

For the Fourth
Estate

The Guild Reporter

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Vol. II.—No. 13

NEW YORK, JULY 1, 1935

Price, \$2 a Year

Convention for A.F.L., Orders Poll; Lorain Strike Gets Unions' Aid

Ohio Daily's Circulation Is Cut 10 P.C.

Guildsmen, Locked Out, Seek Support of the Business Staff

LORAIN, Ohio.—The ANG's second important strike, which started June 11 as a lock-out of seven Guild members, had ended its first week with increasing effectiveness as this belated issue went to press.

Pickets were in constant evidence on the main highways of this open-shop steel town; local A. F. of L. bodies had endorsed the strike and boycotted the Journal, and the normal circulation of approximately 13,000 had been cut by an estimated 1,300 subscribers.

The Cleveland Newspaper Guild, of which the striking Journal staff comprises a unit, was in charge of the battle, with automobiles making many trips daily over the thirty miles that separate Cleveland and Lorain.

Samuel A. Horvitz, paving contractor who publishes the Journal, first evidenced his hostility to organization of a Guild Unit several months ago by switching a leading Guildsman to the advertising department. The Guild found him another job and "sat tight" because all resources were being concentrated on the Newark Ledger strike at that time.

On the last day of the convention Horvitz fired Evelyn Kieffer, a member of the Negotiations Committee, "for economy" and hired three non-Guild members. The unit promptly voted seven to one to strike, subject to call of the executive committee of the Cleveland Guild.

Horvitz Hires Strike Breakers

When Horvitz heard of this he called a staff meeting and advised all editorial workers that they must sign a statement pledging themselves not to strike without a week's notice, or they were "through."

Because Horvitz was already importing scabs, the unit refused unanimously to sign, in the belief that when the week was up they would be fired anyway. Elmer O. Fehlhaber, president of the

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Summary of Action Taken at Cleveland

Affiliation. Adopted a report favoring affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in preference to the report against, by 76½ to 47½. Ordered a national referendum, stipulating that a two-thirds majority shall be required for directing the National Executive Board to apply for admission as an international.

Internal Organization. Reduced the national executive committee from sixteen to eight members, in an effort to make it function. Renamed it the National Executive Board. Provided for meetings four times a year. Provided for the organization of District Councils wherever the interests of a group of Guilds are sufficiently close. Created a National Council consisting of the presidents of all Guilds, empowered to review all decisions of the National Executive Board with respect to the suspension of charters, and to be the agency for the removal or suspension of members of the National Executive Board.

Officers. Heywood Broun, president; Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary; Garland Ashcraft of Cleveland, treasurer; Morris Watson of New York, wire service vice-president, and Robert M. Buck of Washington, Edward L. Johnson of Duluth, Thomas B. Sherman of St. Louis and Don Stevens of San Francisco, members of the National Executive Board.

Elected by Acclaim



Heywood Broun

Dues. Unchanged. Permission granted the National Executive Board to levy an assessment of 50 cents weekly not to exceed sixteen weeks in one year.

Finances. Reported in healthy shape by Emmet Crozier, retiring national treasurer.

Guild Reporter. Approved report of editor, 71½ to 57. Directed that paid, full-time editor be appointed, responsible to the National Executive Board (substantially—exact details have not reached headquarters from Cleveland yet). Stipulated that each city Guild should name its correspondent.

Legislation. Designated the National Executive Board as the policy-making body between

conventions, taking its guidance from the conventions. Provided for system of legislative correspondents to be designated by the NEB to advise it of developments, and for one member of the NEB to serve as clearing house for the correspondents. Endorsed the Wagner-Lewis bill in the form in which it passed the Senate. Proposed a constitutional amendment embodying "labor's bill of rights"; advised NEB to work for social security legislation, maintenance of freedom of the press, for the safeguarding of confidential relationships between a reporter and his new source, and for the protection of working newspapermen from assault.

Industrial Unionism. Wrote into the constitution as a purpose of the ANG: "To promote industrial unionism in the newspaper industry." Turned down proposal to organize non-editorial departments at this time.

Awards. Set up the Daniel A. DeSouza Memorial Award to be presented each year at the convention to any newspaper worker whose story, article, feature, cartoon or photograph appearing during the year in the opinion of the judges best exemplifies the highest journalism standards laid down by the ANG.

Education. Proposed extension of cooperation with schools of journalism and the establishment of junior Guilds.

Firm Set-Up Established At Cleveland

Lines of Responsibility Are Drawn in Week of Hard Work

CLEVELAND.—Going to the heart of problems and issues that have come to the fore in the American Newspaper Guild during the past year, the hard-working second annual convention at Cleveland created a new national set-up, set policies on major phases of Guild activity and, with a vote in favor of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, started the machinery for a national referendum on that question. Delegates representing forty-six Guilds attended.

Heywood Broun was re-elected by acclamation at the closing session and Jonathan Eddy, after a tense contest, won the election for executive secretary by 59 to 57½; William Davy of Cleveland, national organizer, nominated in opposition refused positively to run, but almost won the vote in spite of himself. Herman Nelson of Rockford, Ill., switched his vote before the counting was complete and turned the tide for Eddy. Close contests also took place for some of the other offices.

In the many changes in Guild structure and the developments of policy, which are described in other columns, the convention drew definite lines of responsibility as between various parts of the organization, and gave a new National Executive Board wide powers, while providing systems of appeal.

Delegates Work Hard
Few conventions that the working newspaper men and women of the country have covered have ever exceeded in intensive labor the one that they themselves staged this year, and although almost every step taken was the subject of intense and often sharp debate, few conventions of similar length could have exceeded the record of constructive accomplishment.

A large number of delegates found a rallying point in opposition to Jonathan Eddy, an opposition that all but carried its main objective in the election, and their ability to get together on this point appeared to underlie much

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Compact Board Created in New Constitution

National Council, Which May Try Officers, Also Established

CLEVELAND.—An extensive reorganization of the Guild structure took place when the convention adopted an almost entirely new national constitution designed to remedy defects exposed by last year's experience. The major changes, as interpreted by their advocates, had for their aim the knitting of a casual collection of guilds into a single compact body capable of putting its entire

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Send Cash for Lorain: First Levy Is Made

A single assessment of 50 cents on every Guild member in the country has been voted by the National Executive Board in support of the Lorain Journal strike, it was announced by Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary.

As this issue went to Press June 17, favorable votes had been received from a majority of the voting members of the Board. No unfavorable votes had been received.

Under the new constitution and the terms of the vote, the assessment applies to the last full week in June.

6-Day Week Ghost A Reality at I. N. S., Vanishes at Eagle

As inconspicuously, although not as slowly as it adopted a five-day week after drafting of the newspaper code, International News Service on June 27 returned to a six-day week—first major news-gathering organization to take advantage of the Supreme Court decision to nullify the NRA.

The six-day week for INS was ordered by the Hearst general management and for a week, it was learned, INS executives held off putting it into effect in order to "learn the reaction from the papers."

So far as the New York staff was concerned, there was no for-

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A. F. of L. Wins By 76½ to 47½ At Cleveland

Two-Thirds Vote Needed in September Referendum for Charter

CLEVELAND.—The national convention of the Guild went on record by a vote of 76½ to 47½ for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor as an autonomous national or international union. After this expression of sentiment, delegates voted to hold a national referendum in September, which, if yielding a two-thirds favorable response, will set into motion immediately negotiations for a charter.

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Why This Reporter Issue Is Late

The Guild Reporter is late this issue because of the difficulty of assembling an accurate report of the convention. Hardly had the meeting ended when the Lorain strike demanded the efforts of the men most familiar with the records; and many other delegates able to supply the facts hurried away for a rest. The official record will not be complete for several days.

Some of the reports are still not available and will be left to a later issue. The report of the convention publications committee about the future of the Guild Reporter

could not be obtained, and the report of the editor has therefore been held up until the whole subject can be covered at once. Still other reports have been held over for lack of space. The new constitution found to need minor adjustments of language and it too will be printed after these have been made.

