For the Fourth Estate

The Guild Reporter

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Vol. III. No. 1 NEW YORK, DECEMBER 15, 1935 Price, $2 a Year

6-Day Week Hits Jobs of Hearst Men

Four Already Discharged —All Six Units in N. Y. Band Together

BULLETIN

Machinery was set up for vigorous conduct of the Hearst phase of the five-day-week fight by a joint membership meeting of all six Hearst shop Guild units of New York, December 10. One member each from the American, Mirror, INS, Journal, Universal and International News Photos units is now acting as a New York all-Hearst strategy board in liaison with the New York Guild, the ANG and the national Hearst chain committee to carry out the campaign. A general meeting of members of all Hearst units in the New York area is scheduled for 7:45 p.m., Dec. 18, at the Hotel New Yorker, just before the general membership meeting of the New York Guild at 8:30, the same night and place.

The encroachment of the six-day week on Hearst papers in New York, accompanied by discharges, has galvanized all Hearst Guildsmen in the city into action.

One week after the longer week was re-established in the joint photographic department of the New York American and Journal, four men in the department were fired. Since then, the art department of the two newspapers was ordered back to the six-day week, affecting twenty-five more staff members.

The Executive Committee of the New York Guild has endeavored to negotiate directly with W. R. Hearst but its efforts have been unavailing to date. However, aroused by the firings and the spread of the six-day week in their plants, the Hearst units in New York have joined hands to carry the fight to the publisher.

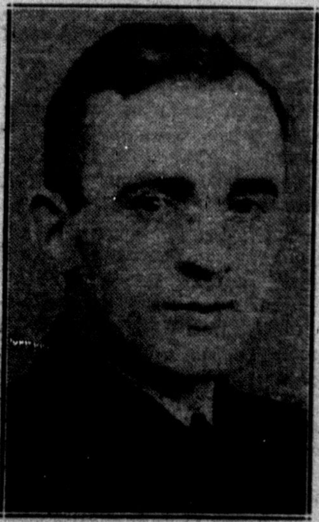
Although the five-day week has not yet been threatened on the Mirror, which is published in a separate plant, the unit on that paper adopted a resolution "heartily endorsing" the American-Journal efforts in behalf of the men taken off the five-day week and proposing a joint meeting of the six Hearst units in the New York Guild to discuss the problem, "so that if it be deemed appropriate, suitable action may be taken."

Pursuant to this suggestion, a joint meeting of representatives of Hearst units was held and it was decided that the units would work together in the negotiations. This meeting called a joint mass meeting of all Hearst employees in New York City, the first such gathering ever to be held.

Petitions designating the Guild as collective bargaining agent have been circulated among Journal and American employes, including non-Guildsmen, and the response to these petitions indicates the seriousness with which Hearst employes view the situation. Between 125 and 150 signatures have been collected thus far in each shop, far in excess of the number of Guild members in good standing on the two papers.

In its efforts to arrange a conference with Hearst, as requested by the American and Journal units, the executive committee of the New York Guild communicated with the publisher by special messenger on

New District Head



B. J. WIDICH

Elected chairman of Ohio Council at Akron meeting where organization was completed. (*Story on page 3*)

N. Y. District Begins Drive For Members

Organization of Jersey Counties First Goal of New Council

The newly organized New York District Council is swinging into action with a drive toward creation of new county units in New Jersey.

The council is composed of the New York, Westchester, Newark and Hudson County Guilds. Its major job, it has decided, is to fan the spark of organization in the surrounding territory.

In preparation for an intensive membership drive in the New Jersey territory, the District Council is canvassing the membership in the New York area to determine how many present Guild members have friends or acquaintances working on the Jersey papers who might serve as the initial contacts.

It asks Guildsmen to send in the names and, if possible, addresses of friends or acquaintances on the following New Jersey dailies:

Asbury Park Press
Bayonne Times
Elizabeth Journal
Jersey City Journal
Morristown Record
Trenton Times
New Brunswick Home News
Jersey Observer (Hoboken)
Passaic Herald-News
Paterson Call and News
Plainfield Courier-News
Perth Amboy News
Trenton Gazette

Names may be handed to unit chairmen, who are requested to

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Organizing Quickens Throughout the Guild

Widespread Activity Is Awaiting Coordination in Defense Drive

Call Is Sent Out For Local Aides

Members in Each Unit Wanted—NEB Will Direct Campaign

Bed-rock organizational work is now advancing faster in the ANG than at any time since the Guild's start.

Spurred into increased action by the signs that publishers in many places were whittling down recent improvements in the midst of the talk about returning prosperity, Guilds all over the country are putting themselves into better shape to protect their gains.

Along with this work in the most active Guilds, new signs of life are evident in locals where lapses in dues collections have occurred and efforts to promote the Guild program have waned. These signs are demonstrating that the idea of organization has found firm roots in a large number of individuals who are ready to bear the brunt of pioneer and revival work.

This is the situation throughout the ANG, demonstrated by the large number of letters reaching national headquarters and by answers to a Guild reporter survey, as arrangements for the big organization and defense fund drive ordered by the NEB are being perfected.

Contributions for Drive

Further evidence came in the form of cash contributions from widely separated parts of the country sent in response to the news that the drive was to be undertaken. A Columbus Guildsman, Samuel C. Fusco, sent $5 almost by return mail when he read the news; one from New Jersey, Howard A. Lamb, came into headquarters to leave $3; a group of anonymous Rhode Islanders, who are waiting for organizational work to get started in their vicinity, sent $10; and a Guild president sent word that his local was considering a sizeable contribution from its reserve fund for defense certificates.

Working as rapidly as it could while consulting by mail, the National Executive Board adopted a proposal to constitute itself the National Defense Committee, and a slate of nominations for the national committees, prepared by Heywood Broun, as president, is now out for a vote.

Hard Workers Sought

Meanwhile, names of energetic workers in local Guilds who will be ready to forward the drives in their areas, have been asked of local officers by Jonathan Eddy, executive secretary, "so that the moment the details are decided we can get immediately to business." He asked

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How to Aid NEB Drive

Need of important preliminary work to enable the membership and back dues and assessments drives to get under way rapidly is evident in many Guilds. Those that are not already actively tightening up their internal organization and working to expand are urged to prepare for the drive by the following steps:

1. Catalog all delinquent members and determine which ones are behind merely because collectors have missed them, and which have been so out of Guild activities that an effort must be made to draw them back in.
2. Study the present collection system to find where it has fallen down. Have enough members been made responsible? One collector for every ten members, and not less than one for every unit, has been found in practice to be a good proportion. Often, too, collectors have been elected without regard to whether they are willing actually to go to the members and ask for dues. A study of the present system will point the way to improvements.
3. Catalog all eligible non-members, determining which have not yet been approached, which have slid back, and why? Go over the methods used to date in interesting new members, analyze any failures and what new methods, if any, need to be tried.
4. Determine where an increase in membership would most strengthen your Guild. If you are already completely organized, or nearly so, it may be that you can strengthen your position by working on unorganized cities nearby.
5. If your Guild is not yet organized in a district, study the grouping into which you would fit best. The NEB's plan to double the membership within established Guilds is contingent upon obtaining the additional strength to be gained from district organization.

Most important of all, in surveying their internal organization and plans for growth, Guilds are urged to compare the activities in which they have engaged with the program of improvement of wages, working conditions and security through trade union methods, which was adopted at the Cleveland convention as the one most certain to insure Guild progress.

Sale Collapse Spurs Strike on Harlem Paper

The need for renewed and drastic pressure immediately against the Amsterdam News, Harlem weekly, was emphasized this week by New York Guild officials following the apparent collapse of negotiations for the sale of the paper to groups which, ostensibly friendly to the Guild, would have ended the lock-out.

A lull in strike activities when prospective buyers, one the publisher of a Baltimore Negro publication, and the other a committee

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First Rounds In NLRB Cases Won By Guild

The Guild has won the first rounds of two important cases before Regional Labor Boards.

For discharging Morris Watson, ANG vice president for wire services, the Associated Press is called upon to answer at a hearing on Jan. 5 before a Trial Examiner of the National Labor Relations Board. A complaint has been issued against A.P. by a Regional Director of the NLRB.

The Philadelphia Inquirer faces a similar trial Dec. 19 on the com-

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BUILDING: *District Set-Ups Aid in Expansion*

By JONATHAN EDDY

The most effective instrument in carrying on our expansion campaign can be the Guild District, as provided for in the new constitution devised by the Cleveland convention. Let us list very briefly what has been done to date.

We have four districts, not all of which have been approved by the National Executive Board as provided in the constitution, but all of them actually in existence and establishing their worth.

The four districts, whose membership includes well over half of the total enrolled in the ANG, are, in the order in which they came into existence, the Piedmont District, Michigan State, Ohio, and New York District. Piedmont, organized before the convention, is made up of the Guilds of Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Durham, all in North Carolina—although there is talk of spreading out to take in organized and as yet unorganized points in Virginia on the north and South Carolina to the south.

The Michigan District, with headquarters in Detroit, takes in, besides that city, the Guilds in Muskegon, Battle Creek, and the state capital, Lansing; and plans are going forward for further expansion. Its mimeograph publication, which comes out at regular intervals, keeps the men in various cities in close touch, and Guild work is coordinated thereby. The Michigan District, moreover, is the only one so far that has established such a publication. Furthermore, it is the only one that has put up and approved a per capita to hire an organizer. The district per capita is only 25 cents, and there is some question whether a man can be

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Membership Work Speeded In Whole ANG

Widespread Activity Is Awaiting Coordination in Defense Drive

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for at least two names in each unit of every Guild.

Of the three-part program called for by the NEB—improvement in dues and assessment collections, membership drive and raising of a national defense fund—groundwork for the first two can proceed at once. The defense fund campaign is contingent on the preparation of the defense certificates, although advances will be needed and are now sought.

Answers to THE GUILD REPORTER survey, received so far from nineteen Guilds, show that most of them are at work on their collection systems and more than half are conducting membership drives.

Slumps Came in 1934

The survey showed that a sizeable opportunity for strengthening the organization is awaiting through the improvement of collections.

Where there have been drops from the high points reached in membership, the survey shows, the peaks were reached mostly in the middle months of 1934. This is taken to mean that the losses represent mostly members who stayed in the Guild long enough to indicate a genuine sympathy with its purposes and therefore probably represent chiefly an organizational problem. Many units that showed similar slumps in the middle of 1934 have, through improvements in collection systems, been brought up to their highest levels at the present time.

Also, there is much strength in many Guilds beyond what actual dues collections would indicate. New York now has an enrollment of 2,300, the highest it has ever reached, but the number of up-to-date in dues payments in any one month is nearer 1,400. Slow membership drives are going forward in the units, Milton Kaufman, executive secretary, reports, but the Guild is concentrating on raising the entire enrollment to good standing.

