of the eight, the dismissal of employees who did not join the strike, and the closed or preferential shop.

The failure to reinstate the eight is the hardest to swallow, particularly for those on the spot, since it leaves out in the cold a group who were an integral part of the strike. It is more apparent than real, however, since the agreement provides for arbitration of their reinstatement on the same basis as would apply to the case of any of those who were reinstated. The evidence

Newark Strikebreakers

Below is presented a list of the unfortunates who served as strikebreakers in Newark. It is not given as a blacklist, but rather in the hope that Guildsmen who meet these individuals will impress on them the fact that their action in filling jobs of the strikers was against their own interests as well as ours in retarding the movement for better conditions of newspaper editorial workers.

The motley crew: Stuart Little, former West Pointer.

William Ridgeway, Nutley, N. J.

George Winert, photographer, William Kolbas, photographer, Orange, N. J.

Les Bernard, formerly from Belleville, Ill.

George Van Riper, Jamaica, L. I.

Morris Lending, Maplewood, N. J.

Marty McDonough, sports writer, Philadelphia.

Rae Barrett (male), Jack Boyle, formerly with New York Post, and a member of the Newspaper Guild of New York. He was expelled from the Guild for strikebreaking.

Royce Smith, Maplewood, N. J. Daphne Porter, society editor, formerly from Chicago.

Cal Lewis, East Orange, N. J. Edward Kats.

A. J. Smithline. Arthur Babin. Olin Kennedy.

Saul and Albert Goldberg, morgue clerks.

Michael Martin, Union City, N. J.

Jack Ross. Jerry Arlington. Milton Lowenthal.

Not Opposed to A. F. of L.

Crozier led the strike through four and a half months of turmoil and strife. His work before the strike made the Guild steadily progressive and now that the strike is over his ideas for advancing the interests of the Guild are vital and opportune. He should be supported by a united Guild.

"We are not opposed to A. F. of L. affiliation as a group. Some of us openly favor it, while others are inclined to wait and make an orderly study of its full implications before making a decision. To join the A. F. of L. merely to repay a debt of gratitude to labor is an insult to every self-respecting working man."

"We are opposed to efforts of any group to seize Newark Guild leadership on this issue, which should be decided by instructing the delegates to the Cleveland convention."

The strikers went through 19 weeks of winter picketing, of hunger and privation. They proved that newspapermen could take it on a par with other labor groups.

By contributing steadily throughout the strike, the national membership proved that ANG was more than a name or a label. After the emotional appeal had worn off, collections were practically on an assessment basis, setting up the machinery for future organized money-raising, when the novelty of the appeal will no longer be there.

Newark Vote Will Turn on A. F. L. Issue

Crozier and Goldberg Candidates for Presidency

NEWARK, N. J.—With the annual meeting of the Newark Newspaper Guild set for April 28, a lively contest for the presidency is indicated. Emmet Crozier, national treasurer and incumbent, faces opposition from Nathan L. Goldberg, his associate on the strike board. Goldberg is seeking office as a champion of immediate Guild affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Crozier was renominated for the presidency at a meeting of the nominating committee, of which Edward F. Battelle is chairman. Goldberg was renominated for secretary but withdrew, announcing he would run for president.

A campaign committee for Goldberg is sending out notices to all unit members, supporting Goldberg on the issue of A. F. of L. affiliation. The appeal in behalf of Goldberg is signed by prominent members of the Newark Guild, including three members of the strike committee, leaders in the movement since the day of the walkout.

Guild's Debt to Labor

The statement points out that the Newark Guild "owes it to itself and to the rest of the Guild movement to make sure that its struggle for the Guild can use the official labor label and claim the Guild's support as a matter of course."

The committee says labor's support was given in the belief that the Guild was part of the labor movement, and that "before long we would be in it officially, helping to make it a better labor movement."

Concluding the letter, tribute to Goldberg was paid for his "unselfish, effective service to the Newark Newspaper Guild, both before and throughout the Ledger strike."

Crozier Committee Statement

The committee supporting Crozier issued a statement stressing the necessity of increasing the Newark Guild to its fullest possible strength.

"We of the Ledger Chapter are at present more interested in consolidating the Guild victory and holding its position in the official rooms of Newark than in proving abstract theories about the strike," the statement said. "For this reason and because we believe that the Guild cannot survive fratricidal alien within its ranks, we endorse Emmet Crozier for re-election as president of the Newark Newspaper Guild."

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13-Point Plan Given to Macy By Westchester

Units From 11 Dailies Want Pay Cut Restored and Five-Day Week

YONKERS, N. Y. Negotiations for restoration of a 30 per cent pay cut, a five-day, 40-hour-week and other improvements in working conditions have been started by the Westchester Guild with J. Wood Macy, publisher of seven of the county dailies and several weeklies.

The Guild represents a majority of the 100 newspapermen on the dailies in Westchester County.

Following a brief, initial conference with Macy on March 19, the Guild, at Macy's request, submitted a brief of its 13-point program for his study before the next parity.

The opening meeting brought the first direct statement from J. Wood Macy on his attitude toward the Guild and publishers on the working conditions of the county dailies and several weeklies.

The meeting was followed by an exchange of notes between the Guild and publisher on the working conditions of the county dailies and several weeklies.

The Guild induced Macy to omit a phrase it considered confusing and irrelevant.

Paper on Retaliation

The statement, published in the Guild Pioneer, the Westchester Guild's bi-monthly mimeographed organ, sent to non-members as well as members, said on the topic of retaliation:

"The publisher, in answer to a direct question, assured the members of the committee that he had not and would not discriminate against anyone for Guild activity, and that any intimidation, real or fancied, felt by Guild members, did not originate with or have authorization from him."

The phrase eliminated at the Guild's request was "or the lack of it," inserted by the publisher following the words "for Guild activity."

The entire discussion, according to the joint statement, was "marked by a spirit of friendly co-operation."

Representing the Guild were Dorothy K. Loeb, county president; Leonard J. Kane, Yonkers unit president; John R. Wertz, Mount Vernon unit president, and George Richards, also of Mount Vernon.

With Macy was Wallace Odell, editorial executive of the chain. Success of the Ledger Strike had a heartening effect on Westchester Guildsmen, according to Guild leaders. Frustrated was expressed for the courage of the strikers and the conduct of the strike by Newark and national officers.

St. Louis Chapter Votes Against Tie With A. F. L.

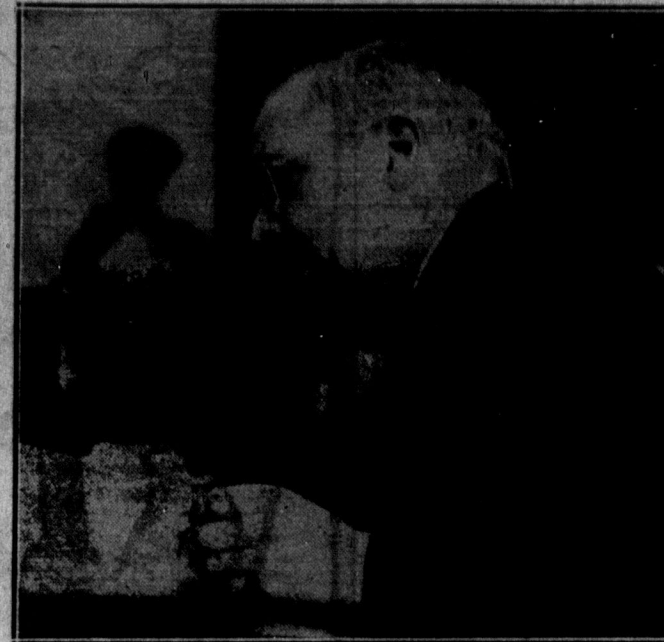
ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Members of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild, have decided against affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by a vote of approximately two to one. One hundred and eighty ballots were cast.

The vote was conducted secretly. Ballots and envelopes were distributed among the 183 members of the St. Louis Guild. One hundred and four members voted against affiliation, fifty-six members favored it.

By a decision of the Executive Committee of the St. Louis Chapter, all St. Louis delegates to the National Convention will be instructed to vote against affiliation.

"The second count is that he is (Continued on Page Eight)

Testifies Before Senate Committee



Robert M. Buck, assailing publishers' anti-Guild tactics before Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Buck Raps Publishers on Labor; NIB Ineffective, Kelly Admits

Guild Official Endorses Wagner Bill Before Senate Group

WASHINGTON.—Tactics of the publishers in thwarting collective bargaining efforts of editorial workers were vigorously assailed before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor by Robert M. Buck, regional vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild.

Buck endorsed the Wagner Labor Relations bill which the committee has under consideration.

Five committee members heard the testimony, in addition to Senator Robert F. Wagner, sponsor of the bill. It was one of the largest committee representations since the hearings began.

The Senators present were Walsh of Massachusetts, chairman; Black of Alabama, Murphy of Iowa, Murray of Idaho and Metcalf of Rhode Island.

"No case in favor of the bill could have been put better than the Guild's representative made on the basis of that organization's experience," said Senator Wagner.

Buck spoke with a conviction that impressed the whole committee and with an authority based not only on the Guild's experience of the past year, but his own of a generation in newspaper work.

Buck informed the committee of the publishers' plan to settle their NRA code and attacked Harvey J. Kelly, who had expressed the ANPA's opposition to the Wagner bill.

"He repudiated Mr. Kelly's appearance as a representative of the newspaper industry for the purpose of protesting against this bill, on two counts," Buck said.

"First, we do not admit that the newspaper industry is opposed to this bill. We are a part of the newspaper industry and we do not oppose it. Printers are a part of the industry and I have not been informed that they are opposed to it. Circulators and advertising people are parts of the industry and they are opposed to the bill."

Publishers Not Whole Industry

"The publishers are not all of this industry, and the working newspapermen organized newly as they are, bitterly resent the attitude of the National Recovery Administration that always speaks of the industry as the employers. The publishers do not represent all of this industry. That is the first count on which we resent Mr. Kelly's representation of the industry here."

"The second count is that he is (Continued on Page Eight)

Building:

Union Organization Finances—Action

By JONATHAN EDDY

The Guild was a great outfit a year ago. Now, as the convention approaches, it has ten times the vitality it had then. It was then pretty much "just an organization to job," whereas today its members have not only joined but have theories as to how it should be run. Some of us even have theories that nobody else should have.

I have a theory that we should proceed like a union, with a fund for organizing, and organizers to organize; that we need a respectable defense fund, and that these funds, in order to be effective, must be centralized. On the basis of experience in collecting for support of the Newark strike, I am in favor of collecting dues weekly, rather than monthly. I am in favor of no national dues and low local dues, with nobody exempt on the basis of low income. On top of that, if we make more than say \$25 a week, let us support with weekly payments an organizing fund, a defense fund, and an unemployment fund.

Nobody likes to stick his neck out for higher dues. Nobody likes to collect them. But it is no business that we can make this organization worth what each of us as an individual is willing to put into it. Don't forget that the printers upstairs kick in six bucks per month. Can't we kick in half as much as the printers?

The Need for Cash

There would be no time like the present for an organization drive. With the Newark strike feather in their hats, organizers could do wonders right now. And why have we no organizers? Because we failed to plan at the last convention for the contingencies of the coming year. We entered the strike broke, won it, and came out of it broke. We're in the "ain't-got-no-money-but-got-fun" stage. We could all have a lot more fun in life and in general if we were this organization what it should be. That takes not only talk but cash. It's the same with any union. The proposition is: Do we go through the next year poverty stricken or don't we?

Action Imperative

From the very beginning the publishers' association regarded us as a union. And they are getting tougher and tougher along those lines. Seems that they're planning to clear out from under the code. The code never did us any material good. It gave us something to talk about. We have talked long and louder than the publishers' association likes to listen. Withdrawal from the code withdraws the last prop on which we might proceed on the basis that we don't need to be a union. If we had known a year ago what we know today we shouldn't have had to spend so much time arguing amongst ourselves as to whether we were a union or not. Whatever we called ourselves, we would have known that action was more convincing than talk and have prepared ourselves to be able to act. But it was always the publishers who acted first. They did that in Newark and they are doing it in connection with the code. It's all very well to be patient, but why keep ourselves in a position where we haven't even any other choice?

Executive Meetings

The approach of the convention casts to the fore another problem—another problem whose solution will cost a little jack: the problem of setting up a national executive that can deliberate and act. I have tried four times (or is it five?) to bring about a meeting of the National Executive Committee. As I write this I see rays of hope that we may have one—or at least a meeting of over half

of the executive committee. But, if it takes place, individuals and locals will be coughing up money they ought not to be required to lay out and which they cannot afford, out of sheer interest in the national organization. In other words, the national cannot pay the expenses of its own officers. Possibly fourteen men are too many. But the convention won't solve the problem by cutting down the number of vice presidents. It will have to arrange things so that the committee can meet at least quarterly, and often in any emergency such as the Newark strike, or the abrogation of the code.

Reporter Editorship

Then there is the matter of the Guild Reporter editor. The last convention voted to make it a full-time job at \$60 a week. And what happened? No money—no full time editor. Clyde Beals does the job on part time. The whole staff does its work on a catch-as-catch-can, "schade" basis. It's a swell job, in my opinion, but, inevitably there are unfortunate mistakes, and things get printed which no one had the time or the freedom of mind to consider adequately.

Payment of Dues

In my opinion, the biggest mistake we can make in financing is to budget on a basis of the number of members we are going to have come Whitmanite or Michalms. That's sheer Utopianism. The membership of unions fluctuates enormously. It is affected by events within the union. It is controlled by the general economic scene. In the past year the powers that be have junked the NRA. Now, a good many people think, an open shop drive is about to be launched, of which the publishers' association is the spearhead. Some people argue plausibly enough that this is all a prologue to Fascism, the crushing of all independent wage earners' organizations. Others say that the employers are not yet united on this, that the Wagner bill will be passed, and that the illusions created thereby will enslave a tremendous increase in union enrollments, just as when the NRA was passed.

Whoever is right, there can be no gainsaying the fact that the publishers' association doesn't like the Guild and has used all sorts of means to discourage it, from verbal attacks to outright dismissals; and that this is reflected in the Guild, just as similar attacks are reflected in, say, the Detroit auto unions, by the headquarters barometer of national dues receipts.

My point is this: the only sensible basis on which to calculate our financing for the coming year is the actual average per capita during the past year. A steady, unrelenting determination to build discipline on dues and collections must at all times be a part of organizational routine, no matter what the course of development. Let us take that for granted, whatever figure is set.

And, fellow Guildsmen, we cannot wait till the convention to straighten out our finances. Each member who is behind at the present moment—I speak most sincerely and earnestly—should take the initiative himself in helping his organization over the top and on to a great future.

Barnett Recovering

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.—Barnett, Mount Vernon Association reporter and vice-president of the Westchester County Newspaper Guild, is recovering in Mount Vernon Hospital from serious injuries received last month when he was struck by an automobile.

The Guild Reporter

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After Valley Forge

Newark was the Valley Forge of the American Newspaper Guild. A harsher test would have been difficult to imagine. The Newark Ledger had no competitor in the morning field to which readers and advertisers could turn. The strike was conducted through bitter winter weather. The publisher's economic motives were complicated by an emotionalism that appeared to be willing to see a valuable newspaper property go to the wall rather than yield.

Yet the Guild has defeated this extraordinarily stubborn publisher, obtaining the unusual concession of a contractual provision for discharge of the strikebreakers. Under the circumstances it was a decisive victory. The Guild comes out of the fight stronger than ever. It can well take pride in its magnificent display of cohesion.

The thousands of Guild members in Newark, New York, Cleveland and other places from coast to coast who gave more than \$25,000 in defense of the right to organize showed a spirit new in American journalism.

To the forty-three strikers whose courage and stamina wrote a Declaration of Independence for the craft, newspapermen and women of the country owe a permanent debt.

The Guild is not only stronger but wiser. Newspaper workers learned that they had common interests with organized labor, and in the ranks of other organized workers they found their most dependable friends.

The Guild learned the efficacy and the technique of the boycott. It appealed to the public on an unprecedented scale. Newspapers learned that they could use their skill in their own behalf and to further an ideal. They had more fun writing in behalf of a cause than they ever did writing for hire.

Above all, the newspaperman and woman in Sacramento and Tulsa and Boston became aware that the acts of a publisher in Newark bore a direct and intimate relation to his or her own well being, and that "united we stand."

The need for building up a substantial defense fund was emphasized.

It was no easy thing for newspaper workers scattered over the country to maintain their enthusiasm to the extent of giving up part of small weekly salaries through misadventure during weeks. Support of the strike flagged in many parts of the country as it wore on. But despite mistakes and through emergency blood transfusions the Guild held on.

Now the ice is broken. Newspaper workers have formed the habit of cooperation. They have been tried by fire.

Educating the White Collar

Inspiring as the Newark victory was, the strike brought out one hard fact of great significance.

Probably no group of strikers in history placed its story as thoroughly before the public as the Newark Ledger Guildmen. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the strike newspaper, the Reporter, were distributed. Mass meetings, mass picketing, the radio, sound trucks, every channel of publicity was used.

Moreover, there was almost universal agreement, even among other publishers, that L. T. Russell was in the wrong and the cause of his employees was just.

It would have been reasonable to expect a unanimity of public support that would have ended the strike in two weeks and given the Guild

a far more thoroughgoing victory than it eventually won.

Yet the circulation of the Ledger was cut only 30 to 40 per cent.

Why?

Because, while organized labor supported the strike by boycotting the Ledger, a large proportion of the white collar workers constituting the bulk of the Ledger circulation did not.

It is evident that there is yet very little social consciousness or recognition of the value of co-operation among the white collar employees.

Despite the depression and increasing evidence of united action by employers, the individualistic tradition shows astonishing persistence in the white collar group.

To newspapermen, as well as to all other disseminators of information who see in the future an inevitable choice between cooperative democracy and dictatorship, this hard fact must present a challenge. They can be a great educative force for co-operation, reaching masses of people to whom, thanks to the "free press," a labor union is still just a "racket."

Adolph S. Ochs

Every man and woman with a personal feeling for newspapermen will be saddened at the passing of Adolph S. Ochs, who was for nearly thirty-nine years publisher of the New York Times, and whose death at the age of 77 occurred suddenly on April 8. In that long career he set a new standard for American journalism, a standard that steadily gained in force until the press of the country came to be measured by it. The accomplishment is the greater because he set his high goal in the face of heavy odds and in a time when yellow journalism and personal organs were the order of the day.