Because of the delay this issue is dated July 1, and the next issue will be that for July 15. It will be sent out early, and the deadline for copy will be July 3. All correspondents are urged to send material as early as possible.

A De Souza Memorial Award

In memory of the late president of the Washington Newspaper Guild who was killed in an automobile accident while journeying to the Newark Ledger picket line, the Cleveland convention voted to set up the Daniel De Souza Memorial Award.

The award will be presented annually at the ANG convention to the newspaper worker whose story, article, feature, cartoon, or photograph in the opinion of the judges best exemplifies the highest journalistic standards set up by the American Newspaper Guild. Any work appearing in a

daily or weekly news publication in the United States, whether by a Guild member or not, will be eligible.

The convention renounced the Pulitzer Journalism prizes. Heywood Broun declared there was growing dissatisfaction among newspapermen with the Pulitzer Committee choices. He said, "We have little respect any more for the Pulitzer Award."

The National Executive Board was empowered in the Constitution to appoint a board of Guild judges. A medal or certificate will be awarded.

N.Y. Daily News Case to Be Given To Membership

Representative Assembly Declines to Ratify Agreement

The New York Representative Assembly, at a meeting June 11, declined to ratify a proposed agreement between the management of the New York Daily News and the News Unit, guaranteeing the five-day week and a \$15 minimum for copy boys.

The request for ratification came from the unit. It was agreed, however, to refer the matter to a general membership meeting, scheduled for June 19 at the Hotel Astor.

The assembly debated the question for four hours, fully aware of the importance of its decision. The feeling that any agreement with a company union tendency would lead to a breakdown of the central organization prevailed in the final vote, which was 18 to 13 for rejection.

When the publisher offered the agreement to officers of the unit, members immediately communicated with Guild officers and Morris Ernst, counsel. Efforts to introduce the Guild as a party to the agreement were unavailing. An agreement among members of the New York City Publishers' Association is the chief reason for formal recognition being withheld in New York.

Importance of Expediency. Proponents of ratification emphasized the need for safeguarding the five-day week and argued that expediency was more important at the moment than strict adherence to Guild principles.

Others held, however, that approval of an agreement between a publisher and a unit would inevitably lead to similar action by other publishers, with the result that the city organization and the ANG would be seriously handicapped.

The "emergency" agreement submitted by the News Unit for ratification reads:

"Recognizing that the collapse of the National Industrial Recovery Act has created a unique situation in the economic affairs of the nation, the publisher of the News and the News Unit of the Newspaper Guild of New York herewith enter into this emergency agreement:

"1. The five-day week for editorial employees as at present existing on the News shall continue.

"2. A minimum wage of \$15 a week for copy boys as at present existing on the News shall continue.

"3. This agreement shall continue for one year from date unless superseded by a contract between the management of the News and the Newspaper Guild of New York."

Unit Leader's Discharge Attributed to 'Economy'

Francis J. Posa, chairman of the Corriere d'America Unit of the New York Guild has been discharged. His dismissal, following wholesale resignation of members of his unit, was said to be "economy."

During joint negotiations on behalf of the Il Progresso and Corriere Units, Genesio Pope, publisher, threatened to suspend publication of the Corriere, causing members of the unit to believe he might be persuaded to alter his plan if they resigned. The paper did not suspend.

A meeting of the Il Progresso Unit was called for June 15 to discuss possible steps that might be taken in defense of what they regard as a challenge to the right of organization.

Initiation Fee of \$1 Due If You Joined After June 7

Local Guild please note that under the new constitution adopted at the Cleveland convention June 7 all members who have joined the Guild since that date are subject to an initiation fee of \$1.00 to be paid to the national treasurer.

A Firm Set-Up Is Established At Cleveland

(Continued from Page One)

On these, however, various elements broke away at different times and it was difficult to determine the actual sentiment that would have been shown for each on its own merits.

The first test vote subjected to a roll call was that on the question of approving the report of Clyde Beale of the New York Times as editor of the Guild Reporter. Here the vote was 71% to 57 in favor. (Roll call votes are by Guilds.) The long-awaited vote on affiliation with the A. F. of L. was carried by 76% to 47%.

Finance Move Defeated. That no group dominated the convention was shown, however, when the vote was taken on a motion to vest the ownership of all papers and property of the Guild in the national organization, to be administered by the locals as long as they retained their membership.

This proposal, put forward by many of the same speakers as took the floor for affiliation and kindred points, was defeated by 77 to 44.

That issue precipitated one of the four hottest debates. Another was that over approval of the report of the editor of the Guild Reporter, where the debate turned not so much on the report itself as on whether the editor had shown the right discretion in his handling of contentious matters.

Much debate also took place before the decision was reached to require a two-thirds majority for affiliation with the A. F. of L. in the national referendum; and the motion to extend the Guild's jurisdiction to cover unorganized employees in other departments of the newspaper industry was also a highly moot point, which ended in the defeat of the proponents. Heywood Brown stepped into the debate on the subject, favoring the idea in principle but urging that it be held over for decision next year.

Lorain Strike, Aided by A. F. of L. Gains Momentum in First Week

(Continued from Page One)

Cleveland Guild, declared the Cleveland Guild would sign such an agreement provided Mrs. Kistler were reinstated. Horvitz declined to renege her.

Speakers for the Guild then advised Horvitz that so far as the unit was concerned, its members were still at work. The next day when they reported, however, most of them were locked out. Horvitz claims only four were discharged, while members of the unit, which had been reduced from eleven to eight over a period of months by the publisher's intimidation, assert that seven of the eight were locked out.

Appeal to Business Office Workers

Mechanical workers on the Journal are organized but have no contracts. The business staff, which is a little larger than the editorial, is unorganized, although various members are said to have tried to join the Guild in the past.

The special "lock-out edition" of the Guild Reporter distributed throughout Lorain contains the following appeal to these non-

Union Practice Is Urged as Aid For Bargaining

Uniformity in Contracts Favored—Points to Be Sought Listed

Successful collective bargaining has been shown to be largely dependent on close adherence to union practices, it was agreed by delegates to the Cleveland convention who gave unanimous approval to the report of the committee on employer relations.

In endorsing the committee's report, the convention went on record in favor of greater uniformity in contracts and in negotiating methods. It urged the drafting of a model contract by the NEB and the preparation of a pamphlet with such a contract and with a summary of the problems encountered by negotiating committees. All negotiating committees also were instructed to transmit a full report of their experiences to the national committee.

The major objectives set forth by the employer relations committee of the St. Paul convention were reaffirmed and it was again urged that all Guilds adhere to the rule that "no contract is better than a bad contract."

Points to Be Avoided. In explaining its views on bad contracts, the report specified "agreements that have any taint of company unionism; agreements that permit of lower standards for the editorial employees of one paper than are provided in a previously negotiated contract in the same city; or agreements that sacrifice benefits or rights now enjoyed by employees."

The convention was critical of contracts, several of which have been negotiated, in which employees are compelled to give advance notices equal to those required of publishers. These agreements have ignored the inequality of such an agreement. An employee, it was pointed out, may be restricted from availing himself of an opportunity that could not be expected to recur, whereas few, if any, employees are, or are eligible, for dismissal or replacement by the employer.

"We particularly warn negotiating committees against agreeing that employees must give the same dismissal notice as is obtained from the employers," the report stated.

Committees also were urged to seek the abrogation of any agreement that would prevent the Guild from dropping the news editor was notified to draft a new staff schedule, providing for a six-day week and the new schedule was posted in the office without comment from INS executives. A meeting of the unit will have been held by the time the Reporter is issued.

On May 28, the Representative Assembly of the New York Guild adopted a resolution stating that "if any unit is faced with an attempt by the publisher to renege from current schedules of wages and hours, such unit shall receive the full support of the Newspaper Guild of New York in combating such an attempt."