Including New York, judging from the survey, about a quarter of the Guilds are now at their membership peaks. Another quarter show small losses due partly to the weeding out of delinquents in the last few months and partly to the cuting down of staffs on their papers in the last year. A few have had serious setbacks, necessitating extensive rebuilding, which is now going on.

Many Guilds Healthy

Some large apparent drops from the peak figures are reported, yet many Guilds showing them are today in the healthiest condition they have ever reached. This is the case in Washington, according to the survey report. Its peak membership figure was 375, but the number paid up at the time was 75. The nominal enrollment included many bureau heads and other persons possibly not actually eligible. Today Washington has 299 paid up—its highest figure.

Cleveland also shows a drop from the peak figure of 320, reached in July, 1934. The drop is attributed in part to shrinkage of staffs, and in part to the need for re-invigorating efforts in the smaller units, which are now being developed.

Organizational work at present is taking varied forms. Cleveland has been overhauling its program to discover places to strengthen it. Besides its steady efforts to tighten up its internal structure, it is, according to the report, "planning to make the Guild fill a larger place in the social life of newspaper men here."

Some Guilds are taking drastic action by inviting long-standing delinquents to rejoin as new members. Others that have had difficulty in enrolling some of their eligibles are working out new methods of approach.

All Guilds, also, are urged to begin immediately making the most realistic study of their entire functioning in all fields, where this has not already been done, so that the new drive committees will have an exact picture on which to start work.

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hired with this with the present number of members in Michigan.

The New York District embraces New York, including Brooklyn; Westchester County, with its Macy chain; Hudson County (Jersey City), and Newark. With such a large membership base it would seem possible to finance a real organizing drive in that area, but there is as yet no district office, no district publication, and no district organizer or executive secretary.

The Ohio District has, like New York, been functioning as best it could without an organizer or even a publication.

Organization Machine Is Held Essential

In writing the District set-up into the constitution the Cleveland convention saw the necessity for organizational machinery if we are to carry on Guild growth. We are now launching into the biggest expansion drive since the early days of our existence, and the district is the keystone of the arch that bridges the gulf between a 5,000 membership and one of 10,000. The district coordinates the resources, personnel, finances of all the Guilds in a given area into a single powerful vehicle with which to drive ahead. With a district functioning properly, no longer does the prospective member in an unorganized city have to join a vague (to him) organization 100 or 1,000 miles or more away, for instead of joining the distant national, he can join his State Guild. No longer is there danger of local dues being frittered away aimlessly; instead they are concentrated in a publication and an organizer that are steadily building Guild strength throughout the state. Also neighboring Guilds no longer travel in divergent directions, but, through the constant exchange of information and opinion in the District Council meetings, pull shoulder to shoulder along the same path. Each District Council meeting, through the gathering of delegates from various cities, can result in the same sort of pooling of information, unification, and renewed impetus that derives from the national conventions.

The national constitution gives the DC's all the authority requisite to direct Guild work throughout its area, to raise the level of all Guilds in the area to that of the best functioning of them all, to build new Guilds. As stated in a recent issue of The Akron Guild Reporter, "Need for closer cooperation between Guilds and the general education of the entire membership has been recognized by all alert Guildsmen. This new District Council offers a medium."

District Councils, wherever we have them, offer a like medium and deserve the fullest support of the membership. They are the means by which Guilds in a given area pool their strength and accomplish that for which none of them alone has the necessary resources.

Membership Drive Is on in Tacoma

TACOMA, Wash.—Members of units of the three Tacoma daily newspapers are vying for honors in obtaining new members for ANG before Jan 1.

Since organization of an ANG chapter less than six weeks ago, membership in Tacoma has reached the 50 percent mark. It is the aim of the three units to achieve 75 per cent membership or better.

In addition to building up local membership, missionary work is being done among editorial workers in Seattle, Spokane, Portland and Everett with the idea of establishing chapters in these cities.

Several members of staffs on Bremerton dailies have signified their intentions of joining the Tacoma chapter.

Spreading 6-Day Week Fought by Hearst Men

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Nov. 27. This was supplemented by another message on Dec. 2.

The Guild was informed over the telephone by Joe Willicombe, Hearst's aide-de-camp, that "Mr. Hearst is a very busy man and can't be expected to answer his mail at once."

The Guild spokesman then asked, "Are we to understand then that we may still expect an answer?" To which Willicombe hastily replied, "Oh, no, no. I didn't say that."

Willicombe then suggested that the best way to get in touch with Hearst might be by telephone but this strategy, too, failed. Then the elusive publisher left for the coast, although it has been reported that he will return to New York within a month.

Resentment against the six-day week's return is great and is growing. As the American unit's shop paper pointed out, "It is a new theory of efficiency that stretches out the work week, increases the work quota of each person and then expects more efficiency."

Broun Names ANG Committee To Gain Aid in Watson Fight

A campaign committee of leading Guild officers to marshal liberal and labor support for the fight of Vice President Morris Watson to obtain reinstatement to his job on the Associated Press has just been appointed by Heywood Broun under the authority vested in him by a recent resolution of the National Executive Board.

The committee, in addition to Broun as chairman, is comprised of Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary; Don Stevens, national vice president; Carl Randau, president of the New York Guild; Milton Kaufman, New York executive secretary; Ruth McKenney, New York district president, and Ray Torr, chairman of the New York Representative Assembly. A representative of the New York AP unit is to be elected by the latter, and others are to be added as occasion may arise.

The committee is made up of Guild members available in New York so as to insure constant deliberation and active functioning.

Four Collection Spurts Cut Delinquency in 1935

With the Guild's organization and defense drive starting, it is time to consider the national financial situation and local financial problems so that members may have a comprehensive picture of the task that lies ahead.

A month-to-month survey starting Jan. 1, 1935, of the huge debt of delinquent dues and assessments shows that there were only four months in which the debt was decreased. That it can be decreased when the effort is made is seen from the fact that it has been done for special occasions. During April and May collections increased because locals wanted to be paid up to insure full representation at the national convention.

Again in September there was a flurry to get dues and assessments into headquarters for the vote in the A. F. of L. referendum.

The reductions in each of the four months was small—in November it amounted to less than $100—but they show that when the effort is exerted results are inevitable.

A similarly encouraging note is reflected in a comparison of the October and November dues and assessments payments. The per capita dues returns in November topped those of the previous month by almost $350. The collections for the June, July and October assessments amounted to $687.50, which is $94 more than those in October. The following Guilds improved their financial standing in November:

Akron, O.
Albany, N. Y.
Schenectady, N. Y.
Troy, N. Y.
Atlantic City, N. J.
Baltimore, Md.
Brockton, Mass.
Lansing, Mich.
Milwaukee, Wis.
Newark, N. J.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Camden, N. J.
Reading, Pa.
St. Louis, Mo.
San Francisco, Cal.
Toledo, O.
Youngstown, O.

The outstanding fact about collections so far is that, with the exception of about 15 Guilds of various sizes, locals have been constantly slumping and being rejuvenated. Sometimes the slumps have been due to special conditions such as isolation, sometimes to other factors.

One of the important causes of slumps has been inefficient systems of dues collection. Until February returns from Hudson County, N. J., Guild, for example, were poor. An investigation showed lack of proper co-ordination between the unit collectors and the treasurer. By a consolidation of jobs a new treasurer assumed the responsibility and began working closely with the unit collectors. By the time of the June convention all back dues and assessments had been paid and the Hudson County Guild has continued to remit regularly.

A similar situation arose in Toledo. The Guild fell behind during the summer months in both dues and assessments. In October, National Treasurer Garland Ashcraft went to Toledo, met with the treasurer and unit collectors and helped install a system of dues collection. The Guild became more active at the same time and its record since has been good.

Youngstown, Ohio, also found itself in a financial mix-up which was straightened out by installation of efficient dues collecting and bookkeeping systems.

If all delinquent Guilds were to concentrate on perfecting their financial systems, the local would benefit and the national would be able to strengthen itself financially and even have funds for helping to organize cities and districts which are clamoring for Guilds.

The expected income for this quarter as envisaged by the NEB in October totalled $9,740.50. As of Dec. 10 the total of dues and assessments collected is $5,480.35.

There is an indication of the size of the job to be done. The record shows we can do it if we really go to it.

First Rounds In NLRB Cases Won By Guild

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plaint issued by the Regional Director in that city accusing it of unfair labor practices in that it flatly refused to bargain collectively with employees.

Trial examiners, the NLRB rules show, take testimony under oath and send the record of the case to the national board for decision. If the employer refuses to comply with the decision the case goes to a Federal court.

"Interfering with, restraining and coercing" its employees is charged to the A. P. in the complaint in the Watson case issued by Mrs. Elinore Herrick, Regional NLRB Director in New York. The complaint also charges the A. P. with "discriminating" and "discouraging membership in the American Newspaper Guild" and "thereby engaging in an unfair labor practice."

The A. P. was allowed five days in which to file an answer. It asked an extension of time and one week was granted. Mrs. Herrick said she was able to allow the extension because "there is ample time before the hearing."

The hearing, in January, will be held almost three months after Watson, long a star man on the A. P., was called in from an assignment and abruptly dismissed.

The text of the board's complaint appears on another page in this issue.

Morris J. Ernst, who is conducting the case for the Guild, announced last week that papers had been drawn up for a libel suit against the A. P. in Watson's behalf. The papers charge that a news story sent out by the service would tend to injure Watson's chances of obtaining future employment. Damages in the neighborhood of $50,000 were to be asked.

Philadelphia Citation

PHILADELPHIA.—The case of Guild vs. Inquirer moved forward favorably to the Guild and the Inquirer employes when the National Labor Relations Board cited the paper for "unfair labor practices."

The Philadelphia and Camden Guild initiated negotiations with Charles A. Tyler, president of the Inquirer, a year ago, and received a series of verbal rebuffs. Tyler provided the Guild with a complete case when he signed an emphatic statement, contained in a letter to Paul Comly French, then Guild president, that he had no intentions, past or present, of signing a contract with the organization.

Armed with this letter and with affidavits proving the Inquirer a participant in interstate commerce, the Guild's committee went to the labor board.

The citation, announced by Major Stanley W. Root, regional director of the board, accuses the Inquirer of "interfering with its employes in the exercise of rights guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act," said acts constituting "unfair labor practices."

The preamble to the board's complaint makes it clear that "on July 10, 1935, a majority of the employes in said unit had designated the Newspaper Guild of Philadelphia and Camden as their representative for the purpose of collective bargaining with the respondent."

The Inquirer may file an answer on or before Dec. 12 and its representatives are called upon to answer the citation at a hearing in the board's regional headquarters on Dec. 19.

Writers Group Urges Faster Work Relief

Sees Hopkins in Effort to Hasten Jobs for the Unemployed

The United Committee for Writers' Relief in New York conferred with Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Works Progress Administrator, on Nov. 29 on the problem of placing unemployed writers on work relief projects. The main question, that of establishing a method of placing unemployed writers on projects without the "home relief hopper," Hopkins took under advisement and promised to communicate with the committee as quickly as possible.