As an employer, Mr. Ochs was similarly outstanding. The son of poor but cultured parents who had suffered under oppression in Germany—his mother's family was obliged to leave in 1848 because of her connections with revolutionary committees—he was clearly a keenly sensitive man who never forgot the struggles of his youth and never wished to subject others to such vagaries of fortune. In the earlier days when his staff was smaller his contacts with the members were frequent and friendly and out of them and his benevolent policies grew a personal loyalty which has never flagged. To the larger number who came later, the considerable influence, though more remote, was felt throughout the paper.

Few men have been so respected in both their work and their intimate circles. The working newspapermen and women of the country will universally tender to the staff of the Times and to Mr. Ochs' family their deep regret.

The Fate of Guild Rivals

Some months ago the Guild Reporter predicted the formation of a rival to the Guild. Two such organizations have been formed. If outward appearances are any indication, they died of the croup before teething. One of them (its name eludes us) came mysteriously into being on the Long Island Press during a picketing demonstration, was announced as a national organization on the office bulletin board, and actually thrived to the extent of giving a couple of clam bakes or something with financial assistance from the publisher. The other was the National Editorial League, organized by the scabs on the Newark Ledger.

The Guild Reporter, however, reiterates its earlier predictions—with an additional observation or two:

The deterrent thus far to a "Guild to fight the Guild" has been the valiant Newark Ledger strike. The rule-or-ruin boys, their attempts to rule having long met with distressing obstacles in this democratic outfit, knew that any move to split the Guild during the strike would meet with little more approbation than did the "National Editorial League."

But we shall have our panhandling "gentlemanly" society of "professionals" all the same. It will start by seeking to split away and use for a foundation some of the more porous strata of that granite block, the ANG. It will have the tacit approval of the publishers. It will have a subtle and widespread publicity build-up such as is denied the Guild in all places except where it has obtained substantial recognition through collective bargaining. And it will actually win some minor concessions.

To date this new organization has only one member. If any of the other eccentrics with whom he is communicating can build an organization that will actually produce results (and by results we don't mean trifling bribes) we will, as we said before, urge all Guild members to join it in order to win better working conditions.

A HARD FIGHT WON



Quotes From Unit Papers

(From The Bulletin, City News Unit of the N. Y. Guild.)
WHAT HAS THE GUILD DONE FOR ME?

When the Guild was organized 17 months ago the men who laid their dollars on the line were indulging in the wildest kind of speculation.

Today all—or nearly all—that period of speculation, distrust, fear and doubt is behind us. The Guild can look back on more than a year of solid achievement, none the less solid because at times it was not apparent. What are these gains some ask? For New York members the five-day week was an achievement. The full value of which is seldom realized.

The shorter week created more opportunities for employment and in so doing reduced the number of men who wanted your job and were willing to take it for even less than you are getting.

ANOTHER ANGLE

Until the Guild came into being newspapermen were without honor in their own country. More than that, the experience that comes from many years of effort, functioning as an asset in the eyes of editors, is condensed

as a liability. To some very capable reporters the fearsome accusation of AGE is made and they are tossed into the human discard with little prospect of rising again.

But the Guild is changing this condition. Its first move in that direction was through the five-day week, making it incumbent on papers to hire a greater number of reporters. In looking over the situation some of the editors are beginning to realize that it is worth while to give an AGED reporter a job. He knows how to do his work in a far more competent way than the young fellows eager to get on a staff for \$15 a week or so.

A newspaperman of forty sees in the Guild a Promised Land. And while the veteran gets some assurance of being continued in the work to which he has given much, the cub is not denied his chance; in fact it is the veteran who does everything possible to encourage him in his adoption of the newspaper field of endeavor.

"One for All and All for One" was not spoken in vain of the veteran newspaperman in his relations with the younger generation.

—Veteran.

Member Hits A. N. P. A. Stand

WORLD-TELEGRAM RAPs
ATTACK ON CHILD LABOR

(From an Editorial in the New York World-Telegram.)

The American Newspaper Publishers Assn. is circulating its members with editorial attacks on the Child Labor Amendment. The World-Telegram is a member of this national organization of daily newspapers. But this newspaper also happens to be an active advocate of the Child Labor Amendment.

So we desire herewith to repudiate the action of the A. N. P. A. committee, which we believe is doing a distinct disservice to American newspapers generally.

There is a legitimate field for the activity of the A. N. P. A., functioning as a trade association, to advance the legitimate interests of the publishers, when these interests do not run counter to the public will. However, because of the special privileges accorded the American press under our form of government, newspapers cannot act as special pleaders for their own interests without compromising the special position they occupy

in the public confidence and esteem. With any newspaper worthy of public support and confidence, public service must come before self-service. Nothing could so greatly damage American journalism in the eyes of the public than for it to make of itself a regimented pressure group comparable to the National Association of Manufacturers or the American Federation of Labor.

These are days of widely divergent views on vital public issues. A truly independent press, giving full and free expression to divergent views, is the implement by which vital questions can be fully aired and sane policies finally formed.

Never has a press, free in the fullest sense of the word, been of greater importance to our very existence as a democracy.

But freedom and independence are restricted whenever an editor, even by his silence, permits any association to speak for him publicly or to his fellow editors.

Affiliation Question Holds Attention as the Convention Approaches
Guild Challenge Labor Lesson Taught at Newark
To Courage

STRIKERS REPORT UNION LINE POLICY
AND IMPLIED DEBT TO ORGANIZED AID

By ROBERT C. KING, NATHAN L. GOLDBERG, VICTOR PASCHKE

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Dear Friend: A lot of men are saying they are for the Guild but aren't coming to meetings. Are they afraid? Perish the thought. Movies, novels, newspapers for years have advertised the much vaunted courage of newspapermen. All of us have been guilty of embellishing our friends with tales of how we got such and such a picture or story, at the risk of our lives. Membership in the Guild does require courage. If you think you can stand the gaff, join!

We have been told that our right to organize is sacred and that no one will be fired for Guild activity here. In the face of these promises, there has been issued a barrage of "arguments" against the Guild. What are these arguments? It has been said that the Guild is going to pieces, that the St. Louis chapter has broken up. We wrote the St. Louis chapter, Julius Klyman, secretary of the Post-Dispatch chapter, wired back: "Report St. Louis Guild disbanded ridiculous." In a subsequent letter, Mr. Klyman said there are 200 men in the St. Louis Guild. 200! Can it be that the men in St. Louis have more courage of ability than we? Perish that thought too.

On Dismissals

It has been pointed out that 14 men were fired from the Cleveland News after the Guild signed a wage-hour contract with the publishers there. Were they fired for Guild activity? We wrote the Cleveland Guild, from E. O. Fohlhaber, president of the Cleveland Guild, came a letter which we quote in part: "It is true that 14 were dismissed and that all received dismissal bonus, according to the contract. But . . . the discharges were not limited to the editorial department but were made in every department of the paper . . . the printing crafts were very interested in the fact that our men were paid additional compensation while their men received nothing. Furthermore, the publisher stated that the discharges were not predicated on Guild activity. Not an officer of the guild was discharged and one of those let out was a relative of the publisher. The compensation given those fired from the News and to which Mr. Fohlhaber refers is provided for in the Cleveland News-Guild contract, which states men discharged from the News shall receive certain sums depending on their length of service."

Before the Newark strike there was still some question as to whether the Guild was a union or a professional association. The strike placed it squarely in the ranks of organized labor.

Labor Tactics Won Strike

The Guild strike followed labor lines, and in spite of Russell's rather hysterical efforts to claim we were not a union, he recognized us as one by the methods he used to fight us, including a sweeping anti-labor injunction.

The immediate factors which caused the settlement were collateral issues which did not clearly reflect the labor angle of the picture. The basic factor in the whole strike, without which the strike would have collapsed in its early stages, without which there would never have been a settlement, was the support of organized labor. The dangers of losing or weakening that support were the one continuous concern through the strike.

Fought along the lines of a boycott, the strike depended for its success upon considerable and continued cuts in its circulation and advertising revenue of the Ledger.

This was achieved, as admitted by the Ledger management. The reduction in circulation was maintained at an average of about 40 per cent, according to the Guild's surveys.

Punch Time Clock?

Ten too, the men are asked: "Do you want to punch a time clock?" No man in any Guild anywhere in the United States—and there are more than 30 Guilds, comprising 10,000 of 24,000 eligible members—is punching a time clock. However, if punching a time clock means more pay and shorter hours, what of it? Who's afraid of the big, bad time clock?

Don't say you're "for" the Guild and then go home and forget it. Come to the meetings, JOIN, put that much vaunted courage to work! You cannot get a guild by sitting around wishing for it for the reason that "things don't just happen; someone makes them happen."

See you at the next meeting.
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
DES MOINES GUILD.

Privileges Bill Defeated

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—The newspaper privileges bill, which defined "the obligations of employees of editorial departments of newspapers when called on to testify before any court," was defeated in the Arkansas Lower House by a vote of 46 to 28.

Ring is vice-president of the Newark Newspaper Guild, and chairman of its negotiations committee. Goldberg is secretary. With Everett Crozier, Ralph Goldberg and Paschke served throughout the Ledger strike on the committee in control, and on the negotiations committee. The three formed a subcommittee responsible for labor relations. A year ago they were unanimously opposed to affiliation. At the time the strike was called, there was still a division of opinion among them on the subject.

In considering the question of A. F. of L. affiliation in the light of the Newark Ledger strike, we are taking for granted that the national Guild membership wants the Guild to affiliate with the strike, a power organization. The publishers, or at least one publisher, proved to the Guild that it could not survive as a collective bargaining agency for its members unless it backed up its professional standards and moral suasion with a reserve of force and, when necessary, the legitimate coercion of strike and boycott. The steady support given by virtually all local Guilds to the Newark strike seems to justify us in our belief that the Guild movement accepts that position.

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carry on a boycott for a cause, or "could not be bothered." Appealing to white-collar workers was futile.

Unions Lead in Support
On the other hand the union with virtual unanimity, except for those in the printing trades which were afraid of their contractual obligations, were whooping things up for the Guild. They called upon their members not to read the Ledger. They made it a disgrace to be caught reading the Ledger. Several unions imposed fines upon any member doing so. They circulated "Don't Read the Ledger" buttons. They sent resolutions to advertisers. The fact that labor was behind us was our big argument in appealing to advertisers to withdraw from the Ledger.

In their attempt to intervene with the Ledger management to bring about a settlement of the strike, the Essex Trades Council and the Allied Printing Trades Council were not very fortunate. Some leaders in the printing group appeared more interested in getting some kind of a settlement than in obtaining trades union rights for the Guild. But through-out the mediation effort, the general labor support was kept on. When the Essex Trades committee's mediation effort failed, it went to work agitating against the Ledger.

Russell knew so well that labor support was his big enemy, that he aimed most of his fire at splitting it. He used the weaker or less principled labor men, both in and out of his plant, to fight us.

He frightened the chapel foremen and chairmen in his plant into signing statements intimating or openly declaring that the Guild had no claim to being a union. He used them to agitate against us at Essex Trades Council meetings. His main weapon in that campaign was the fact that we were not in the A. F. of L. He once told the Essex Trades committee that if we were in the Federation, he would give us a full closed shop contract immediately. Of course he did not mean it, but it sounded like an argument to many who had become accustomed to accepting the A. F. of L. as the labor movement.

Russell failed, but at times came perilously close to success. Fragments of labor leaders in the Essex Trades Council fought for hours, week after week, maintaining its support of the strike, in the conviction that the loss of the central body's backing would have a fatal effect on the support given by the rank and file.

Affiliation Was Issue

Attacks on the Guild were based on its being "unaffiliated" and on newspapermen being so "high-hat" as not to want to affiliate. To this the answer of our supporters was that the Guild last June did not really know what affiliation meant and had deferred action, but would probably join at its next convention. Without committing the Guild, the writers of this article did their best to encourage that belief.

In discussing labor support, mention must be made of the valuable aid given by liberal groups, led by the Citizens' Committee in Aid of Ledger Strikers. They may be who think those groups were motivated merely by a kindly feeling toward newspapermen. From actual contact with leaders in those groups, such as the Rev. Dr. Frank Kingdon, president of Dana College, and Mrs. Edward Fuhlbrugge, president of the League of Women Voters of the Oranges, it is patent that they were only mildly interested in the strikers. Larger num-

bers have been on strike in Newark under worse conditions, and received no such attention. But the liberals were interested in the social implications of the Ledger strike. They saw it placing the newspapermen of America in the ranks of organized labor, an element of strength and improvement. So they helped it along.

A. F. of L. Labor Movement
While the admitted defects of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor can fairly claim to be the American labor movement. Those of us who claimed and received the support of organized labor and its friends, will feel that we have weighed on a debt of gratitude, an implied contract, if the Guild fails to enter the movement officially. The American Newspaper Guild, of course, has the right to disregard the debts which a small group, directly affected, feels it has contracted. It cannot afford to disregard the need of keeping the support of labor, the grave danger of facing another fight after having turned down an opportunity to become definitely a part of the labor movement.

We might recall that teachers, as well as musicians and actors, found that their organizations were ineffective until they joined, and that the British National Union of Journalists entered the Trades Union Congress for the same reason, all without hampering organizations.

About Fear of Labor Label
That is the best answer to the contention which has and will be raised, that affiliation will frighten away new members and some present members who dislike the labor label. The time for holding members by appearances is past. The Guild will grow on a basis of achievement.

From five months' observation in Newark, we see the A. F. of L. and its subordinate bodies, the State Federations and central labor councils, as simply loosely-joined clearing-houses. They claim no power over member unions, admitting it belongs to the unions and their International. They cannot call for sympathetic strikes. Their only claim is a moral obligation to support a boycott in a labor fight which they back. Entering the A. F. of L. as an autonomous national body the Guild would continue to enjoy complete independence. As to the old bogey of "coloring news" in favor of labor, it did not show itself in this strike. Many of the men actively involved had to handle labor stories for their papers, including that of the strike itself.

About Reactionary Leaders

The most potent-sounding reason against affiliation is the charge that the A. F. of L. has reactionary top leaders, that many union leaders are dishonest, and that the craft set-up is wrong. To us, paradoxically, that is the best argument in favor of affiliation. The charge is exaggerated. That the proportion of misguided or dishonest leadership is probably less in labor than in most organizations. The average newspaperman need only look at his local city hall, chamber of commerce, bar association, or courts. He does not resign from his Guild because a few members are so-and-so, or leave town because most politicians are corrupt.

There is a fair share of honest, progressive leadership in the organized labor movement. The enlightened leaders will probably continue to support the Guild as a labor cause, even if discouraged by the failure of the newspapermen to join hands with them in trying to improve the movement. It is to meet the attacks of the labor "skates" that the Guild must

Buck Sees Step
For Union

Washington.
The Washington Newspaper Guild is taking steps to ascertain exactly what its members think of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. At a recent meeting 16 members expressed themselves favorably to affiliation abstractly considered, that is, not as of any particular date. Five were opposed to affiliation at any time. Four were undecided.

A committee thereupon was appointed to prepare a factual report describing the A. F. of L. and stating the obligations on each side that might follow affiliation. This report is to be mimeographed and mailed to each member with notice that the question will be debated and voted on at the April meeting.

Those who stay away and do not send their views will be construed as not caring either way. It is hoped that proponents and opponents will fight furiously. Then noses will be counted, whether or not they are meeting.

At the March meeting a motion was offered favoring another year of delay in meeting the issue and chiding Heywood Brown for continuing to express publicly, as Guild president, his opinion that the Guild should affiliate with the A. F. of L. After an hour of discussion the motion was tabled at the ratio of 5 to 1.

ROBERT M. BUCK.

be able to use the official label of labor. Russell could not have used his printing heads to attack us if we had been in the A. F. of L. In addition to being protected by its name, we would, as a matter of course, have been in the logical central bodies, the Essex Trades and Allied Printing Trades Councils, to fight our own battle.

Long-Range Consideration

There is a longer-range consideration. Of course the prevalent craft union set-up is out of date. It is particularly bad in the printing trades, where international agreements keep stereotypers and pressmen on the job while scabs hold the jobs of striking compositors. But we shall not change that by staying out and demanding loudly that they reform before we join hands. We can change the situation, slowly perhaps, by getting into the A. F. of L., getting into printing trades councils, and helping advance such moves as that made by the New Jersey State Allied Printing Trades Association. This body is advocating a change in the international agreements, so that no union man in a printing plant could handle "struck" work. This would give in effect the vertical tie-up between unions which is the only system under which a strike can be truly effective. To improve the situation we must get into it.

For Affiliation Now

One argument which will be advanced against affiliation at present is that there is no hurry. "Where's the fire, let's learn more about it," or "Affiliation is O. K. in principle, but the Guild must first get stronger, and must educate its members. We can always join in two or three years."

That position generally conceals a deep-seated aversion to identification with labor. It is our business to learn more about the A. F. of L. right now, to inform ourselves now. There is a fire. There are publishers, from San Francisco to Newark, seeking to smash the Guild. In two or three years there may be little or no Guild to affiliate with the A. F. of L. Not choice, but the A. N. P. A. is driving us into the Federation.

Our course is clear. We have nothing to lose by affiliation, except to gain if we join. Great deal to lose if we do not.

Guild Will Rise or Fall with Labor

JOIN A. F. OF L. OR DRIFT
USELESS, SAYS MEMBER

Jersey City, N. J., April 14.—The American Newspaper Guild must join the American Federation of Labor or drift into bankruptcy, says a member of the American Newspaper Guild.

A year ago I was listening with an open mind to the arguments of men like Marlen Pew of Editor & Publisher in favor of a "professional" organization model after the British Institute of Journalists, but I find that their pretty sentiments splinter on the rock of economic reality. Such an organization simply would be a delusion and a snare.

If the publishers had been smart, they would have seized the opportunity to make the Guild "professional" and consequently impotent and they would have clasped us fondly to their generous bosoms, killing us with kindness; but they showed their teeth instead and drove us straight into the camp of the labor unions. So much the better.

Union Is Only Defense

Of course the truth is that the publishers as a whole are not much concerned about ethics or professional standards. They are out for the dough. If ethics are to be brought into the newspaper business it will be through the editorial workers themselves, but to talk of ethics without a solid base of decent wages and hours and a reasonable amount of employee independence to build upon is a waste of time. Only the labor unions can provide this base. There is no other means of defending ourselves against the outrageous economic advantage possessed by the man from whom we must get the wherewithal to live.