The Brooklyn Eagle unit presented Mr. Preston Goodfellow, publisher, with a resolution calling upon him to ally the widespread alarm concerning retention of the five-day week. On June 11, Mr. Goodfellow posted the following notice:

"As members of the Eagle staff must realize, the five-day week as a compensation for a necessary wage cut, was introduced here before there was any talk of the NRA. It represented a desire of the management to deal fairly

ments that may exist among publishers not to hire persons employed on other papers. Such agreements have practically shut the door to new jobs to newspapermen in many cities.

Written Agreement Urged. Because publishers in some instances have agreed to certain sections of proposed contracts, only to retract later, it was urged that "when agreement is reached on any point during negotiations it is advisable to insist that it immediately be reduced to writing."

The importance of carrying on negotiations through Guild committees "and not by a committee of the unit" was again stressed, and it was also agreed that all contracts must be subject to review by the NEB or a sub-committee of the NEB.

In referring to the experiences of the past year, the report stated: "Failure to obtain objectives agreed upon last year was due mainly to the confusion among the membership over the question of whether the Guild was a trade union or a professional body. Where Guilds considered themselves unions there were decided gains. Where the Guilds operated on the basis of professional bodies, setting faith in the NRA code and the national administration, there was practically no advance and in some cases distinct defeat."

Points for Guidance. The points to be sought in contracts were listed in the committee's report for the guidance of negotiating committees. In cases where all the points cannot be agreed upon, only those which meet the specified requirements should be included in the contract.

The points listed were: Five-day, 48-hour week, minimum monthly September income of \$1,550; October, \$2,024.45; November, \$2,099.60; December, \$1,366.33; January, 1935, \$2,225.95; February, \$1,573.16; March, \$1,366.33.

For national president—Brown, Region 1, unanimous.

For executive secretary—Eddy, Region 1, 58; Davy, Region 2, 57%.

For national treasurer—Ashcraft, Region 3, 60%; White, Region 3, 57%. (Candidates Dorothy Lech of Westchester, Emmett Crozier of Newark withdrew.)

Members of National Executive Board: Watson, Region 1, vice-president for press associations, 54; Thompson, Region 2 (Washington), 18.

Robert Buck, Region 2, unanimous.

Thomas E. Sherman, Region 4 (St. Louis), 67%; Marshall Hall, El Paso, 29%; William P. Sharpe (Winston-Salem), 18.

Carl E. Johnson, Region 5 (Duluth), 58; Gunnar Mickelson (Milwaukee), 54; Don Stevens, Region 6 (San Francisco), unanimous.

Of the above eight, all but two—Sherman and Johnson—are former National Executive Board members. As analysis of the new constitution will show they are launched on an executive pattern smaller, more concentrated, more directly functional than that of last year's sixteen. All members of the board except the executive secretary have a vote.

with the staff and to minimize in what ways it could hardships resulting from the economic pressure of the times. That desire persists today; the invalidating of the NRA is no way for it.

One of the first results of the Hearst move was the firing of a veteran member of the staff of the Chicago Bureau of INS—Copeland C. Burg, who has been with INS and the Hearst organization for a decade, was ordered dropped at the start of his two-week vacation period with no additional notice of dismissal and no compensation other than two weeks' vacation pay. Considerable ground for his dismissal, it was understood, was that he "flopped on the job" although he has held responsible posts with INS for the past few years.

Endorse Brown By Acclamation For ANG's Head

Contest Over Executive Secretary Results in Eddy Election

CLEVELAND. — Enthusiastic endorsement of Heywood Brown, a stormy contest over the office of executive secretary and a general return to leadership of old officers characterized convention elections for the Guild's coming year.

Brown was re-elected president by acclamation. Jonathan Eddy won his re-election as executive secretary by a majority of 13% votes. Garland Ashcraft of Cleveland, succeeding Emmett Crozier of Newark as national treasurer, defeated Lloyd White of Cleveland by 2 1/2 votes. Morris Watson was re-elected vice-president for wire service. Don Stevens of San Francisco, Robert M. Buck of Washington, Thomas E. Sherman of St. Louis and Carl E. Johnson of Duluth were elected to the newly created National Executive Board with the title of vice-presidents. Johnson defeated Gunnar Mickelson of Milwaukee by 4 votes.

The contest over Eddy ended when Herman J. Nelson of Rockford, Ill., switched his support to Eddy. Although William Davy, national organizer from Cleveland, who was Eddy's opponent, had withdrawn several hours before, the convention persisted in voting for him.

Chosen Unanimously. Robert Buck and Don Stevens were elected without opposition. Here is the complete vote:

For national president—Brown, Region 1, unanimous.

For executive secretary—Eddy, Region 1, 58; Davy, Region 2, 57%.

For national treasurer—Ashcraft, Region 3, 60%; White, Region 3, 57%. (Candidates Dorothy Lech of Westchester, Emmett Crozier of Newark withdrew.)

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National Funds In Good Shape, Says Crozier

Credit Good, Income on Ascendant, Retiring Treasurer Reports

Today the Guild has on hand or in the bank \$1,891.75, according to the report of Emmett Crozier, retiring national treasurer, to the Cleveland convention, "substantially more than enough to meet all of its outstanding bills."

At the time of the St. Paul convention in June, 1934, the Guild had a bank balance of approximately \$1,300.

"The Guild is in a healthy financial condition," the treasurer reported. This conclusion was arrived at, said Crozier, "after a thoughtful review of the figures."

Crozier reported, "The Guild's credit is sound. It has a modest investment in furniture, fixtures, lighting equipment, and a substantial investment—not shown on the balance sheet—in experience. Its rent is paid in advance, it can and does meet its payroll and current bills. There are no loans, commitments or heavy obligations to mortgage its future."

The treasurer's report to the convention detailed a generally ascending income for the ANG. In the three months following the St. Paul convention national receipts averaged but \$1,200 per month. September income was \$1,550; October, \$2,024.45; November, \$2,099.60; December, \$1,366.33; January, 1935, \$2,225.95; February, \$1,573.16; March, \$1,366.33.

Provision was made in the auditor's report for accounts receivable in the form of dues, assessments, and supplies owed the ANG by local Guilds. This sum totals \$4,282.08.

marized the gains of the past Guild year as follows:

"Gains have been made through collective bargaining in Boston, New York, Albany, Newark, Philadelphia, Reading, Washington, Winston-Salem, Cleveland, Akron, Lorain, Cincinnati, Rockford, Madison, Lansing, the Twin Cities and in most Guilds where the convention program as set forth by the collective bargaining committee has been adhered to."

He pointed out the weakness in certain Guilds of sidetracking collective bargaining for "social and pseudo-educational" activities. He said, too, that "through an over-emphasis on signed contracts, we have caused Guild members to lose sight of actual gains and have even enabled our opponents to describe Guild victories in the form of wage minima, shortened working hours and establishment of dismissal bonus as defeats, simply because they were not entitled to in signed documents." He declared that "a signed contract is not worth the paper it is written on . . . except as it is backed up by strong and disciplined organization."

More Closely-Knit Now. We have become a much more closely-knit body during the last year, Eddy finds, and "where the program of the national organization was followed out, almost in every instance gains, rather than losses, have been recorded."

By adopting a trade union set-up at the 1934 convention and by consistently carrying it through, we have demonstrated to publishers and public that we are an organization "that must be reckoned with, that cannot be poached or lapsed into extinction," the report continues.

The year's progress took the constructive form in Eddy's report of the federal administration, by its promises to protect the right of organization; we prided ourselves on our ability to reach the President and present our case personally. Now, he reports, we have

in the process of disillusionment, have learned that "our employers have hoped to keep us from becoming a strong union because in that way alone could they hope to retain the autocratic and whimsical power which has kept journalists' wages low and journalists' lives insecure in this country."

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Mayor of Juarez Bids For Next ANG Conclave

CLEVELAND. — From the mayor of Juarez, Mexico, came an invitation to the Guild to hold next year's convention there.

It was addressed to "The Editor of the American Newspaper Guild."

Marshall Hall, who represented El Paso (Texas) staunch little Guild, which is 500 miles from any neighboring American city and a thousand from the nearest Guild city, brought it with him.