The United Committee representatives were Henry F. Pringle and Miss Luise Sillcox, of the Authors' League of America, and Milton Kaufman, executive secretary of the New York Newspaper Guild and secretary of the committee.

The Authors' League and the Newspaper Guild each have three members on the committee, and the League of American Writers, Writers' Union, Yiddish Writers' Union and Yiddish P. E. N. one each.

The conference was one of a series with local and federal WPA officials to clarify the procedure of placing writers and authors on writing projects with a minimum of delay.

The United Committee had visited Victor F. Ridder, WPA Administrator in New York City, a week earlier. Ridder told the committee that writers' projects were under the jurisdiction of the Federal Administrator and he was powerless to act on complaints.

In a previous conference with George Cronin, assistant federal director of Writers' Projects, the committee learned that approximately 2,500 writers have been placed on writer projects, with 9 percent of the total in New York City. The national quota had been set at 6,000.

The committee sought to press on Mr. Cronin the possibility of reclassifying all writers and newspapermen under the professional group at $103.50 a month. Mr. Cronin took the stand that to raise them all to the $103.50 level would mean less employment under present fiscal arrangements. He also indicated that there would be a reclassification shortly on the basis of merit. This left members of the committee with the impression that salary cuts were in store for people already working.

Cronin objected to a uniform wage of $103.50 for writers on the ground that if it were set in New York, it would have to be established nationally. To this the committee replied that it would like to see the classification applied nationally.

Last Call for Members To Enter Book Contest

The American Journalists' Book Contest for $3,000 in prizes is near deadline. Only two weeks remain to submit manuscripts, which must be in the mail by Dec. 31, 1935. The contest is sponsored jointly by the Guild and the Dodge Publishing Company.

Twenty-four manuscripts have already been received and the request for entry blanks, which must accompany each manuscript, total 172. The contest is open only to members of the Guild as of Dec. 31.

Two prizes of $1,500 each will be awarded for two books, one of fiction and one of non-fiction. The judges are Heywood Broun and Lewis Gannett, book critic of the New York Herald Tribune.

Each manuscript must be not less than 60,000 words or more than 125,000 words long.

New Ohio Council Out for 5-Day Week

AKRON, O.—The newly organized Ohio District Council is off to a flying start with plans for an Ohio Guild Reporter and an intensive organization campaign in the district.

Delegates from Cleveland, Columbus, Youngstown and Akron met at Akron Dec. 1, adopted a constitution and elected officers.

Establishment and maintenance of the 5-day, 40-hour week is one of the prime objectives of the Ohio district, delegates decided at the Akron meeting.

The first step in the program outlined at the Dec. 1 meeting will be the establishment of the Ohio Guild Reporter, a mimeographed paper to be used for organization purposes as well as keeping Guilds in the district informed of district activities.

District Reporter Planned

Harold J. Taylor, president of the Akron Guild, was appointed chairman of the publications committee of the district

District delegates agreed to take up any complaints they may have against the Reporter with Taylor in district meetings, instead of carrying the issues into the Reporter, believing that to do so might destroy the effectiveness of the paper as an organization medium.

National Organizer Bill Davy discussed organizational problems in Chicago.

Officers Elected

B. J. Widick of the Akron Beacon-Journal was elected chairman of the district, Max Sien of Cincinnati, vice-chairman, and W. T. Shenkel of the Akron Times-Press, secretary and treasurer.

The chairman and secretary were chosen from Akron to make it possible for them to cooperate closely.

Amendments to the District Constitution were sent back to constituent Guilds for ratification. Other committee chairmen appointed were: finance, Shenkel; organization, Widick, and collective bargaining, Frank Baer of Columbus.

OHIO DISTRICT OFFICER

WILLIAM T. SHENKEL

N. Y. District Launches Organizational Drive

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mail them without delay to Milton Kaufman, district secretary.

The District Council, which embraces nearly half the present Guild membership, met recently in New York, decided on New Jersey as the field for beginning operations, and elected officers. Two places were left open for Westchester representation because the Westchester delegates were unable to get to the meeting.

Ruth McKenney, New York Post, secretary of the New York Guild, was elected district president; Leo Hershdorfer, Hudson County Dispatch, vice president; Milton Kaufman, executive secretary New York Guild, secretary; Agnes Fahy, Newark Ledger, treasurer. William Greenspoon, Jersey Journal, and Nathan Goldberg, president, Newark Newspaper Guild, were elected to the district executive committee.

When a report was made that the Westchester Guild was in difficulties following the discharge of several of its members, the district meeting decided that a meeting would be arranged as quickly as possible to bring assistance to it.

The organization committee, headed by Nate Goldberg, laid down the rule that in the beginning an effort would be made to set up county guilds rather than municipal guilds. This policy would be more suitable because of the many one paper towns in Jersey, it was felt.

The Newark delegation reported the establishment of a Guild auxiliary. The New York delegates promised to report to the next meeting on the possibility of starting a similar organization.

New England District Ratification Advances

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—Ratification by the Boston Guild of the New England district organization plan drawn up by the second provisional conference here last summer, has been received by Provisional Secretary Scott Anderson. Boston is the third Guild to ratify, following Brockton and Springfield.

Permanent organization of the New England district now awaits only ratification by one of three remaining Guilds in this section—Waterbury, Meriden or Lynn.

Guild Presses Strike As Harlem Deal Fails

(Continued from page 1)

of Harlem doctors, stepped in, "was as natural as it was unwise," and gave rise to an impression that the fight was over, officials said.

This lull was even taken by Mrs. Sadie Warren Davis, publisher of the Amsterdam News, as an indication that the Guild was letting up in its fight to restore the 15 locked-out editorial workers to their positions.

On the strength of it she is said to have renewed her attempts to get additional capital to resist the Guild as long as possible.

The emergency committee, directing strike activities, has sent out word that the publisher's stubborness must be matched by the Guild. There is a pressing need for funds from Guilds throughout the country.

Mrs. Davis made overtures to unload the paper several weeks ago.

A New York group, headed by Dr. C. B. Powell and Dr. P. M. H. Savory, and the Murphy family, publishers of The Baltimore Afro-American, sought to gain control of the publication.

In conferences with representatives of the Guild both groups indicated a willingness to come to terms with the Guild. Dr. Powell asserted that the problem of adjustment with the Guild was only a minor issue. Neither group, however, was able to come to terms with the publishers of the paper whose indebtedness has steadily mounted since the lockout began, on Oct. 9. Mrs. Davis, it is reported, insisted that any purchaser continue the present management's fight against the Guild.

The Amsterdam News is still losing heavily in circulation and advertising. All the large display advertisers who early in the fight withdrew their advertisements have continued their support. An active campaign has resulted in a sizeable reduction in the number and lineage of classified ads.

Unable to pay the scabs, the paper faces the danger of losing their services at an early date. Some of the strike breakers are as much as $200 in arrears on wages.

Washington Guild Votes Down Membership for Gen. Johnson

WASHINGTON.—Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, former NRA administrator, cavalryman, lawyer and now a newspaper columnist, was rejected for membership by the Washington Guild by a vote of 31 to 16.

The action on his application was taken by adoption of the minority report of a committee appointed to determine his eligibility. The report held that the general's interests lay with the employer rather than with the employes as is required by the national constitution, and questioned whether the major portion of his time was devoted to newspaper work or his actual residence was Washington.

Marguerite Young, of the correspondents' unit, presented the minority report in a comprehensive summation which lasted nearly an hour.

A Unique Case

Miss Young said the application of Johnson presented a "unique case" in that he was not essentially a "working newspaperman." *Who's Who*, she said, lists Johnson as a "soldier, lawyer and manufacturer."

She argued that Johnson's "value as a newspaperman lies very largely in the prominence he has attained in other fields."

Kenneth Crawford, of the New York Post Washington bureau, presented the majority report which urged postponement of action until Johnson could announce his own views as to his eligibility.

Speaking in favor of the minority report, former Guild Vice-President Robert M. Buck, who handled Guild negotiations with Johnson in the spring of 1934 for a seat on the Newspaper Industrial Board, gave a graphic picture of seven months of what he pictured as buck-passing, twisting, turning and misrepresentation to Guild officers.

Recalls NRA Row

On Dec. 15, 1933, he said, President Roosevelt and Johnson, then NRA administrator, promised the Guild representation on the board. Johnson first appointed Ralph Pulitzer, former publisher of the New York World who "turned his employes into the street," as code administrator, then Lindsay Rogers and finally George D. Buckley, a man who proved himself thoroughly loyal to the publishers.

Vancouver Group Asks Guild Charter

Eddy Advises Canadians to Affiliate Tentatively

The entire staff of the Commonwealth, of Vancouver, B. C., now organized as the Commonwealth Cooperative Guild and a few of whose members are in the British Institute of Journalists, has applied for a charter as a local of the American Newspaper Guild.

In the letter of application, Harold Griffin, secretary of the Cooperative organization, said that organization activities would be undertaken on the other newspapers of the city. The Co-operative Guild's roster includes employes of all departments on the Commonwealth except mechanical.

The unit is now pressing for wage increases.

Jonathan Eddy, secretary of the American Newspaper Guild, replied that the Guild constitution makes no provision for enrollment of employes outside the editorial departments or affiliation of Canadian locals, but that this policy may be broadened at the next convention.

The Commonwealth staff has 16 members.

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Newark Men Are Vindicated By Arbitrators

Ledger Strikers Awarded Back Pay from May 20 and "Reinstatement"

NEWARK, N. J.—The Newark Guild won a belated but clear-cut victory in an arbitration decision, which proved the justice of the strike of Ledger editorial employees a year ago. The decision awards approximately $1,500 to the eight persons whose discharge precipitated the walk-out November 17, 1934.

The arbitrators upheld the Guild's contention that the group was dismissed for Guild activity and directed reinstatement as of March 28, date of the strike settlement.

Under the decision the eight are entitled to back pay from the Ledger management from that date to May 20, when the Chancery Court trusteeship of the Ledger ended. The strike settlement agreement was effective only for the duration of the eight-week trusteeship. Because of this, the reinstatement was technical only.

Minimum Wage Unsettled

The arbitration committtee failed to perform the full task for which it had been appointed. It refused to set a minimum wage scale for the period during which the agreement with the Ledger trustees was in force.

In explaining the committee's reason for failing to discharge this obligation, Circuit Court Judge Edwin C. Caffrey, chairman, indicated that he feared to set a retroactive scale because it might be used as a basis for future negotiations. He added that he didn't feel competent to set wages because the elements of "personal qualifications and local conditions" were involved.

Caffrey ignored the fact that he had been instructed to set a minimum, not an average scale.

In a statement to local news papers of which no publication used more than a phrase, Nathan L. Goldberg, Newark Guild president, said in part:

"At various times during the strike, the publisher of the Ledger, L. T. Russell, sought to becloud the issues by clamoring for 'arbitration of the strike.' The Guild opposed this as a bad substitute for fair negotiation, but accepted arbitration of certain specific issues as part of the settlement.