One of the organizers of our local Guild is a strong union man but objects to affiliation with the A. F. of L., chiefly because of its adherence to craft unions, which he argues, are strangling the labor movement. He favors an industrial union for newspaper plants and prefers to postpone affiliation until something can be accomplished along this line. He has, I think, the right conception of labor organization, but if we wait until the labor unions suit us exactly, we'll wait forever.

I don't like the A. F. of L. any too much myself. Many of its

present leaders are so reactionary that I sometimes wonder if they are not involved in a conspiracy with big business to keep workingmen down. I am aware of the wholesale grafting and political sell-outs of numerous labor leaders, but this can be ascribed largely to the corruption of the times. Are our statesmen and financiers and even our doctors and lawyers any better? At any rate, the place to make improvements in the unions is from within, not without.

The Newark Ledger strike was indeed a revelation of the weakness of the craft union setup. While the striking reporters headed heroically into the windy blasts with picket signs asking the public not to read the Ledger, the A. F. of L. printer, pressmen and stereotypers who had remained at work, assisted by a crew of scabs in the editorial department, got out the paper every day as usual. Some of these union men, when they saw the size of the paper dwindling and their jobs vanishing, even sought to prevail upon the central labor bodies to withdraw their endorsement of the strike. What an absurd lineup of union workers! If the mechanics had walked out with the strikers, the strike would have been over in a day.

These are anachronisms which the Guild must help to overcome, but let us not delude ourselves with the notion that we can get along without the support of the unions. It was only the broader base created by the cooperation of organized labor that saved the Newark strike from collapse.

Labor Saved the Strike
And when the injunction gag was clamped on what would have become of the strike if organized labor as a whole, educated by bitter experience to know what an injunction means, had not started to raise hell?

Let us remember that if it had not been for the blood and treasure poured out by the A. F. of L. to maintain union principles while business men accumulated such prodigious power, all of us, including the printers, would still be working 10 or 12 hours a day at coolie wages in shops so unsanitary that they would sicken a dog. If it were not for the A. F. of L., we would hardly know what a strike is, much less how to win one. It is the A. F. of L. that has organized the labor movement, the right to strike and picket, which are about the only weapons left to the humble employee.

HOWARD A. LAMB.

Guildsmen's Coverage Vindicated

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Coverage of the Newark Ledger editorial department strike refutes Marlen Pew's statement that Guild members become class conscious to the point where they cannot be trusted to write labor stories.

Victor Pasche, a member of the strike committee, handled the assignment for the New York Times. Alfred C. Dunn, a charter member of the Guild, represented the Herald-Tribune. Nathan L. Goldberg, Newark Guild secretary and member of the strike committee, was responsible for much of the strike rewrite for the Star Eagle and his city editor trusted him with an out-of-town assignment concerning legal aspects of the Ledger case. Donald G. Palmer, a former chapter chairman and a member of the Guild's negotiations committee, covered the Chancery court hearings.

None Criticized

Not one of these reporters was criticized by the desk for the manner in which he handled a story in which he had a vital interest. Pasche, as a matter of fact, was

praised by his editor because of his strike settlement story.

City editors had the opportunity to compare copy with stories which appeared in the Newark Evening News. Reporters on this paper are not Guild members. Editor and Publisher did not trust its Newark correspondent. The publisher's bible took the prize for inaccurate statements.

Mr. Pew might better worry about the integrity of publishers made "class conscious" by membership in the ANPA. A Newark city commissioner took to the radio to launch a vitriolic attack against a local newspaper. Well advertised in advance, thousands of Newarkers heard the speech. They were not given the privilege of reading a story about it in the city's two largest newspapers.

ROBERT C. RING.

Letters signed "A Newspaper Wife," and "Copyrighted" have been received and the Guild Reporter is anxious to print them. It is important to hold to the rule against using unidentified letters, however. If the writers will send their names they will be carefully guarded—Editor.

St. Louis Unit Explains

St. Louis, Mo.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

An open letter to the membership of the American Newspaper Guild, an explanation.

In the last issue of this publication (date, April 1), a letter appeared by Harold T. Meek, president of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch unit, urging against affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Jonathan Eddy followed the letter with a comment headlined "Eddy on St. Louis Problem." In this comment Mr. Eddy attacked the St. Louis Newspaper Guild and its units. His attack was untrue, unfair and unfounded. It is the purpose of this communication to refute Eddy's charges.

The St. Louis Newspaper Guild first ran afoul of Mr. Eddy last Autumn when the membership, believing the American Newspaper Guild to be a democratic institution, considered the national guild's policies. A referendum was held, and the membership, being of the opinion that the national officers' worthy enthusiasm might at times be more diplomatically dressed than the strike. What an absurd lineup of union workers! If the mechanics had walked out with the strikers, the strike would have been over in a day.

Early this year Mr. Eddy paid us a visit. We looked forward to seeing him, asked him to be our guest while in St. Louis. We met him with open arms. And we got a crack in the jaw. For Mr. Eddy had proved to his satisfaction—before he ever got here—that the St. Louis Newspaper Guild was not the scourge of the national organization. The trouble lay not with the Guild, but with the Post-Dispatch Unit. It was the member that fouled the local air.

Permit us to go back to January, 1934, when the St. Louis Newspaper Guild was organized. The Post-Dispatch group was the prime mover. The Post-Dispatch men (and no St. Louisan denies this) made a local guild possible. But the main problem was for the Post-Dispatch group, with a membership larger than the other two St. Louis groups combined, to convince the Star-Times and Globe-Democrat units that it would not dominate the local guild. When one of the smaller units suggested that three separate chapters be established, each chapter represented by five men on the executive committee of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild, this committee actively in charge of the organization, the Post-Dispatch readily assented. In other words the Post-Dispatch group, with more than half the membership, had one-third of the representation. That is the history of the formation of the St. Louis set-up.

The plan worked beautifully. There was perfect accord among the three units, each with its own officers subservient to the city officers, each with its own constitution in accord with and subservient to the city constitution and to the national constitution. There has been but one disconcerting force in the membership of the St. Louis guild, one man out of nearly 200, a man who is a member of the unit with the smallest percentage of possible members, the one unit far behind in its city dues, the unit which has the poorest attendance at its meetings, the one weak unit in the city.

This one man, without the official position to do so, has from the first carried on an unofficial correspondence with Mr. Eddy on official matters.

Let us tell the inside story:

1. Mr. Eddy assailed the Post-Dispatch Unit when in St. Louis because it had not asked for a contract. We do not think we need a contract. Many units think like

Bostonians for Joining A. F. of L.

OLD WRITERS' UNION MEMBER
SAYS GUILD WOULD GAIN

Boston.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Boston had a strong News Writers' Union once, a typewritten "memorandum" with the publishers, and a minimum of \$45 a week. The publishers kissed it to death with promises and raises, just as they are trying to kiss the Guild at present.

The members of the Newspaper Guild of Boston, many of whom are still members of the News Writers' Union of the A. F. of L., have no fear that A. F. of L. affiliation would deprive them of opportunities for individual advancement, or would drag the strong men down to a common level, or would interfere with the publishers' right of freedom of the press.

Union Protected Writers. They know from experience that the strong men fared better when they were protected from sweatshop competition, that most of the good men actually benefited from the higher minima established for re-write and copy desk classifications; and that the union never was asked—or tried—to interfere with the publishers' ideas of news or opinion.

Many of the men who are active in the Guild are the same men who kept the old News Writers Union alive during the Hoover prosperity. Some of the men who are "giving the Guild the leg" are the men who criticized the union during its time of strength. The publishers don't want the union, but they don't want the state's industrial population. It was never necessary to strike.

The Jennings case, the Newark strike, the break-down of Section 7-A, the secret memoranda and maneuvers of the ANPA, have shown us in which way our course lies. They have shown us much more definitely than any discussion which could possibly take place at a national convention.

BOSTON GUILDSMAN.

wise. The constitution of the national guild does not demand it. Contract has been talked in St. Louis executive meetings. The Post-Dispatch group has always been willing to aid the other units in obtaining contracts if they saw fit. It has been the unit of which Eddy's informant is a member that has preferred to table contract discussion.

2. The Post-Dispatch Unit, setting aside all argument as to the possible virtues of A. F. of L. affiliation, believes that it would be a tactical error for the ANPA to affiliate at this time. The St. Louis guild has just voted against affiliation. The Post-Dispatch Unit suggested the vote be made by chapters, thus giving the two smaller units the chance to out vote us.

3. Mr. Eddy accused us in the last Reporter of company unionism. That is ridiculous, both in practice and in philosophy. He has no proof because there is no proof.

4. Mr. Eddy says, in the last Reporter, "there are four guild presidents in St. Louis, three guild treasurers (that is true but there should be four), four guild constitutions." We have already explained the "four presidents" and the "four constitutions." But Eddy prefers unit presidents to be called "chairmen." We fail to see any difference. As for the treasurers, all (should) pay into the city treasury, the units merely retaining enough funds for unit business.

5. Mr. Eddy, when in St. Louis, was offended because the unit rather than the local guild were sending money to Newark. That practice was begun by Eddy's informant.

Members of the American News

men's professional societies' and "individual enterprise being hampered by trade unionism." A year ago there were men who believed in the good faith of the ANPA and the NIB and Donald Richberg. In a year, affiliation with the A. F. of L. has been thrust upon us. The events of 1935 have shown us that publishers' flattery is often a mask for employers' contempt. Practically, there are no Northcliffe, Pulitzers, or even 1898 W. R. Hearsts in the publishing business at present. There is only the business office and board of directors. A few sons of Grover and of Pulitzer survive, but they are exceptions which prove the general rule of corporations.

Trend Favors Affiliation
In Boston, the tide has definitely swung in favor of affiliation. The A. F. of L. provides us with the machinery for obtaining friends when we need them. It has the experience of the News Writers' Union that such friends were never needed for such drastic measures as strikes and boycotts. Their very presence on a strong committee was sufficient to cause the publishers to open their ears.

After all, no one is more vulnerable than a man who owns only the good will of persons who pay two cents for one paper. A publishers owes the good will of his staff, and nothing more. He will not refuse to listen to a strong A. F. of L. committee.

The Boston News Writers' Union accomplished more in a few weeks than the Boston Guild has accomplished in a year because it could muster strong committees representative of large sections of the state's industrial population. It was never necessary to strike.

The Jennings case, the Newark strike, the break-down of Section 7-A, the secret memoranda and maneuvers of the ANPA, have shown us in which way our course lies. They have shown us much more definitely than any discussion which could possibly take place at a national convention.

BOSTON GUILDSMAN.

paper Guild, this is our explanation. Not our apology. We have no apology. . . . Well, what, perhaps we have, for we failed you when the good of the guild was at stake. We failed, when Mr. Jonathan Eddy was in St. Louis, to conduct him to the highest point of the highest bridge and throw him into the yellow reaches of the Mississippi.

Executive Committee.
St. Louis Post-Dispatch Unit.
CHARLES W. MARSALEK
RICHARD G. BAUMHOFF
THOMAS E. SHEERMAN
HAROLD T. MEER
JULIUS H. KLYMAN

Educational Forum For Guild Reporters

New York City.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Some of our best reporters to day could not write a story to save their lives. They are the truly forgotten men in the Guild's campaign to improve conditions of newspapermen.

Legmen increase their value to the paper with the time they spend on one beat. The men upon whom we depend to get our news, cannot write.

Which brings us to the perennial question, "When will the Guild begin its educational campaign?" An educational forum in the Guild Reporter or a series of written lectures in the Reporter on how to write a news story would be of immense benefit, not only to legmen, but to cub reporters and copy boys.

How about it?

EDWIN RULE.

Here's Secret A.N.P.A. Bulletin; Guild Had Hard Job Getting It

"Certain Portion" of Pamphlet Bared in Boston
Tells How to Thwart Negotiations

In the last issue of The Guild Reporter we promised to print the complete text of the secret bulletin issued by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association under date of July 27, 1934, as an outline of technique for giving the Guild the run-around. This was made on the assumption that when a member of the Newspaper Industrial Board, even a labor member, ordered a transcript of the text of an exhibit in a proceeding, the chairman of the board, from whose office the affairs of the board are directed, would see to it that the request was granted.

Jonathan Eddy ordered a transcript of the text of the NIB hearing in Boston on the Boston Herald and Traveler case. Harvey J. Kelly, chairman of the ANPA Standing Committee as well as chairman of the board, made the incorrect inference that in placing the order with Vera Pancher, hired by Mr. Kelly to make a stenotype record of the proceedings, Eddy was ordering an original of the secret memorandum, and advised Miss Pancher she was not to transcribe anything but the Guild. When Eddy explained he was ordering merely a transcript of the text of the memorandum, which was in evidence and to which he had an indisputable right, Kelly yielded.

A week and more passed and no transcript was received. Portions of the memorandum had been read into the record by counsel for the Guild. Vice President Robert M. Buck referred to the memorandum when testifying in Congress on the Wagner bill. He appealed to Eddy for the text before the hearings should adjourn. Eddy refused. Kelly at the ANPA office in Chicago, a subordinate of Kelly replied that the transcript would reach Guild headquarters "Monday-Tuesday sure."

It did not.

On the following Friday there arrived at Guild headquarters in a plain envelope something annotated thus in typewriting:

Attached is copy of certain portion of Bulletin No. 6905, New York, July 27, 1934, published by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and entered as Exhibit No. 13 in the Hearing of the Boston Newspaper Guild vs. Boston Herald-Traveler Corporation before the Newspaper Industrial Board, March 18-20, 1935, Boston, Mass. Just what has been omitted is not known at The Guild Reporter office. However, here is the "certain portion":

Bulletin No. 6905
New York, July 27, 1934.
"IF SPECIAL
DAILY NEWSPAPER CODE
Closed Shop Contracts Demanded
By Newspaper Guild
The American Newspaper Guild is approaching various publishers and demanding closed shop contracts in respect of their news departments. Publishers have inquired of this office as to what they should do under the circumstances.

Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act does not require publishers who have subscribed to the Daily Newspaper Code to enter into any contract calling for a closed shop. While the law gives to all employees the right to bargain collectively, free from restraint or interference by employers, it does not make such bargaining compulsory on those employees who do not desire to join in. Neither does it compel a contract to be entered into by the employer as a result of such bargaining.

The law merely provides a method for employees who desire to do so voluntarily to cooperate with one another in the matter of

collective bargaining with their employers. It does not compel organization or unionization of all employees; it does not require contracts to be entered into; and it would be violated if an employer entered into a contract which denied a place on his staff to a man who preferred to continue in the future as he has continued in the past in his individual capacity as an employee.

It is very important that publishers, in their negotiations with the Guild, should keep certain facts in mind.

Article III, Section 1, of the Daily Newspaper Code, authorized the Code Authority "to secure the necessary data and to determine the maximum hours and minimum wages for news department workers, and subject to the approval of the administrator to incorporate its findings in the provisions of this code."

The Code further provides that "until such time as its findings are made a part of this Code, present conditions shall be maintained."

The present conditions referred to are those which existed on the effective date of the Code—March 12, 1934.

The President, in his executive order approving the Code, required that the determination provided for, as above mentioned, should be made within 60 days or prior to May 12. Every step has been taken by the Code Authority of the Daily Newspaper Publishing Business to make this determination, but the determination itself has been held in abeyance because the American Newspaper Guild has requested the NRA to hold a public hearing on the recommendation of the Code Authority, and on each occasion when the NRA has attempted to set a date for that hearing, the Guild has not been ready. Its latest request for a postponement asked that the date be deferred until sometime after the first of October.

Both publishers and their news department employees should be advised that the American Newspaper Guild has made impossible, by its dilatory tactics, the carrying out of this code provision, requested by the President within 60 days of the effective date of the Code or within any other period of time up to date.

Another fact is that if publishers have adhered to the Code by maintaining the conditions which existed in their news departments as of March 12, there is no question under the Code for them to discuss with their employees, insofar as their news departments are concerned. However, because of the provision of Section 7 (a) of the Act, where publishers are satisfied that their news department employees or some of their employees are members of the Guild, and a request is received for a conference with the Guild, that request should be granted. Negotiations should not be declined, even though contracts are declined. On the other hand, the Guild should be emphatically informed that until the determination provided for in Article III, Section 1, is made, there is nothing to discuss unless the Guild has evidence of some violation of the Code.

Another question which has been raised by publishers is whether or not publishers may act jointly in a city where there is more than one newspaper in their negotiations and bargaining with the Guild. Of course, publishers may act jointly if they so desire, but unless they agree to act jointly, then the Guild cannot compel a publisher's organization, set up for other purposes, to treat with it as an organization.

Still another question is how

Hearst Units Weigh Asking Dismissal Plan

Six Chapters to Canvass
Members on Severance
Notice Proposal

Representatives of the six New York Hearst units, at a meeting Monday evening, April 8, decided to canvass their members on a proposal for severance notice to the Eastern representative for William Randolph Hearst.

Several months ago the Executive Committee of the Newspaper Guild of New York conferred with William A. Curley, publisher of The New York Journal, and E. D. Coblenz, publisher of the New York American, presenting the full program of the New York Guild.

The Hearst Guild representatives considered other objectives of the Guild which might be presented, such as minimum pay scales, restoration of former salary levels and extension of the five-day week, but it was finally agreed that the justice of job security, affecting every member of the editorial staff and involving no immediate increased cost to the management, would recommend itself to the management.

Units represented at the conference were the following:
Journal, American, Universal Service, International News Photos and Mirror.

Job-Finding Bureau Is Set Up in N. Y.

All Members Are Urged to Supply 'Tips' When Jobs Are Open

In connection with its Unemployed Unit the New York Guild has mapped a double action drive to find work for jobless newspaper workers.

Establishing a placement bureau to co-ordinate the work, the Representative Assembly appointed a committee of influential employed members to explore the possibility of placing men on relief projects and at the same time passed resolutions urging all Guild members to supply the bureau with "tips" on any positions open in their individual shops. A survey of job possibilities in allied fields is also planned.

The placement bureau, under the direction of Kenneth Howry, Fairchild unit, immediately launched a survey of New York's unemployed news men and found itself faced with a big job.

The committee appointed by the Representative Assembly, headed by Henry Faynter, Post unit, hopes ultimately to establish relief projects for newspapermen along the lines of those which now care for artists, teachers and other white-collar workers.

publishers may proceed to ascertain if the Guild does represent their employees. No objection can be raised if a publisher makes inquiry of his employees as to whether or not they belong to the Guild as long as he does not intimidate them or use any force to restrain them from membership if they desire to join. If a controversy should arise between the Guild and a publisher as to the Guild's claims of representation, Article VI, Section 5 (a) of the Code provides that the controversy shall be determined by the Newspaper Industrial Board.

