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Scripps Units Reassert Demands As Papers Balk On Vital Points

Peace Plan Is Reached In Chicago

Firing of Unit Chairman To Be Sifted; Talks For Pact Started

CHICAGO.—Greatly relieving an atmosphere of misunderstanding that had gathered around the relations between the Chicago Newspaper Guild and the *Daily Times*, a bargaining conference on Feb. 8 with S. E. Thomason, publisher, arrived at a formula for settling amicably the recent firing of Glenn Parson, *Times* unit chairman, and entered on the first stages of negotiations for a contract.

Parson was fired on Jan. 23. The publisher receiving the Guild committee on his return from a trip, stated his willingness to abide by a decision reached either by a grievance committee to be established under the contract which the Guild is now seeking, or by the National Labor Relations Board.

Unit Backs Demand

The negotiations for the proposed contract, covering hours, wages and working conditions, were begun as soon as the plan for the Parson case had been worked out. The publisher insisted at the outset that the contract be with the *Times* unit, but agreed to submit counter-proposals in contract form at negotiations to be resumed on Feb. 10.

A *Times* unit meeting later voted unanimously to support the demand of the Chicago Guild that the contract be "a straight trade union," one with the Guild.

Accord Is Reached

The outstanding development of an eventful day was an apparent general rapprochement between the Guild Executive Board and a large part of the *Times* unit. The board had fought what it regarded as a drift of the unit toward company unionism, while much of the new unit's membership had fought what it considered an attempt at domination and "herding around." Much of this feeling seemed dissipated when the meeting unanimously voted its confidence in the board's negotiations committee.

The unit meeting voted over-
(Continued on page 2)

Do You Know The Answers?

The ANG is planning to compile a bargainers' handbook which will contain the answers, so far possible, to the main arguments and objections posed by publishers in negotiations and to the questions that come up when Guilds are planning to open negotiations. Practically every Guild has met some objection that set the boys back on their heels. Send in those stickers to headquarters together with the answers you used so the best thought of the Guild can be brought together for future bargainers.

UNCOVER THE ANPA'S OPEN SHOP CORPS

Federal investigation of the strike-breaking activities of the open-shop division of the American Newspaper Publishers Association has been demanded by the Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York as a result of the division's action in the North Shore Daily Journal strike at Flushing, L. I., in which the Guild is fighting side by side with the three other major newspaper unions. The resolution said:

"Whereas, News accounts in connection with the strike of the union printers, pressmen and stereotypers at the plant of the North Shore Journal at Flushing, L. I., definitely indicate that the strikebreakers who supplanted the strikers have been recruited from far and wide by the open shop division of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the delegates to the Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York, in regular meeting assembled, hereby instruct the officers of the council to contact the Senators and Representatives for the purpose of instituting a Federal investigation into the strikebreaking activities of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and be it further

"Resolved, That the officers of the council communicate with the officers of the affiliated printing trades unions urging that each union, through its executives, directly petition Senators and Representatives to promote the aforementioned investigation."

Among published statements on which the council based its action was the following, which appeared in Editor & Publisher on Dec. 12: "A substitute mechanical staff has been supplied through the open-shop section of the American Newspaper Publishers Association."

The Printing Trades Council in New York includes 21 local unions.

Watson Case Near Climax

AP's "Freedom of Press" Cry Rings in High Court

WASHINGTON.—In a packed Supreme Court chamber, the Associated Press opened its attack on the constitutionality of the Wagner Labor Relations Act last week, bringing to a climax months of controversy over whether the law could be used to protect the collective bargaining rights of editorial workers. The case revolves around the discharge of Morris Watson, ANG vice-president, whom the Labor Board found to have been dismissed by the AP for Guild activity.

In a plea in which the "freedom of the press" cry was pronounced, John W. Davis set forth the AP's stand, holding that the Act violated the first, fifth and tenth amendments to the Constitution; that the AP was not engaged in interstate commerce; and held up as a danger the possibility that the law would bring about a compulsory closed shop in American industry.

Govt. Denies Closed Shop Issue

Oratorically Davis closed his plea by asking the nine justices how a newspaper publisher could be the master of his business and "control the choice of those who contribute" to his paper if the law and the National Labor Relations Board were vindicated.

Following Davis, Charles E. Wy-
(Continued on page 5)

Rochester Aids Union Strikers

Guild Expedites Negotia- tions with Men

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Striking district managers of the circulation department of the *Democrat and Chronicle* won the support of local Guildsmen, who intervened to expedite negotiations with the management. The incident served as an occasion for close cooperation between the Guild and the printing unions. The paper belongs to the Gannett chain.

[Word was received on Feb. 10 that picketing was to begin next day.]

Eleven district managers walked out on Jan. 25 following dismissal of two of their members, demotion of all union men to subscription solicitors and months of intimidation as the result of the organization of Local 300, Newspaper Chauffeurs and Handlers, of the Teamsters Union.

The circulation men informed the Guild of their action on Jan. 27. That night, after consultation with the Allied Printing Trades Council and officers of the Rochester Guild, the *Democrat and Chronicle* unit of the Guild called a special meeting. District men presented their case and after careful investigation, the Guildsmen wired Frank E. Gannett, publisher, and Frank E. Tripp, general manager, explaining investiga-
(Continued on page 5)

Guilds Insistent on Preferential Shop, Blanket Increases

Cleveland, Akron, New York Pressing As Managements Show Readiness to Sign Pact; Chain Board Formulates Unit Plan

Guild negotiations with Scripps-Howard managements, proceeding in Cleveland, Akron and New York, have cleared much of the preliminary ground but are being slowed up in all cities by the management's refusal to concede two points the Guild considers vital, the preferential shop and blanket pay increases. The determination of the Guilds to insist on these points, and notably on the preferential shop, which is regarded as funda-

mental to the stability of the Guild, was reinforced when ANG's Scripps-Howard Advisory Committee met in Pittsburgh on Feb. 7. The Committee, seeking to make negotiations in each city strengthen those elsewhere, sent out a series of recommendations.

All three units in the last fortnight have reaffirmed their demands for the points not yet conceded.

In Cleveland, the management has offered its own version of a contract. In New York, following an almost unanimous unit vote, the World-Telegram management made a statement of its expectation of entering into a signed agreement, recognizing the New York Guild.

Press Makes Offer

CLEVELAND.—Negotiations between the Cleveland Press and the Cleveland Newspaper Guild for a new contract last week reached a climax when Louis B. Seltzer, editor
(Continued on page 2)

Editors Leave Struck Paper

Won't Return Till North Shore Journal Settles

The strike of the Guild and three mechanical unions against the *North Shore Journal*, Flushing, L. I., daily, won a substantial victory when the two editors, who had been working during the strike, refused to go to work a week ago in protest against the intolerable conditions under which they were working.

Haynes Trebor, managing editor, and Robert B. Patterson, city editor, who were not members of the Guild, informed T. Harold Forbes, publisher, they could not continue to work, and both went on voluntary vacations until the publisher agrees to a settlement.

Their retirement left the city room empty except for a proofreader and an office boy from the business office, who were pressed into service by
(Continued on page 5)

South Bend Guild Blossoms; Begins With Almost 100 P. C.

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—With almost the entire newspaper population of this northern Indiana city enrolled between suns, the South Bend Newspaper Guild is off to a flying start.

Membership of 43 includes 22 of the eligible 25 on the Tribune and 18 of the eligible 22 on the *News-Times*, the city's two dailies, plus all three in the Chicago Herald-Examiner bureau.

Basing its strength on an increasingly vigorous local labor movement, especially in the auto industry, the new Guild burst upon the scene as an accomplished fact after a careful campaign in cooperation with Don Stevens, AF of L organizer for the ANG. The climax was a general meeting.

Whereas opposition in the past three years had been so apparent as to spoil earlier attempts to

organize, publishers of the two papers in the present instance appeared to accept the sudden new situation. Harry C. Warren, an executive of the *News-Times*, addressing his staff, stated the paper would not discriminate against members.

The paper ran in a prominent position a factual story of the Guild's arrival. The Tribune management attitude was not made public.