"One of the eight men vindicated by the committee's finding, Bronson A. Conway, died while the decision was pending.

"Despite its belatedness, the arbitration award is a material victory for Guild principles."

SPEAKERS

JOHN T. FLYNN
DOROTHY THOMPSON
COL. W. STEWART-RODDIE
JULIEN BRYAN
DR. LEWIS BROWNE
ALBERT EDWARD WIGGAM
NATHANIEL PEFFER

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—Richard Watts, Herald Tribune

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The Guild Reporter

Published on the 1st and 15th of each month by the American Newspaper Guild.

Subscription $2 a year in the United States and Canada, $2.50 foreign.

Deadlines—the 8th and 23rd 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 Rogowski Printing Co., Inc., 444 Pearl Street, New York City, N. Y.

Editorial Office: 49 West 45th Street, New York
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Entered as second-class matter May 7, 1934, at the Post Office at New York under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. III No. 1 December 15, 1935

"Resolved, that the editor of The Guild Reporter be instructed to so edit The Guild Reporter that it shall promote in every legitimate way the recommendations and mandates of the Second Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild, and that he confine the editorial policy of The Guild Reporter to that specific program."—Adopted by the National Executive Board as proposition No. 17 of July 2, 1935.

An Anniversary and a Race

The Guild reaches its second anniversary as a national organization today.

To judge by what we read in the papers, those days in the Fall of 1933 were dark ones, indeed, in the history of this Republic. Dividends were low, or missing entirely; the stock market was in deep gloom.

In those dark days and the ones immediately following, the progressive pay cuts being made on newspaper and other workers came to an end; the epidemic of discharges was checked; hours of work were cut and wages raised a little by general agreement of employers; on at least the larger papers of the country, newspaper editorial staffs began to know leisure and rest by going on the five-day week.

Today, for those of us who read the papers, prosperity is returning. The government has poured billions in various enterprises to prime business, and we are seeing the results. Dividends are being resumed and enlarged; stocks are up many points; advertisements are increasing.

Unfortunately, for reasons not explained to us, working hours are now being lengthened; extra days are being added to the weeks; newspaper men and women are being fired because the papers can get along with smaller staffs.

There is another striking contrast between our birth year and today. In 1933 the nation was frankly interested in reforms. We heard much about the "closed frontier"; about the changes in industrial relations that must come.

Today, for all practical purposes, one small reform is being tried—the cumbersome, slow-moving Wagner Labor Disputes Act, which is already showing the need for many improvements if it is to be adequate to its supposed task. Yet today we are confronted by the amazing campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers, claiming to speak for American industry, apparently intending to create an atmosphere unfavorable to all social legislation, whether already passed or still tragically needed.

For us in the Guild, these lessons and this new stiffening of the opposition—in which publishers are either leading or with which they clearly are in sympathy—mean one thing: We are in a race for time to multiply our strength before this reaction is in full control. We shall need that strength; we can have it only through our own organization and the organizations of other workers like ourselves.

We can build it. This anniversary day itself testifies to that. For two years we have been the only body that cared for the interests of newspaper men and women in this country. Word of our struggle and successes has spread to every corner of the country. We have won the attention and respect of editorial workers everywhere; we are their organization; they need us more than ever. The anniversary watchword is: ORGANIZE!

About General Johnson

The action of the Washington Guild in declining to admit General Johnson to membership has given us the first ticklish test of our membership rules. And the decision has precipitated some fears that we may have given the publishers a weapon for opposing us on the closed-shop issue.

We do not share the fear. General Johnson's case is clearly unique. On the basis of interests, his obviously would lie with the publishers as against the employes—as he himself has demonstrated—and so he is barred by the constitution. Moreover, probably more than any other public man, he is identified as an enemy of the workers' right to strike, a vital right which the Guild unqualifiedly espoused at Cleveland. Thus he is diametrically opposed to the Guild on an important principle.

If the publishers were to try seriously to delude the public on the closed shop issue, alleging that we sometimes excluded working newspaper men, they would be laughed out of court when they had to produce their "evidence."

Unity in the Fight

(A statement by the executive committee of Springfield, Ohio, in the Springfield Guild Reporter.)

Publishers are usually swift to adopt policies inaugurated by their brethren.

When the trend on a number of papers was toward the five-day week, the powers that be in Springfield did not follow suit, but they did make concessions along the same lines. The News staffers were given time to compensate them for the double shift on Saturday.

The trend now is toward return of the six-day week. It has been restored to a Columbus newspaper, and to the A.P. in New York. What will be the reaction in Springfield? Hours haven't been lengthened, but notice has been served that the publisher has the right to do so at any time—that the NRA is dead.

Shall we pray, or shall we stand firm, strengthened by unity?

Small units have not the strength to battle on the firing line. It is too costly. BUT those small units can lend moral and financial strength to those on the firing line.

A defeat in New York or Columbus will, sooner, or later, snatch away any slight gains we have made locally. Unwillingness to cooperate actively here lessens the moral strength of the American Newspaper Guild, and invites defeat on the firing line.

Patronize Our Advertisers

The old, familiar phrase has a place in the Guild Reporter, now that we are accepting (in fact, getting) advertising.

It probably would be easy for editorial staffers, unaccustomed to totaling up the revenue received from ads and, at the same time, accustomed to passing pages of them by in search for brighter gems, to look upon these announcements in the Guild Reporter as only part of the trimmings. But an advertiser is thinking in terms of spot cash yield.

If we can build up our income from advertising, it will be just one more support in the Guild's financial structure.

It is fully realized, of course, that support of Guild Reporter advertisers must not mean a drain on members' purses, and care is being taken to accept only announcements of definite worth. But if Guild members will be guided in their purchasing as far as they reasonably can by Guild Reporter ads, they will lay a substantial base for building up this revenue.

Night Desk Blues

When Dr. James H. Breasted, famous Orientalist of the University of Chicago, died recently, some papers were quick to trot out stories about the mysterious curse that is supposed to guard the tomb of King Tutankhamen. Dr. Breasted was one of the leaders in the archaelogical party that unearthed the tomb.

Legend has it that on the walls is inscribed: "Death shall come on swift wings to him that toucheth the tomb of Pharaoh."

The stories about the curse, pegged on Dr. Breasted's death, made much of the fact that of the party that disturbed the tomb, he was the twenty-second to die.

Yet William F. Edgerton, Dr. Breasted's assistant, says there is no such inscription.

Physicians who attended the scholar at the end were careful to examine into the causes of his death: it resulted from a streptococcus infection and was not mysterious.

Those were stiff facts for the "curse" story to handle, but there are more.

Dr. Breasted was 70 years old; more than a decade had passed since he entered the tombs. And Howard Carter, co-leader of the expedition, is still alive and healthy, as are more than half of the expedition.

Probably it was an awfully dull night!

The Rest of the World

Hope for the 35,000,000

Almost overnight John L. Lewis has become a leading national figure and his Committee for Industrial Organization is the hope of American labor.

The reason is not hard to find. This campaign, announced by his committee, goes far deeper than a struggle for control of the A. F. of L. If Lewis succeeds in organizing the mass production industries and others on an industrial basis, the resulting power and implications will dwarf anything yet seen in the American labor movement.

The Committee for Industrial Organization is distributing a pamphlet on industrial unionism as the opening gun in its campaign. It contains the minority report of the resolutions committee at the A. F. of L. convention and the speeches by Lewis and Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typograpaical Union, supporting the minority report.

One sentence from this report is the meat of the whole affair:

"The fact that after fifty-five years of activity and effort we have enrolled under the banner of the American Federation of Labor approximately three and one-half millions of members of the thirty-nine millions of organizable workers is a condition that speaks for itself."

Lewis asserted that during the last year 586 A. F. of L. unions died and 272 were organized, so that the 1,650 A. F. of L. organizers "lacked 314 unions of holding their own."

Lewis and Howard pictured the workers in steel and other large industries as eager to organize but restrained or thwarted by jurisdictional disputes in the old craft set-up. They warned that even the strong craft unions were threatened by forces working to wipe out the labor movement, as it was wiped out in Germany and Italy.

In this situation, Lewis, Howard and the heads of six other powerful national unions have set up machinery "to further in every way the efforts of groups of workers in autos, aluminum, radio and many other mass production industries to find a place within the organized labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor." Their goal is A. F. of L. organization of the 35,500,000 unorganized or isolated workers.

* * *

Labor Movement At Turning Point

Something is wrong when an unofficial committee must be formed, risking expulsion from the main body, to seek this desirable end. There is no doubt, however, that the labor movement in this country has come to a turning point. Unofficial though it may be, this committee has on its side inevitable logic and millions of workers to whom it offers their first real hope.

"How much more powerful and influential would be the silver-tongued President Green if," exclaimed Lewis, "he were able to appear before the Congress or the President speaking, not for three and one-half millions of specialized craftsmen but speaking for five million, or ten million, or twenty million of workers in American industry!"

* * *

Employers' Debut (?) In Politics

But if the workers are divided, employers are not. They grow bolder and bolder, more and more forthright in their announcements of an attempt to dictate to the American people. The National Association of Manufacturers, holding a "Congress of American Industry" in New York, with publishers well in evidence, declared they were going into politics to destroy the New Deal, and adopted a platform.

They are alarmed at the threats to "the American industrial system." There is no place in this system, they find, for legislation protecting wages and workers' collective bargaining rights.

At first blush this frontal political attack on the New Deal seemed a tactical blunder, and the New York *Times* so interpreted it editorially. Owners and employers have always exerted their power most successfully from behind the scenes, when they could mask their purposes and make the people believe the decisions were their own.

In a straight test at the polls between the demands of the Bourbons and an administration aligned against them, there is no doubt what the result would be. The electorate would give the barons a fearful drubbing if they were identified with one political party.

But it should be noted that the reactionaries as a group have not been attacking President Roosevelt himself. Their fire is directed against advisers who are alleged to have led the well-intentioned President astray, against "unsound theories" rather than the Democratic Party or Roosevelt.

Shrewd observers do not expect employers as a group to fight Roosevelt's re-election. They deduce that big business is simply placing Roosevelt on the defensive, by creating what appears to be a general clamor, with the generous assistance of the newspapers, inducing Roosevelt to abandon parts of his program which limit their profits. The President has already made many concessions to them; they are driving to force him to make more, so that by next year they will have little to fear from his re-election.

* * *

Prospects for A Labor Party

The Republican Party is frankly reactionary and against social legislation. The Democratic Party also is plainly at the mercy of big business and growing more conservative by the minute, despite the good intentions of a liberal wing. The situation clearly calls for a labor party, on which working people can depend to support their program.

Such a party for which the Guild has gone on record, cannot be formed too soon. Even if it has no chance of victory in the 1936 election, it can set up a program in opposition to that of the National Manufacturers Association, and by making a bid for labor's votes, compel the Roosevelt administration to act to win popular support.