The important thing, however, is that the Guild has no ground for controversy with any publisher if the latter's news department is being conducted on the same basis as existed on March 12 last.

Publishers Declare Opposition To Code in Newspaper Industry

Attitude Considered Indirect Recognition of Guild's Strength in Presenting Case to Public

Some of the leading newspaper publishers of the country are mobilizing to prevent continuance of the daily newspaper code. Evidence to this effect is obtainable from a recent issue of Editor & Publisher, trade publication of the industry.

The publishers first threatened to withdraw from the N.R.A. after the reaffirmation of the Dean Jennings decision when it appeared that they might not be able to apply their unique "consent clause"—which barred any modification of the code in that their specific consent—as a means of repudiating the National Labor Relations Board. Their present attitude is considered an indirect recognition of the Guild's effectiveness in presenting its case to the public and an indication that they are choosing to scrap the code before an active organization such as the Guild obtains support for a real enforcement of their promises.

The magazine asked leading publishers to answer the following questions: Should newspapers be organized under code in a new NRA set-up? Do you believe the decision depends on whether newspaper publishing is interstate or intrastate?

Rehear Denounces NRA
William Randolph Hearst, (one of whose papers has fired two Guild chairmen, and forced two other active members to resign) answered that he did not think there should be any new NRA. "If this modifying of ours would only mind its own legitimate affairs and keep its interfering and infected finger out of the eye of industry, we would all be able to enjoy not only prosperity, but life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness—the forgotten ideas of American independence and individualism," he said.

"Newspapers, in my opinion, should not be grouped or under a code," said E. D. Stein, publisher of the Detroit Free Press.

Stern Favors Wagner Bill
J. David Stern, publisher of the New York Post, Philadelphia Record, Camden Courier and Post said: "Our newspapers are opposed to continuation of code in all its forms, except for provisions covering minimum wages and maximum hours. If the Wagner bill is passed by Congress, as it should be, then it is no longer necessary to maintain any code."

Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune, said: "It seems to me that one strong organization is the best defense for newspapers in defense of

On its editorial page, the magazine states:

Objects to Union
"Organization of editorial workers probably will not be halted by a discontinuance of the code. A professional organization is a real journalistic need, and may be the source of valuable mutual benefits. The objection is to a class-conscious union of writers."

Editor & Publisher admits: "The benefits that have come to newspapermen by reason of the paper code are so insignificant as to be ridiculously out of proportion." The title of the editorial fence for newspapers in defense of

Shows Help Philadelphia Care for Own Unemployed

By JEAN BARRETT

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Taking care of our own. . . .

Not as well as we'd like to, of course, but we've tried against pretty tough odds to keep our unemployed newspapermen off the relief rolls in Philadelphia.

But the odds go to the unemployed. It is only because they have held their requests to sheer necessities—only because they pared budgets to meagre demands—that we've been able to carry on.

It was after the Public Ledger folded in April, 1934, when many were given two weeks' pay and the good wishes of John C. Martin, owner-publisher, that the Executive Council of the Philadelphia-Camden Guild stepped into the relief picture.

Within the next month, members of the several units contributed \$416 to cover immediate needs.

Then came our first show, Guild Gayeties. We packed the largest ballroom in the swankiest club in 30 to Elsie Katzian.

Katzian-Hartshorne

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—Sidney G. Hartshorne, New Rochelle Standard Star reporter, who has been married here March 30 to Elsie Katzian.

ing the freedom of the press against bureaucratic encroachment. A number of weak organizations would be likely to fall before the assault.

Several publishers in smaller cities and towns were mildly in favor of continuation of the code in some form or other.

Richberg's Opinion Sought
While these opinions were being solicited by Editor & Publisher, its Washington correspondent reported that Donald Richberg, director of N.R.A., refused to discuss whether newspapers are interstate or intrastate in their operations. "It is believed that whether newspapers are to continue under the proposed new N.R.A. depends largely on the government's ruling on this question," the magazine remarked.

Appearing before a Senate committee, Mr. Richberg expressed himself in favor of making the new N.R.A. law applicable only to interstate business "or operations which affect interstate commerce."

"The ramifications of the latter are numerous," the magazine remarked. "Its most clearly understood application and the one most frequently invoked is the regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission of freight tariffs on railroads operating wholly intrastate."

"If the analogy of the railroad cases is followed by N.R.A. in determining the bounds of its jurisdiction, it will relinquish little or none of its present claimed powers."

On its editorial page, the magazine states:

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Buck Criticizes Publishers for Stand on Labor

Guild Official Testifies at Hearing of Senate Committee

(Continued from Page Three)

not a member of the newspaper industry. He is a member of the labor-fighting industry, just like Mr. Emery of the National Manufacturers Association.

"He is an employee, not of any newspaper, but of an organization of newspapers for the purpose of resisting labor. As chairman of the Special Planning Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, he is that association's gladiator, resisting labor's demand for those members having contractual relations with the mechanical trades union."

Buck attacked Kelly's testimony that the latter's association has "a well developed equality of bargaining power with labor."

Of the code, Buck said: "We agree that if this bill is enacted we don't need a code. We don't want one anyway. We've been bothered by it long enough."

Buck went on to recite the Guild's code of ethics.

"What's that code got to do with Hearst?" asked Senator Murphy. "Mr. Hearst opposes the Guild which subscribes to that code," Buck replied.

"And all the code requires is that you tell the truth, isn't it?" interjected Senator Black, author of the 30-hour week bill which has won a favorable report from the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Buck recited the history of the newspapermen who have been dismissed for Guild activities. He said that not counting Newark, there have been "10 martyrs to the determination of feudal publishers to defy 7A and to smash our organization, despite the fact that they are signatories to the code which guarantees us the right to organize and bargain collectively. These are the gentlemen for whom Mr. Kelly spoke last week."

Congress Only Chance

"After such a demonstration of our employers' power," he continued, "we have no place to which to appeal but to Congress, and now, through you, we ask Congress to restore the National Labor Relations Board to independence, increase its power and make it impossible for such a thing as happened in the Jennings case to happen again."

Buck again assailed Kelly for his attempt to use labor racketeering as a reason for opposing equal bargaining power for labor.

"My home was in Chicago," Buck said, "and at one time I was a member of the City Council there. I had to blush with shame when Mr. Kelly spoke of labor racketeering, because pictures came up before my mind of murder on the streets of my town, bloodshed caused by a newspaper circulation war."

"In the year of 1907, when Hearst papers, then recently installed in Chicago, undertook to grapple with the other papers for circulation advantage, both groups of newspapers imported from all of the hell holes of the United States, criminals, thugs and gunmen, and turned them loose upon our streets to murder and to pillage."

"They never went away, but remained to form the basis for the things that later happened in Chicago under prohibition."

Buck told of the secret pamphlet distributed among its members by the ANPA to block the Guild's collective bargaining attempt and said he would produce it for the committee's inspection. Senator Walsh replied that the committee would be pleased to have it in the record.

Negotiator



William Sharpe, president of the Winston-Salem Newspaper Guild.

Winston-Salem Guild Unit Wins on 5 Points

(Continued from Page One)

since discontinued during the depression).

(4) Compensation for all time more than 40 hours weekly.

(5) No training of "free" apprentices or voluntary editorial workers.

Unit Withdrawn Contract

Agreement on these five points were reached during conferences between a Guild negotiating committee and W. K. Hoyt, business manager of the Journal-Sentinel. The front office refused to sign a contract calling for any increase in pay, and when the committee reported to the Guild, it was decided not to sign a contract which would, in effect, "freeze" for one year the status quo in salaries.

The contract was therefore withdrawn for presentation later. Its minimum salary of \$38 a week for reporters, with graduated pay for apprentices and regular increases for continued service.

The concessions enumerated above were the by-product of the negotiations and were acknowledged in a letter sent from Hoyt to Bill Sharpe, local Guild president.

'Front Office' Door Open

In the first contact with the publisher, Owen Moon, the Guild last December obtained a raise and some salary adjustments. Contrary to the experience of Guilds in some sections, the local unit has found the "front office" door open to its committees and has established a friendly relationship as the newsroom collective representative. Every eligible employee except one is a Guildman.

The Guild has voted to send Nady Cates, Jr., Sentinel reporter, to the national convention. Gowan H. Caldwell, Journal reporter, was named alternate delegate.

Committee on Affiliation Appointed in New York

The Executive Committee of the New York Guild of New York has appointed a committee on American Federation of Labor affiliation headed by Edward Levinson, New York Post, which will submit two reports to the Representative Assembly and the general membership.

The committee is divided evenly between those in favor of and those opposed to affiliation.

John Price, chairman of the New York Herald Tribune Unit and Frederick Woltman, New York World-Telegram, together with Levinson make up the pro-affiliation side of the committee; Roger Dahlin, Daily News, Craig Thompson, the New York Times, and Bert Andrews, New York American, will report for those opposed to the step.

New York Scans Use of Radio as Publicity Field

May Record Speeches by ANG Leaders for Use of Local Guilds

By BENN HALL

The New York Newspaper Guild has pioneered in the use of radio programs as a medium of stimulating interest in the ANG. Station WEVD is being used by the Guild at 10:30 p. m. Thursdays. Speeches and discussions of newspaper work, given by Guildmen, are featured. Plans are under consideration for the dramatization of news-gathering feats.

The radio can be a powerful ally in informing the general public of the existence of the Guild and in developing good-will. With many publishers holding their sacred duty, in insuring "freedom of the press," to soft-pedal Guild news, the radio offers an excellent medium to acquaint the newspaper reader with the newspaper man.

There are many possibilities for programs and methods to present them. But to future "sponsors" of Guild programs two thoughts must be paramount. Programs must be of general interest and must be produced at low cost to the Guild.

For the general purpose of developing good-will, talks of newspaper work by Guildmen, particularly "names," are of great value. It may be possible to record talks given in New York by Brown and other Guild officers and workers and to send them to local Guilds throughout the country. The local could then arrange to "buy time" on local stations and use these discs. A commercial announcement before and after the speech, announcing the sponsor and, possibly, incidental mention of the Guild during the discussion, would make the public "Guild-conscious."

Recording Possibilities

The New York Guild is compiling records of stations—network and independent. These stations would be sub-listed according to ownership. Many universities, labor organizations and other friendly groups own radio stations. They may welcome Guild programs.

Guilds in small cities may encounter difficulty in finding that the publisher is also the owner of the radio stations and perhaps unwilling to sell time to the Guild. But a rival station in the same city or a nearby city may welcome the opportunity to grant the Guild broadcasting privileges.

In addition to this form of institutional advertising, radio can be useful in another manner. In emergencies, such as strikes and lockouts, the radio can be called into service. Emergency programs, of course, would be special speeches and not the usual type of recorded programs. This emergency work, however, will not be easy selling. The Guild Reporter, in its issue of December 15, 1934, reported that seven local radio stations refused to sell time to the Guild in its fight with the Oakland Tribune.

The New York Guild is also making a study of prices for recording. This information will be compiled within the next few weeks. Guild members, particularly those who have had experience in utilizing radio for Guild purposes, are asked to send in all available data.

St. Louis Chapter Elects

ST. LOUIS.—Harold T. Meek was recently elected president of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch chapter of the Guild, succeeding Roy Alexander, resigned. Other officers elected with Alexander will continue to hold office under Meek. These include Charles Marsden, vice-president; Julius H. Klyman, secretary; and Richard G. Baumhoff, treasurer.

Typos Promise Support To Des Moines Guild

DES MOINES, Iowa.—Through its president, Paul Olson, the Typographical Union of Des Moines has pledged its "full support, aid, advice or anything else you want" to the newly-formed Des Moines Newspaper Guild.

Olson, voiced the typos' sentiment at the regular meeting of the union. Representing the Guild at the meeting were Milton Lomask, president, and Hugh Jencks, treasurer.

Philadelphia Guild Backs Wagner Bill

Mass Meeting to Be Staged With Central Union

PHILADELPHIA.—The Central Labor Union and the Newspaper Guild of Philadelphia and Camden will hold a joint mass meeting April 18 in support of the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill.

Final arrangements for the meeting were made recently by a committee of the C.L.U. and the Guild. Paul Conly French, president of the Philadelphia-Camden organization, and Richard Yaffo, vice president, represented the Guild.

Labor officials said that William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, had promised to attend. Heywood Brown, president of the American Newspaper Guild, has been invited to be one of the speakers.

The Executive Council of the Philadelphia-Camden Guild formally endorsed the Wagner Bill and has started a campaign to have Guildmen and union labor write to their Senators and Representatives in support of the measure.

Senator Wagner wrote to French last week expressing his appreciation of the Guild's support and encouragement.

Several union representatives have suggested that all pending labor legislation be endorsed at the mass meetings. Final decision will be taken within the coming week. Labor officials expressed the belief that between 10,000 and 15,000 persons would attend the meeting, which is expected to be held on Reuben Plaza in the center of the city.

District Guild Set Up In Carolina Piedmont

DURHAM, N. C.—The organization of the Piedmont District Newspaper was perfected recently when members of the executive committees of the Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Durham Guilds met at Winston-Salem and drafted plans for the district setup and selected a committee of six members as the governing body.

The district Guild is designed to coordinate the work of the local Guilds and to provide an organization for newspapermen working on the smaller dailies and weeklies of the state whose staffs are too small to constitute local Guilds.

Plans are under way to hold a district convention at Winston-Salem prior to the national convention in June.

Members of the executive committee of the district Guild are Mike Bradshaw, Jr., secretary, and B. S. Dekle, of Durham; Miss Mamie Hagwood and Nady M. Cates, Jr., of Winston-Salem; and Philip H. Price and Houston A. Lawing, of Greensboro.

Show Sellout Assured

YONKERS, N. Y.—A sellout of 700 seats seems assured for the Yonkers dinner and dance which the Yonkers unit will sponsor Saturday, May 4, at Arrowhead Inn, Riverdale. The show was written by Kenneth A. Fowler, unit treasurer and City Hall reporter and columnist for the Yonkers Herald Statesman.

McGowan Toledo President

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The Times Unit of the Toledo Newspaper Guild held a supplemental election of officers as a result of the resignation of Paul Schrader, former unit president, to an executive position.

Schrader's resignation was accepted with regret. John McGowan, unit recorder, was elected president. The recorder's place was voted to Ingrid Jewell, who becomes the first woman member of the executive board in Toledo.

Oakland Fight May Get Help Of State Labor

Wide Import Is Seen in Move for Federation Support of Resolution

SAN FRANCISCO.—State-wide significance has been attached to the labor's support of the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan Guild's fight on the Oakland Tribune, which fired three men for Guild activities.

It was determined to carry a resolution, passed by the Alameda County Central Labor Council and that county's Building Trades Council, endorsing the Guild's fight, straight to the California Federation of Labor.

If the State Federation adopts the resolution, it will be perilous for any publisher in California to attempt to discourage Guild organization.

The resolution was originally written and adopted by the Oakland carmen's union. This union introduced it to the Alameda County Central Labor Council, where it was unanimously adopted. It condemns as "un-American and subversive to good citizenship" the action of the Oakland Tribune in discharging three Guild members and gives the "wholehearted sympathy of labor" to the Guild.

Backed by Council

A clause in the resolution provided that it be published in the East Bay Labor Journal and copies sent to the State Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Council of Alameda County with a request that the action be endorsed. The Building Trades Council has already endorsed it and this implies the support of every labor group in that county.

Besides this, the carmen's union itself resolved to cancel subscriptions to the Oakland Tribune and sent a letter to Publisher Joseph Knowland regretting his actions had made this move necessary, hoping his attitude toward the Guild would soon become favorable so that the carmen might again patronize his paper.

At the last meeting of the Executive Council of the Guild's San Francisco Metropolitan Bay Area, a resolution of protest was adopted against an ordinance in Berkeley, the University of California college town adjoining Oakland, that forbids distribution of handbills on the street.

Federalist Danger Cited

It was recalled the local Guild used dodgers extensively in conducting its campaign against the Oakland Tribune, and through this means cut Tribune circulation down by a reported 4,000. It was pointed out the Berkeley ordinance, dormant since 1919 until last week when it was awakened for political reasons, might well be shaken even more widely awake as an instrument against the Guild.

The local Guild Executive Council sent a letter to the Berkeley City Council urging passage of an amendment to the ordinance which would confine the ban on handbills to commercial dodgers, and asking dismissal of charges against 18 University of California students arrested under this ordinance for distributing anti-war leaflets.

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For the Fourth Estate

Vol. II.—No. 10

United Policy Is Urged on Legislation

National Legislative Body Sought to Adjust Divergent Views

Guild policy on labor legislation will be thrust into the spotlight at Cleveland in an effort to merge opinions of chapters throughout the country into a single legislative program. This move is being put forward by members who have been dealing with legislation. Attention was called to the need of it by the divergence of views between various Guilds regarding the Wagner Labor Relations Bill.

Two proposals for Guild policies are presented here. One is a platform that has been adopted by the Representative Assembly of the New York Guild and forwarded to all Guilds. It is a list of thirteen points recommended to Congress for legislation to strengthen the hand of labor in industrial relations.

This platform, as explained in a statement by Paul Frederickson, chairman of the legislative committee of the New York Guild, represents in part an attempt to bring the New York viewpoint more clearly into accord with viewpoints expressed by other Guilds.

The other statement is a memorial to the national Guild prepared by the acting Washington branch of the national legislative committee. It discusses the pending Wagner Labor Relations Bill and also the question of developing a national Guild view on legislation. It takes issue with some of the New York platform's points.

The statements follow:

Fredrickson's Statement

"As one of those who sought at the St. Paul convention last year to obtain the setting up of a National Legislative Committee of the Guild, I should like to urge this matter for thorough consideration at the Cleveland convention.

"Although the idea of such a committee was approved at St. Paul, the press of other matters, apparently, has prevented the creation of the committee on the wide scale suggested. A committee has been established in Washington, rather informally, to serve as the Washington branch of a national committee; and there are several local and regional legislative committees. But there is no official machinery for getting the legislative views of all the Guilds, coordinating them and pushing them toward results.