"Juarez is just over the border," he said, "and we see much of what he saw of the Guild and thought it would be nice if the Guild—let me translate from the Spanish—would honor our most beautiful municipality."

Crozier's report called attention to a necessary curtailment of the organizational program and the inability to hire a paid editor of the Guild Reporter, both planned by the St. Paul convention, because of lack of money. The report added that "at least we have lived within our income during a very trying year."

The rate of accumulation of the reserve fund was declared in the report to be entirely inadequate to finance a strike situation during the current year. Crozier declared, "Had the entire reserve fund been released at the beginning of the Newark strike, it would not have paid one week's expenses."

No provision was made in the auditor's report for accounts receivable in the form of dues, assessments, and supplies owed the ANG by local Guilds. This sum totals \$4,282.08.

With the money order came the following resolution: "Journalists employed on the Daily Herald, London, England, organized one hundred per cent. in the National Union of Journalists, send greetings to the striking newspapermen of the Newark (N. J.) Ledger."

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Building:

By JONATHAN EDDY

The executive secretary would like to make a frank statement to the membership.

He is very much exercised over the milk goat situation. It seems there is a shortage of this season's Swiss Toggenburg buck kids in the state of Ohio. There is also one in the state of Connecticut, and since a purpose of the executive secretary in visiting the State of Ohio was to improve the milk goat stock in the State of Connecticut, the executive secretary is very much exercised. He had planned, when the ANG convention was over, to purchase a purebred buck kid, transport it to Pleasant Valley, Conn., and build a five-foot wire fence around it. That is his idea of a vacation.

With the convention well out of the way, he has yet to find the kid.

The executive secretary hopes that he will not be accused of exercising undue influence over the editor in propagandizing and agitating this controversial issue of milk goats

The Guild Reporter

Published on the 1st and 15th of each month, except July and August, when it is published monthly, by the American Newspaper Guild.
Subscription \$2 a year in the United States and Canada, \$3.00 foreign.
Deadline—the 15th and 22nd of each month at New York; prepaid telegraph leads one day later.
All contributions should be addressed to the editor. No manuscript will be returned except by request of the sender. All matter contained in this issue of The Guild Reporter is protected by copyright and is not released for publication elsewhere until the date of publication as printed below, except by special permission of the editor.
This issue set up and printed by the Cahan Newspaper Press, Inc., 200 Varick Street, New York City.
Editorial Office: 45 West 44th Street, New York
Telephone: BRyant 8-9782

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Entered as second-class matter May 7, 1929, at the Post Office at New York under the act of March 3, 1879.
Vol. II, No. 13 July 1, 1935

Opportunity Knocks

The Supreme Court decision destroying the NRA, we believe, is a blessing in disguise for organized labor, and especially for the American Newspaper Guild. For we must now give up reliance upon a fickle support that brought us chiefly disappointments and strike out boldly by ourselves. The covered wagon has gone back. We face the frontier with nothing but our own resources and a new-born spirit of unity.

It is a great opportunity for the Guild. In sections of the country where the Guild idea has not penetrated, the stripping away of NRA standards, such as they were, should bring home to newspapermen and women the need for organization. We must capitalize that awakening speedily and to the limit of our power.

Where we have been weak we should become strong. To Guildsmen who have been unable to see concrete benefits accruing from organization it should be made clear that between us and wide-spread salary cuts and return to the six-day week stands nothing but the Guild.

Labor unions throughout the country are taking the death of the NRA as a challenge. They are intensifying their educational campaign. They are going to work on organization, organization, organization.

The NRA is dead! Long live the Guild! No organization ever had a more glorious opportunity.

Temptation

This is the time to stand on the bed-rock of our strength, which is unity. While the end of the NRA offers us an opportunity, it creates a subtle danger which we believe many publishers will not be slow to recognize. With a display of generosity they may attempt to take their employees under their wings, now that the Blue Eagle has flown, and kill the Guild with kindness.

Some offers, we have no doubt, will be made in all sincerity. And yet, as a practical matter, as well as one of principle, we believe the siren call toward any agreement that may lead to company unionism must be resisted.

The essence of company unionism lies in the relationship between the employer and his employees. If the employer negotiates with them alone, refusing to recognize anyone other than his employee as their representative, that is company unionism.

The dangers of such a situation are apparent. The employer inevitably holds the whip hand over the man to whom he pays wages. His dicta are law. Enforcement or interpretation of any agreement is subject to no control by a detached agency. The employer is supreme. At best it is a paternalistic arrangement without permanence, without security.

Into such a situation Guild units may step by devious ways. We believe that no matter how temporary or harmless a contract between a publisher and his own unit, as distinguished from the Guild, may appear, it will make a breach in the fundamental defenses of the Guild.

A unit which signed such a contract would and its enterprise denuded, at least for a time,

and the next step toward complete company unionism would be made easier. Thus the unit would find it had won a Pyrrhic victory. In the Guild as a whole it would set a disastrous precedent. The contract would be the thing. If the Guild approved a favorable company agreement, it would be under pressure to approve unfavorable ones as well, lest it appear to discriminate among units. Weak units could not resist any offer. Every unit would feel that it must accept or face the danger of a split in its ranks. The more anti-labor publishers would be quick to seize their opportunity.

We are sure Guildsmen will consider all angles of this situation carefully. They realize their common interest with all other newspaper editorial workers, as they demonstrated in supporting the Newark strike. In the more fortunate units they will consider the effect of their acts on newspapermen who have a harder battle on their hands. And they need look back only a short time in their own experience to be vividly reminded that either we all stick together or we resign ourselves to a hazardous existence in an increasingly overcrowded craft. It seems to us that the best insurance for all of us, in the short and the long run, is a demonstration to publishers that we will not be turned aside from our objectives.

Five-Day Weeks

If the move of Mr. Hearst's International News Service is followed by a general reversion to the six-day week in city rooms throughout the country, the American Newspaper Guild will be faced by a critical problem. Are we to lose one of our gains? The problem will require dispassionate examination of our strength, and withal, a complete understanding of the elements involved on the part of every member.

The five-day week, though never as widespread as it should be, was established as a concomitant of early growth of the organization. Retention of that gain will be quite another matter. The fight will rest not so much on the inherent strength as on the actually organized determination in every Guild unit.

The five-day week for editorial employees will not be safeguarded by the astute use of rhetoric. What course, then, is there to follow?

The will inevitably depend on the reaction of those who may lose the sixth day. Reckoning is not enough; we must do something positive. Here we see at once that any step depends for its effectiveness on the strength of not one unit alone, but of every newspaperman. Our cue, then, is to keep strengthening the Guild as a whole.

The manner in which we meet this problem will provide a real test of the sobriety and soundness of the principles we are following, and the methods by which we seek to work toward these principles.

The Guild and Hearst

The Guild Unit on the Wisconsin News, a Hearst newspaper, enters a protest in the resolution published in this issue against criticisms of Mr. Hearst by Guild officers.

The problem of tactics toward a publisher who does not molest Guildsmen on one newspaper but frees them from another does require careful consideration.

It must not be forgotten that Hearst discharges or forced out three active Guildsmen on the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, and that he fought NRA safeguards of the right to organize.

Is this a national or purely a local concern? Is it possible that, having destroyed the Guild Unit on one paper, the publisher might turn his attention to his other publications? Should the Guild be silent in the face of what seems to be a deliberate attack? A publisher can hurt the Guild without saying a word except: "Your services are no longer required." Can we desert a Guildsmen in such a situation? Has the Guild any recourse but to submit its case to public opinion?

We should like to hear the answer of other Guildsmen to these questions. How far are we committed to the principle of one for all and all for one?

Obit

In all the discussion on the floor of the Cleveland convention nobody mentioned Editor and Publisher.