He Asks for Mutual Sympathy

Camden, N. J.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

I believe the present unhealthy state of the Guild is due to the total lack of sympathy of a good many members of the organization with the problems that confront a considerable number of other members.

Last week an article appeared here in Camden disclosing the name of a working newspaperman on the payroll of the W.P.A.

The reporter concerned fell down on his Guild. Why? Because if he had the influence to get himself on the payroll, he also had the influence to get unemployed Guild members on the list too.

If we stand together, the strong helping the weak, the employed watching out for jobs for the unemployed we will be solidified into such a unit, that when the occasion arises, and one of our now employed newspapermen finds himself on the outside looking in, he will feel confident of the respect of all, because his fellow workers will have handed him an unwritten guarantee as a Guild member.

MARTIN F. McADAMS.

INTERNAL ACTIVITY BRINGS GUILD POWER

Welding Together of Varied Talents of Whole Membership Is Seen As The Way To Develop Lasting Interest And Strength

By KARL BOSTROM

(Bostrom is on the New York Guild executive committee from the Home News. He has worked out a committee plan to activize the city-wide membership.)

FOR the past two years we have been erecting a national "Guild house" and all over the country we have been building local "Guild houses." In building a house, the hardest labor is required in laying the foundation and erecting the walls and roof. When that much has been built it appears from a distance to be a finished house but as we approach it we discover that much work is still to be done. When we enter the house we find that it has yet to be made habitable.

We are today planning more and larger local Guilds. No one questions the wisdom or the need of this program because a shelter against the blasts of economic insecurity must be provided for every editorial worker. We desperately need, however, to begin work on the interiors of "Guild houses" whose walls and roofs are already up. We've got to make our houses habitable, efficient and pleasant places to live in—and possibly bomb-proof. This is the function of internal organization.

The creation of dynamic internal organization will bring every member in more direct contact with the Guild. Up to now, too many members have merely paid dues, attended occasional meetings and read The Guild Reporter. They must be shown that economic bargaining power cannot be purchased by dollars alone. Their individual contributions in Guild work, however small, provide the only basis on which our objectives can be achieved.

Organized editorial workers represent an unusually well educated and intelligent membership. It follows that the potentialities for a participating trade union democracy in the Guild are high. Most active Guildsmen have gone into the work because of their sensitive social viewpoint or their keen feeling, directly or indirectly, of economic injustice.

Rank and File Work Makes Unions Strong

The most powerful trade unions from a qualitative standpoint are those with the greatest rank and file participation. Such participation is a double-edged weapon. It produces results beyond any attainable by a few paid officers aided by a handful of zealous workers and, at the same time, genuine trade union democracy develops leaders and forges the membership into a compact body whose will is quickly translated into action.

When we achieve the fullest possible measure of co-operation from every member, the ANG will become one of the most alert, dynamic and intelligent trade union groups in America. Then no publisher or coterie of publishers will dare challenge or stall at our reasonable requests, for our strength will be invincible.

But how to achieve a functioning Guild democracy? We must begin to draw men and women into Guild work, systematically and according to plan.

The first move should be a demand everywhere for a planned and integrated program of work and activities. Secondly, officers should set up program committees in their local organizations. These committees should explore all the needs and requirements of their local Guilds. Then they must formulate a commitee structure which subdivides the work into various standing and temporary committees. Finally, they must find a Guild job in the unit or in the local Guild for everyone.

Even a cursory examination will reveal innumerable tasks which have been merely touched upon in the course of activities during the past two years. A really complete program of Guild activity has yet to be put into operation anywhere. It includes so many spheres of interest that a place can be found for almost everyone, even for those who have only a slight amount of time to spare.

In my own experience as chairman of a committee on committees in the New York Guild, I found members who felt they had neither time available nor interest in Guild work. Many had never been approached and knew the Guild only through a unit dues-collector, an occasional meeting they attended and The Guild Reporter. Some who had been asked to do Guild work were too often ignored after they refused work in which they had no interest. Given a choice of tasks, however, they quickly developed genuine interest and made time available for Guild work.

The Groundwork for Collective Bargaining

Let us consider one aspect of Guild activity, its most important job—collective bargaining. In its simplest form, collective bargaining involves the selection of negotiators and presentation of a unit's Guild program to the employer. While it is always necessary to seek immediate negotiations when a unit requests it, collective bargaining may be and should be planned and elaborated so that it becomes not only a means to its designated end, but a strikingly effective educative process.

For the purpose of illustration, let us take, for example, a Guild with three units. There would naturally be an executive committee in each unit, but where the unit is large, a special unit committee on collective bargaining can be established. This committee, whose work can also be divided among sub-committees, would strive for the development of bargaining technique with a particular management; development of a model contract regardless of whether only a part of the proposed contract was to be used for the immediate negotiation; complete study of finances, management and income of the newspaper, and finally, a thorough and constantly up-to-date study of working conditions—hours, wages, qualitative and quantitative output and living condition—of every member of the staff.

Fortified with such knowledge, the negotiators then would go into conference with a ready answer to every objection and unanswerable factual data as the basis for every request.

If the management turns down a reasonable program, point by point, we have gained one powerful instrument. The negotiators will report back in undeniable terms that stigmatizes that employer as one who refused even the most reasonable request. How do Guildsmen react to a clear exposition of a refusal which demonstrates that their mildest requests were flatly rejected? They get damned sore and heretofore half-hearted Guildsmen become fighters demanding more strength and more power from their Guild and officers.

Turning now to the city-wide organization of the Guild with its three units we will have three collective bargaining committees, one in each unit. These committees in turn organize a city-wide collective bargaining committee where experiences and knowledge may be exchanged. The central committee will work on the broader aspects of collective bargaining. It will contact unions and other agencies to learn of possible techniques and methods applicable to Guild negotiations.

The wages of workers in other fields will be ascertained and compared with Guildsmen's. The committee may find that veteran editorial workers are being paid less than day-to-day laborers on the city dumps. Such facts will shock the membership but will be received in stony silence by employers during negotiations. The central committee, through its knowledge of finances and working conditions on the various newspapers in the local area, will be capable of developing a local Guild program for that city.

In all this work, more Guildsmen are drawn into activity and they learn by participation the concrete fact that employers, including publishers, are not concerned primarily about a living wage or decent working conditions, but rather with buying editorial labor at the cheapest possible price on the editorial labor market.

Plenty of Other Balls To Start Rolling

Collective bargaining was selected for this illustration because it is the most important division of Guild work. There are many other Guild tasks which may be set in motion, including those of organization, finance, emergency defense, employment, professional standards, legislation, publicity, freedom of the press, welfare and many others. Each of these divisions may be divided and sub-divided with the work allocated to committees.

Participation means the education of a member into a real Guildsman, for his personal contribution is something far more precious to him than any payment of dues. Dues he may be willing to lose, but his own efforts he will not permit to be lost. The community interest of editorial workers becomes a reality instead of a theory to a member who works with fellow Guildsmen on his own and other newspapers.

We may achieve a 100 per cent membership in any given community or on a newspaper, but before a Guild achieves either a partial victory or a full contract it is faced by the creeping paralysis of waiting. No Guildsman will lose faith, however, if he has shared in the development of his organization, for he will know it is weak or strong as he and his fellow-members are weak or strong.

The results of rank and file participation will make every doubting Thomas see that the greater the number of active Guildsmen, the sooner will the national and local Guilds realize every objective.

Like other Guilds, we in New York City have been working so hard at the job of erecting walls and a roof for our "Guild house" that it is only now that we are turning our attention to construction on the inside of our "economic shelter" to make it interesting and habitable—and bomb-proof. The job of internal construction, in addition to building more and better Guilds, is one of the great tasks of the coming year.

In a later article, Bostrom will describe a typical committee set-up such as he envisages for Guilds.

Members' Determination Pushes Guild Ahead

The steadfast determination of newspaper men, sometimes single-handed, sometimes in groups, to rebuild Guilds, when necessary, and sacrifice to push the movement forward, is reflected in letters received at national headquarters in the last fortnight. Here are parts that tell some of the stories.

Needs Guilds Nearby

A Northern City.

Dear Mr. Beals:

...As instructed by the members I am...seeking some assistance in preventing the Guild from disbanding...

Organized nearly a year ago, the ——— Guild until a few weeks ago was enthusiastic for the entire Guild program, but many of its members have grown restless because of the inactivity of the Guild officials to organize newspaper men in other large cities in the State. They claim that without such organization they will never be able to better their conditions...

The vote to disband was postponed temporarily with the understanding that I should secure from Guild headquarters some speaker...

...And another effort at revival has begun.

On the Road to a Guild

Underground work is organizing the newspaper men in his town:

Middle Western City.

Dear Mr. Eddy:

We have eighteen members on the three papers in this city; however, we have only one member each on the ——— and ———. The ——— in particular should be easy to organize, low wages, etc., but we haven't had a great deal of success. We have been working so far secretly, without membership meetings. A small group has met with me weekly; and I have kept in touch with the Chicago office... Were we able to recruit four or five men all of a sudden...I am sure it would give us much impetus, perhaps enough to get us to the point where we can take organizational steps...

Up, but Handicapped

The Boston Guild is up after a slump.

BOSTON.

Dear John:

...We have only a few dollars in the treasury after paying our part of the stenographic report of the *Herald-Traveler* hearing last spring. We owe the National Guild over $1,000 in assessments and I am determined to raise the money.

For the sake of raising that money and something for the war chest I'm going to organize the Professional Writers' Club here. We'll put on a big jig which should raise at least $2,000....

We'll collect money right away to put out another issue of the Boston Guild Tribune, and I am going to see that it is a salty issue.

We'll start a big membership drive....

Boston's big bill rolled up at a time when collections were allowed to lapse and many members became delinquent. Eddy has urged that a special committee inquire into it to see what adjustment can be claimed under the constitution.

A Gift from Shanghai

SHANGHAI, China.

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER:

Enclosed please find $10, U. S. currency.

With half of it, $5, please renew my subscription to THE GUILD REPORTER for two years, from Oct. 15.

The other half I send as a small gift to THE GUILD REPORTER for any Guild work to which it wishes to apply the sum.

Permit me to take this opportunity to express my fullest sympathy for the work of the Guild, my gratification at the progress it seems to be making, my enjoyment in reading THE GUILD REPORTER and my hearty wishes for the future success of the Guild and its organ.

WILBUR BURTON.

Warm thanks to a distant friend of the Guild. The gift goes where it is most needed at present—to the general fund.—Editor.

First Gift for Drive

COLUMBUS, Ohio.

American Newspaper Guild:

The Dec. 1 issue of THE GUILD REPORTER is at hand—and it's a humdinger!

It's so good that I just had to rush you a $5 check as a contribution to the new Defense Fund.

Send my stamps, or whatever you decide to make it, at your leisure.

If I don't get a thing but the satisfaction of having sent the money for a good cause, it'll be all right.

I think you can figure on Columbus and other Ohio Guilds going along on the expansion-membership-defense fund program in A-1 shape. The decks are already clear for action.