"The New York Guild thus found itself running counter to the plans of other Guilds and, moreover, undertaking a correspondence which should have been cleared through some central Guild body. The New York legislative committee quickly tendered apologies to the Washington men for not having done the clearing through them in the first place. Then it brought in a revised report, which the New York Guild adopted, making recommendations to Congress without mention of the Wagner Bill. This report was sent to the Washington men with a request that they present it to Congress if they saw fit.

"That action put New York up on the track of proper procedure, (Continued on Page Seven)

The Guild Reporter

Copyright, 1935 by the American Newspaper Guild

NEW YORK, MAY 1, 1935

Pass This Issue To a Friend

Price, \$2 a Year

Winston-Salem Scores Perfect Attendance Mark

Winston-Salem scored 100 per cent attendance at its recent meeting for the first time in the history of that Guild. The Guild has a 100 per cent paid-up membership.

Recent negotiations between the Journal-Sentinel unit of the Guild and the publisher which resulted in five important gains for the members of the unit may have some bearing upon the Guild's splendid record. One of the requests granted was an increase of dismissal notice from one to two weeks to two weeks to three months.

A committee is busy pushing organization work for the Piedmont District Guild, sponsored by the Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Durham Guilds. A membership campaign is under way, and plans are being completed for a district convention at Winston-Salem prior to the national convention.

J. David Stern, publisher of the Record, the New York Post and the Camden, N. J., Courier and Post, placed his signature on the contract in New York and then sent it to Philadelphia by special messenger where it was signed by Paul Conly French and Thomas Finney, president and secretary of the Guild.

The new agreement was formally approved by the Executive Council of the Guild April 7 and the president and secretary instructed to sign on behalf of the Guild.

The new agreement contains many of the provisions of the first contract, but has been strengthened in several points.

It provides for a closed shop, check off, dismissal notice, minimum wage scale, vacations with pay for the entire staff, five-day, forty-hour week, pay for overtime, time and a third off for out-of-town assignments, pay for time off due to illness caused by conditions of employment, arbitration board, banning of individual agreements with staff members, and provisions that a 10 per cent salary reduction be restored within sixty days after the declaration of either cash or stock dividends by the publisher.

The new agreement was negotiated by a committee consisting of Girard Chaput, chairman, Evening Ledger Unit; Seth Maxwell, chairman, Record Unit; Carlton Cressman, chairman, Inquirer Unit; Thomas Finney, Guild secretary, and F. J. O'Brien, Record Unit.

Harry T. Saylor, Editor of the Stern papers, and William F. Hawkins, managing editor of the Record, represented Stern during the negotiations which lasted for three weeks.

The vacation provision of the new contract provides for a two-thirds vote to be required to commute the move for affiliation was adopted after considerable controversy. This ratio is recommended for the membership meeting, the instructions to delegates, the vote of the national convention, and a subsequent national poll.

All sides voted united opposition to affiliation as a federal union or as an affiliate of an international union.

The resolution that was adopted on affiliation read:

"That this policy-setting and leading body of the largest Guild in the country now endorse in principle affiliation of the American Newspaper Guild with the A. F. of L."

Earlier in the meeting, opponents of affiliation agreed that the Representative Assembly should decide on procedure to be sought at the convention for deciding the issue of affiliation. A unanimous report of both committees recommended that a two-thirds vote be required at each stage up to and including a national referendum. This report was adopted.

The nine elected convention delegates, listed in the order of the number of votes cast, follow:

Carl Randau, New York Guild president (World-Telegram); Milton Kaufman, executive secretary; Paul Frederickson, second vice-president (Times); Hugh Holahan, (City News Association); Carolyn Marx (World-Telegram); David Davidson (Post); Nat Einhorn (Brooklyn Daily Eagle); Dick Armstrong (Herald-Tribune); and Gerald Duncan (Journal).

The executive committee of the Cleveland Guild first went on record (Continued on Page Seven)

Philadelphia Record Gets New Contract

10 Per Cent Salary Cut to Be Restored After Dividends

PHILADELPHIA.—A new contract between the Philadelphia Record and the Philadelphia-Camden Guild was signed April 8 on the first anniversary of the signing of the first Guild contract in the country.

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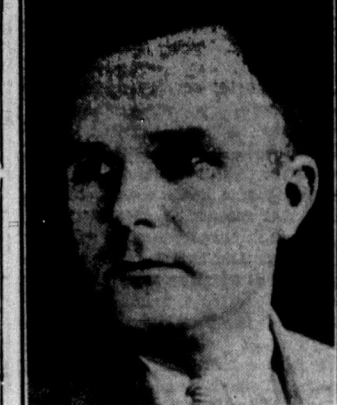
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The executive committee of the Cleveland Guild first went on record (Continued on Page Seven)

National Organizer



Bill Davy has been approved by the National Executive Committee. He starts his work of organizing immediately.

N.Y. Assembly Vote in Favor Of Affiliation

Membership Will Weigh Issue; Two-Thirds Proposal Wins

The Representative Assembly of the New York Guild voted April 23 to endorse in principle affiliation of the American Newspaper Guild with the American Federation of Labor. In addition nine delegates and nine alternates were elected to represent the local at the Cleveland convention. Two reports, reflecting the views of those favoring and opposing affiliation, were presented to the Assembly and will be submitted to the matter of affiliation.

The body also called a membership meeting for May 5 to discuss affiliation and ratify the election of delegates. Subsequently there will be a mail ballot on instructions to delegates, particularly in the matter of affiliation.

A recommendation that a two-thirds vote be required to commute the move for affiliation was adopted after considerable controversy. This ratio is recommended for the membership meeting, the instructions to delegates, the vote of the national convention, and a subsequent national poll.

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The executive committee of the Cleveland Guild first went on record (Continued on Page Seven)

ANG Names Organizer; Drive Starts

Davy of Ohio Takes Job to Build Membership in Middle West

A campaign for new guilds and increased enrollments was launched last week by the National Executive Committee of the ANG with the appointment of Bill Davy as national organizer. Between now and the convention, when his appointment will come up for ratification, Davy will concentrate on Illinois and Indiana. His temporary address is care of Ashley Greene, 155 North Clark Street, Chicago. Mr. Greene, a lawyer and ex-newspaperman, has offered the use of his office.

Davy is a former newspaper executive and columnist and leaves the post of executive secretary of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild and Fourth Regional Guild to assume his new duties.

Formerly he was production manager and later, purchasing agent of the Central Press. He was born in New Philadelphia, O.; was at one time a member of the United Mine Workers of America, is 40 years old, married, and has two children.

Notable Cleveland Record

In a letter asking Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary, to place the matter of Davy's appointment before the NEC, Elmer O. Fehlbauer, president of the Cleveland Guild, declared:

"We are putting forward Davy's candidacy in the sincere belief that he is the best man available in the national organization."

"You will note from your records that the highest membership ever attained by the Cleveland Newspaper Guild was \$25 and that under Davy's leadership here, this Guild has been operated in a fairly efficient and businesslike way, keeping its per capita paid up with a high degree of regularity."

Ledger Strikers Stick to Jobs; Tension Eases

Ex-Pickets Resolved to Prove Their Good Faith Under Pact

NEWARK, N. J.—The smoke of battle has cleared away from 80 Bank street—and the Ledger strikers are back at their desks determined to show just what a grand job they can do in re-building L. T. Russell's strike-torn paper.

The fight is over, except for a few faint echoes, and the former strikers feel certain that if the situation in the office is handled sensibly they will, as one man, continue about the business of making the Ledger a fine paper.

It begins to appear that the very real fear—fear that returning to work with "those who chose not to strike" would be like striking a spark to a powder-barrel—may be groundless. The situation is not yet comfortable, but the strikers are determined to carry no chip on their collective shoulder, and if the spark is to be struck they do not mean for it to be done by any of them.

"The office" has complained that the work of certain returned strikers, valued employees of the Ledger for years, now is not quite "satisfactory."

This has made it difficult to allay the natural suspicions of the returned strikers.

While of one mind that no individual can be permitted to go off "half-cocked" and undo the work of months, the Guild members declare they most certainly will not permit any one to be cast in the role of "whipping boy."

Grievance Group Acts

Of course the grievance committee is expected to act, and already has started acting, as a shock absorber in such cases, and no doubt will iron out all these difficulties. As a result of one amicable discussion between William Smith, managing editor, and the committee, a returned striker, finding her work almost doubled has been given an assistant.

It is believed each former striker is doing his job better than ever before. This is borne out by Paul Smith, himself, and by the trustees who informally have expressed themselves as "gratified" by the work of the Guild members.

Circulation, gaining steadily, now is nearing its pre-strike figure, and advertising is keeping pace.

It was inevitable, of course, that a number of delicate situations should arise out of the adjustments necessary to insure coverage on the various beats. The first major problem faced by the Guild after the return was failure of four strikers to come back to their jobs and the question of how their places were to be filled.

Three of the four, during the strike, had developed side-line weekly paper connections into full time jobs which they did not care to give up.

Some Shifts Made

Result was that Frank Jennings, suburban editor before the strike, took Fred Menagh's Chancery beat; Emmet Crowder went to City Hall, formerly covered by Vic Hamerling, and the two sports department holes were filled by hiring a new man and shifting a copy reader to the sports desk.

As to what tomorrow or next week holds, it is not for us to say. "We only know," to quote one of the ex-pickets, "that the Ledger gang is more a unit in thought and action than ever before. We know that we are committed to complete cooperation in getting out a newspaper and can damn well be depended upon to do just that."

French Law Strengthens News Men

By ROGER DAPIGNY,

Permanent Delegate of the International Federation of Journalists and the French Syndicate of Journalists to the American Newspaper Guild.

The status of French newspapermen, from editors to cartoonists and photographers, was measurably raised by a law recently enacted by the French Parliament. The law, known as the Germet Act, provides, among other provisions:

All editorial employees, including translators, stenographers, reporters, editors, artists and photographers of both sexes hereafter, shall in case of the breaking of a labor contract, receive one month's notice if their contract is three years or less in operation, and two months if the contract is more than three years.

If the contract has been cancelled by the employer, the employee must be indemnified at a rate of one month's pay for each year of employment up to 15 years. Dismissals of editorial employees of more than 15 years of continuous work must be reimbursed by award handed down by a special arbitration commission composed of two representatives each from the employers and employees and an umpire, preferably a Government official or judge.

In case the members of the arbitration commission have not been appointed, the president of the civil court shall appoint them eight days after the defaulting parties have been notified.

In case the cause of dismissal is serious, the indemnity shall be reduced and may even be omitted.

Indemnity must be paid however if:

Article III provides for the fixing of minimum wages by a mixed commission of three representatives of the newspapermen and three representatives of the publishers, and arbitration in case of disagreement. Wages will be established by local and regional commissions.

No Press Agents

A commission including representatives of the (the Guild), publishers and officials appointed by the government, will examine periodically the applications of new members entering the profession, in order to decide if they should receive the official "newspaperman" card of identification. Only bearers of the said card will be entitled to benefit of the dispositions of the law.

Finally, besides the legal action, which will be taken against newspapers not complying with the dispositions of the law, said newspapers cannot benefit from advertising by the Government, provincial and municipal authorities.

The law specifically forbids press agents from its benefits.

It will be financially impossible for the chapter to send representatives to the national convention in June. The all-important question of possible affiliation with the American Federation of Labor was discussed at length, however.

Because of the labor set-up in the Brockton district, the chapter did not feel it proper at present to go on record, one way or another, on A. F. of L. affiliation.

The Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen, an independent shoe union, now holds sway in the Brockton area and the local Guild chapter has its backing. The Brotherhood, however, is party to a national move which may terminate in the establishment of one, big shoe union, whether it be an affiliation of the A. F. of L. or otherwise. Until such definite action is taken, the chapter feels reluctant about declaring itself on affiliation.

Meetings of the chapter have been set for the first Friday in each month. Friday evening, May 3, the gathering will be addressed by two New England regional organizers of the A. N. G.

Newark Gains Spur Brockton Guild Activity

Local Labor Set-Up Stops Unit From Declaring Itself on A. F. of L.

BROCKTON, Mass.—Successful termination of the Newark strike provided impetus for the highly interested yet heretofore dormant Brockton Guild. News of the strike settlement proved sufficient inducement to gain an almost 100 per cent meeting of the chapter. The gathering turned out to be the most enthusiastic yet for the comparatively youthful organization and promised lively developments in the future.

President Harry W. Sherburne outlined to the members the progress of national affairs as visualized in communications from A. N. G. officers. Whole-hearted support was voted the president in a determined attempt to get the chapter away to a new start in every national co-operative venture.

Can't Send Delegates

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New Contract Is Signed By Philadelphia Record

(Continued from Page One)

new contract covers copy boys and apprentice reporters, who received vacation last year at the option of the publisher. All were given regular vacations, however, although not guaranteed them by the contract.

Taylor told the committee that the publisher hoped the corporation would make a dividend payment during the life of the contract and thus be in a position to restore the 16 per cent pay reduction made two years ago.

The Record wage scale follows:

First year's experience	\$15.00
After one year's experience	\$16.50
After two years' experience	\$18.00
After three years' experience	\$20.00
Copy boys	\$15.00
Apprentices	\$20.00
After one year's experience	\$20.00
After two years' experience	\$22.00
After three years' experience	\$25.00
After four years' experience	\$30.00
After five years' experience	\$35.00

Employees other than clerks, copy boys and apprentices, who have had two years' experience in the editorial department of a daily newspaper, but not as a clerk or copy boy, \$35.00.

The provision that gives the employees straight pay for overtime is a gain for the Guild, since under the previous agreement the publisher could give time off for overtime.

Federal Bureau Finds Newsboy Earnings Lower

Survey Shows Increase in Ages and Selling Hours of Children

The newsboys are also involved in the newspaper code, and much controversy has resulted over their conditions of work. A study by the United States Children's Bureau was reported in a recent news release, which received scant attention in many daily papers. It is printed herewith in full.

A report of a study of children under 16 years of age engaged in newspaper and magazine selling and delivering in seven cities undertaken in 1934 in cooperation with the Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

In transmitting this report the chief of the Children's Bureau points out that, compared with earlier studies of street trades, the present findings indicate "progress toward a higher age level."

More than 4,000 children under 16—1,259 newspaper sellers, 1,830 carriers, and 1,121 magazine sellers and carriers—were included in the study in the following cities: Atlanta, Baltimore, Buffalo, Chicago, Des Moines, Detroit, Fall River, Los Angeles, Louisville, Memphis, New Haven, Omaha, St. Paul, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., Wilkes-Barre and Youngstown.

Four of these cities—Atlanta, Omaha, St. Paul and Youngstown—were included in studies made by the bureau between 1922 and 1928.

Scope of the study

Officials of public and parochial schools, of social agencies, officials in charge of enforcement of street trades regulations, and newspaper and magazine circulation managers cooperated in the present study, which includes data on the age, sex, hours of work and earnings of the children, and on the conditions of their work.

Comparison with studies made by the Children's Bureau between 1922 and 1928 shows that within the last few years there has been a striking change in the age of newspaper carriers. The proportion of these newspaper carriers who are 15 and 16 years old has dropped from 44 to 16 per cent. Equally striking changes have been noted among the carriers' hours of work.

In general, child newspaper sellers and carriers averaged at least a year older in 1934 than at the time of the 1922-28 studies, working hours of carriers were shorter while those of newspaper boys were longer. Earnings of both groups had decreased.

Reasons for Higher Ages

Apparent factors in the higher age level were shortage of other employment opportunities for older boys due to the depression and preference for boys over 14 by circulation managers, some of whom had even gone so far as to establish the policy of giving out papers or assigning corners only to boys 16 or over. One circulation manager explained his preference for boys 14 or over by saying "a small child soon learned that it was more profitable to beg than to sell and consequently his papers remained unsold."

Comparison with the earlier study showed that in 1934 the percentage of the children selling papers who were under 12 years of age had dropped from 44 to 16 per cent, although differences were found in different cities. In Memphis only one boy under 12 years was found. In Omaha close to one-third of the sellers were under 12. A "striking improvement" was found in working conditions of newspaper sellers in Omaha, migrant abuses found in 1923 and 1928 had been largely eliminated in 1934.

"Little Merchant" System

Total weekly work by newspaper sellers had decreased from a median of 16.2 in 1922-28 to 15.8 in 1934. Hours of carriers increased from a weekly median of 8.4 in 1922-28 to 10.3 in 1934, apparently due to the spread of the "little merchant" system under which carriers spent additional time making collections and soliciting subscriptions. The result has been to lengthen hours, to make earnings irregular, and to impose upon the boy the risk of bad debts and the difficulties incident to collections. The "little merchant" system often resulted in the boy being asked to make collections for the publisher and to make a "house call" to the publisher's office.

Hours of selling varied from less than five to more than thirty a week, the younger boys often working for the longest hours of those under 12.

Publishers' Profits Up, Josephus Daniels Says

That Many Publishers are Making even Greater Profits than before the depression was reported this week by Josephus Daniels, publisher of the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer.

Mr. Daniels, attending publishers' conventions in New York, was quoted in an interview in the New York Times as follows:

"I told individual publishers at the Associated Press meeting today that they were all in the red two years ago and that they were still in the red when we met last year. But today we are all in the black. I haven't found a publisher who says he is still in the red. Many of them are making larger profits than they made before the depression."

At the same time, Daniels said, the newsboys are making less money than they did before the depression.

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Philadelphia's 'Repudiation' Makes Trouble

88 of 134 in Record Unit Deplore Action and Maxwell Quits

By A. H. ROBERTS.

PHILADELPHIA.—When Heywood Brown, national Guild president, made the remark that "Labor's Public Enemy No. 1 is Franklin D. Roosevelt," he started something.

And when the Executive Council of the Philadelphia Guild of Philadelphia and Camden "repudiated" that remark, it started something more.

For 88 of the 134 members of the Philadelphia Record unit of the local Guild have signed a petition deploring the committee's action as "ridiculous and unwise."

As a result, Seth Maxwell, unit chairman at the Record and sponsor of the committee's resolution, resigned his chairmanship and membership in the Executive Council.

In a long letter, he stated his "intense anger at this vile slander" against Roosevelt, asserted he is "an American before I am a Guildman" and charged Brown has "sought to align us with the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party."

And there, for the moment, the matter lies. Brown has stood on his statement, pointing out that a new election for Guild president will take place at the Cleveland convention in June.

The 88 petitioners said "any repudiation should have awaited the next national convention, where ballots would emphasize the issue."

Angered by Publicity

Although the council's resolution said copies were to be forwarded to Roosevelt and Brown, as well as to all units of the A. N. G., it did not require that they be handed to press associations and newspapers.