Own Strength Is Our Only Hope, Is Conclusion of Buck Report

No Safety for Us in Reliance on Politicians, Cleveland Convention Is Told

The story of the Guild's business with the NRA and the Roosevelt Administration during the past year was summed up at the Cleveland convention by Robert M. Buck of Washington, national vice-president, in a report which concluded with this observation:

"There is no safety for us in reliance on any politicians, but only in organized strength of our own."

The report was approved with acclamation. Buck described the "behind the scenes" dealing of publishers, bureau officials and politicians. He showed the part played by President Roosevelt and Donald R. Richberg, his one-time "No. 1 man," in affairs in which the Guild had a vital stake.

He told of the ANG's efforts to win better code provisions for newspaper employees, of the futurity of the Newspaper Industrial Board and of the President and Richberg's intervention on behalf of the publishers when the National Labor Relations Board had decided the Jennings case in the Guild's favor.

"The national officers of the Guild were at no time during the past year led into thinking the code held out promised benefits for newspapermen and women," Buck declared.

"Yet they patiently did everything in their power to use the machinery provided by the government for the benefits which labor, in general, had been led to expect. They would do so again. . . . The last year's experience has carried the lesson, however, that Guild members must expect nothing from the government. . . . They must expect benefits only from the exercise of strength which they create for themselves by organization. The resultant power must be trained directly upon employers."

Report Held "Confidential" In telling of the NRA hearing, from which the Guild delegates walked out on Dec. 5, Buck said: "We were led to the code amendment hearing without detailed knowledge of the criticisms of the NRA experts concerning the figures submitted by our opponents."

The reason given by Tate (Divisional Administrator Jack B. Tate, in charge of newspaper code) for withholding the report was that it was confidential, for his use alone. It was obvious, however, that it had not been withheld from the publishers, for on December 5 they submitted a second set of figures largely correcting the shortcomings of the first.

"Our survey was placed in the record in our absence because it had been prepared in cooperation with the NRA division of research and planning and had been submitted as their report on our questionnaires. The transcript shows that it had been submitted to counsel for the publishers in advance of the hearing, although we were not permitted even to know that the publishers had prepared a second set of figures, and were not permitted to see the NRA criticism of their first figures, not withstanding that we had made that criticism possible by forcing the publishers to disclose to General Johnson the original questionnaire."

The Guild's experience with the Newspaper Industrial Board was summarized by Buck as follows:

Board Had Written Rules "When Eddy got on the Board, he found, as all of us including himself, had suspected that he would, that we had not obtained much the Board had already written its rules. It had already reached the stage of deadlock on all vital points of difference. . . ."

Buck reviewed the history of the Jennings case, which he said had become "the chief enforcement of the Guild for early enforcement of 7A on the publishers." He told of the delays, and finally of two favorable decisions from the National Labor Relations Board in the face of the Administration's opposition.

"No sooner had the NLRB reaffirmed its Jennings decision than the publishers got busy," the report went on. "The code committee met in New York Dec. 17 and 18 to consider their dilemma. They decided to call a convention of publishers to consider withdrawing in a body from the code if NRA should withdraw the San Francisco Call-Bulletin's blue eagle. . . ."

"Finally, on January 22, President Roosevelt succumbed to the pressure from the publishers and came out in the open. He sent a letter to Chairman Biddle of the National Labor Relations Board, ordering that Board to keep its hands off of certain boards supposed to function under code. He did not name them. He characterized them vaguely."

"But everyone knew that he meant the Newspaper Industrial Board. He had delivered the death blow to the Jennings case. He himself had retracted the words of his executive order of seven months before, making the labor board independent. He killed not only the Jennings case, but he slew also his own creature, the National Labor Relations Board, which has had no power since his letter of January 22."

Biddle Gave Out Letter "The President had not humiliated the labor board enough by writing the letter. He caused Biddle to give it out, reporters being told at the White House that Biddle would release the story at 1 p. m. It was 3 p. m. before the story was released, but at 1:30 in New York, Howard Davis (president of the ANPA) gave out a statement saying that since the NLRB had been outlawed as a tribunal for newspaper cases, the publishers' convention was called off."

Buck related how, after the President had "maneuvered" his own board, Buck was "repeatedly urged to submit the Jennings case to the Newspaper Industrial Board."

"It was even broadly hinted to me," he said, "that the Newspaper Industrial Board would decide it in our favor. It had already been twice decided in our favor and I did not take this bait calculated to lure us into admitting that the NIB was a proper court for us in 7A cases and into entrusting our complaints to the newspaper tribunal which the publishers kept stymied."

"Thus ended the narrative," said Buck, concluding his 22-page report.

"Reference has been made to certain persons who appear to have taken part in the intrigues against us. Most of them are modest folk, employees of the government struggling for a living as we are. They acted as they did from an opinion as to which side of their bread was spread with butter."

"Even the zealous Richberg was seen but to have been an agent when his chief stepped out from the protecting shrubbery and shot the fatal bolt into the Jennings case. At the outset of NRA there were words aplenty of how thoroughly publishers exploited news department workers and that the wrong was to be righted."

"Before the words could be translated into deeds, the publishers had found all entrance to the White House. It was just as the

(Continued on Page Five)

Meet the Officers Who Will Guide National Guild for Coming Year

Biographical sketches of the officers elected on the closing day of the Cleveland convention follow:

Heywood Brown

Picture on Page 1)

In Brooklyn, borough of churches, on December 7, 1888, a street called Pineapple proved fruitful and produced Heywood Brown.

When he was two his father, though a crack rifle shot, moved from the symbolic street to Manhattan, a licentious borough filled not with spires, but with young roughnecks with whom the young Heywood soon engaged in street fights, theatrical performances and dialectical controversies, going from the Horace Mann school to Harvard, and thence, by the back door, to the Morning Telegraph where the Broadway bug bit him.

He went to the Tribune in 1912 as sports editor, changed to dramatic critic, reported the A. E. P. and in 1921 became as busy as the proverbial one-armed paperhanger on the World, writing the theatre reviews, a column, and reports of big baseball and other sporting events at one and the same time, being a self-confessed lazy man by nature.

He left the World later conflicting with Ralph Pulitzer over his freedom to columnist on the Socio-Vanzetti case. He turned to the Nation and in 1928 became

the young, battling guild of newsmen.

Radio-active, dynamic, yet modest withal, John Eddy, in the first days of the Guild did not hesitate to quit his nine-year-old job with the Times, his life of country squire on his farm at Wilmot, Conn., his pipe, books and short-story writing to go into the journalistic highways preaching the gospel to the scribes. He has twice been executive secretary of the Guild. He is married and the father of two children.

During the halcyon days of the NRA Watson's voice was heard in Washington in an urgent plea to include press associations in the newspaper code. At the first ANG convention in Washington he was appointed chairman of the National Press Association Committee and put up a constant fight for the extension of New Deal benefits to his co-workers on the various wire services throughout the country.

Born in Joplin, Mo., Watson went to school in St. Louis and started his newspaper work on the World-Herald in Omaha. Following his return from the World War he spent a period in government vocational training, then went to Denver where he worked two years on the Morning Post. Next he went to the Chicago Herald Examiner.

In 1928 Watson joined the staff of the Associated Press in Chicago, whence he was transferred to the city desk of the Associated Press in New York, a position he now holds. He is 33 and married.

With his re-election to the post of vice-president for wire service employees, Watson, in accordance with the terms of the newly adopted Guild constitution which provided for the extension of New Deal benefits to his co-workers on the various wire services throughout the country.

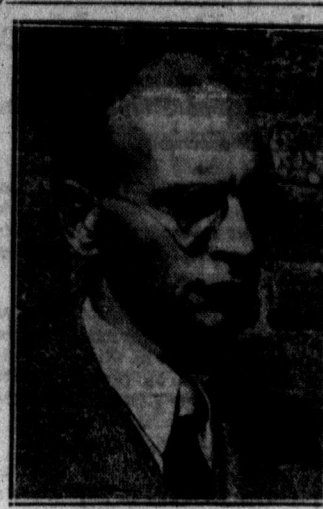
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Jonathan Eddy

Jonathan Eddy, the Paul who has carried the Guild gospel across the nation, midwifing many of the seventy-one local Guilds, was born 32 years ago. He attended Cornell, helped edit the Widow, joined Sigma Delta Chi, was graduated in 1924 and joined the New York Times.