Come on, Guilders!

Let's put our shoulders to the wheel—and push like H——l.

SAMUEL C. FUSCO,
(Columbus Citizen.)

How Akron Laid $1,000 Nest Egg

Akron, Ohio

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

You have been shooting queries to Akron on how our Guild succeeded in accumulating a treasury balance of nearly $1,000 so regularly that maybe it's about time we broke down and confessed.

You suggest that 600 to 800 words be used in telling the story. It takes only a paragraph.

We put on two gridiron dinners, one last April and one the previous April. We razzed the city's big shots and charged them to sit in on the frying.

It was just as simple as that in its essence. Of course it meant a lot of hard work. But the effect was very salutary, both in welding the Guild together and in bringing in the shekels.

At present a move is afoot to forego the gridiron dinner for a year and stage a newspapermen's play instead, with some of the proceeds going to charity. A committee is studying the advisability of this procedure.

It is all, you see, just a matter of being realistic about money. We knew we'd need some and decided this was the easiest way to make it.

The national convention came along a month or two later and went on record against such crass materialism. But we noted with a certain satisfaction that after Newark struck, all this hoity-toity "that's undignified" attitude was knocked into a cocked hat and pleas to Guilds to stage benefits went forth from national headquarters.

So we didn't even take the trouble to justify ourselves when we put on the second gridiron.

A credit balance in the treasury has been a strong factor in keeping the Guild together and making possible progressive work.

If you feel that the morale of the organization won't be too greatly damaged by the implied hint that other Guilds follow in these paths of iniquity, all well and good.

HAROLD J. TAYLOR,
President, Akron Guild.

On-Our-Way Department

New York City.

Editor, The Guild Reporter:

...The last copy of the Reporter simply crackled, it was so fresh and consistently good....

EMMA H. LITTLE,
(New York Times.)

Text of Complaint Against A. P.

Labor Board Charges Unfair Discrimination Against Watson

Here is the text of the complaint issued against the Associated Press in the Watson case by the National Labor Relations Board through Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, regional director for the New York district. A little of the legal verbiage is omitted.

In the matter of The Associated Press, a corporation, and American Newspaper Guild Case No. II-C-28.

It having been charged by Jonathan Eddy, Executive Secretary of the National Executive Board of the American Newspaper Guild, 49 West 45th Street, New York, New York, that The Associated Press, hereinafter referred to as the Respondent, has engaged in and is now engaging in certain unfair labor practices affecting commerce as set forth and defined in the National Labor Relations Act, approved July 5, 1935, the National Labor Relations Board, by the Regional Director for the Second District, as agent of the National Labor Relations Board designated by National Labor Relations Board Rules and Regulations, Series 1, Article IV, Section 1, hereby alleges the following:

1. The Respondent is and has been, since May 22, 1900, a membership corporation organized under and existing by virtue of the Laws of the State of New York, having its principal office and place of business in the State of New York, County of New York, City of New York, and is....engaged at its office in the City of New York....in the purchase, collection, receipt, compilation and formulation of intelligence which it purchases, collects, and receives from points and places within and outside the continental United States and in the sale, distribution and transmission of same. The Respondent, as aforesaid, representing a membership of over thirteen hundred morning, evening, and Sunday newspapers....is....engaged at the aforementioned New York City Office and in many offices located at points within and without the continental United States, in connection with the aforesaid purchase, collection, receipt, compilation, formulation, sale, distribution and transmission of intelligence, in the operation of leased transmission wires, other wires, and exclusive exchange contracts, all for the purpose of expeditious clearing and transmission of intelligence between New York City and other States of the United States, the District of Columbia, Territories of the United States, and Dominion of Canada, and foreign countries.

In Interstate Commerce

2. The Respondent, in the course and conduct of its business, as aforesaid, causes and has continuously caused substantially all of the intelligence purchased, collected and received by it and transmitted by it in interstate and foreign commerce, as hereinabove described, to be sold, distributed and transmitted in interstate and foreign commerce from its aforesaid office in the State of New York to its member-subscribers and others....

3. The Respondent, in the course and conduct of its business, as aforesaid, employs and at all the times hereinafter mentioned has employed numerous editorial employees....

4. The operations....described....occur in the course and current of commerce among the several states and with foreign nations, are an integral part of the operations of instrumentalities of such commerce and constitute commerce among the several states and with foreign nations.

Discharged Watson

5. The Respondent by its officers and agents on October 18, 1935, while engaged in the operations above described at the New York City Office, did discharge Morris Watson, an editorial employee, and has at all times since that date refused to reinstate the said Morris Watson.

6. The Respondent, by its officers and agents, discharged and refuses to reinstate said Morris Watson for the reason that said Morris Watson joined and assisted a labor organization known as the American Newspaper Guild and engaged in concerted activities with other employees for the purpose of collective bargaining and other mutual aid and protection.

7. By its discharge of said Morris Watson and its refusal to reinstate said Morris Watson, as above set forth, the Respondent has interfered with, restrained, and coerced and is interfering with, restraining and coercing its employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed in Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act, and by all of said acts and each of them has engaged in and is engaging in unfair labor practices within the meaning of Section 8, subdivision (1) of said Act.

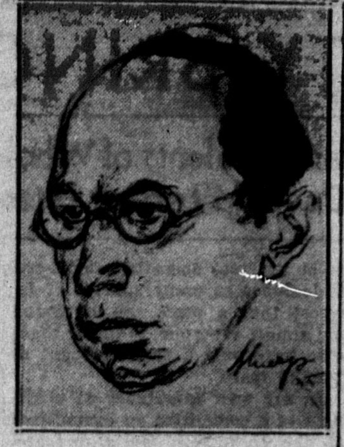
Charges Unfair Practice

8. By its discharge of said Morris Watson and its refusal to reinstate said Morris Watson, as above set forth, the Respondent did discriminate and is discriminating in regard to the hire and tenure of employment of said Morris Watson and did discourage and is discouraging membership in the American Newspaper Guild, and did thereby engage in and is thereby engaging in an unfair labor practice within the meaning of Section 8, subdivision (3) of said Act.

9. The aforesaid unfair labor practices occur in commerce among the several states and in foreign countries, and, on the basis of experience in the aforesaid Association and others in the same and other industries, burden and obstruct such commerce and the free flow thereof, and have led and tend to lead to labor disputes burdening and obstructing such commerce and the free flow thereof.

10. The aforesaid acts of Respondent constitute unfair labor practices affecting commerce within the meaning of Section 8, subdivisions (1) and (3), and Section 2, subdivisions (6) and (7), of said Act.

WHEREFORE, the National Labor Relations Board on the fourth day of December, 1935, issues its complaint against the Associated Press, a corporation, Respondent herein.



EDWARD LEVINSON

The Business of Breaking Strikes

It's a Profitable and Bloody One, Levinson's Book Reveals

I BREAK STRIKES! By Edward Levinson. Robert M. McBride and Co. (New York). 314 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by **HOWARD L. KANY**
(*Washington Daily News*)

WHEN big business and strikebreaking agencies, the latter composed for the most part of vicious underworld criminals, combine talents for suppressing organized labor, union men are almost certain to get the short end of the deal.

The terrifying pillaging activities of professional strikebreakers are brought to light by Edward Levinson in "I Break Strikes!", which deals primarily with the fierce life of Pearl Louis Bergoff, who prides himself with the title, "King of Strikebreakers."

Levinson, as labor editor of the New York Post, where he is active in the Guild, has become well acquainted with the American outlawry of which he writes. His volume is a mass of detail, setting forth in frank manner the surge of the parasitical castes of "finks" and "nobles" in centers of industrial unrest. It is a revelation to newspapermen, bringing out background incidents in the field of labor news.

"Finks" and "Nobles"

Fink is the term applied to members of the floating army of professional strikebreakers, who, between times of "honorable" employment in lessening effectiveness of walkouts, steal or kill for a living—or merely survive as hobos while in wait for another "job."

Nobles are guards of "protection and order." Manned with rifles and even machine guns, they protect finks from strikers and strike sympathizers.

Levinson cites dozens of instances in which these ruffians have demanded tribute from finks for their food and cots, snatched a portion of each man's daily pay, sold tobacco and underwear at exorbitant prices to cringing finks, and stole and pillaged elsewhere whenever, however—and whoever—they could.

Bergoff Army Born

Bergoff's first job was as bodyguard to the late Stanford White, New York architect, shot by Harry K. Thaw.

Publication of Bergoff's diary while in this position brought him prominence. Soon he began recruiting men for strikebreaking duty, and the Bergoff army came into being. Since then, 55 deaths and a huge amount of property damage have marked Bergoff campaigns in all parts of the nation.

Details of the lives of finks and nobles seldom reach the press. Levinson writes:

(In a Philadelphia transit strike.) The finks rode the trolleys like wild men, killing 16 men, women and children in less than two months. ...A bullet cut a deep gash in the head of a sleeping baby...

Strikebreakers at Work

(When nobles were clothed with authority of deputies by profink mayors during a strike.) Pimp and pickpocket, thief and footpad, swindler and slugger, fence and fugitive, briber and usurer, blackmailer and extortionist, wire tapper and abductionist, gambler and gunman, dope fiend and rapist, murderer and madman, they have all placed their left hands on their hearts, raised their right hands in oaths and been set forth to uphold law and order...

The cost of strikebreaking has been high. In the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co. strike of 1920 (lasting only 18 days) the Bergoff bill "for miscellaneous labor" was $712,602.36! The total cost of the strike was $2,019,014.53. Arbitration certainly would not have come at so high a price.

Bergoff's most prosperous years were from 1920 to 1922. From 1925 to 1929, pickings were so lean that the self-styled chieftain moved to Florida—to become a prosaic builder of houses. But the restless Bergoff couldn't shun Manhattan for long; he returned in 1929.

In 1934, Bergoff men posed as "representatives of the NRA," when hired by the Warren Piece Dye Works of Paterson, N. J., for an "educational" campaign among employees.

When the boastful Bergoff tilts back his chair and smiles: "There's still plenty of call for my kind of services," he is right. Figures for 1934 show eight strikebreakers, one non-participant and 33 strikers killed. During the first half of this year, 13 strikers were killed by Bergoff men or other strikebreakers.

AFL Industrial Unionists Are Striving to Change A Pre-Civil War Set-up

By **EDWARD LEVINSON**

(*Levinson, an active Guild member is labor editor of the New York Post.*)

THERE are more than 400,000 workers in the steel industry, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers has only 8,000 of them in its ranks. Of the 300,000 automobile workers, there are but 25,000 who are members of the American Federation of Labor.

There are even more glaring contrasts: the tanneries and leather goods plants employ, normally, some 400,000 workers, but the International Leather Workers Union has less than 1,000 dues-paying members. The Retail Clerks International Protective Association has some 8,000 members among the 800,000 store salespeople of the nation.

These figures tell part of the story behind the American Federation of Labor's current internal controversy, the most serious it has faced since the Socialists were powerful enough more than two decades ago, to challenge the leadership of Samuel Gompers.