First knowledge of the council's action came on a Sunday afternoon, April 14, when there appeared in the bulletin board at the Record a 200-word Associated Press dispatch telling the story. The Record's next morning printed the story on page one.

Maxwell, in his resignation, accepted responsibility for the publicity. In addition, he said: "I was impressed with the fact that no daily newspaper in America printed this (Brown's) slur against Roosevelt."

This contrast in the amount of publicity given to the remark by Brown and its "repudiation" here was one of the things which led Vic Wilson, Record staff member, to start circulation of the protest petition.

"The undersigned," said the petition, "do not necessarily agree with the remarks Brown is reported to have made. They heartily disapprove, however, of the foolish action of the Executive Council."

"We feel the Executive Council far overstepped the bounds of good sense and good taste, and, by giving the impression it spoke for the entire membership, made the Guild appear as ridiculous and unwise as itself."

Copies of the petition were sent to the Council, to Roosevelt and to Brown.

In a letter to Brown, Wilson added:

"It is fair to say that a majority of those whose names are not on the petition did not have an opportunity to see it."

The petition was circulated by Wilson for two days at the Record before it was sent to Brown.

Other petitions now are in circulation at other units.

The council's resolution of repudiation first was offered by Maxwell at a meeting of the council April 7. No vote was taken then and the resolution was referred to a special committee named by Girard Chaput, chairman. The committee included:

David Schick, Labor Record; Charles Polk, Evening Ledger; Richard Cornish, Camden Courier; John Blackman, Inquirer, and John Calpin, Evening Bulletin.

The special committee called a meeting for the following Friday, but at the next meeting of the Executive Council, April 14, it reported it could not get a quorum. The committee was discharged.

The Executive Council did have a quorum, however, a majority of the units being represented, as specified in the local constitution. Of the 25 individual members, 11 but gave immediate prominent display to the Philadelphia attack on Brown. In fact, the publicity given this attack in the daily press is most obvious in line with the widespread "divide and conquer" policy of publishers who minimize or suppress all news favorable to the Guild.

Labor Leader Refuses News to Non-Guildsman

Because he was not a member of the Newspaper Guild, a reporter from the New York Sun found himself unable to get an interview with a New York labor leader, according to Editor and Publisher.

Seeking information on a labor dispute in the Bronx, the reporter called on Louis Cooper, president of Local 10-B, Building Service Employees' International Union.

Cooper asked, Editor and Publisher relates, whether he was a member of the Guild.

"The reporter," the story continues, "replied his police card was the best proof he was the representative of the New York Sun. Cooper then said: 'I recognize no reporter who is not a card-carrying member of the Guild and if you want information about this strike you can get it from the Bronx Home News, as that paper employs Guildsmen.' The reporter managed to cover his assignment, no thanks to Cooper."

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We have no wish to add injury to Guild interests by seeming to quarrel with the Philadelphia Camden unit, whose achievements have been among our best inspirations. However, we Coast Guildsmen have been and are under such fire from publishers as Philadelphia Guildsmen have not in the slightest experienced. And we feel any failure by us, to defend at least the right of Heywood Brown to voice his opinions in the heat of battle which has been our battle, might be as ill-advised as a mature consideration of the Philadelphia "demand" may indicate that to have been.

Any citizen has the right to criticize any politician, in or out of office. And this council sees no reason why the Guild or any of its divisions should presume to prohibit that right. Even if, as the demand says, Brown's speech was "intemperate in thought," it has the compensating virtue of proceeding at least from a heart-and-soul indignation in the midst of a fight for the right of workers to organize.

Every blast of publicity contrary to Guild interests has encouraged publishers to attack us. These publisher attacks, in the outright firing of good newspapermen, have recurred with almost clocklike regularity in our area and especially whenever there has been any national development unfavorable to the Guild from within or without. So we have little alternative but to look upon such press releases as Philadelphia's as "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." This is regardless of any good intention of Philadelphia.

This council therefore earnestly requests our co-workers in Philadelphia to reconsider and withdraw the request for an apology by the president of the American Newspaper Guild—an apology which we feel no unit has a right to ask in the name of the American Newspaper Guild anyway.

San Francisco Group Protests 'Apology' Issue

Asks Philadelphia Unit to Withdraw Request That Brown Recant

SAN FRANCISCO.—The executive council of the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan District took sharp issue with the action of the executive council of the Philadelphia-Camden Guild in releasing to the public press a demand for an apology to the ANG by Heywood Brown for his reported remark that "Labor's Public Enemy No. 1 is Franklin D. Roosevelt."

The report follows:

The executive council of the Newspaper Guild of the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan District regrets both the action of the Philadelphia-Camden group and the fact especially that its public issuance makes necessary a similarly public statement here.

This council feels that, since the Brown statement was prompted largely by revelations of labor policy which found their first major clarification in President Roosevelt's personal intervention to snatch from us a hard-fought, twice-van victory, this whole matter was very directly. That a thwarted victory was in the case of Dean Jennings versus the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, which significantly has never printed a line of news favorable to the Guild but gave immediate prominent display to the Philadelphia attack on Brown. In fact, the publicity given this attack in the daily press is most obvious in line with the widespread "divide and conquer" policy of publishers who minimize or suppress all news favorable to the Guild.

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Spring Song

Blue skies and warm sunshine... Some of the boys in the big cities are donning the journalist's cane and going striding after adventure... Not a picket line in sight... Some of the boys in the small towns are pricing 1931 Fords... We even know of a managing editor who has poison ivy... Spring has come to the American Newspaper Guild.

Ye scribbles, for the moment, is putting out of his mind any worries about whether this is the calm before or after the storm. And with the glowing realization that for the first time in many months he is not on the defensive, he finds it pleasant to dream about ethics, professional standards and the sheer fun that the Guild can bring. So if the publishers will cease firing—

In baseball they speak of the ball player's ball player. To the artisan with pride in his work the appreciative plaudits of his fellows are the sweetest. And so, we believe, one of the finest opportunities of the Guild is the suggestion, which we have kept in mind from the beginning, that newspapermen and women, through their own organization, record their appreciation of good work by the craft—the honest, accurate, workmanlike piece of reporting, the fair, incisive headline, the moving feature story, the aesthetic photograph.

We can look forward to the time when a national Guild award will be more sought after than the Pulitzer prize. And speaking of the Pulitzer prize, why not Guild prizes for the best novel, research job or painting by a newspaperman?

And—if the publishers will cease firing—perhaps we can get to work on the code of ethics that all of us would like to see prevail in the craft.

We would like to see incompetence and mediocrity eliminated from the profession. We do not believe it is necessary to throw human material on the scrap heap to do so. The Guild, we hope, will provide the machinery for in-service training of newspapermen that will make them better craftsmen and better able to enjoy life.

The importance of leisure to the achievement of this aim has never been recognized by newspaper employers. We believe that newspapermen, like teachers and other professionals and brain workers, need leisure, relaxation and the stimulus to a fuller life to do a good job in journalism.

The preoccupation with economics of the underpaid newspaperman is not of his own choosing. If the Guild has concentrated on its immediate bread and butter aims it is because it has been forced to that course. The day that newspapermen and women have achieved a decent standard of living they will be free to think of matters less gross. Perhaps, now that we have demonstrated an ability to fight when pressed we have also gained the freedom to advance on more peaceful fronts.

Personalities vs. Issues

May we suggest that in our debates on various issues confronting the Guild, we refrain from personalities both as a matter of good taste and as a guard against unnecessary friction?

The Guild Reporter has been publishing communications from Guildsmen of late in which the flow of barbed eloquence has been unimpeded. Hay-maker words in writing about fellow members have been all too frequent.

It is a healthy sign, on the whole. There are more ideas to the square mile today on how the Guild should be run than at any time in its history.

Far be it from us to spoil the fun. Hot debate there should be over every step of Guild policy. But the one thing a democratic organization can-

not stand is to have every issue made a question of personalities. To do so is not only unfair; it means that no question can really be settled on its merits. It is, of course, easiest to think in terms of personalities. But we all know how easy it is to get along with even the most disagreeable person when we both want to do the same thing. The real issues are policies; they can be discussed as such; they must be if the Guild is to be healthy.

The International Typographical Union has set a good example in this connection in the editing of its paper, the Typographical Journal. On the "Vox Pop" page appears this note:

"Duties of Secretary-Treasurer: '...He shall exclude from the columns of the Journal all communications or other matter impugning the motives or reflecting on the honesty of members of this union.'"

The Guild Reporter, therefore, is going to follow that policy hereafter. It believes that individual disagreements can better be settled out of print. And it believes that there is no issue of importance to the Guild that cannot be discussed in terms of policies rather than personalities. It may involve more thinking, but who isn't willing to do even that for the Guild?

Incitement

The proposed bill to extend the NRA, the code committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association reported to the nation's daily newspaper publishers in convention at New York this week, "can be regarded only as an incitement to employees to ignore obligations."

The publishers flatly refused to give further "voluntary assent to any code" when the present National Industrial Recovery Act expires June 16 and decided to fight extension of the NRA. And then, as if further to avoid inciting their employees and to ally unrest among the general population, the publishers through their various committees, drafted the following extraordinary act of principles:

"They condemned 'governmental interference and regulation' of business, especially the publishing business."

They urged amendment of proposed social insurance legislation to put newspaper publishing in a special class, or as they put it, give them "more equitable treatment in recognition of their having maintained payrolls in the depression in a higher proportion than any other line of business." In other words the publishers seek to escape the obligation of other industries toward unemployment and old age insurance.

They proposed compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, and a ban on strikes, because "it is seldom that the unions are sufficiently victorious in a strike to dictate the peace terms."

They proposed that children of 12 be allowed to work as newsboys, saying they did not regard "the delivery and sale of daily newspapers by persons under 16 years of age as child labor."

They opposed the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, on the ground that it would "precipitate absolute inequality" of bargaining power between employers and employees.

They frowned at the Securities Act, regulating stock market manipulations, because it had "substantially eliminated advertising of new issues of securities from newspapers."

They opposed the mild provisions for outlawing false advertising in the pure food and drugs bill.

And the same news stories which reported the publishers' refusal to submit to a code of wages and hours for their employees carried the finding of a publishers' survey that national advertising in daily newspapers had increased 12 per cent last year.

Joseph Daniels, publisher, said in a newspaper interview that the publishers he had talked to, most of whom were in the red a year ago, were all in the black this year and many were making larger profits than before the depression.

Who's inciting now? It seems to us that the Bourbons dominating the publishers' association have presented a program that is cynically inflammatory to a depression-ridden people.

Speaking of the 'Assent' Code

(From the Report of the ANPA Newspaper Code Committee.)

"At no time since the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 became law has your Committee sought any special or unusual advantages for those who are engaged in the business of publishing daily newspapers. There was not a single word in the modified PRA affecting your business which by inference or implication could be interpreted as giving newspaper publishers any special privilege.

There is no such word in your Code. That instrument is restricted to questions of labor relationships, maximum hours, minimum wages, and a prohibition against child labor."

Quotes From Unit Papers

CONTRASTS IN GUILD FACTORY

(From the Angle, Bronx Home News Unit of the N. Y. Guild.)

Two excellent illustrations of organizational discipline, or lack of it, are afforded in recent Guild developments.

On the one hand is the letter from St. Louis in the last issue of the Guild Reporter. A frank statement of individual Guild opinion and criticism would be difficult to conceive. It is not within our province to judge the merits of the criticism nor to take sides in the issue. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the facts.

The point, however, is that a group of Guildsmen, though differing violently with Guild leadership, have seen fit to carry on within the confines of the Guild. Though obviously at bitter odds with the conduct of the Executive Secretary of the National Guild they have not thrown in the sponge and said: "To hell with the Guild."

Nor did they first send a letter to Marjorie Fow, telling him what was wrong with the Guild. Instead, they addressed their fellow-Guildsmen through the official Guild forum.

"Members of the American Newspaper Guild," they wrote, "this is our explanation, not our apology. We have no apology... Well, wait, perhaps we have, for we failed you when the good of the Guild was at stake..."

"The Good of the Guild." A basic principle is summed up in that phrase. It is the statement of a civilized group, in the highest sense declaring its realization that a "community of interests" exists among newspapermen—as opposed to the politically-minded self-seeking individual. It is that rock that "group awakening" upon which the Guild was founded.

What do we find at the other extreme? Our National President sees fit to characterize the President of the United States, during a meeting held under Guild auspices, as "Labor's Public Enemy No. 1."

Again, we believe it is not within our province to take issue on the truth or falseness of such a characterization. A great deal might be said on both sides. Surely, our experiences with the White House have been none too happy.

However, there was undoubtedly some ground for criticizing the propriety of the National Guild President in making a remark of this nature at a Guild meeting, thus creating the impression that his opinion reflected that of the Guild.

But such criticism, we maintain, should have been kept within the confines of the national organization, just as was that of the St. Louis Guild.

Instead, we are faced with the spectacle of the Philadelphia Guild making a public issue of the matter by condemning Broun's action in the public press. In other words, playing directly into the enemy's camp.

It is interesting to note the difference in the number of papers that did not see fit to print the statement when it was originally made.

Perhaps our criticism is a bit hasty, since we are not acquainted with the manner in which the story was conveyed to the newspapers. But certainly, tactics of this type are not conducive to Guild organizational discipline, and bring comment from without that the Guild can ill afford.

A STIMULATING LETTER

(From the American, New York American Unit of the N. Y. Guild.)

To the Editor: With a record of inactivity probably unsurpassed in the city, the American chapter has come to life on two occasions—both times when W. R. Hearst was under fire for his labor policies.

Members who had never been sufficiently interested in the Guild to attend a meeting, who had not

paid dues for months, who wouldn't take a finger in support of any Guild undertaking, suddenly were stirred to action—to demand the heads of their leaders.

While we, as a chapter, have never participated constructively in the Guild, we have been eager to sit on the sidelines and snipe. Save for a few isolated members, we have been a destructive force, though loudly demanding "constructive" action from the leadership. Those opposed to militancy have found a broad target (and their own ally) in Heywood Broun. They forget that Heywood Broun was put into office by the membership; because of their remoteness from City-wide Guild activities they are totally unaware that the officers, far from setting the pace, are just keeping step with the membership. Anyone who attended Assembly or City-wide meetings even during the first year of the Guild—before it had gone through its more recent baptism of fire—knows that the membership was far more militant than the leadership, a factor which apparently led the conservative Allen Raymond to resign as chairman.

It is the non-cooperativeness and hostility of the publishers and the outright breaking of pledges by government officials, that has made the membership militant. Revelation of the existence of a handbook advising publishers how to balk collective bargaining with their editorial employees, added to other hostile manifestations (including the Jennings case) and the aid and comfort given the Newark Leader by other publishers during the recent strike) ought to convince all except the most naive that publishers, in common with other large employers, are going to give the pleasure to preserve the status quo, and that they will fight organization of their unorganized employees with every weapon at their command.

What other answer can there be than militancy and strong organization? Of course, the more polite attitude of waiting for crumbs to fall from the banquet table helps to preserve the status quo, but the net result will be only amenities, and not even crumbs.

W. R. Hearst's views on the Guild have been made abundantly clear. Besides flatly stating that he does not believe in the principle of the Guild, he actively fought the organization in the Jennings case, which centered about a "Labor's Public Enemy No. 1."

Enough to show that we, as Hearst employees, are in no favored category. Any concessions that we make to him in the ultimate, involve dollars and cents, not sentiment, and one person's criticism or a hundred persons' is hardly likely to affect more than the degree of Hearst's opposition.

There is no reason to assume that the man who carried the banner of the publishers in the Jennings case is going to denounce the Guild in general but embrace our chapter because it rose to defend him from criticism. If such a day ever dawns it will mean that we have sold out the Guild and replaced it with a company union. We will get nowhere until we realize that our situation does not differ from that of other newspapermen, and that only a strong organization, as militant as is necessary, can attempt to meet the publishers. They are strongly organized for their mutual advantage. We have the same weapon—unity. Let us use it, and for heaven's sake advance on our feet, not on our bellies.

Sol Abramson.

Held No N. E. C. Meeting

A story in the April 1 Reporter about the addition of new members to the Newark strike strategy committee said the step was authorized at a recent meeting of the national executive committee. It should have said the authorization was made by vote taken in a mail ballot. No meeting of the national executive committee was held.

Keep Criticism Within Guild

New York.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Sir: From time to time there is to be observed what I consider a deplorable tendency in some Guild members. This is the tendency to agitate against Guild policies, Guild officers or other Guild members outside the Guild. The latest manifestation of this tendency came from the Philadelphia Guild, which denounced Heywood Broun for having presumed to criticize President Roosevelt and his anti-Guild policy and pro-A.N.P.A. policy.

The Philadelphia Guild must certainly have the right to take a position in opposition to Broun, even though Broun was castigating a man who had stepped outside the rules to throw the Guild for a loss in the Jennings case.

But is the Philadelphia Guild showing a spirit of fraternity toward other newspapermen as represented by the national Guild when it rushes into print outside the Guild with its denunciation of Broun and support of the man who suspended the rules in order to beat the Guild in the Jennings case?

Naturally, anyone who wishes to speak out against the Guild can get columns of space in the daily newspapers and in Editor and Publisher. Guild members who wish to agitate against their own organization (instead of leaving it to the publishers and their political henchmen) will find that they can almost become prominent public characters by issuing critical releases to the press. We have seen this demonstrated time and again when misguided Guild members rushed into print in the Editor and Publisher.

When it comes to issuing statements in approval of the Guild, its policies and its officers, one encounters, on the contrary, a stone wall of silence. Does not this state of affairs mean anything to the Guild? By all means, let there be criticism. But why play into the hands of hostile outsiders with it?

ALBERT HARMS.

Loan From the Boss

Long Island City.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

A suggested communication:

Dear Boss:

You have lent us sums of money at times, out of the goodness of your heart; and for that we are duly grateful.

Please do not think we are "stabbing you in the back" if we dare to mention in the same breath, however, that we are free-born Americans and that we would much prefer, and feel we have a right to expect, a salary that would enable us to pay our bills without the necessity of borrowing from you and the possibility of being unable to pay you back.

Paternalism may be all right when one deals with children, or with the feeble-minded, such as those need kind papas.

But you (it is sincerely to be hoped) have not in this office around yourself in this office that class of "help." Certainly you could not expect fools to be of much assistance to your interests.