Guild officers were elected shortly, with the following provisional unit officers: President, Horace B. Warren; Secretary, Charles L. Warren; Treasurer, Carl Zimmerman.

Affiliation with the local labor council was secured, and a friendly attitude toward the Guild was expressed by the local press.

GUILDS PRESS SCRIPPS-HOWARD FOR FULL PACTS

TELEGRAM WILL SIGN

Makes Commitment On Pact to Guild Negotiators

Armed with instructions from the unit reforming the demand for a preferential Guild shop and expressing "complete dissatisfaction" with the salary minimums proposed by the management, Guild negotiators for the New York World-Telegram unit continued negotiations toward a full Guild contract as the Gupta Rozarwa went to press.

The unit also approved unanimously the program recommended by the Scripps-Howard Advisory Committee of the Guild, which is published elsewhere in this issue.

The unit had gained its first point when the management, in response to the request for assurance of a full Guild contract, presented to the negotiators a statement pledging that any agreement reached would be embodied in a written contract "definitely and specifically recognizing the Guild" as bargaining agent for its employees.

Management Statement

The statement said on this point: "The World-Telegram, in its collective bargaining negotiations with editorial employees, through representatives of their own choosing in the person of a committee from the Newspaper Guild of New York, does so with the hope and expectation of employing the results of such negotiations in an agreement to be signed by the contracting principals in a fashion to give the agreement a mutually binding contractual status, and at the same time definitely and specifically recognize the Newspaper Guild of New York as the chosen bargaining agent of their World-Telegram employees."

Safeguarding Readers

The management contended the preferential shop would result in an unfavorable reaction from readers, who would have less confidence in a newspaper whose entire staff consisted of Guild members. The negotiators pointed out neither the Daily News nor the Post in New York, both of which have the preferential shop, had lost any prestige or acquired the reputation of being biased because of this clause.

Although conceding that it was fair for the Guild to ask all staff members to share in the responsibility of maintaining the organization through which they obtained improved working conditions, the management declared it saw no reason "why anyone should have to pay an outside organization to work on this newspaper." Reminded that this was the slogan of anti-union employers, the World-Telegram representatives persisted in this argument.

In discussion of the \$55 minimum proposed by the Guild for reporters, during which the negotiators for the Guild pointed out that minimums around this figure had been established by several other New York papers, the management pointed to the papers that did not have such a minimum. The management added that income of the paper did not justify the \$55 minimum. It proposed continuance of the current minimum, \$45 after three years' experience.

Following this conference, the unit held a meeting on Feb. 8. It reaffirmed the demand for a preferential shop by a six-to-one vote, and expressed dissatisfaction with the management's minimums. It also called on the management, which had been holding one two-hour session a week with the Guild negotiators, to schedule more frequent conferences and to make any pay increases decided upon retroactive to Feb. 1.

POLICY ON SCRIPPS SET

Guild Group Outlines Joint Unit Action

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—A coordinated, nationwide policy on collective bargaining for all Guilds dealing with Scripps-Howard chain papers was laid down by the recently organized National Scripps-Howard Guild Advisory Committee, which met here Feb. 7. First among the Committee's recommendations, reached following consideration of reports from cities where negotiations with this chain are now in progress, was that emphasis should be placed on the efforts in those cities where the Guild has demonstrated strength, and that if any current negotiations called for less than a full Guild contract, including the preferential shop, they be brought into line.

The committee urged each unit in the handling of minimum wage negotiations to "take a stand that the employer definitely and specifically recognizes the Guild" as bargaining agent for its employees.

On Guild recognition, the report said: "The committee urges with the greatest emphasis that contracts with the management leave no doubt that the employer definitely and specifically recognizes the Guild and that in every instance the contract signatories on behalf of the Guild be designated by the Guild, and by the Guild alone."

It called for reports from all units of the chain on points at issue which are delaying completion of negotiations.

Press Makes an Offer To Guild in Cleveland

(Continued from page 1.)

Of the Press, offered the Guild the Scripps-Howard management's draft of its proposed agreement.

The draft includes a new scale of minimum pay going as high as 24 weeks for 15 years' service in the Scripps-Howard chain, and, for the first time, declares that dismissal pay shall be given upon death.

In addition, the contract eliminates many of the objectionable clauses of the old contract, which was signed Feb. 10, 1935. Notably, the contract no longer contains the provision declaring that the agreement "is not a trade union contract."

However, the management rejected the Guild's demand for the preferential shop, restoration of a 10 per cent pay cut, a flat \$5 increase, limitations on apprentices and office boys, and the check-off.

The Cleveland Press unit met on Feb. 3 and voted unanimously to send the negotiating committee back for the points not yet conceded.

The committee again met with Sellers and was told that the management could not improve on the contract as offered.

On Feb. 6, the unit met and approved a plan to circulate another questionnaire to determine exactly what points the unit wished to insist upon.

The old accord expired Feb. 10, 1937.

Tells of Progress

Julius Klyman of St. Louis, ANG vice-president, who took a leading part in the Feb. 8 negotiations, also addressed the meeting, describing the

tion, this data to be submitted by letter or accredited representative to the next meeting of the committee on Feb. 21 at the Portage Hotel, Akron, O.

The committee commended the Cleveland Guild on its success in obtaining the written declaration of the management of the Cleveland Press that it will include in a signed contract a 24-week severance notice and the death clause. (Of this, the clause provides that on the death of an employee his family or heirs shall receive an amount equivalent to his severance pay.)

All members of the board were present at the meeting here, including: James P. Kirby, Cleveland Press, chairman; Jonathan Eddy, International executive secretary; Laurence Buttenwieser, Toledo News-Bees; Bernice Morgan, Knoxville News-Sentinel; Carl Canaday, New York World-Telegram; Ray Sutcliffe, Akron Times-Press.

Present as observers were William Miller, Cleveland Press; Dick Darrow, Columbus Citizen; Horace McCullough, Pittsburgh Press; and also Irving Newman and J. E. Jones of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph and Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

This meeting of the advisory board followed the organization conference in Columbus on Jan. 24, at which time tentative proposals were made to Scripps-Howard units.

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N. Y. TIMES SPRY AGAIN

Guild Card Trouble Brings On Crusade After Decades

The ANG suddenly on Jan. 31 found itself in headlines on page 1 of the New York Times in connection with the auto strike. The occasion was the experience of Russell B. Porter, Times reporter covering the Flint angle, who said he was barred from one of the plants occupied by sit-down strikers on the ground that he had no Guild card.

The Times, normally a model of judicial calm, rolled up its shirt-sleeves and banged out this lead: "Newspaper reporters not members of the American Newspaper Guild were barred today from Fisher body plant No. 1, etc." Away went restraint on quoting ungrammatical language and one of the quotations found its way into the headline, making the strikers say, "They don't interview us on union men!"

Porter's stories have been conspicuous for taking the "Flint Alliance" at its face value.

The New York Tribune, which also has a non-Guild man on the strike, looked into the discomfort of its contemporary but got a report that its correspondent, Edward Angly, was finding no difficulty. His non-membership had been noted on the press pass, but he had been able to visit the strikers and wrote of having "passed a not unpleasant and quite instructive two hours."

The Times, whose one previous well-known crusade was against the Tweed ring, whose lack in the last century, followed the card problem up the next day by questioning Raymond Brown and quoting him as follows:

Speaking for the Newspaper Guild, I may say that the Guild has never asked any labor group to join it. It is a public body. The Guild feels that it is none of its business to advise other unions as to how they should handle their press relations. There is, however, the danger that an implication may creep in that when non-Guildmen are barred at any meeting, that very flexible thing, "The Freedom of the Press," may be in some way impaired. The Guild, of course, has gone on record many times as being wholeheartedly in favor of a free press. However, since nobody denies that a publisher may, as far as freedom of the press is concerned, print what he pleases and leave out what he chooses, it stands to reason that a group or an individual ought to have the right to talk to all reporters, on or none at all. The practice of picking and choosing may be a mistaken policy, but it is by no stretch of language a violation of free press."

During the seamen's strike in New York City the Times encountered a similar difficulty, which warmed it up for the Jan. 31 salvo.

On Feb. 1, the Times printed a special story from Flint strongly hinting that it had won the war.