Possessor of a radio operator's license since 15, he had spent his summers on the waves as ship's radio man.

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hibits a member of the National Executive Board from holding any other Guild office, will drop his office as secretary of the New York Guild, to which he was elected last year after serving a year as treasurer.

Robert M. Buck

Robert M. Buck's name became known to every member of a live Guild when the Guild's first hour and wage survey was conducted. All questionnaires bore directions for return to him.

Since then, however, Buck has become something much more than a name. Those who have met him and heard him speak know him as one of the fighting spirits in the ANG. He was a prime mover in the organization and was surveying for the Washington Guild and is still an invaluable contact with the national office in its many dealings in Washington.

Buck was born in Chicago in 1892 and has been in the newspaper business for more than 30 years. His first job was with the Chicago Tribune in 1903 and he served as a reporter on the Chicago Daily News from 1904 to 1911. For a short period he turned political press agent, working in the 1911-1912 Mayoralty campaign in Chicago, the campaign of the late Senator La Follette for President.

Since his cowboy days, the ANG vice-president has had several interludes between newspaper work which he has utilized for solo camping trips in the Rockies on horseback. On some of these trips he was employed by the United States Biological Survey as a hunter of wolf, coyotes and other predatory animals.

After a futile attempt to visit the battlefield (Stevens enlisted in the Army in 1918, but didn't get across) he studied journalism for two years at the University of Montana under Dean A. L. Stone, and attended the University of Chicago for six months. While at the latter institution, he drew a comic strip twice a week for Julian Maestri of the Chicago Evening Post. Later he did considerable political cartooning for dailies in Montana.

Stevens' jobs include: Reporter, Butte Daily Post, Great Falls Tribune, Billings Gazette, Montana Record Herald, Helena; News Editor, Great Falls Leader and Astoria, Oregon, Astorian; rewrite man, Rocky Mountain News, Denver; copyreader, San Francisco Examiner, Oakland Times, San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Phoenix Arizona, Republican; make-up editor, Oakland Post Inquirer, and telegraph editor, San Francisco Examiner, on which paper he has been employed for the last five years.

His only hobby, he says, is the Guild, which is natural in view of his newspaper ancestry, his rebel Irish blood and his frontier background. He organized the first Guild on the West Coast and was a leader in the Burgess and Jennings fights.

Returning to Chicago after the war, Buck founded and edited the War Labor Board. His achievements in the field of personnel administration won wide acclaim.

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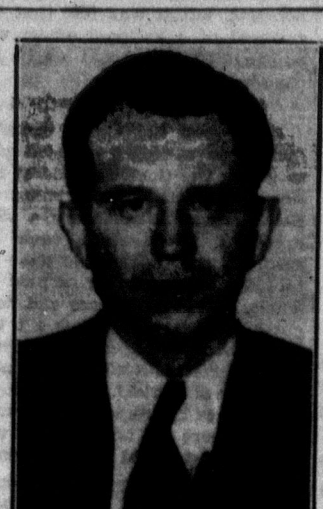
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Garland Ashcraft

Jan. 3, 1890, Stevens spent five years of his boyhood in Eagle City, Alaska, on the Yukon, with his uncle, James B. Powers, a pioneer freighting contractor and now a gold mine operator and Territorial Senator.

He attended high school in Pony, Montana, a one-horse mining and ranching town. At various times he did ranch work and for several seasons he earned a living as a cowpuncher.

Since his cowboy days, the ANG vice-president has had several interludes between newspaper work which he has utilized for solo camping trips in the Rockies on horseback. On some of these trips he was employed by the United States Biological Survey as a hunter of wolf, coyotes and other predatory animals.

After a futile attempt to visit the battlefield (Stevens enlisted in the Army in 1918, but didn't get across) he studied journalism for two years at the University of Montana under Dean A. L. Stone, and attended the University of Chicago for six months. While at the latter institution, he drew a comic strip twice a week for Julian Maestri of the Chicago Evening Post. Later he did considerable political cartooning for dailies in Montana.

Stevens' jobs include: Reporter, Butte Daily Post, Great Falls Tribune, Billings Gazette, Montana Record Herald, Helena; News Editor, Great Falls Leader and Astoria, Oregon, Astorian; rewrite man, Rocky Mountain News, Denver; copyreader, San Francisco Examiner, Oakland Times, San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Phoenix Arizona, Republican; make-up editor, Oakland Post Inquirer, and telegraph editor, San Francisco Examiner, on which paper he has been employed for the last five years.

His only hobby, he says, is the Guild, which is natural in view of his newspaper ancestry, his rebel Irish blood and his frontier background. He organized the first Guild on the West Coast and was a leader in the Burgess and Jennings fights.

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Garland Ashcraft

The New National Treasurer

Born in Hill section of Green County, Indiana, in 1897, cut sawgrass sprouts and rag weeds out of the corn until he was 16, graduated from Bloomfield, Ind., High School, taught school one year. Received A. B. from Indiana University in 1921, after a term hitch in U. S. regular infantry drilling as a non-com in South Carolina and North Carolina camps. Started newspapering on a country weekly in Bloomfield. Worked on Evansville Press, St. Louis Globe Democrat and other papers as reporter. City editor, Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, 1925; to Cleveland Press in 1926, working all beats and rewrite, including a year as editorial writer. A member of the organization committee of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild and treasurer of that Guild during its first 18 months. Now general assignment man on Press.

Thomas B. Sherman, newly elected regional vice-president, is a product of the South. He was born in Augusta, Ga., in 1891 and went to the University of Georgia.

His newspaper experience covers a wide field. He started on the Atlanta, Ga., Journal, later

went to the Birmingham News, then came to New York to do rewrite for the New York American. For several years

Compact Board Created in New Constitution

National Council, Which May Try Officers, Also Established

(Continued from Page One)

The new constitution was adopted unanimously at the close of an all-night session on the fourth day of the convention after it had been debated clause by clause.

These changes provided greater concentration of power in the hands of a smaller governing body, called the National Executive Board; authorized the levying of assessments for emergencies and created machinery for the conduct of strikes, with the national guild participating in the direction with authority to review expenditures and budgets.

At the same time the new code was expected to reduce much of the friction noted in the Guild in the last year by laying down clear, detailed instructions in place of the previous loose wording.

Practically all that was retained from the old constitution was the statement of purposes, and the sections on collective bargaining. Specifically the new constitution provides for the following fundamental changes:

1. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The old executive committee was composed of sixteen national officers, including twelve regular vice-presidents and a vice-president-at-large. The new body is made up of the president, treasurer, executive secretary, a vice-president for wire service, and four additional vice-presidents; eight in all. The executive secretary has no vote.

Because of the cost, tremendous for an organization the size of the Guild, the old executive committee never met, and in this fact, it was felt, were the roots of much of the irritation of the past twelve months. By slashing the membership of the national governing body in half, it was argued, regular meetings would become a practical possibility. The expense of meeting is cut by more than half because in the case of the old committee, three of the members must be within easy distance of national headquarters. The need for regular meetings was the persuasive reason in reducing the number of national officers.

2. NATIONAL COUNCIL

This council is composed of all Guild presidents, a completely new body in the national structure. It acts as a grand jury in the removal or suspension of members of the NEB, and as an appellate court in the suspension of Guild charters and the removal or suspension of members of NEBs. Except on the suspension or removal of national officers which is ultimately decided by referendum, appeals may be taken from the decisions of the NC to the next ensuing national convention.

3. DISCIPLINING OF NATIONAL OFFICERS

Under the old set-up no provision was made for the suspension or removal of a national officer, however grave his offense. The new constitution defines conditions under which a national officer may be removed, and at the same time provides checks against a too hasty or unjust exercise of the power of removal.