There has been formed a group of powerful union leaders, few of them of radical philosophy, who are determined to bring the steel, auto, leather, rubber and other unorganized industries into the American Federation of Labor. They maintain that the present policies of the Federation will not permit of the organization of these workers.

Some go further and charge that the political powers in the Federation do not want new members in any large numbers—except as members of established internationals—lest the balance of power in the Federation be upset and the old leaders forced to make room for new ones.

The insurgents are gathered around the husky shoulders of John L. Lewis, leader of the United Mine Workers, whose sudden right to the jaw of William L. Hutcheson, leader of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters, dramatized the battle at the A. F. of L. convention two months ago. Supporting him are Charles P. Howard of the Typographers, Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and David Dubinsky, chief of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

To Aid the Unorganized

They have set up the Committee for Industrial Organization, and the issue they advance is this: mass production workers cannot be organized if they are divided into ten or fifteen craft unions. They say that all workers in a given plant, whether painters, polishers, carpenters, electricians or machinists should be members of the same union. Craft division in a single industry, they hold, will play into the hands of the owners of industry whose best bet has ever been to divide their workers and play them off against each other.

Mine Union Success Cited

The Committee for Industrial Organization says that the proof of the lack of appeal of craft unionism lies in the failure of the A. F. of L. to organize steel and autos. They point out that the progress in organizing radio and some rubber and cement workers has been by organizing them into plant or industrial unions. And as final argument, they point to the success of the United Mine Workers of America, which takes in all workers in and about the coal mines—coaldiggers, carpenters, electricians—and has more than 400,000 members in an industry much harder to organize than the concentrated automobile industry.

The Lewis forces do not favor a sweeping industrial unionism. It does not appear, for instance, that they would organize printers, pressmen and editorial workers in a single union. Industrial unionism, they argued in their convention resolution should apply "in the great mass production industries and those in which workers are composite mechanics, specialized and engaged upon classes of work which do not fully qualify them for craft union membership."

Industrial unionism should also prevail, it is held, "in those industries where the work performed by a majority of the workers is of such a nature that it might fall within the jurisdictional claim of more than one union."

Where the dominant factor in an industry is skilled craftmanship, the Lewis group is agreed that the craft unions should be given jurisdiction. That was the position taken at the A. F. of L. convention. In the bitterness of the fight that is now developing, the craft unions may not be dealt with as generously as was proposed two months ago.

Thus far the craft unionists, in whose camp must be counted President William Green, despite his announcement that he personally favors industrial unionism, have not met these issues squarely.

Craft Unionists Dodge Issues

They have argued generally that the craft basis of organization is more effective,—completely dodging the question of the Lewis forces, "more effective for whom?" For the rest they have resorted to rather legalistic defenses. A year ago, in San Francisco, one of the craft unionists referred to "the vested interests" of the craft union leaders in the organizations which they helped build up. This year, at the Atlantic City convention, the idea was restated less baldly. The majority resolution, drawn by John P. Frey and Matthew Woll, referred to "the sacred contracts" which, they said, existed between the A.F. of L. and its affiliated internationals.

To deprive the craft internationals of any of their jurisdictions, it was argued, would be a violation of a "contract" entered into when these groups joined the Federation in 1881. Some of these internationals, it was argued, were organized before the Civil War.

Labor Not Static

The industrial unionists have aptly replied that the labor movement is no static affair, but must keep pace with industrial development; and that "before the civil war," even 1881, is not 1935. They do not grant that workingmen are commodities to be leased or contracted to specified unions no matter how long ago they were established. They point out that the steel and automobile industries of today were unknown when these "contracts" were entered into. And they ask: "when did the unorganized steel and auto workers ever sign contracts with A.F. of L. internationals?"

Mass production with its transformation of hundreds of thousands of workers into machine-tenders rather than skilled mechanics will not be moulded to fit the traditional forms of the A.F. of L., primarily interested as it has been in the aristocracy of labor. Rather will the A.F. of L. have to fit its structure and tactics to modern industry. It seems inescapable that autos, steel and other mass production industries will be organized into powerful, inclusive industrial unions, or will not be organized at all.

THE FREE PRESS

Unemployed Learn the Facts of Life — Shackles Around the Corner

"RESOLVED, That the American Newspaper Guild strive tirelessly for integrity of news columns."—St. Paul Convention, June, 1934.

Edited by **EVELYN SEELEY**

THE unemployed have fared badly at the hands of the press, according to Hy Kravif, in the November issue of *Social Work Today.*

He quotes an editorial in the New York *Times* of Aug. 26, 1935, declaring that: "The solution of the problem of unemployment is the solution of the depression." Yet, he charges, "until 1932 or so, the press deliberately played down the extent of the depression and consequently the extent of unemployment and conditions of the unemployed."

He traces the course of news on unemployment. The New York *Times* on Aug. 22, 1932, said: "Industrial Impetus Gains Over Country; With July the First Month to Show Market Expansion, the Trend Goes into August." The facts were, Kravif states, "In 75 out of 89 major manufacturing industries, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, employment fell 4 per cent and payrolls 7.9 between June and July." What the *Times* called the "anthracite mining upturn" was, in fact, an employment decrease of 16 per cent.

Hoover Started It

The confidential Whaley-Eaton Service, Sept. 24, 1932, revealed President Hoover's "conference with newspapermen of both parties," stating that "since, there has been a tendency on the part of the press to mass constructive items, and perhaps to underplay unfavorable news."

Marlen Pew, editor of *Editor & Publisher*, confirmed this and patted the press on the back in December, 1932.

"That the masses of the unemployed people, with uncounted legions reduced to the very edge of creature necessity, have remained calm and with no thought of blind resistance against the government, as so often happens in such extremities, will some day be credited to intelligent newspaper leadership and a rational and trustworthy reporting service."

Kravif traces the "libeling of the militant unemployed" in the reporting of the 1932 Washington hunger march of 3,000 unemployed. The New York *Times*, Nov. 30, 1932, asserted that they "did not appear either particularly hungry or destitute. They seemed warmly clad, with stout shoes and heavy coats. Many of the women wore fur coats." Hearst's Washington *Times*, Dec. 6, 1932, called them "affluent marchers." The New York *Herald Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1932, had them "marchers in tattered uniforms," with "tatterdemalion leaders."

Kravif gives instances where papers stressed alleged "violence" and "rioting" on the part of the marchers which eye-witnesses denied. But when on Dec. 5, drunken police slashed tires, tore down banners, insulted women, only the Washington *Daily News* reported it, although all the papers were represented.

Cites Daily News

The New York *Daily News* hit the "low," Kravif charges, in a "special dispatch from Baltimore"—"Reds Threaten Bloodshed on Capitol March," quoting Herbert Benjamin, march leader, declaring at Tom Mooney Hall: "We'll storm the halls of Congress—we'll break into the Capitol by brute force... If Hoover brings in the troops there will be a massacre...Pennsylvania Avenue will run red with blood." There was no meeting at Tom Mooney Hall, Kravif says. Benjamin spoke at a Baltimore armory; said none of those things (Kravif saw the stenographic report); and began to speak at 11 p.m. The issue of the *News* quoting him was on the street at that hour. Benjamin sued. Three months later, on Mar. 4, 1933, when papers were full of the news of Roosevelt's inauguration, the *News* published a retraction.

During the recent WPA row over the wage scale, Kravif shows that "the press was the Administration's most useful ally....to secure public acceptance of the $19-94 monthly wage scale." The New York *Times* considered these wages "entirely reasonable," the New York *World-Telegram* thought they "may be justified...by the emergency and the fact that this is only relief." When labor threatened to strike, the New York *Daily News* editorialized "it may be a harsh thing to say, but we have police and militia and soldiers to take care of violence; and we will have to use them if relief workers get too fresh in considerable numbers."

Kravif quoted the "hardboiled trade press," *Business Week* of Aug. 17, "for an inkling of the truth." That magazine said, "All pious protestation to the contrary, the building industry takes it for granted that the security wage will further the efforts of the private employers to reduce the labor costs of construction."

Sure enough, on Aug. 19, a small item in the N. Y. *Times* stated that two employers' associations had banded together to reduce A.F. of L. union plasterers' helpers' wages (in New York) from $8.50 a day to $7.20.

* * *

Oregonian's Praise A Little Late

A little late, the Portland *Oregonian* (now under a more liberal editor), recently published a tribute to the late Harry K. Lane, United States Senator from Oregon, who in 1917 voted against our entrance into the World War and for his pains "died of a broken heart in the middle of the storm of unjust and scurrilous abuse that raged around him." Richard L. Neuberger, Portland newspaper and magazine writer, has an article about Lane in *Everybody's Business.* It is called "The Tumult and the Shouting Die."

The *Oregonian* had said, in 1917: "Next to being ashamed of Harry Lane for what he has done....the people of Oregon are ashamed of themselves for having sent Harry Lane to the United States Senate." Virtually every newspaper in Oregon pilloried him. They compared him to Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot. The Chamber of Commerce called him "cowardly, pusillanimous and traitorous."

Senator Lane had said on the floor of the Senate:

"I do not care to fight....for a certain gentleman who has made hundreds of millions of dollars out of the misery and the death and the destruction of unfortunate people across the seas....If we have citizens who want to go around over the world during war times selling munitions, I do not wish to take care of them. I would vote to put up a lot of big signs warning them to stay at home and put their energies at work to feed our people who need it."

Maligned During Last Illness

Senator Lane died on his way back to Oregon, and during his illness the press of Oregon continued to malign him. After he died, several newspapers admitted that the Senator had given up his life for his convictions. It was generally conceded that the press had done its part in killing him.

Sentiment is different now. Oregon held ceremonies last spring at Lane's grave. "In a mighty, unanimous shout," writes Neuberger, "the thirty-third annual convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor last week passed a resolution commending the late Harry K. Lane, a United States Senator from Oregon, for voting in 1917 against American entrance into the World War. The resolution also urged civic organizations and newspapers which vilified Senator Lane eighteen years ago to note on their records that the passage of time has vindicated the stand for which he endured such unrelenting abuse."

* * *

How Is It In Your Town?

Please send clippings of colored or distorted news and of outstanding news coverage or crusades, also reports of suppression to Evelyn Seeley, care of Guild Reporter.

It Could Happen Here, Says Herald Tribune

The N. Y. *Herald Tribune* says Yes, "It Could Happen Here," in an editorial Nov. 29 on a free press that could be shackled.

For several years past it has been commonly said in many languages that the freedom of the press—notoriously essential to the survival of democracy—flourishes in three nations only; namely, Great Britain, France and the United States. This is a generalization that might apply to major powers but is otherwise cruelly unjust to the Scandinavians, the Dutch, the Finns, various South Americans and so forth. But the wider and wider prevalence of the idea which Hitler voiced in "Mein Kampf," that a press hostile to the all-righteous and all-knowing state was an untainkable absurdity, almost warrants such a generalization. There are very few free presses left.