Carl Haezler, "a Chicago publicity man," had arrived, it said, and "announced" that he would "straighten out" matters.

Actually, however, the union seems hardly to have taken "measurably" Haezler is not a publicity man but another Guildman—vice-president of the Chicago Guild. He is on the staff of Federated Press, a city and assistant editor of the Flint Auto Worker. And he intends to note on the union records whether reporters receiving passes are Guild members.

In a letter to the Guild Reporter prompted by the Times story of Feb. 1, Haezler added:

"If the committee at the sit-in plants want to ask the bearer of a union pass whether he is a Guild member that is beyond headquarter control, because if ever there was a buoyant, self-confident, self-governing democracy it is the stance in those plants. They are responsible for the safety and welfare of their extemporized communities and nobody can take away that elemental right of self-protection in pioneer conditions from them, least of all their union brothers on the outside."

A CORRECTION

Eddy in his Feb. 1 column, referred to the "Evjue papers of Madison, Wis." This reference is inaccurate. William T. Evjue is president only of the company publishing the Capital Times.

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Two Papers Attack Free Press Bogey

The AP plea in the Watson case has drawn editorial fire from some leading papers. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said:

"To say that freedom of the press is involved when it is not is to strike a blow at the all-important protection itself."

That is what the Associated Press is doing, unintentionally but nevertheless actually, in its brief against the Wagner Labor Disputes Act. . . .

If we leave the Wagner Act out of the case, what is at stake fundamentally is the right of labor to bargain collectively. If workers in other lines of employment are free to organize under the Constitution, then so are workers on newspapers. . . . Collective bargaining through the American Newspaper Guild . . . is not different from collective bargaining through the Streetcar and Electric-typer Union.

From the New York Daily News

Many publishers feel as Mr. Davis [in the AP case] says he feels about the Guild as a threat to press freedom. The argument is that a Guild-member reporter can't help shading his labor-disputes stories for labor and against capital, instead of producing the unbiased news the public needs.

Well, covering the auto strike for the News are Paul Gallico and Miss Doris Fleson. Mr. Gallico joined the Guild on his recent return from England; Miss Fleson was an early and active member (in fact, as we understand it, one of the first organizers) of the News Guild local, with which the News has a contract. Combining the Fleson and Gallico strike dispatches, we can only find them unbiased, objective, interesting and entertaining. If any reader can smell bias in them, we'd like to know about it. We can't.

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BARGAINING DRIVE IN FULL SWING

St. Louis Secures Wage Scale For First Time

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Restoration of the five-day week, wage minimums, the first negotiated on a St. Louis paper, and salary increases to those unaffected by the minimum are the announced features of an agreement reached with the St. Louis Globe-Democrat after two months of negotiation by the St. Louis Guild.

The terms, which bring raises to \$5 out of 50 staff members, are to be set forth in a bulletin board statement of policy signed by Joseph J. McAuliffe, managing editor.

The management insisted upon lower minimums for photographers than for reporters, copy readers, artists, etc., and after prolonged discussion the Guild yielded to this as a temporary expedient, reserving the right to make future representations.

Average Increase \$5 to \$10

The minimums for reporters, copy readers, etc., are \$27.50 a week for one year's experience; \$25.50, two years; \$27.50, three years; and \$45, four years. The photographers' scale is: \$25 for one-year men; \$30, two years; \$35, three years; \$40, four years.

Raises of from 5 to 20 per cent were given, some amounting to \$15 a week, but the averages range from \$5 to \$10. The increases are to go into effect on Feb. 13 and the five-day week is to be restored as soon as the staff can be organized on that basis.

Veterans Above Average

The 14 men unaffected are mainly department executives and veteran staff members receiving well above the average wage. Many are not members of the Guild.

Before accepting the agreement the negotiators made a final effort to wipe out the photographic differential. The management asserted the raises being given photographers are larger in proportion than elsewhere on the staff.

The Guild committee consisted of the following: Thomas B. Sherman, chairman, and Julius Klyman, ANG vice-president, of the Post-Dispatch; Bernard Walsh, Star-Times; and Leroy Galtier, David Brown and Wayne Parker, Globe-Democrat observers.

Negotiations are continuing on the East St. Louis Journal with prospects of an early agreement.

Agrees to Talk

N.Y. City News Bureau Will Negotiate

Progress in negotiations with other papers in the city led on Feb. 4, after three years of fruitless letters to an affirmative reply from the New York City News Association to a request from the New York Guild for a collective bargaining conference.

For several years the news bureau, controlled by the local papers and the Associated Press, has taken the position that no action should be expected "until such time as its newspaper members have considered and acted upon similar proposals." This attitude was maintained long after a major number of its member papers had dealt with the Guild.

The Guild's most recent request for a conference pointed out that the "time has come, in our opinion, for an end to a situation which in effect imposes a unique discrimination against the employees of the City News Association."

Ban on Old Rights Threat in St. Paul

BULLETIN

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Twelve City Guild negotiators for a five-day week and a 10-per cent wage increase on the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press were stalled when the publisher, Leo O'Brien, announced that hereafter the staff would be reduced to the mechanical and editorial divisions and that leaves would be reduced. He then left on an extended trip. The Guild is refusing to accept his conditions. He has failed to respond as yet, but has responded to the Guild's insistence by appointing negotiators to continue talks in his absence.

Talks in Baltimore

BULLETIN

BALTIMORE.—A. B. Chivers, manager of the Herald News-Post, paper of largest circulation in the South, has agreed to meet a Baltimore Guild committee looking toward negotiation of a contract.

Montana Pay Boost Arranged in N. Y.

GREAT FALLS, Mont.—Long-distance bargaining with the publisher of the Great Falls Tribune and Leader, O. G. Warden, brought definite assurance of a 10 per cent pay increase by March to the staff of the paper.

Jonathan Eddy, ANG International Executive Secretary, met the publisher in New York, on the telegraphic request of the Guild, and obtained the promise, which marked a high point in the Guild's persistent bargaining efforts extending over months.

The increase will be incorporated in a revised contract proposal to be put forward by the Guild on Warden's return. The publisher told Eddy he would resume negotiations within a month.

JOBS SAVED IN MERGER

Guild Prevents Wholesale Lay-Offs

Another newspaper merger between the Daily Eagle and Times-Union of Brooklyn, N. Y., hit employees of the two papers on Feb. 1. Both papers are continuing to appear, but are published in the same plant.

Co-operation between two units of the New York Guild to protect their mutual interest prevented wholesale editorial lay-offs. The full brunt of economies effected by the merged ownership was felt by the union printers and business department employees at the Times-Union.

Work Together

Soon after the purchase was announced, in December, the two Guild units began to meet jointly. Times-Union observers were invited to attend Eagle unit conferences with Al Preston Goodfellow, publisher. At one conference, Goodfellow declared that no Eagle employees would be discharged as a result of the purchase.

He indicated, however, that there would be lay-off on the Times-Union. Guildsmen were assured that the Times-Union employees, who had been on a six-day week, would get the five-day week and other conditions obtaining on the Eagle.

Members of both executive committees were instructed by the units to work together in the event of any sudden development.

When the Times-Union editorial

PACT ASKED IN BOSTON

Negotiations Start With the Globe; Other News

BOSTON.—A committee of the Boston Guild, armed with a majority power of attorney from the staffs of the morning and evening Globe, has begun collective bargaining negotiations with William O. Taylor, president of the Globe Newspaper Company.

Salary scales, hours, vacation, the right of employee to engage in non-competitive outside occupations on their own time and a preferential shop were some of the items covered in the draft contract submitted to the publisher.

The negotiating committee is composed of Harland Manchester and Ed Allen, president and secretary of the Boston Guild; Robert J. Watt, secretary of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, and observers from the Globe staff, John Barry, Donald Sullivan, Donald Willard, Louis Lyons and Amasa Howe.

The Boston Record, 100 per cent Guild shop, has served notice upon John T. Cushing, publisher, that it desired a meeting. The Boston American, Hearst evening paper, will enter into negotiations at approximately the same time.