The program calls for the filing of written charges (a) by three members of the NEB, or (b) by ten Guilds in five states. The case goes by mail to NC and if a majority finds the accused guilty a referendum is taken of the entire

membership of the national Guild. The method is concededly cumbersome, but it was felt that the removal of a national officer was so grave that it should not be accomplished too easily.

4. DISTRICT COUNCILS

Last year the Guild operated under the so-called regional plan in which the thirteen Federal Reserve districts were chosen as Guild regions. In theory a vice-president represented each region. If the Guild could have afforded a large number of paid officials, and local officers and delegates could have the time to will and afford the expense of attending regional conventions the plan might have worked. In practicality all cases the regions, arbitrarily chosen, were too large and it was impossible to hold conventions.

The new plan provides simply for the creation of District Councils by Guilds whose proximity or community of interest is regarded as sufficient reason for their functioning as a district. The chief merit of this plan as contrasted with the earlier one is its flexibility. The activities of DC's are financed by the Guilds concerned which are empowered to levy assessments, if needed, on their own membership for the purpose.

5. DISCIPLINE

In the new constitution the conditions under which members may be suspended or expelled, Guilds may be suspended, and national officers may be removed, are defined for the first time. The procedure to be followed is also clearly described.

Serious violations of the constitution are grounds for the exercise of these powers. Other offenses are also specifically defined: Members, for example, are forbidden to act as strike-breakers, to sign "yellow dog" contracts, or to disclose to any person other than a fellow member a secret Guild decision.

6. ASSESSMENTS, DUES AND INITIATION FEES

For the first time the national governing body is empowered to impose assessments on the entire membership, and an initiation fee of \$1 for each member is required for membership in the national Guild. National dues of \$50 a month remain as before.

The NEB is authorized to assess the membership \$50 a week for sixteen weeks a year to finance emergency activities—specifically for strikes. It is also authorized to declare an emergency whenever the defense fund falls below \$20,000. Inasmuch as the defense fund is far below this figure this means that an assessment can be imposed at any time at present.

Although the convention authorized the appointment of organizers, the employment of a full-time editor for the Guild Reporter and made quarterly meetings a regular feature of the Guild's life.

STRIKES

The convention faced the organizational facts of life squarely in the matter of strikes. These, it was felt, are something that may occur even to the mildest-mannered Guild, and provision was made against such a contingency.

In an attempt to overcome the handicaps of last year, an entire section in the new constitution is devoted to strikes. Guilds retain the power to call strikes, but are required to keep the DC and NEB informed of developments which may result in the need for strike action. The conduct of a strike is placed in the hands of a strike committee of the Guild to which, however, must be added a member of the DC and a representative of the NEB.

In the event that a Guild declines to call a strike in response to a majority vote of the unit involved, the NEB is authorized to assume control. Provision is also made for the setting of rates of strike benefit, and for the submission of a weekly budget of anticipated disbursements.

Resolutions Condemn Fascism And Endorse Labor Party Move

Others Favor Release of Political Prisoners and Reaffirm Code of Ethics

Among the important resolutions adopted at Cleveland were those urging release of Thomas Mooney, denouncing fascism, reaffirming new integrity and endorsing an independent Labor Party. Following is the text of all resolutions which had been received at the Reporter office at the time of going to press:

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WHEREAS the Wickliffe Commission report on the case is a proved conclusively that Mooney is a victim of a plot to keep him in prison because he was progressive leader of labor, and

WHEREAS the continued imprisonment of this man is a constant precedent for persecution of other progressive trade unionists in California and throughout the country; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that the American Newspaper Guild record itself as favoring the release of all prisoners imprisoned for labor activities and political beliefs.

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WHEREAS violently-minded vigilante committees have been formed to break strikes and to stamp out efforts to make better conditions in many sections, and

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A.F. of L. Wins By 76½ to 47½ At Cleveland

Two-Thirds Vote Needed in September Referendum for Charter

(Continued from Page One)

The affiliation vote, greeted by cheers of delegates who rose for a demonstration lasting several minutes, was followed by the announcement of seven delegates who voted against the resolution that their vote was a technical one because they favored affiliation but were withholding approval until the passage of a provision for a two-thirds referendum of the entire membership. Later, Jud Evans, Richmond, announced that his three votes for affiliation had not been cast because he had been absent on committee work. It was estimated that the favorable convention votes represent well over 75 per cent of the membership.

Following a debate on the size of the majority to be required for affiliation, with New York's delegates arguing strongly for a majority as against a two-thirds referendum vote as a more democratic procedure, the convention agreed by unanimous consent to instruct the National Executive Board to apply for an A. F. of L. charter upon the receipt of a two-thirds "Yes" vote of the membership. Machinery for a carefully checked secret referendum was set up.

Brown's Major Objective

At the conclusion of the voting, Heywood Brown, national president, said he considered the day's proceedings as a mandate to work for affiliation and that his candidacy would have that issue as its major objective.

The affiliation question was launched in the convention by the presentation of two reports setting forth the pros and cons. The pro report, containing twelve reasons for affiliation, was submitted by Robert M. Buck, Washington; Victor Pasche, Newark, and Charles Lucy, Toledo. The anti report, citing the weaknesses of the American Federation of Labor and the special characteristics of newspapermen which it was held would make them not amenable to inclusion in the labor movement, was submitted by Roger Gibson, Philadelphia; Harold T. Meek, St. Louis, and Emmet Crozier, Newark.

A special committee report was adopted on methods of conducting the referendum. It contains the following provisions:

Provisions on Voting

"For purposes of its referendum under this resolution a member in good standing is one who has been admitted to membership not later than July 31, 1935, and whose dues are paid and whose national per capita dues have been forwarded to national headquarters up to August 31, 1935, provided that unemployed members as of June 6, 1935, may vote.

"A referendum on this question shall be held in the month of September, 1935.

"On or before the 5th day of September, 1935, the secretary of each affiliated local Guild shall forward to the national office a certified complete list of the members in good standing as of August 31, 1935. These lists shall contain the newspaper connection and residence of each such member so that they may serve also to complete the mailing list of the Guild Reporter.

"Not later than September 15, 1935, the National Executive Secretary shall have placed in the hands of each local secretary a sufficient number of official ballots for the local referendum election, said ballots to contain the following legend and nothing more:

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
Official Ballot Sept., 1935
Shall the American Newspa-

Newark Strike Yields a Profit, Nets a Handbook for Future

Delegates to Cleveland Give Guild Benefit of Their Experiences

A virtual strikers' handbook was reported to the Cleveland convention by the Newark delegates, who said they consider the result of their strike a substantial victory. Those who signed the report are: Nathan L. Goldberg, president of the Newark Guild; Robert C. Ring, first vice president, and Victor Pasche, secretary-treasurer.

Picketing of advertisers—national assessments—an executive strike director from the national office—set salaries for strikers—citizens' committees—and tying up of news sources, were discussed in detail and recommended in a formal report by the delegates, based on their experiences.

Inferring that "the Guild membership throughout the country is now satisfied that a strike is a necessary weapon for the Guild," the report listed what was learned in conducting the strike against the Ledger.

"Future strikes will not have the sentimental appeal that the first strike had," the Newark delegates warned. Therefore they recommended the creation of a national assessment system, which was done by the convention.

Direction of a strike was declared to be the job of a national organizer.

Accordingly the report proposed that a national organizer serve as a member of a compact strike committee, to be created under

per Guild seek immediate affiliation, as an international union, with the American Federation of Labor.

☐ Yes.
☐ No.
"Between the 15th and 30th days of September, 1935, both inclusive, each local Guild shall hold an election by secret ballot in a designated place or places, under the election regulations provided in its charter, constitution or by-laws. None but official ballots may be used and none but members in good standing may vote.

"If necessary, members may vote by mail, provided that if local Guild regulations contain no provisions therefore, their executive committees shall make special regulations for that purpose.