The instructions from aloft to the Italian press which the editor of the anti-Fascist "La Stampa Libera" ("The Free Press"), of New York City, gives out as bona-fide translations of the Italian censorship's edicts illustrate amply how the totalitarian state rides the Italian newspapers as complacently as one of Boccaccio's plump clerics rode his equally plump and docile mule. Censorship says to the Italian nation's editors that the exploits of the flying son-in-law must be toned down in headlines and comment, but that the whole front page must be given to Il Duce's remarks (duly edited by the censor) on the occasion of Fascismo's thirteenth birthday.

One does not have to read very far through these silly mandates to realize that under Mussolini in Italy, as under Hitler in Germany and as under Stalin in Soviet Russia, it is utterly impossible for the supposedly intelligent citizens of such states to form an intelligent opinion upon anything whatsoever. They cannot possibly know, for instance, that American public opinion holds their revered chiefs in contempt. It is the same in the Orient, where censorship had its ancient roots.

Can one imagine such a state of things in this country? Can one foresee a time, for instance, when it would be dangerous to caricature Dr. Tugwell? Unfortunately, one can.

* * *

Details Missing In Our Own U.S.A.

We respectfully recommend to the *Herald Tribune* editorial writer that he cast his eyes no farther than Queens for some made-in-America news suppression.

Long Island Daily Star, Nov. 25, page 1:

Maurice E. Connolly, former Borough President of Queens, died at noon yesterday in his home, Greenway South and Olive Place, Forest Hills, in his fifty-sixth year.

Death does not change the "news" that Maurice Connolly was most spectacularly known, in this his bailiwick and nationally, for his connection with the Queens sewer scandal, the Phillips Lockjoint Pipe paid for out of high-level Queens assessments. Soft-hearted, the *Star* makes no suggestion in a long story of Connolly's political life of sewers, pipes, fraud or resignation under fire, not to speak of jail sentences. The *Star* says only this: "Mr. Connolly's final term, (of office) which was not completed . . ."

* * *

Boondoggling— And the Facts

The New York *Sun* has a "boondoggle editor" to take pot shots at Federal spending. Naturally he can't be funny every day. Here are two days he missed:

Oct. 28:

If a tidal wave more than a mile high should ever sweep across the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains it would find the college town of Boulder, Col., well prepared, for the Federal Government is spending $10,403 to build a dike there.

No such catastrophe being imminent, the project may serve meanwhile as a money-saving device for the tourists who might otherwise be forced to go all the way to Holland to see a dike.

In Holland the dikes constitute man's oldest living alibi. Caught returning tardily to their homes, delinquent husbands tell their wives of their heroic struggles to stop a leak in the dike. Wouldn't it be fun to see the expression on the face of the Dean of Women the first time a University of Colorado co-ed tries that one out on her?

Not funny, as a couple of Boulder newspapermen here point out, because every spring not only Boulder but every town on the steep eastern watershed of the Colorado rockies is menaced by raging floods that sweep away homes, endanger lives, destroy property.

* * *

Oct. 1:

The Roosevelt administration had decided that the literature of Louisville, Ky., must be cleaned up.

Among the work-relief projects recently approved by the President is one calling for the expenditure of $4,368 of Federal funds to renovate books in the main and branch libraries there.

Any reporter who has written library stories is aware of the increasing demand for books by the unemployed and the increasing dearth of available books because there are no funds to recondition them.

* * *

Suppression Hints By the A.N.P.A.

Lesson in suppression from the A.N.P. A., as reported in *Editor and Publisher*, Nov. 30:

Publishers were warned of the progress of the proposed Federal control of youth amendment to the Constitution in a bulletin issued Nov. 20 by the A. N. P. A. This amendment is the Child Labor Amendment, rechristened by the A. N. P. A....

The bulletin counselled New York publishers not to sign a pledge, broadcast by the New York Labor Committee, binding them to observe the newspaper boy provisions of the defunct newspaper code and to co-operate with school officials....

The New York (Child Labor) Committee was criticized for sending out a newspaper story telling of the death of two boys while delivering newspapers....

What this article is supposed to demonstrate, the bulletin said, is presumably that the occupation of the newspaper boy is a perilous one. By the same token, however, the story of 20 or 30 children having been killed or injured in a school bus while on the way to school, should demonstrate that attendance at school is a perilous procedure that should be abolished.

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By arrangement with the publishers, the Guild Reporter is able to offer the books listed below to Guild members at 10 per cent less than the list price. The books will be sent postage prepaid. Fill out the coupon below and mail with check or money order.

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SIDE LINES

By CAROLYN MARX

Irving Brant, editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis Star Times, and member of the St. Louis Guild, has an article in the December 4 New Republic called "Regulation by Taxation." He is the author of a book called "Dollars and Sense" and is now completing a new book dealing with the position of the Constitution and the Supreme Court in American political and economic life.

* * *

James M. Warnack, church editor of the Los Angeles Times, has an article called "The Pseudo-Rationalist" in The Biosophical Review for December.

* * *

B. H. Haggin, music critic of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, reviews books on music for The New Republic and is also working on his own book, "The Oxford Book of the Symphony" . . . Heywood Broun has a short story called "Room Service" in the December Vanity Fair.

* * *

Forrest Davis, chairman of the New York World-Telegram unit, who recently published a biography of Huey Long, has an article on Father Coughlin in the December Atlantic Monthly.

* * *

John Gunther, foreign correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, has an article on Stalin in the December Harper's.

* * *

Emanuel H. Lavine of the New York American unit has an article called "Why They 'Drilled' Dutch Schultz" in the Nov. 20 issue of the Nation. Lavine is the author of two books, "The Third Degree" and "Gimme," and is now at work on a new expose, which Vanguard Press will publish in 1936. In this book he will deal with the corrupt police system in large American cities and the reason for failure to cope with modern racketeers.

* * *

Robert W. Horton, member of the Washington Guild on the Washington staff of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, writes in the Nation of Dec. 11 about the three Negroes who were sentenced for murder in the state of Mississippi and whose case will come before the Supreme Court some time next year.

* * *

Please send notes about the outside writing of your fellow Guildsmen for this column. Address contributions to the Guild Reporter.

Non-Guild Members: Start Organizing!

You slouch over your old mill and tap out your story....shrill words....about nothing much. The old mill squeaks anciently. It did when you came, it will for years more. The old brown desk is scarred with cigarette burns, covered with useless papers. Other desks stand around the room dishevelled. The copy desk is strewn and disorderly.

The human furniture looks as unprepossessing. Your fellow staff members haven't the front of the chamber of commerce lads and the big shots who make the news. They are shop-worn.

Yet day after day, out of this grey gloom comes a vivid, pulsing paper with news to be shouted through the streets.

* * *

Now and then as you write your mind wanders off to the Guild. Organization! You know it is needed. In your mind's eye you check over the men around you. Joe Smith over there....quiet, doesn't mix much with the boys; Jones....yes-man, always handing baloney to the city editor; Murphy....drinks lots, always borrowing on next week's pay check. You go down the list....most of them you hardly know, but they look hopeless. The Guild, you tell yourself, wouldn't click with this bunch.

Yet the Guild does click in these situations, time after time. Most newspaper men and women are making the best of hard circumstances. They know, or vaguely sense, that they are on a treadmill, and most of them are wondering when some lucky strike will come to take them off.

Into situations like yours all over the country the Guild idea has come as the answer to the newspaper man's riddle. It enables him to pool his strength with that of his fellow workers, removes his hopeless disadvantage and gives him something near equality or bargaining power.

* * *

Many times it has been one man or woman who began these Guilds. Why don't you try it?

Write in now to national headquarters. Possibly we have names of other people in your city waiting to help. Your name will be kept in confidence and given to no one without your permission.

Act Now! The Guild has gained much in its first two years. Help bring these gains to your city. Write about your situation to:

American Newspaper Guild,
49 West 45th Street,
New York City.

Philadelphia Unit Criticizes the WPA

PHILADELPHIA. — The Miscellaneous Unit of the Philadelphia-Camden chapter of the Guild has protested against the failure of ERA and WPA to provide work for unemployed newspaper men and women without requiring that they be on relief rolls. It is the opinion of the unit that newspaper men and women generally have been neglected in the distribution of relief jobs.

The unit demanded that newspaper workers be given the status accorded to personal employes of the agencies.

The resolution adopted by the unit also denounced as "not conducive to the public morale" and as contrary to the code of ethics of the ANG, the ERA and WPA policy of carrying on their payrolls employed newspaper men and women assigned to cover governmental headquarters, "while at the same time unemployed newspaper men and women are ignored."

The unit objected on the grounds that this practice "bottles news at its source," interferes with free press relations and tends toward the release of colored news.

The Executive Committee of the ANG has been asked to bring these matters to the attention of higher government officials.

ORGANIZE

NEB Endorses Campaign For World Peace

Supports Drive to Get Names on Anti-War Petition

Following the lead of the Cleveland convention resolution recording the American Newspaper Guild as opposed to war, the National Executive Board has voted to endorse the anti-war mandate of the women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The document is known as the People's Mandate Against War and is being circulated throughout the world with the support of educators, churchmen, labor leaders, and civic groups.

Guild co-operation was sought following the formation of a labor committee to support the campaign for 50,000,000 signers of the mandate. Points in the anti-war move are: the immediate stopping of increases in armaments, peaceful settlement of international disputes, and world treaties for disarmament and economic readjustment.

The petition being circulated bears the following statement:

"To meet the present threat of complete world chaos we demand that our government, having renounced war in the Kellogg-Briand Pact, stop immediately all increases of armaments and of armed forces, use existing machinery for peaceful settlement of present conflicts, secure a world treaty for immediate reduction of arms as a step toward complete world disarmament, secure international agreements founded on recognition of world interdependence to end the economic anarchy which breeds war."

Opposition to the endorsement was forwarded to the NEB by two members of the New York Daily News Unit.

There is a National Organization Distributing Goods For Use—Not For Profit

A PROGRAM FOR THE HUNDRED MILLION

Prosperity is here again.

You may not have experienced it yourself, but your paper has been telling the world about it with columns of optimistic figures for weeks. You may have written some of the stories yourself.

But prosperity for whom?

For those who already have an abundance of the good things of life. Rich man's prosperity is with us again.

For the rich the stock market is booming; dividends are rising; swanky cars, beautifully streamlined, are being sold again.

But, more than ten million workers are still unemployed. Living costs are rising.

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics shows living costs up more than 20% over a year ago.

Prosperity is here—but not for you, the hundred million wage-earners, farmers and professional workers of America. Your dollar shrinks with each new rise in the stock market, with every new payment of a stock dividend.

What can you do about it?

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CD's growing rapidly. Its local Consumers Clubs are organizing all over the country. More and more consumers, harassed by lowered incomes and rising living costs, are finding protection in CD's cooperative program.

Perhaps you are not convinced. Newspaper men are apt to be "hard-boiled."

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