Inspired by the Guild contract secured with the Lynn Telegram-News, Guild members have started negotiations with the publisher of the Salem News, where there is a well-organized unit. A draft contract has been submitted, calling for a Guild preferential shop, dismissal indemnities, a 40-hour week and a \$45 minimum for reporters of five years' experience.

Klyman Interviews Trotsky

Julius H. Klyman, International Guild vice-president, recently went to Mexico City on an assignment for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, to interview Trotsky. He secured the first exclusive interview granted by Trotsky since his landing in North America.

The article was featured on the title page of the editorial section of the Jan. 17 issue of the Post-Dispatch.

Like Charity, Worry Begins at Home

VENTURED feebly that the woes of the members, let alone those of non-members, were sufficient to keep us occupied. The response was: "Say, isn't there anybody in the American Newspaper Guild who has some brains? Where is Don Stevens?" Before I could recover, a sleepy switchboard operator somewhere pulled out a plug, and I slithered back to bed.

About thirty-six hours later I happened to pick up a New York Times and read a front page jump story to the effect that Russell B. Porter, a newspaperman, had been refused information by the strikers occupying one of the Fisher Body plants. The story was by Russell B. Porter.

I recall some instances, when I was on the Times, of being told with emphasis that "What happens to a newspaperman in the course of covering an assignment is not news." I always dissented (privately), particularly when I got pushed around by any of the Royal Family's sacred cows. And I confess to some malicious belly laughs as I read between the lines of Russ's "impartial" yarn.

It is tragic how fundamental a decision a man sometimes makes when he thinks himself he is merely delaying its making. The same individual who a while back wrote from Seattle an eminently fair exposition of both sides in the P-J strike now suggests, over his own signature from Flint, construction of factories with cement fortifications, pill boxes, remote control electric systems to deprive fellow wage-earners of their right to strike for better livings.

As for the source of that telephone call, it will suit me if he had memory of it the next morning and has none now.

been hired or were given offers by the Eagle management.

Printers did not fare so well as Guildsmen. A special meeting of Local 8 of the International Typographical Union voted establishment of two chapels in the Eagle composing room with full reproduction of books for all matter used in both papers. Eagle printers were ordered to set no type for the Times-Union. This position, however, was over-

BUILDING

Woes of Non-Members—A Tale About Guild Cards and Cold Breeze

By JONATHAN EDDY

ABOUT 3 o'clock the other morning the telephone awoke me in my hotel room in a certain Ohio city. I had captured a restless slumber after a day and night of jumbled conferences concerning Guild policy and tactics in the face of Roy W. Howard's seeming determination to implant some form of company unionism on us, and concerning the fantastic headlines in Chicago—yes, and concerning the disposition of organizers (not their bad disposition—just geographical).

Guild conferences have a way of burning out one's nerves. And I had to crawl from bed and weather a cold blast while I held the telephone.

"I wish to speak to Jonathan Eddy."

I was sufficiently awake by then to be reasonably certain that that was my name, at least the one I sign, and get kicked around by; nevertheless, it took some time to satisfy my caller of my identity. As it got colder and colder, he established his own as a Guildman who had led one of our tough fights not so long ago.

"I just called you up to tell you about a bad situation," he said. "These CIO guys up here, you know what they're doing?—Is this Jonathan Eddy? Well, I'm asking you, you know what these CIO guys here are doing?"

"You tell me what they're doing."

"They're pushing some guys around just because they haven't got Guild cards."

"Where in hell are you calling from?"

"Where in hell do you think I'm calling from? I'm in Flint, Michigan, and I'm telling you, these CIO boys, they're pushing some newspapermen around just because they haven't got Guild cards. Is this Jonathan Eddy? Do I have to convince you what I think of the American Newspaper Guild? Okay! Okay! Well, then, I'm telling you, these CIO guys, they're pushing some newspapermen around just because they haven't got Guild cards, and what I want to know is this: What is the American Newspaper Guild going to do about it? That's what I want to know. Now, you can't say I didn't warn you, can you?"

"Just Because They Haven't Got Cards!"

THE January breeze that flapped my pajamas had awakened me. "What CIO guys do you mean?" The only CIO guy I knew to be in that neighborhood was Director Brophy, and it was difficult to imagine the mild and courteous John Brophy pushing anyone around, even a newspaperman without a Guild card.

"What CIO guys do I mean? Can you hear me? I'm in Flint, Michigan, and I mean these automobile workers. Or maybe you hadn't heard there's a little strike on up here? The automobile workers are on strike and they're getting tough with some newspapermen just because they haven't got Guild cards. They won't talk to some of them, because they haven't got Guild cards; and what I want to know is what is the American Newspaper Guild going to do about it? They're getting sore."

"Who's getting sore?"

"The newspapermen without the cards. They're getting sore and threatening to blow the lid off if something isn't done about it? So I'm calling you up to ask: What is the American Newspaper Guild going to do about it?"

Like Charity, Worry Begins at Home

I VENTURED feebly that the woes of the members, let alone those of non-members, were sufficient to keep us occupied. The response was: "Say, isn't there anybody in the American Newspaper Guild who has some brains? Where is Don Stevens?" Before I could recover, a sleepy switchboard operator somewhere pulled out a plug, and I slithered back to bed.

About thirty-six hours later I happened to pick up a New York Times and read a front page jump story to the effect that Russell B. Porter, a newspaperman, had been refused information by the strikers occupying one of the Fisher Body plants. The story was by Russell B. Porter.

I recall some instances, when I was on the Times, of being told with emphasis that "What happens to a newspaperman in the course of covering an assignment is not news." I always dissented (privately), particularly when I got pushed around by any of the Royal Family's sacred cows. And I confess to some malicious belly laughs as I read between the lines of Russ's "impartial" yarn.

It is tragic how fundamental a decision a man sometimes makes when he thinks himself he is merely delaying its making. The same individual who a while back wrote from Seattle an eminently fair exposition of both sides in the P-J strike now suggests, over his own signature from Flint, construction of factories with cement fortifications, pill boxes, remote control electric systems to deprive fellow wage-earners of their right to strike for better livings.

As for the source of that telephone call, it will suit me if he had memory of it the next morning and has none now.

ruled at the last minute by the International office of the I.T.U., with the result that the Times-Union chapel found itself without a paper and out in the cold.

Members of the Eagle and Times-Union were on opposite sides during discussions of the two-chapel proposal.

Both Guild units worked together closely in the successful campaign to preserve editorial jobs.

HIT HEARST IN SEATTLE

Appeal On NLRB Decision Stirs Union Protest

SEATTLE, Wash.—Seattle union labor still remains incensed that Frank "Slim" Lynch and Everhardt Armstrong, whose firing for Guild activity and organizing precipitated last August's strike at the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Hearst morning daily, be returned to their jobs.

News that the P-I has obtained permission from the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco to appeal the decision of the National Labor Relations Board ordering their reinstatement, although the Board was not enjoined, as requested, has aroused widespread union resentment.

At the last meeting of the Central Labor Council, numerous delegates arose and stormily protested the postponement of a resolution condemning the paper for refusal to rehire the two Guild men. The delegates, including printing trades and Guild men, insisted that the matter of the resolution be brought up on the floor, and the protest drafted immediately. A half dozen representatives of other unions, including the powerful International Longshoremen's Association, castigated the paper amid charges of buck-passing. The matter was finally postponed upon explanation that it was in the hands of a committee which had not yet met, and would be brought up at the next weekly meeting.

Preferential Clause Is Added in Knoxville
KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—The Knoxville Guild, through Joseph Swidler, its negotiator, sent a letter to Marshall McNeil, editor of the News-Sentinel, notifying him that the contract submitted to the management and some months ago is incomplete and that the Guild is now adding the preferential clause contained in the model Guild contract.

This addition is being made in accordance with the action taken at the Scripps-Howard conference at Pittsburgh on Feb. 7. The letter pointed out that six weeks have elapsed since the contract negotiations closed and expressed the Guild's hope of an early reply.

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Dear Mr. Eddy:
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You must be aware of the terms of our agreement with the Guild in New York, Philadelphia and Camden. In all three cities we recognize the Guild as the sole collective bargaining agency for all our employees in news and editorial departments. We agree to employ in those departments only Guild members in good standing; the Guild agrees to accept as a member any new employee, provided he has not been previously expelled by the Guild; we agree to make Guild membership a condition of employment of any new employee. Moreover, we collect Guild dues for all our news and editorial employees by means of the check-off and turn those dues over to the Guild controller. Incidentally, we don't even do that for the Typographical Union or any other mechanical union.