"At the close of the polls in each local Guild, the officials conducting the election shall count the ballots, certify the count to the local secretary and give into the latter's custody the ballots in a sealed envelope dated and inscribed with a complete description of its contents. Into this envelope shall be placed also all spoiled and unused official ballots. The local secretary shall preserve the ballots, sealed in this envelope, for not less than sixty days, during which the envelope may be opened and the ballots examined only in case the results of the election are challenged.

"Each local secretary shall, within forty-eight hours after the closing of the polls, certify the results of the referendum election in his Guild to the National Executive Secretary on the blank provided for such return and shall enclose the certified return and nothing else, sealed, in the envelope provided for that purpose.

"The National Executive Secretary shall hold in custody all such sealed returns until October 16, 1935, upon which day the seals shall be broken and the returns canvassed and tabulated under the personal direction of the President, the National Secretary, and the Treasurer of the American Newspaper Guild with watchers present representing both sides.

"If the proposition fails of approval by two-thirds of those entitled to vote and voting, it shall not be resubmitted until at least two years have elapsed, unless a national convention shall otherwise direct."

constitutional strike regulations, and that he serve as executive director of the strike.

Pay for Strikers

The convention did not go quite that far, although it did provide in the new Constitution that a representative of the National Executive Board be a member of strike committees.

Frank admission was made by the Newark delegates that the Ledger strike "was in desperate need of an executive director, a person experienced in labor struggles" and they added their belief that "such an executive rarely would be found among the ranks of the strikers."

Pay of \$10 to \$15 a week for strikers who are single, \$15 to \$22 for married persons, and an additional \$2 for each dependent, was proposed.

Establishment of strike headquarters close to the plant where the strike is declared was said to be of prime importance. This was done in the Ledger strike and the report pointed out that changing of pickets was easily accomplished and that "no injunction could bar strikers from their own headquarters, and therefore from the vicinity of the building."

Inside information on how advertisers were approached was disclosed. For the strikers to tell advertisers they were using an unfair publication might have been called a secondary boycott, which is often held illegal. "But," points out the report, "the acts of independent citizens do not concern a striking unit."

"When the Citizens' Committee chose to picket department stores, and other advertisers, it wielded a potent weapon. Russell and the advertisers were driven frantic. Several advertisers withdrew as a result."

In numbers there is strength, Newark picketers found.

"The number of pickets which can be used to advantage in a boycott is limitless. It need hardly be said that Guild members not on strike should volunteer for some picketing. We are rather unsuccessful in getting large numbers to do so."

Police On Spot

Timidity is out, the strike leaders are convinced. Unfamiliarity with the law on boycotts brought caution in the first batch of signs printed. Later the signs frankly said: "Please Don't Read." "That," the strikers found, "was much more effective."

Blocking the Ledger's news sources was one task the Guild cut out for itself. "The local stories in the Ledger were generally rewritten," as a result of the success of this effort, the report said.

While a striker might cover his old beat and appeal to his contacts to have nothing to do with strikebreakers who replaced him, the striker has other things to do. The zeal of Guild members from other papers assigned to those beats was therefore of value.

So important did the Guild consider the picketing of important newstands that it augmented its picket forces by hiring pickets for early morning work. The cost to the Guild represented only expense money, for labor leaders and a Newark Socialist helped obtain these additional pickets.

Too much, it is pointed out, should not be expected from the police, for "in a newspaper strike, the local police department is on the spot." Happily in Newark the strikers received fair treatment from the police.

Guild Reporter Adds Pop

When spirits were low, mass activity was a pepper-up. A fresh issue of The Guild Reporter, or a march through the streets sent the morale upward.

'Guildsman's Guildsman'



Ben A. Franklin, late night editor of the New York Herald Tribune, who died May 28.

But caution was urged in preparing for mass meetings. The Newark Guild found that after the first flush of a strike, three weeks of preparation was needed in arranging an effective mass meeting.

The temperamental, individualistic newspaper man was prominent. A form of strike discipline which would establish a direct tie-up between the amount of work done by the striker, and the amount of benefit paid him, therefore was recommended to reduce temperamental displays.

The report asserts that the Newark Guild was fairly successful in its dealing with strikebreakers. About 10 imported men were persuaded to join the strike.

In conducting the Ledger boycott, "the telegrams from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, were of immense import."

"As a result we received the active support of nearly every labor organization, except those in the printing trades.

"The United Mine Workers sent the Emergency Fund \$1,000. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union sent almost as much, and lent us the services of an expert organizer to advise us in strike tactics.

Movie Men Helped

"Locals of the Movie Operators in New York and Elizabeth lent us sound trucks. The Essex Trades Council sponsored a labor mass meeting in our support.

"A committee of the Council campaigned actively on our behalf. We received active union support in numerous other ways."

The Newark strikers found it wise to accept mediation, but not arbitration.

The Newark settlement, although satisfactory, "was far from ideal," admitted the delegates, adding "we may have to fight the Ledger all over again."

The final outcome was achieved, they said, because the striking group hung on longer than the management could, "and with labor support." They warn, however, that "future Guild strikes should be brought to a head a great deal quicker."

A Fighting Limit

"The real result was that we achieved the aim of the strike, the existence of the Ledger unit. The Ledger unit is there, better than it ever was."

"It is a fighting unit, held together by a long fight, in a strong strategic position.

"Instead of the loose organization it was before the strike, hesitating between company unionism, Guild and dissolution, it is now a real Guild unit. The whole Newark Guild is a better, more disciplined organization, because of the strike.

"If the Guild movement continues in the direction it has been taking in recent months," the report concludes, "we are confident that the victory of the Ledger strike will be consolidated there and elsewhere."

Guild Mourns Ben Franklin, Tribune Editor

Experience on Old World Strengthened Support for ANG Aims

Ben A. Franklin put to bed the final edition of the New York World on the night of February 27, 1931, just as he had many a night before. He told about that last night in a chapter of the book, "The End of the World," written by the dispossessed staff.

Last month, more than four years later, while supervising the make-up of a late edition of the New York Herald Tribune, he was stricken with duodenal ulcers and sent home. He never went back.

Between those two nights, the American Newspaper Guild was formed and Franklin was with it from the start, not forgetting the lesson the World's demise had taught. For the eight months preceding his death, although his secure position as night editor would have made it easy to sidestep, he was an enthusiastic member of his unit's executive committee, attending regularly and giving valued advice.

Studied Affiliation

Two months ago, acting on the chapter committee studying affiliation with the A. F. of L., he went to the library on his familiar campus of Columbia University to look up data on the Scranton Newswriters' Union. There he found a master's thesis on the subject, which he digested and reviewed for the Herald Tribune unit. He was also active in the unit's negotiations with the management last winter.

Tribute to Franklin as a "newspaperman's newspaperman" came from many who had known him and worked with him. The Representative Assembly of the New York Guild sent a message of sorrow to his family.

"It is the simple truth that he was loved and admired beyond any other man on the paper," said the expression of sympathy forwarded by his immediate associates. His friends in the composing room honored him as "Editor, Soldier, Gentleman."

Buried in Springfield

Franklin was born in Philadelphia in 1898. He was buried in Springfield, Mass., where his parents now live and where he received his early education. Three members of the Herald Tribune Guild—Hickman Powell, Leo Margolin and Richard West—attended the services.

Other newspapers on which Franklin worked were the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard and the Manchester (Conn.) Herald. He taught reporting and editing for seven years at the Columbia School of Journalism. His earlier studies at Columbia had been interrupted by war service, during which he was wounded and cited for gallantry and exceptional courage, but he returned to get his degree in 1922.

His widow, Zipha Carruthers Franklin, and two children, Zipha June, 10, and Ben Arthur, 7, survive.

Baltimore Gets New Unit; National Dues Fully Paid

A new unit, representing the Afro-American, has been admitted to the Baltimore Guild. The new unit starts with nine members. William Mitchell is its chairman.

The Baltimore Guild for the first time in its history is fully paid up in its national dues and has increased its membership on all three of the dailies during the past month. A committee was appointed to form additional units on the foreign language newspapers and the Baltimore Catholic Review.