So if you don't mind our saying so, we would prefer not to be regarded as your foster-children but rather as your mature and responsible employees, whose services you are buying at a price commensurate with their worth, in accordance with the fundamental law of the society into which both you and we were born.

Yours, OUTSPOKEN (IF ANONYMOUS) FRIEND.

Union Called Guild's "Only Hope" COAST LABOR LEADER HAILS A. F. OF L. AFFILIATION AS INTELLIGENT COURSE

SAN FRANCISCO.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

With the Guild debate about A. F. of L. affiliation waxing hotter, it might be interesting to read the views of some labor men about the Guild.

When the first Guild meeting was called in San Francisco in March of 1934, I asked Edward Vandeleur, president of the California State Federation of Labor, to address the group, numbering some 35 persons, on the general benefits of organization. This he did, and the mere presence of an A. F. of L. man aroused considerable suspicion and resentment in some sections of the audience.

Vandeleur, well known as conservative, is believed to have reciprocated a certain amount of suspicion and resentment toward the Guild since, for he has been aware of the hostility of many Guilders to A. F. of L. affiliation; and he knows that at one time about a dozen members quit the Guild because it accepted the aid of labor in the Oakland Tribune fight.

Pleased With Guild's Progress For more than one year, I personally never saw Vandeleur again, although a few other Guild members occasionally did; and he helped us indirectly in several instances. I dropped into his office early this April and had a talk. And on April 11 he gave me a letter, in which, after crediting the Guild with progress and expressing his gratification thereof, he said: "These things are all the more true with me, personally, since I had the pleasure to address the very first meeting of the Guild here. You will remember that at that time I made no bones about telling you fellows flatly you would have to forget some of the rosy dreams which some seemed to

have, and that you would have to learn sooner or later that no one, including the NRA, was going to hand you anything on a platter, and that your sole hope of any lasting success lay in your ability to organize; powerfully yourselves along union lines. I know the troubles you have been through since and so I am especially glad to believe that many of your members appreciate more than they did that day the truth of their position.

"The past history of attempts to organize your newspaper craft being what it had been, I think you will agree with me that there was no little reason for the skepticism of a great many labor men about the real value of the Newspaper Guild movement when it started. And that is one more reason I am happy to have seen the fight you fellows have put up against very powerful opposition, and that your organization commands the respect of many labor men."

Fredrick Welcome by A. F. of L. He then states his feeling that the Guild would be welcomed as an A. F. of L. union and points to the various official endorsements the Guild has received in California and nationally. He concludes:

"Meanwhile I believe, that at this time, while the interests of the American Federation of Labor and the American Newspaper Guild are constantly getting closer, it must be the only intelligent course for each organization to support the other in every possible manner. In that connection, any hostile action by anyone whatsoever against the basic rights of men and women to organize, without employer interference, for collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing, must be condemned and fought by any

of that gang."

The succeeding and expelled union, if I may again anticipate, will consolidate the first true labor movement this country has ever seen.

I would suggest, therefore, that we defeat all moves to join with the A. F. of L. on two points: 1—We can receive no more benefits within the organization than we can from our present position. 2—A genuine labor movement is being formed.

S. J. GEISSON, Unemployed Unit, New York Newspaper Guild.

Guild Has Duty To Its Jobless WRITER MAKES APPEAL FOR CONCERTED ACTION

New York City.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

While recognizing to the full the many difficult problems which the Guild must cope with in its efforts to achieve improved working conditions and more nearly adequate compensation for the boys and girls who are employed, I feel that our organization has been derelict in recognizing and coming to grips with the unemployment situation.

I understand that the Guild has succeeded now and again in placing jobless members back in the warm again, but such accomplishments have been pathetically rare. I understand further that the leadership and employed rank and file of the Guild have come in for criticism for an alleged attitude of indifference and annoyance toward the jobless brethren, and if the charge is firmly founded I believe a radical change of attitude is indicated.

In the first place, when a man or woman is out of work he or she is in a state of emergency physically and otherwise, unless

the individual is that unusual practitioner of the journalistic art who has a fifty sum in the savings bank, and as compassionate humans we ought to do everything possible by way of coming to the rescue.

In the second place, no matter how moral an egg one happens to be, if he or she is hungry he cannot very well be attacked with justice for giving a non-hostile ear to propositions whose acceptance would impair the Guild's position. Anybody bright enough to be in the Guild knows to what reference is here made.

There is altogether too much of a disposition, it seems to me, to take the stand that the unemployed Guild members must shift for themselves. Well, that just isn't right. The Guild as a whole ought to go to bat for the boys and girls who unfortunately have been eased out into the overcrowded ranks of Mr. Harry Hopkins' charges. It ought to do this right quick, too.

And it ought to stick closely enough to see that its task is well done. Hop to it, mates."

BERNARD TASSLER.

Broun's Opinion Is Upheld

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

The following resolution was adopted Wednesday, April 17, 1935, by three members of the Springfield chapter of the American Newspaper Guild, meeting in a restaurant over some beer:

WHEREAS, the Newspaper Guild of Philadelphia and Camden (second largest unit in the American Newspaper Guild), has seen fit to publicize its disagreement with Heywood Broun concerning President Roosevelt's ranking as a public enemy of labor; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Broun did not represent his opinion as an expression of the Guild's attitude; and

WHEREAS, even if he had it would have been all right with us, inasmuch as President Roosevelt has done little to help newspaper men but has indeed in some instances hindered them by inaction; and

WHEREAS, the Newspaper Guild of Philadelphia and Camden, by sending copies of its resolution to the President and to Guild units, has behaved like anything but a body of newspaper men working together for a cause; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, that, conceding the Guild's second largest unit the right of absolute freedom of speech, we encourage that unit to take up knitting; and be it further RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to no party or publication, other than The Guild Reporter.

Fraternally yours, NORMAN CORWIN, MILTON BERLINER, ELIZABETH McCausland.

Personal Issues

Out of Place

Yonkers, N. Y.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

We are glad the columns of the Guild Reporter are open to correspondence of all kinds and we believe that publication of letters, even like that from St. Louis, shows that the ANG is indeed the democratic organization at which newspapermen demand.

Nevertheless, the St. Louis letter raises an organizational problem which I think should be gravely considered. If it would appear that its writers forgot that we elect our officers to counsel and guide us. We may not agree with them and if we don't it is our failing responsibility to say so, to discuss the differences and to reach a conclusion which will make us better able to build the Guild.

This, after all, is our real aim—to strengthen our Guild so that they may more effectively fulfill the aims we outlined in our constitution. This cannot be achieved, it seems to me, if we are to construe criticism from our national officers as "a sock in the jaw," to which we would like to respond with a ducking in the Mississippi.

Children and Rotarians may settle their problems in that way, but we have a big job to do and we can't do it by being subjective. Let us newspapermen and newspapermen from all over America have made common cause through the Guild to improve their conditions and the standards of the profession. Let us move forward sanely and thoughtfully in that direction without allowing organizational problems to become personal issues. They can't be solved that way.

DOROTHY K. LOEB.

When you change your address please send us a postcard. By so doing, you will save clerical labor—you will save postage—you will be sure of receiving The Reporter promptly.

Boycott As Newsmen's Weapon

ORGANIZED LABOR OFFERS WAY TO PUBLIC OPINION

SAN FRANCISCO.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Organized newsmen have and will have, for economic betterment and the security which is the aim of a free press, one chief weapon.

The strike is not and will not be the strike by editorial workers nor the strike by any other group in sympathy.

That weapon is not and will not be any present nor foreseeable law unsupported by the one weapon.

The one weapon is the Public Opinion upon which a newspaper depends for life more than does any other industry. It is the one weapon which newsmen know best how to use. And the one chief way it can be used is in boycott of advertisers and circulation.

No law can form more than a possible moral basis for use of this weapon. We strike can do more than focus the dramatization of the use of the boycott.

And there is one, and one only, appreciable body of citizens in this country that is trained in and will use the boycott weapon. That is Organized Labor, which in this country means the American Federation of Labor.

Take it or leave it.

DON STEVENS.

On Irrelevancy and Diplomacy

AFFILIATION STRESS HELD A BARRIER TO ORGANIZATION.

New York City.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Perhaps one of the issues which should be raised at the Cleveland convention is Mr. Eddy and his elegant irrelevancies. I am moved thus to write because of an editorial in the April 1 Guild Reporter requesting open discussion of convention issues, and because of Mr. Eddy's unusual reply. In the same number, under an eminently sane and considered treatise upon the A. F. of L. question by Mr. Meek, president of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch chapter.

Mr. Eddy's footnote to Mr. Meek's well-reasoned document was less than graceful. It was undue. It seems to me that to reply to Mr. Meek's suggestion for action by stating that in his city there are four Guild presidents and three Guild treasurers, is to become irrelevant on a grand scale. As well fling the charge that Mr. Meek's grandmother wore red flannel drawers or that his Uncle Zeb was a backslider.

Mr. Eddy's statement that the Meek letter was the only one received on that side of the case is not surprising in view of Mr. Eddy's unpleasant habit of attaching whip-crackers to communications sent in by members in good faith. It is, to put it mildly, trifling on a fine old Victorian tradition to invite your neighbor to voice a sentiment you detest and then slash a quite extraneous tomato into his teeth.

Need for Diplomacy

As I recall, the St. Louis situation was bungled once before by a spell of interminable cracking down from on high (vide the Butts incident) and in a recent speech there Mr. Eddy once more aroused hostility by flouting the old A. F. of L. bugaboo. I seriously doubt if this is the way a national organizer should approach his prospects. Most of the responsibility for keeping the national Guild together lies in Mr. Eddy's hands. He is, or should be, its traveling diplomat, dropping tactful suggestions to spur local development and assuring the superciliously weaker guilds that all is well.

The A. F. of L. furor is typical. It is common information among New York members that the tipheads of the ANG favor withholding affiliation until the A. F. of L. adopts the vertical union idea. Since the A. F. of L. moves slowly and conservatively, this major change is not likely to occur for some time. Yet Mr. Eddy, with his voice emanating solemnly from his beard, both in and out of the Guild Reporter intones the timorous and, at this time, irrelevant issue of affiliation.

Mr. Meek's offer of his local unit as a clearing house for anti-affiliation activity met with a

clucking hen rebuke from Mr. Eddy, who declared the offer improper and asserted that the only proper forum for such a discussion was the pages of the Guild Reporter. Anyone who reads that otherwise well-edited paper should know that it is so crammed with A. F. of L. talk and news stories that any declaration of the opposing view appears incongruous, if not an affront to the crown. To my notion, Mr. Meek, or any other member, is entitled to conduct such a movement from the vantage point of his local unit, or from the City Art Museum, if he so elects, without subjecting himself to a barb from a censorious national official.

On Application

I doubt if his election as executive secretary empowers Mr. Eddy to leave the realm he pettishly at the first barrier who cracks one of his pet theories out of the inside.

As to affiliation, I am perhaps more on Mr. Eddy's side of the fence than not, but I frankly believe that his constant harping of the issue, plus his wild pitches, such as the several St. Louis invocations, are impeding the natural growth of organization outside of New York. I think that either Mr. Eddy should soften his delivery or the June convention should begin looking toward the bullpen.

N. Y. Daily News Chapter.

Principle and Policy

Editor, The Guild Reporter: In writing for the Guild Reporter I have always tried to confine myself to matters of Guild principle and policy—words which have today a very real meaning. The fact that the internal structure of a Guild has a powerful lot to do with its effectiveness has been substantiated again and again. An organization, in many ways, as complicated and intricate as an affair as, say, the human body, where a minor trouble in one tooth may affect not only the entire physical organism but the mental outlook as well. I can readily understand why my criticism of the St. Louis Guild on the basis of its internal structure seemed to Mr. Alexander to be a sheer irrelevance. I only maintain that it is not. From our inception, today, and in the future, our internal organizational structure is basic; and in Guilds where it is faulty, correction of the fault transcends all other matters in importance. No effort should be spared to prevent agitation of a reformer issue, such as A. F. of L. from being used as a red herring to deflect such correction.

Mr. Alexander is perfectly correct, I believe, in stating that national officers should be diplomatic officers should be diplomatic

Editors Urge Higher Art in News Pictures

Cameraman Should Have Background of the Reporter

WASHINGTON, April 30.—The news photographer of today must aim at quality rather than quantity, according to the majority of opinions expressed at the 13th annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors which ended here today.

Discussing "The News and Pictures," Malcolm W. Bingham of the Detroit Free Press said, "We must not lose sight of the fact that the present transition period also applies to journalism. We must begin the development of a new technique in pictures as well as news."

He pointed out that the perfection of cameras and the increased speed at which pictures can be sent all over the world has given editors a greater field from which to choose.

"The photographer of today still must fight for his pictures," he said, "but at the same time he has got to be an artist."

L. R. Blanchard of the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle observed that the future photographer must also have the background of the reporter.

"The reporter would make the best present-day photographer," he said, "but the demands are becoming so great that he wouldn't be able to do both jobs and do them well."

matic—though I do feel that he might have made his statement a little diplomatically. Irrelevant as it may be, I wish nevertheless to point out that as far as the matter of deliberating and deciding on important Guild situations is concerned, we have at present no real functioning national executive committee.

I hope that we may have one body. I hope that we may have one some day soon and that when a segment of a local Guild feels that it is being deprived of Guild effectiveness through faulty internal set-up and functioning, there will be some national Guild machinery for receiving all views and making authoritative recommendations. In other words, a National Executive Committee that will actually be a national executive committee. Until then, it is quite likely that the only national officer in a position to know fairly intimately what is going on in this extensive organization, the ANG, will continue to be the uncomfortable recipient of the sort of tomatoes mentioned by Mr. Alexander.

Mr. Alexander will be acquainted with the contents of this "whip-cracker" before it is published.

Would Revoke 'Privilege' Editor, The Guild Reporter:

Since Mr. Eddy can readily understand my belief that his criticism of the St. Louis Guild structure was irrelevant, that matter may well be permitted to rest there.

However, I think that his privilege of overseeing communications to the editor (if such a privilege exists) should be revoked. Such control of the Reporter by officers is a detriment to the interests of rank and file members who may want to use its columns for the nurturing of a healthy opposition party.

I approve, by and large, of the present ANG leadership, but I don't think it, or any subsequent regime, should be in a position to perpetuate itself by stifling, tempering or delaying criticism. The Reporter should belong to the members.

J. A. ALEXANDER.

Building:

Factionalism Risk Policy and Program

By JONATHAN EDDY

(Continued from Page One)

blocks behind their respective unit committees.

To build a real Guild under such circumstances is indeed difficult. The original mistake of focusing attention on units rather than on the Guild as if there were some occasion for fearing rather than co-operating with men on other papers, has to be paid for ten times over.

But it can be overcome when Guild leaders, feeling that the Guild idea is bigger than grievances arising largely from failure to follow it, and make a real effort to get the membership to work out its Guild problems on the basis of the Guild as a whole.

13-Point Plan Makes Gains in Westchester

(Continued from Page One)

A Guild demand calls for elimination of the space system and placement of all so employed on the same basis as other editorial workers.

Macy agreed that a schedule can and must be worked out by which editorial workers will work less time and on a basis by which they can be certain of their hours off. The Guild asks a five-day, 40-hour week.

The publisher further agreed to work out a uniform, adequate system of paying expenses incurred in performing work, including the payment of cars on assignments. This, too, is a point in the Guild program.

Macy also accepted the principle of a committee of Guild members to serve as a clearing house for all grievances.

The Guild seeks return of a 20 per cent pay cut uniformly, a \$45 minimum wage, dismissal bonus and other improvements.

Report Made

A full report on negotiations was made to the members April 14. A brief bulletin on progress was sent out immediately after the conference.

The Guild instructed the committee not to submit plans on how editorial coverage could be rearranged to permit shorter hours, holding this was a managerial problem.

Meet May 11

The members instructed the committee to stand firm behind the program. All units were well represented at the session and the spirit of the meeting was high.

Miss Loeb, Werthe, who is chairman of the Mount Vernon Unit, and Erwin Savelson, member of the Mount Vernon Unit, were elected delegates to the national convention in Cleveland.

The membership will meet again Saturday, May 11, in Mount Vernon, for an informal party. A Representative Assembly meeting will precede the function.

The Yonkers Unit will hold a dinner and grillroom show at Ben Riley's Arrowhead Inn May 4. Returns so far indicate a profit of nearly \$1,000. William A. Spring, vice-chairman of the unit, is general chairman.

Detroit Creates Loan Fund For Paid-Up Guild Members

DETROIT.—A loan fund has been set up by the Detroit Guild available to paid up members. The fund was conceived by President Ralph Holmes. The Executive Committee last January set aside \$200 for loans to be administered by Holmes with the aid unit committees.

Any paid up member can borrow an amount not exceeding his weekly salary. A 2 per cent interest charge is deducted from the loan at the outset. The loan is repaid in ten weekly installments.

The applicant fills out a card authorizing his office to give the Guild Loan Fund priority in the event of his death or discharge, and obtains the signatures of the three members of his unit committee. These signatures are not in any way "co-signers on a note," but by their approval guarantee that the applicant is in good standing.

To date six persons have availed themselves of the fund. Holmes reports that all except one are paid up.

Form Council Of Six Unions In Cincinnati

Mechanical Unions Chiefs Like 'Ideas Swapping'

CINCINNATI, Ohio.—Under the leadership of the Cincinnati Post Unit of the Guild, a council of representatives of all newspaper unions has been organized here.

Presidents and delegates of the six A. F. of L. unions greeted with enthusiasm the plan of "ideas swapping" and discussions of mutual problems at a preliminary meeting called by Eugene Segal, chairman of the organization committee. Ratifications by the unions will be completed shortly.

The Post Unit has inaugurated a series of shifts to enable its meetings and put over serious ideas in a breezy way. One such recent shift depicted a Guild deputy treasurer and a reluctant member arguing about the need of chipping in to win the Newark strike.

The Guild is 98 per cent organized on the Post, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, and dues-paying is on a 100 per cent basis thanks to efforts of Max Sen, treasurer, and his deputies.

The originally-organized Guild here included members from the other local papers—Time-Star and Enquirer—but these have not yet joined. The Post Unit is hoping for a pre-union hour soon to bring in recruits from these two staffs.

Bill Davy of Cleveland Named ANG Organizer

(Continued from Page One)

and sponsoring Davy for this new post some months ago, but no action was taken because of the need of concentrating funds on the Newark strike.