When I helped negotiate the first contract ever signed in America between the Guild and a newspaper, in Philadelphia, April, 1932, the paragraph outlining the above terms of recognition was entitled "Closed Shop." The next year, at the request of the Guild, the words "Closed Shop" were eliminated and the words "Guild Shop" substituted because the Guild committee felt that "Closed Shop"—though the correct title—might frighten others, less progressive publishers with whom they hoped to open negotiations.

I consider that our agreement with the Guild provides for a "Closed Shop" in the only practical way a "Closed Shop" could possibly be put in effect in any news and editorial department. Will you please inform me as to the difference between the union using them. Even in this or-

Signing the Guild Pact in Lynn, Mass.



One of the first contracts obtained by a small Guild was that signed in Lynn with the Telegram-News on Jan. 25. Leading labor men of the city assisted the Guild in the negotiations and were present at the conclusion. Frederick W. Enright, publisher, is here shown writing his signature. Beside him is Humphrey Owen, Guild president. Standing, left to right, are: T. F. McGovern, chairman of the unit; Wm. Thorstein, president, Joint Council, United Shoe and Leather Workers; Leo F. Barber, president, Lynn Central Labor Union; Nicholas Rassias, business agent for Local 20, National Leather Workers, and Alfred Coulthard, executive secretary, United Electrical Workers of America. The labor leaders, it is estimated, represent 20,000 workers in Lynn.

THE FREE PRESS

A One-Paper Revolt—Watson Not News

Two-inch type on page 1 of the New York Daily Mirror on Feb. 5 proclaimed:
RED ARMY DEFIES STALIN
The story, with a London date-line, was based on a London Daily Mirror dispatch from Warsaw. Other papers played the story down and the Daily News printed it on page 3, below the following skeptical note:

(Editor's Note: The following story, headed "Soviet Army Revolt," appeared in the London Daily Mirror on Feb. 5. It is published by the London Daily Mirror this morning. While no other newspaper or news service has yet been able to verify any detail of the report and other London papers ignored the story, the *News* reprints it as a matter of general interest.)

How to Handle The Wrong News Peg
Morris Watson's speech on Jan. 31 in Peoria on "The White Collar Worker" was of slight news value elapsed since the contract negotiations closed and expressed the Guild's hope of an early reply.

AP client, Dr. Clinton Lee Scott, said that the story was a "free press committee" to send as clippings and reports! Let us know if and when you do this.

Have You a Committee on the Free Press?
For a real X-ray of our press, healthy or infected, this department needs help. Why not appoint in every city a "free press committee" to send as clippings and reports! Let us know if and when you do this.

IS IT "PREFERENTIAL" OR "GUILD" SHOP?—EDDY URGES LATTER
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Guild Greeted Labor Council Hails Monroe Delegates

MONROE, La.—The two delegates of the Newspaper Guild of Monroe to the Louisiana Federation of Labor, political branch of the central labor council. The federation early this year abandoned its old procedure of endorsing city and county candidates after they had been nominated at the primaries. Instead the federation now is preparing to put forward its own program and slate of candidates in "independent political action" in Louisiana County.

Every resolution introduced into the Louisiana County council by the NCG has been approved unanimously and forwarded to trade union affiliates and other central labor bodies, many of which have taken energetic action.

Editor Ward, Oakland Tribune "martyr," and Dick Dyer of the Oakland Post-Enquirer, represent the NCG in the Louisiana County Council. NCG delegates to the San Francisco Central Labor Council are George Wilson of the San Francisco News, Frank Parker of the Chronicle, and Lloyd S. Thompson, formerly of the Examiner.

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UNIT VOTES TO UNIFY

Guildsmen on Blade Seek Program For Block Papers

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The Blade unit of the Toledo Newspaper Guild at a dinner meeting on Feb. 4 voted almost unanimously to subscribe to and approve the principle of joining other Guild units on Paul Block newspapers for the purpose of drafting a joint program for negotiations with the publishers.

The action was taken after negotiations for wage increases failed when conducted in Toledo alone. Bill Davy, international organizer for ANGL, urged passage of the motion. Davy emphasized the need for unification of all Guild objectives on Paul Block papers. Richard Overmyer was elected delegate to represent the Blade unit in future meetings of the chain council.

Kenneth Hamel, courthouse reporter, was re-elected chairman of the unit. Lester Heins, general assignment reporter, re-elected recorder, and Richard Pheasant, radio editor, treasurer.

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NCNG BUSY INTWOCLUS

Alameda Body Puts Forward Political Candidates

SAN FRANCISCO.—In the few months they have been seated in the San Francisco and Alameda County Central Labor Councils, Northern California Newspaper Guild delegates have cooperated actively in all moves for the further development of progressive trade unionism in northern California.

Guild delegates secured the backing of the San Francisco council in a campaign, initiated by the NCNG, to secure repeal of the 20-year-old city anti-picketing ordinance. As a result, the Board of Supervisors authorized a city-wide referendum on the March 9 election ballot, and the council is directing the campaign with the NCNG cooperating whenever possible.

Want Guild Coverage
NCNG delegates secured adoption by the San Francisco council of resolutions limiting press coverage of council meetings to reporters with Guild cards and urging unions affiliated with the council to withhold union news from non-Guild men.

In Oakland NCNG delegates to the Alameda County Central Labor Council aided in drafting and securing adoption of a resolution protesting the CIO suspensions by the A. F. of L.

To Name Labor State
NCNG delegates aided in overhauling the Alameda County Non-Partisan Political Federation of Labor, political branch of the central labor council. The federation early this year abandoned its old procedure of endorsing city and county candidates after they had been nominated at the primaries. Instead the federation now is preparing to put forward its own program and slate of candidates in "independent political action" in Alameda County.

Every resolution introduced into the Alameda County council by the NCNG has been approved unanimously and forwarded to trade union affiliates and other central labor bodies, many of which have taken energetic action.

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Rochester Guild Aids Striking District Men

(Continued from page 1)
tion proved dismal had been on the basis of union activity, which was contrary to the newspaper's policy as expressly stated in the Guild.

Young Forbes Passes Razzberries to Dad

One dinner table in Flushing, L. I., in the neighborhood of the strike-bound North Shore Journal, is a scene of snappy debate about the Guild these days.

It is the table of the publisher, T. Harry Forbes. Across from him sits Guildman Harry Forbes, his son, a member of the New York Daily News unit.

"Sure we discuss the Guild," younger newspaperman Forbes said. "It's all in good spirit, though. We don't try to run each other's business. What he does, he does; what I do, I do."

Long Maritime Strike Ends in Big Victory
While we are at it, we can also call attention to the splendid victory won by the West Coast Maritime Federation. After three months the waterfront boys won a clear cut victory over a body of powerful employers. All the unions concerned

Biggest N. Y. Unit Helps the Strike



Many newswriters whose by-lines are familiar to every North Shore (Long Island, N. Y.) resident, were in this group from Daily News unit of the New York Newspaper Guild which paraded through Flushing on Jan. 26, bearing signs in support of the strike being conducted against the North Shore Daily Journal by its employees.

Editors Leave The World of Labor

Two Quit Struck Paper Till It Settles Hot Attacks on Sit-Down Strike Attributed To New Weapon's Great Effectiveness

(Continued from page 1)
Forbes to help him get the paper out. The Journal is being published daily, but in much abbreviated form. Virtually all of its local advertising is out and most of its news sources are dried up. The publisher is relying on a news agency, publicly releases and a national wire service.

Shortly after the two editors quit, two of the paper's part-time correspondents also stopped turning in copy. They had been helping considerably during the strike and had been writing much more copy than usual. Neither was a member of the Guild.

Circulation Out in Half
Meanwhile, the Joint Strikers' Committee composed of representatives of the Guild, Typographical Union No. 6, Pressmen's Union and Stereotypers' Union, mapped plans for a concerted drive on the paper's circulation, which already has been cut in half.

A committee of 100 prominent citizens of Flushing and vicinity has been organized to arouse public sentiment and to promote a mass meeting on Feb. 19 at which Heywood Room will be the principal speaker. Members of the committee are conducting a telephone campaign against the paper.

The League of Women Shoppers also is co-operating. It has formed a Flushing unit and its members are working in co-operation with the strikers and the citizens committee. This is the first time in the history of the industry that the four major unions have joined in a strike against a paper.

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GRIEVANCES ARE SOLVED

Milwaukee Journal Receives Guild Delegation

MILWAUKEE.—Adjustment of several grievances was obtained by the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild after a conference with Leonard L. Bowyer, business manager of the Journal, who reiterated his opposition to negotiating with the Guild as such until it represents a majority of the editorial employees.

Because of the lack of an "established relationship" between the Guild and the Journal, Bowyer said he received the committee simply as a delegation representing employees to discuss grievances. Heading the committee was President George A. Mann, of the Milwaukee Guild, with Perry Hill and Joe Cohen also serving. John Kykry and Mary Van Buren were observers.

Saving technicalities, the committee placed its grievances before Bowyer, who expressed surprise at the attitude of some sub-executives regarding remuneration for overtime, split weeks and night assignments. He promised to have notices posted to familiarize employees with the procedure for collection of overtime pay.

"If anyone has been getting 'in Dutch' or feeling that he would for requesting his rights, it is contrary to the policy of this management, and should be stopped," Bowyer said.

At the conclusion of the amicable conference, the delegation asked that relationships between the management and the Guild be cemented, but Bowyer refused to enter into collective bargaining negotiations. He left the way open, however, for bargaining.

"It would be unwise to refuse to deal if you had a dominant majority," he said.

AP Case Up High Court Hears About Watson

(Continued from page 1)
zamy, special assistant to the attorney general, spoke for the government. Pointing out that there was no issue of a compulsory closed shop in the case since there was none in the law, he defended the government's right to regulation of conditions in interstate commerce.

Wyamsky, Solicitor General Stanley Reed, and Labor Board counsel Charles Fahy defended the act.

Ernst Denied Chance to Speak
At the opening of the hearing, Morris Ernst, who is handling the case for the American Newspaper Guild, petitioned Chief Justice Hughes for 20 minutes' time in which to argue in direct behalf of the Guild. The time could not be arranged.

Maintaining that conflicts between employers and employees have "repeatedly threatened the very existence of large parts of the press" through receiverships and other interruptions, Ernst, in his brief filed for the Guild, concluded:

"Far from violating the guarantee of freedom of the press, the National Labor Relations Act attempts to remove a significant barrier to the free circulation of facts and opinions."

Following the AP case, the Court was to hear argument in four other suits attacking the validity of the Wagner Act.

New Yorkers Move
Two Guildsmen from New York, Ed Dewey of the Daily News, and Israel Kobanov, have transferred to Milwaukee. Dewey is on the Milwaukee Journal and Kobanov on the Sentinel.

A DEBATE ON THE FARMER LABOR ISSUE

Political Action Seen As Needed Weapon

The farmer-labor party resolution is really a two-in-one question. First, should labor participate in a third party movement, and second, should the Guild join with the rest of labor in this new independent political action?

There can be no realistic separation of the economic and political activities of labor, any more than such separation can be said to exist in the case of the organized employers. Newspapers know, perhaps better than anyone else, how completely virtually all local, state and federal governments are dominated by an employer-minded philosophy and practice. Both old-line parties are employer parties.

It will be argued that the new liberalization of the Democratic Party, as evidenced by the Wagner Act, social security legislation, etc., has brought whatever change was necessary to give labor its just share in the national pot. But this view is dangerously optimistic. The Democratic Party, despite its new liberal cloak, is still predominantly employer-minded. Despite the contributions by labor to the Roosevelt coffers in the last campaign, it is big business that supplies the real financial sinews that keep the party functioning, in campaign season and out, locally and nationally.

Whatever labor may get from either the Democratic or the Republican party in return for labor votes can be nothing better than an uncertain bargain. Why should a majority of the population for wages-earners and the farmers do make up the majority in the position of having to bargain for its rights? Why should the working section of the population have its own representatives, its own organized voice in the affairs of the democracy?

Need for Voice

In Government Vital

The only way labor and the farmer—the new third parties include not only these groups but also the small business men and the professional groups—can have their voice in government is through a political party wholly of their own making.

The need for such a party has grown ever more acute, and the time for its formation on a national scale is today over-ripe. As a matter of fact, parties with this general philosophy have already been established with considerable success in several states, notably Wisconsin and Minnesota.

As the strength of labor grows and makes increasing gains on the economic front, the organized employers are going to drive ever harder to offset that strength on the political front.

The history of other democratic countries shows quite clearly that this trend is inevitable. Only in such countries as the Scandinavian and France, where strong union movements have been followed up by strong political action through parties of labor's own making has labor been able to hold its gains.

The fact that in other countries, such as Germany, where labor was strong politically, big business resorted to fascism, is hardly a legitimate argument against independent political action by labor. Fascism came to Germany not because labor took independent political action, but because labor did not act quickly and powerfully enough. It should be clear to everyone that business in this country has demonstrated its utter incapacity and even unwillingness to use its power for the good of the greatest number. Its past follies led to the depression, and today we find it fighting to the utmost all sincere efforts to prevent a bigger and better one.

Now, why should the Guild bother about all that?

The Guild is now a part of the labor movement. We owe it to labor and to ourselves to benefit from our affiliation, to share in its responsibility and to contribute to its welfare.

Here Are Opening Arguments on the Guild's Moot Policy on Which IEB Urges Wide Pre-Convention Discussion

The International Executive Board at its January meeting pointed out that one of the major issues likely to come up at the next convention is the participation of the Guild in independent political action, with particular reference to support of a Farmer-Labor Party.

The Board feels that the issues that will face the Convention should be thoroughly discussed in general meetings of local Guilds and in the Guild Reporter so that delegates will go to the Convention with a clear understanding of the position of their Guild, and possibly with instructions.

To stimulate discussion, the Guild Reporter arranged a debate between Guildsmen in the Twin Cities and Milwaukee. Gunnar Mickelson, of Milwaukee, who takes the affirmative, is an ANG vice-president. R. J. Fitzsimmons, one of those taking the negative, is a former Twin Cities president, and was a delegate to the last Convention. The question asked them was:

"Should the forthcoming ANG Convention recommend to local Guilds cooperation with the local and statewide Farmer-Labor parties as a means to developing independent political action by labor?"

to the full extent of our energies and intelligence.

What role should we newspapers play in the organized labor movement if not one that is worthy of our intelligence and our youth? Should we ally ourselves with the die-hard, what-was-good-enough-for-grandfather elements of labor and become an additional drag on the imperative forward march? Or should we get in step with that part of labor which our intelligence and experience shows us to be headed toward a more just share in the good things of our national life?

Maybe so, it will be said, but the Guild isn't strong enough yet for "outside" activities; the Guild had better learn to carry its own basket first. In the first place, participation in political action is no more "outside" activity than our national organizations are "outside agitators." The word "outside" is an employer word, not a Guild word.

In the second place, our history has shown that we were never "strong enough" we were never "ready" to take the actions that we took—strikes, demands for contracts, etc.—toward a more just share in the good things of our national life.

But we took them. And we gained our aims in direct proportion as we used courage. Who is it that most violently opposes our endorsement of the principle of independent political action of labor? It's the same publishers who most violently have opposed everything that we have asked and done.

Is our membership not yet "prepared" to endorse the principle of independent political action, to cooperate with farmer-labor parties in their localities? Well, the IEB Convention passed the resolution, the 1936 Convention reaffirmed it. It will be remembered that the membership was supposed not to be "prepared" for A. F. of L. affiliation either.

There isn't space left to go into the question that will inevitably be raised by our more conservative members of our moral right to cooperate with any given political

party or parties. Our old acquaintance, Freedom of the Press, will be trotted out again. If I have not used my pen, it is only because I consider them least worthy of serious consideration.

GUNNAR MICKELSON.