Under the temporary arrangement, the Cleveland Guild continues to pay Davy's salary, the ANG paying his expenses, with the understanding that if the latter cannot be met, Davy goes back to his post as Cleveland's executive secretary. The ANG credits Cleveland with not to exceed \$20 weekly in national dues while Davy is on the road for the ANG.

Best time for organizing. "Today is the most propitious time in the history of the ANG for organization work," Eddy declared in announcing the appointment. "This is so because we know what we stand for and our policies have withstood a test of fire."

"Nevertheless Guildsmen should not expect miracles of Bill Davy," and unorganized newspapermen of the Middle West should not expect him to produce guilds by some sort of alacababab.

"Now, as from our inception, the job is up to the newspapermen in any given area themselves. Davy can help them in two ways: first, by contributing from his great fund of experience, apt advice as to the best procedure, and second, by relieving working newspapermen of the onus of sticking out their necks."

"Unquestionably the management of some papers in the area which he is entering will inspire under-cover campaigns against Bill and against the Guild with the idea of creating a barrier of prejudice and opposition. In some places they will be effective."

"But the ANG is now well enough established and sufficiently commanding of confidence to offset these obstacles for the most part. Unorganized newspapermen and women who believe that Davy can help them and who are willing to contribute real hard work on their own part, if assured of protection, whether or not there is a strike, picketing, or other organized labor activity or preparation therefor."

8. To refuse to show his books

9. To refuse to show his books

10. To refuse to show his books

11. To refuse to show his books

12. To refuse to show his books

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19. To refuse to show his books

20. To refuse to show his books

Guiding Policy to Harmonize Views On Legislation Sought at Cleveland

(Continued from Page One)

but the problem of devising and implementing a Guild-wide program of legislation remained. Knowing that some time back the NEEC had authorized President Heywood Brown to appoint a National Legislative Committee, the New York Guild recommended that he now do so and suggested that the appointees include the Washington men who had been serving informally, as well as sufficient Guild men in other cities to make the committee as representative as possible.

"It is probably doubtful that, even with the swiftest kind of action on Heywood Brown's part, a fully functioning national legislative committee can now be set up before the Cleveland convention. I suggest that the delegates to the convention go prepared with ideas which should enable the ANG to start all over, and handle this whole matter correctly."

"I suggest that ideas on this subject be cleared through the Washington group, or sent to national headquarters for forwarding to Washington."

PAUL FREDERICKSEN.

Guild Request From Congress

In a revised resolution on labor legislation, the New York Guild asks Congress to declare illegal 13 acts of employers against employees. The resolution, which is substituted for the one described in the April 1 issue of the Guild Reporter, was drafted by the legislative committee of the New York Guild and adopted without dissenting vote after a discussion by the Representative Assembly.

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the secretaries of all Guilds, with the request that the Guilds exchange ideas on the subject of labor legislation, transmitting their views through the Washington branch of the National Legislative Committee.

The proposals contained in the revised resolution follow:

1. To interfere with or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights to form, join or assist labor organizations.

2. To encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment.

3. To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization by the use of money or otherwise.

4. To coerce employees in the preparation of, the declaration of, or the maintenance of a strike or other legal concerted activities.

5. To discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he has filed charges or given testimony in a labor hearing.

6. To use any form of the so-called "blacklist."

7. To conduct, or to employ any one to conduct, a system of espionage upon his employees.

8. To refuse to recognize or deal with the representatives chosen by his employees for collective bargaining as to wages, hours, tenure of employment, or other conditions, whether or not there is a strike, picketing, or other organized labor activity or preparation therefor.

9. To refuse to show his books

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Coast Guild Holds Poll on A. F. L. Issue

A. P. Unit Against, Examiner For; Will Debate the Issue

SAN FRANCISCO, April 19.—Feeling runs high in San Francisco on convention questions, especially that of affiliation with A. F. of L. A straw poll of the Associated Press chapter here brought an overwhelming vote against affiliation, and an answer of "yes" on the question "Would you withdraw from the Guild, in a body, if the Guild affiliates with the A. F. of L.?"

An informal poll of The Examiner chapter taken in the office one night showed fifteen in favor of affiliation, six against, and three undecided.

Pro and Con Statements. Two committees have been appointed by the Executive Council, one favoring affiliation, one opposing it, to draw up arguments pro and con. These will be presented at our fortnightly mimeographed "Pacific Reporter." The committees may debate their views at a general meeting.

Our most recent general meeting—a dinner—was attended by more than 150 Guild members and their wives.

At that meeting our attorney, Henry Robinson, spoke on the Wagner bill, suggesting the Guild should not be too saucer-eyed about it.

He said the Guild, along with other labor organizations, thought NPA was Christmas and the Blue Eagle was Santa Claus coming down labor's chimney.

San Francisco has an intensive program scheduled for the days between now and the convention. An election is being held for the unexpired term of executive secretary of the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan District. The position was left vacant by the resignation of Dean Jennings. Samuel Freedman, of the Call-Bulletin, acting secretary, and Betty Ballantine of The News, are candidates.

May Change Name. Ballots are also being taken on changing the cumbersome name of this district to "Western California Guild," and on a compulsory assessment of 50c a member, to help wipe out debts left by the Newark strike.

Ballots soon will be taken on various questions to come up at the convention, for the purpose of instructing our delegate, and election of a delegate.

Work is being carried on to gain the support of the State Federation of Labor in the Guild's fight on the Oakland Tribune.

self must light the watch-fires against such proposals. Action by state legislatures on this point might be helpful.

"The espionage problem, distracting as it is to other workers, is not awfully important to us. Most of the spy systems are so stupid and ineffective that they usually bounce back and hit their inventors in the faces."

"7. Despite the above cautionary and 'don't-do' advice, there is plenty of room to strengthen the Wagner bill, and to act to improve State laws. For instance, only a few states have anti-yellow-dog contract laws; only a few anti-injunction laws (it would have been a help at Newark if New Jersey had had such a law)."

"8. Sentiment should be expressed on the effects of the 30-hour week, and how it could be applied to our industry."

"9. State legislation should be watched carefully for jokers exempting publishers, from unemployment and old-age insurance, for example."

HERBERT LITTLE, ROBERT M. BUCK.

Guild-Oakland Tribune Fight Shows Importance of Handbills

Daily Advertising and Picketing Barred, San Francisco Guild Discovered

By SAMUEL FREEDMAN
SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco branch of the American Newspaper Guild has launched a determined campaign to protect the freedom of the press.

The drive is the result of a general trend by city and county officials toward curbing the circulation of handbills in San Francisco and across the bay.

A trend toward suppression of handbills on the merest pretexts has been particularly noticeable since the development of labor disputes. This means of publication is the only one with which any group may fight against injustice or the violation of American rights.

The importance of the issue was clearly shown in the Newspaper Guild's fight against the Oakland Tribune. The Guild sought to force Publisher R. Knowland to permit the organization of a Guild in his editorial department, and to win the reinstatement of three discharged Guild leaders.

Handbills Important

Every avenue of information to the public was closed when Knowland asserted his influence over the police department and city officials. Handbill distribution was the only method left. This was left open to the Guild because newspapermen acted before Knowland. The Guild obtained a permit, and made the best of it, when all other methods failed.

Realizing that in order to force Knowland to come to terms it must tell its story effectively, to the subscribers in a general appeal the Guild turned to the printing of handbills. This was the one and only way by which the Guild was able to reach the man in the street, the family in its home, and rally public opinion to its cause.

The newspapers would not take its advertising. The Guild's hired sound truck was forced off the streets by police and hirelings of the Tribune, and an ordinance prohibited picketing, so the Guild did the best it could with mere handbills.

The Oakland situation was far different from that prevailing in Newark, N. J., where prior to an extreme injunction issued on behalf of the Newark Ledger, the Guild was permitted to resort to every weapon of labor.

Fifty thousand handbills were distributed in thickly populated sections of Alameda County in which the Tribune is located. It proved a severe drain on the Guild's treasury, at a time when it

could not expect financial aid from other parts of the country due to the Newark strike.

Within four days after the distribution, the Guild learned from workers in the Tribune plant that 4,500 subscribers had ceased taking the paper. Almost immediately, the Hearst paper in Oakland, the Post-Enquirer, which has a strong Guild chapter, picked up hundreds of the subscriptions lost by the Tribune.

Had the Guild been able to continue with rapid fire bombardments of handbills, the Oakland fight might have been won ere this. But the Guild funds, contributed in nominal dues by its then 173 members (now 220) were insufficient.

So the Guild turned to organized labor in the East Bay area, lining up some forty thousand union men against the Tribune.

Many unions are lining up behind the Guild, and the carmen, appreciating a resolution passed recently by the Guild executive committee against inauguration of one-man cars in San Francisco, displacing as it does more than 1,000 carmen, took the lead by declaring a boycott on the Tribune.

New Guild Forms In Springfield, O.

Dayton and Columbus Aid Formation of Group

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The first move toward establishment of a Guild chapter in Springfield, Ohio, was made April 14 when a temporary organization was formed, with Joseph Rukenbrod of the Springfield News as chairman and Alfred C. Hall of the Sun as secretary.

Ten newsmen, of an estimated list of twenty-seven eligibles, attended the initial meeting. Delegations from the Columbus and Dayton Guilds were present to offer aid and encouragement.

The Springfield group scheduled its second meeting for April 28, and plans to set up a permanent organization and draft a constitution at that time.

At a recent meeting of the Columbus Guild, George Snodgrass of the Columbus Citizen was elected president to replace William H. Marks, resigned. Arthur Robinson of the Citizen was chosen as secretary to succeed Snodgrass.

Twin Cities Guild Wives Organize to Aid Husbands

MINNEAPOLIS.—The Newspaper Guild's first auxiliary has raised its head and is looking for ways to be useful.

Organized here within the last two months, the Guild Wives with a membership of about fifty, has adopted a constitution and is looking forward to social activity. One event already held was a supper for the Twin Cities Guild at the close of its April meeting.

The movement was spontaneous among wives of Minneapolis members of the Twin Cities Guild. It sprang up suddenly, and husbands were aware of it only after it was well underway. They then endorsed it enthusiastically. Although the Guild here spreads over the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, the auxiliary, at least so far, is confined to Minneapolis.

The Guild Wives feel that one of their principal functions is to make it convenient for their husbands to attend Guild meetings. It

was observed at the one Guild meeting held since the auxiliary came into existence that many members who had long been absent were present.

Meetings are held monthly on the Monday evening preceding the Sunday on which the Guild meets. Initiation fees are 50 cents and dues 10 cents a month.

Officers were to be elected April 29. Temporary officers who served during the organization period were Mrs. Fletcher Wilson, chairman; Mrs. Rolf Mills, secretary, and Mrs. Irvin Rudick, treasurer. Standing committees are composed as follows: Relations, Mrs. Jack Burket, Mrs. Michael Halloran and Mrs. John J. Biddison; membership, Mrs. Paul Swenson, Mrs. Irvin Rudick, Mrs. M. W. Kimball and Mrs. Lewis Mills. The constitution was drafted by Mrs. Abe Altowitz, Mrs. Bradley L. Morison, Mrs. William Smollett, Mrs. Earle Pomeroy and Mrs. Jack Burket.

St. Louis Group Offers Plan for Chapter's Unity

Globe-Democrat Unit Asks Monthly Confabs of Three Staffs

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—A proposal for starting regular monthly meetings of the St. Louis Guild as a means of discussing current problems as a Guild instead of along separate staff lines as at present, has been put forward by the Globe-Democrat unit. This action followed an attack on Jonathan Eddy, ANG executive secretary, and an unnamed unit and individual by the executive committee of the Post-Dispatch unit in the last Guild Reporter. The proposal, outlined in a "Memorial to the Executive Committee of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild" is offered as "an essential step forward toward unity and democratic process in the St. Louis Guild."

The memorial follows: The Globe-Democrat Chapter of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild in regular meeting assembled April 9, 1935 respectfully petitions the Executive Committee of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild to establish regular monthly meetings of the general membership.

The Globe-Democrat Chapter believes such meetings are an essential step toward unity and democratic process in the St. Louis Guild. It believes the ultimate unification of our guild is dependent upon the establishment of such meetings.

Hampers Guild Policy

It further believes the lack of general meetings now prevents the development of Guild policy and opinion along Guild lines as distinct from staff lines and is productive of factionalism. There is now no common forum where members from the different chapters may communicate with one another respecting their common problems. This, the Globe-Democrat Chapter believes, tends to cause division on staff lines rather than the natural and healthy reaction to information and debate.

The Globe-Democrat Chapter believes lack of a general forum and its resultant disunity denies members that sense of organizational protection which they have a right to expect. There is now no opportunity for developing a consciousness of seeking mutual benefits together and of extending protection one to another. Organizational timidity is thereby maintained and the free development of the Guild is hampered.

Similarly, our present disunity makes for a large degree of functional impotence. Policies which are not arrived at in common are likely to be executed in the same disjointed manner. Among many other instances which might be cited we direct attention to our support of the Newark strike. This was a project in which the great majority of our members concurred and in which all units participated generously and creditably. Yet we believe it is true we were handicapped somewhat by the difficulty of getting all chapters on a common and systematic basis for collecting funds.

No chapter and no individual is to blame for this. Our disunited structure provided no adequate means for expressing a common desire.

Need General Forum

The lack of a general forum wherein the member may have a voice in the councils of the Guild as a whole is productive of disinterest and an uninformed membership. It is unhealthy for members to have no source of information about Guild activities except city room chatter and the questioning of officers and executive committee members.

We believe such difficulties as may exist in getting quorums for such meetings can be overcome. We suggest a common time for

Dr. John Dewey Endorses Broun Plan for Teachers

Columbia Professor Calls on Tutors to Form United Front With Guild and All Labor

Heywood Broun's suggestion that the teachers of America strike an alliance with the Newspaper Guild was heartily endorsed by Dr. John Dewey, dean of America's philosophers and professor at Columbia University, in a recent issue of The Social Frontier. He made the statement in an article discussing the organization of teachers.

Calling on teachers to form a united front with all labor, Dr. Dewey argues that the professional educator's social and economic "literacy" would be advanced and that his existing organizations for economic security would be strengthened by discarding the traditional policy of "aloofness."

Citing what he calls the inadequacy of present organization among teachers, the social philosopher says:

"I should be the last to question the value of associations for professional improvement, for raising the economic status of teachers with respect to wages and security of tenure, and for protection from politicians who would use schools to procure jobs for their friends. But such ends as those do not exhaust the function of organization by teachers. They hardly touch the place of the teacher in relation to society."

"I cite one striking contemporary event," he continues, "as an illustration of the lack of power on the part of teachers to perform their full educational work because of a division between the so-called intellectual labor and other forms of labor. The organized drive against freedom of inquiry and teaching by Hearst and his like is not animated by personal hostility to those honored by attacks. . . . The enemy that is being fought is the education of the public in political and economic realities. . . ."

"Organization among teachers is imperatively needed to stem the rising tide of brutal reaction and intimidation. But so many teachers are timid because of 'hostages to fortune,' that it is foolish to suppose that this organization will be adequate unless it is supported by wider and deeper organization with others, who have a common interest in the reconstruction of the present regime of production

meetings, such as Sunday forenoon, when the bulk of our membership is free to come; adequate notice mailed to all members and standing chapter quorum committees will assist in this regard. Above all we believe a forum program concerned with the economic objectives of the Guild will rally the members.

Particularly at this time when two St. Louis papers have modified the five-day week we believe there is need for common discussion.

We believe this need is apparent even though particular chapters may not wish representations made in their behalf on this subject. Such disinclination is no reason why they should be averse to discussing the question in common with other chapters.

For Chapter Autonomy

In making this request the Globe-Democrat Chapter disclaims any desire to impair the autonomy of any chapter, or of interfering with the chapter's internal functioning. It conceives the legitimate field of chapter autonomy is in decision of what, if any, negotiations shall be made respecting conditions of employment or contract for the members constituting that chapter. It believes this is the common conception of chapter autonomy and is in accord with the constitution and practice of the American Newspaper Guild. It believes its suggestion would not in fact impair chapter autonomy.

The Globe-Democrat Chapter further states its suggestion would not affect the agreement between the chapters respecting the constitution of bargaining committees for particular chapters.

for personal gain and personal power."

Dr. Dewey concludes his article with the advice to teachers to join the American Federation of Teachers—A. F. of L. affiliate—and to form "an aggressive alliance" with the Guild and other "intellectual career" groups.

Italian Newspapers Raise Pay Scales

Il Progresso and Corriere Staffs Profit by Parleys

The New York Guild has been carrying on involved negotiations with representatives of Generoso Pope, publisher of Il Progresso-Italo Americano and Corriere d'America, which have resulted in raising the minimum scale for members of the Il Progresso staff and a general 10 per cent increase in the wages paid to editorial workers on the Corriere. In the latter case, however, a threat by the publisher to suspend publication of the paper led to the resignation from the Guild of all but one member of the shop unit.

The 10 per cent raise was extended to all members of the staff of the Corriere, except Francis Pozzi, chairman of the Guild unit, who did not give up his Guild affiliations. The members of the staff had been informed on April 12 that the Corriere would be merged with Il Progresso, but up to press-time there was no indication of preparations to suspend publication.

Members of Il Progresso Guild Unit were of the opinion that Pope's statement was a threat to discourage both units from proceeding with negotiations. The Corriere Unit also voted to suspend negotiations with the publisher.

On Il Progresso the minimum salary for editorial employees with three years' experience was advanced from \$35 to \$40 weekly. This led to increases ranging from \$2 to \$10 weekly for eight members of the staff.

Springfield Celebrates Newark Win, Charter

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—The Springfield Newspaper Guild celebrated jointly the Newark strike victory and the receipt of its own charter at a midnight supper party held in the Hotel Bridgeway April 6.

The affair was attended by 125 members and guests. Entertainment was contributed by some of the best known radio performers in New England.

Presents Charter

Valery Burati, president of the Guild, presented the framed charter to Mary Linda Helfant, secretary. Brief talks were given by officers of the Springfield Typographical and Central Labor unions.

A feature of the party was the presentation of a cash award to Barker T. Hartshorn of the Republican unit, for meritorious reporting. Hartshorn was the first winner of a monthly prize offered by the Guild for the best exclusive story on any local paper.

The managing editor of one of the local papers offered financial assistance to the committee arranging the strike celebration. The offer was declined with thanks, of course, but it gave a great deal of encouragement to faint-hearted prospective members.