Think Politics Would Split the ANG

Indorsement of a "farmer-labor" party has been proposed by some individuals for the American Newspaper Guild, members of which are presumed, at least, to be newspapermen.

Whether earned or not the tag of newspaperman has carried with it in the past the mental image of a person of sound mind, good balance and better than average understanding of local, state and national problems.

Even though they may have an I. S. as low as 80, children in our public school systems are taught the fundamentals of mathematics, civics, English and other subjects during the period of compulsory education.

They know, and if they are observing they have had impressions upon them many times in later life, that the farmer is the foundation of the capitalist system of government or society. By the farmer we do not mean the peasant, who is a negligible factor in agricultural areas.

The farmer prosper when he receives high prices for his produce and pays low prices for the manufactured products which he purchases. To accomplish this his program in agricultural states has been

Personal Advantages Sought by Farmers

The farmer prosper when he receives high prices for his produce and pays low prices for the manufactured products which he purchases. To accomplish this his program in agricultural states has been

Establishment of wine and farm machinery plants in state prisons in competition with labor.

Enactment of laws preventing the laboring man from using

chapter substitutes for any of the farmer's products.

Blocking all legislation intended to improve the status of those he employs.

Transferring the tax load from the rural areas to the urban worker in scores of manners to be found in the tax structures of all agricultural states.

Blocking the worker from proper representation in state legislatures by refusing to redistrict legislative subdivisions even when major population changes are shown by a census.

It is this last factor in his program which has permitted the farmer to dominate most of the state legislatures including even such states as Illinois where the population is predominantly urban. Farmer domination of these legislatures has been the city worker's greatest handicap.

If the average newspaperman is not familiar with these facts a brief investigation of agricultural America will verify their truth and reveal other reasons why the interests of the farmer and labor are diametrically opposite rather than parallel.

Seen as Miscellaneous in Which Labor Pays and Pays

The only manner in which a farmer-labor party may be judged is by the experience with existing farmer-labor parties. Let those misguided children who would tout upon the American Newspaper Guild members a brief study of legislation passed by farmer-labor legislatures.

They will learn that in this millennium labor always is the woman and the woman always pays.

Success has come to the labor movement not through sponsoring or endorsing any political party but by the various political parties to adopt parts of labor's program. Principal opposition to this program has come from rural areas.

It was the belief of many men who joined the American Newspaper Guild at its inception that they were

taking a step to advance their professional welfare.

It now the Guild is to become an agency for questionable political action, a second and ulterior motive is grafted to the aims of the organization. More than in the case of any similar organization an ulterior motive is grafted to the aims of the organization. More than in the case of any similar organization an ulterior motive is grafted to the aims of the organization.

Does he not know that they are fighting, not against their religion, their church, but against the Catholic hierarchy that has for centuries been exploiting and oppressing the people of Spain and that in the present conflict has chosen to ally itself with the blackest of the reactionary forces in the country in order to hold onto its immense power and its enormous wealth? Where, then, is the religious issue?

Is There a Connection With Guild Purposes?

The connection between the program of a "farmer-labor" party and the original purpose of the Guild—better pay and higher standards, may be self-evident to those who have the welfare of a political party at heart, but it is not so for those who put a Guild before all.

There may be many members who, as individuals, would choose that course. But a unity of political faith and convictions is not what binds all members of the Guild together. They are united in their character as editorial workers. POLITICS IS THE ROCK THAT WILL SPLIT THIS GUILD.

Not only should the forthcoming Convention avoid the pitfalls of a blind political action but it should also repeat the existing commitments of the membership of the Cleveland and New York Conventions to a "farmer-labor" party.

It is our feeling that the actions of these Conventions were prompted by a sincere enthusiasm on the floor of the Conventions for everything which looked "progressive" and not in the least backed by any sound pre-convention thought on the part of the membership of the Guilds represented, and in many cases embarrased, by the actions of those Conventions.

Wants Concentration on Our Economic Problems

A commitment to political action of one sort or another has no more place in the program of the American Newspaper Guild than an endorsement of one side or the other in the present Spanish revolution.

The Guild has taken its place in the ranks of organized labor. It is committed to industrial unionism and faces, perhaps, some difficult decisions in the immediate future. There are properly economic problems bearing upon the primary aims of the Guild for better pay and higher standards. We suggest that it is high time for the national leadership to concentrate on the primary reasons for organization of the Guild.

Political action is the proper choice of the individual. Guild members need no recommendations, suggestions or endorsements on this question. We repeat the warning, politics will split the Guild. LETS NOT CONFUSE PROGRESSIVE INDIVIDUALS WITH SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVE PARTIES.

A. J. CROCKER.
R. J. FITZSIMMONS.

Connecticut Bill Would Protect Reporter's Source

A bill which would exempt reporters from disclosing sources of information was introduced in the Connecticut legislature on Feb. 3 on behalf of the Waterbury Newspaper Guild. In the opinion of Frank T. Johnson, president of the Guild, and Harold E. Senior, chairman of the Guild's legislative committee, the bill is intended more to protect reporters' sources of information than to shield the reporters themselves.

Besides preventing the courts of the state or any of their officers from requiring newspaper employees to disclose confidential sources, the bill also provides that they be not held in contempt.

Religious Issue Denied In the Spanish Civil War

Fight for Democratic Ideals is Believed Vital to ANG

CLEVELAND, MO., Editor, The Guild Reporter:

In the forenoon of Feb. 1 a Cleveland correspondent, Jack Clower, suggests that the Guild should not concern itself with the Spanish civil war because "there is a religious issue in the Spanish situation."

Does he not know that they are fighting, not against their religion, their church, but against the Catholic hierarchy that has for centuries been exploiting and oppressing the people of Spain and that in the present conflict has chosen to ally itself with the blackest of the reactionary forces in the country in order to hold onto its immense power and its enormous wealth? Where, then, is the religious issue?

But where is the religious question? Does not Mr. Clower know that Spain is predominantly a Catholic country? Does he not know that a vast majority of the people of Spain are on the side of the Government? Does he not know that perhaps 80 per cent, certainly 75 per cent, of the men and women fighting with and for the Government are themselves devout Catholics?

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Let's really do something about it in 1937!

SAMUEL C. FUSCO.

his attitude. It is his reasoning with which I find fault.

See Economic Issue

I do not believe there is a religious issue in the Spanish rebellion. Undoubtedly there have been religious issues on both sides as is the case in any bitter warfare. But the basic issue is purely one of democracy opposed to the economic spoils system of fascism, a system intended to deprive all workers of their political and economic prerogatives.

The Fascists have despicably attempted to maneuver religion into the rebellion in an effort to gain the sympathy of persons who otherwise would be bitterly opposed to them. I do not believe the American Newspaper Guild should be duped by this propaganda, especially as it is the Guild's business to protect its members' economic interests, and further because it is not unlikely that the same tactics will some day be attempted in the United States.

St. Louis has a large Catholic population, important Catholic institutions and many Catholic members in its Guild. I can at the moment recall the names of at least five Catholic members with whom I have discussed this subject in the past few months and all have agreed with me; in fact, I have never discussed the subject with any Catholic Guildsmen here who has failed to agree with me.

Favors Resolution

I respect all men's religions. For that reason I would rather risk the disfavor of every Catholic in the American Newspaper Guild than by

which is an appeal to the editors and publishers of America to tell our membership how they can best promote the preservation of a free press, and especially in these three areas:

1. The Labor-Capital Area. This involves the desire of workers to organize and to bargain for fair wages and wholesome working conditions, as well as the desire of employers and capitalists to organize for incense of profits. In connection with this area, what do editors and publishers advise our ministers and laymen to do to enable newspapers to print accurate, truthful and fair statements about all aspects of this labor-capital area?

Questions Political News

2. The Political Area. This involves the aims of those who advocate influencing or controlling government to secure more economic or political power. Both labor and capital are concerned here. How can our ministers and laymen help the press give a truthful, accurate and fair presentation of minority views in this area, even though some of these views come from so-called "radical groups"?

3. The Area of Foreign News. This involves the labor-capital conflict in both its economic and political spheres. Good examples may be seen in Germany, Italy, Spain, France, Soviet Union, Britain, and virtually all foreign countries. To

Obviously Brother Clower speaks only in the best interests of the ANG and is to be commended for

Wants Guild to Run Personnel Bureau

COLUMBUS, OHIO, Editor, The Guild Reporter:

I want to propose something for definite action at the next convention. It is the setting up of a personnel bureau under Guild sponsorship.

This personnel bureau, or whatever the Guild might choose to call it, would carry names, addresses, connections and other pertinent data on all Guild members seeking to make a change or get a job. Few newspapermen want to live and die on one newspaper, especially if they are not satisfied. But there are men being hired and fired every day in our profession, all over the country, and a lot of unemployed Guildsmen could land some of these jobs.

So a personnel bureau would benefit both working and unemployed newspapermen and newspaperwomen.

I would like to hear suggestions, via the Guild Reporter or by letter, from other Guild members on this problem. Let's really do something about it in 1937!

See Economic Issue

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SIDE LINES

By CAROLYN MARK

Another symposium on journalism is being held at the New School for Social Research in New York. Among the speakers at the fifteen lectures will be Arthur Krock, of the New York Times, whose subject is news reporting; Forrest Davis, former chairman of the World-Telegram unit and now editor of the Rocky Mountain News in Denver, who will discuss the magazine section and feature writing; Neil MacNeil, of the New York Times, who will lecture on "News Reporting: The City Editor"; J. Roscoe Drummond, of the Christian Science Monitor, who will speak of the newspaper's function; B. Charney Vlaschek, of the Jewish Daily Forward, whose topic is the radical press; Irita Van Doren, of the Herald Tribune, who will discuss book reviewing and book sections; Lowell Mellett, of the Washington Daily News, who will speak on the tabloid; Heywood Brown, ANG president, on the column; Walter Lippmann, of the Herald Tribune unit, on the editorial; Archibald MacLeish, of Fortune, a member of the New York Guild, on a class magazine; and Edward H. Collins of the Herald Tribune, on financial news.

Immediately after the election, Ernest K. Lindley, Washington correspondent for the Herald Tribune, who is in the Correspondent's Unit of the Washington Guild, began work on an additional chapter for his latest book, "Half Way with Roosevelt." The new edition, with revisions throughout, appeared on Jan. 20, inauguration day.

Carl Haessler, Chicago manager of the Federated Press, one of the early members of the Guild there, had an article in the New Masses called "The Auto Union Shifts Into High." Edward Levinson, former chairman of the New York Post unit, wrote a piece about the auto strike from Detroit for the Nation on Jan. 16.

De Hirsch Margules, of the New York City News Association, has just held a two weeks' show of his water colors, at the Artists Gallery, in New York. Edwin Latham, of the same Guild unit, has a new novel, "Banner at Daybreak," coming out on March 24.

Robert W. Morton, Washington Guildsmen, correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, has an article called "Death in the Air" in the Jan. 23 Nation.

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

I was unable to attend the January meeting of the IEB as I was on an assignment in Mexico at the time, but if I had been in attendance I would have voted yes on the Mickelson resolution.

Respectfully,
JULIUS H. KLYMAN,
International Vice-President,
American Newspaper Guild.

Church Group Would Help Free Press Cause

New York City. Editor, The Guild Reporter:

The Methodist Federation for Social Service is interested in helping its members, comprised of ministers and laymen in all states of the Union, to do all they can as individuals and through church groups for the preservation of freedom of the press.

You probably know that the Federation for Social Service is an unofficial membership organization in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In its thirty years of service it has emphasized Christian social service, Christian social justice, and a Christian social order. Although unofficial and not presuming to speak for the church as a whole (a characteristic common to most Protestant organizations), our group during its existence has had far-reaching influence. Its membership includes eight bishops, scores of ministers, and hundreds of laymen. The General Conference of the Methodist Church, speaking officially, has from time to time recognized and commended the work of the Federation.

Asks Cooperation

This work, which emphasizes the building of a Christian social order, necessarily is predicated upon the maintenance of democracy, with full freedom of worship and assembly, speech, and press.

I wonder if the Guild Reporter would be willing to print this letter,

which is an appeal to the editors and publishers of America to tell our membership how they can best promote the preservation of a free press, and especially in these three areas:

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Says CIO Tie Is Dangerous

Predicts Auto Victory Will Prove Severe Blow to Unions

New York City. Editor, The Guild Reporter:

As a member in good standing of the Daily News unit of the Guild, I wish to raise my voice in protest against the "party line" which the high command is seeking—in the words of our "worker-intellectual" friends—to impose on the rank and file of the membership. The tipoff, it seems to me, is given in the editorial, Runaway Motors, in the Feb. 1 issue of the Guild Reporter.

The Guild made its first mistake in voting AFL affiliation at a time when the Federation was torn by internal strife. But, having pleaded for admission to the AFL, we should show extremely bad faith, if less than a year later, we decamped into the ranks of CIO.

That is only the first objection to such a move. Every decent employer—and the category is not small—as well as every self-respecting worker with the ability to see beyond his nose, despises and distrusts the CIO. The part of John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman is not such as to warrant confidence. Secondly, the CIO, it grows more apparent daily, is chiefly a means of raising funds and votes for Lewis' 1940 Presidential campaign through the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party—a move which is avowedly dear to the laborists at the top of the Guild.

See Danger in Political Tie

I submit that no body of workers as a group has any business in politics. This is especially true of newspapers because of the very nature of their work. As individuals, we have every right to work and contribute for any cause imaginable; but as a group it is our duty to ourselves, if to nothing else, to star clear of political tie-ups. Such a tie-up is this is merely cutting the Guild's throat by inviting the anarchy, not only of the publishers, but of a large body of the Guild's membership as well.

The Guild's leadership, it seems to me, has since the organization's birth shown a leftward trend, which is distasteful to many of its members, and which, in addition to bringing about the resignation of some who were members, has antagonized many who might have become members. Then, to admit tacitly, as is done in the editorial referred to above, that the Union's tactics may become those of illegality is a further warning to members and non-members alike that they are not better off if they have no dealings with the Guild. If we are going to advocate holding property for ransom—which is only a short step from holding persons for ransom—we must as well lay in a supply of guns and start the class war which our leaders apparently hanker to begin.

Guild to Be a Stage?

CIO affiliation will mean two things, I believe. The Guild will become another stage for labor leaders driven primarily by a lust for power, and a potential source of financial largesse to them for their Cadillac and chauffeurs; and the sounder heads in the Guild will form a new organization with the proper aims of establishing a union of working newspapermen whose interest will be to achieve decent standards of employment for themselves, to offer decent standards of workmanship in return and to keep their noses completely clean. That is the only program by which a union can hope to win the respect and co-operation of those with whom it seeks to deal.

Victory for the United Automobile Workers will, I submit (in direct contradiction of your editorial prophecy), initiate an unprecedented war on all labor unions, including the Guild, and set them back fifty years.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES C. WEBBER.

CHARLES L. MARKMANN.

PANIC HITS MARKET FOR FAITHFUL

Hearst Executives Go Bullish, Then Bearish on "Loyalist's" Pay

LOS ANGELES—How the Lord (of San Saneos) takes care of his own is illustrated by the end experience of Sam Saneos, Los Angeles Examiner photographer, who was used as a stooge in an attempt to break up Guild organization on the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

Saneos had worked for the Examiner about ten years when R. V. Edwards, Examiner production manager, came to him shortly before the Seattle strike and told him that at last he was to have the fruits of faithful service.

From \$40 a week—top photo salary on the Examiner—Saneos was jumped to \$60 and given the title of Chief Photographic Manager of Hearst papers.

His first task was to go to Seattle and write a report containing petty allegations of inefficiency against Frank "Slim" Lynch, veteran photographer and Guild leader, a report which the National Labor Relations Board virtually threw out of the window.

With the Post-Intelligencer closed by a Guild picket line and his duty done on the labor board witness stand, Saneos's usefulness as a union-buster was over and he was shipped back to Los Angeles to cover routine assignments—but not at \$60 a week.

Production Manager Edwards, who carries a Pressman's Union card in his pocket, "compromised" with Saneos at \$45. After two weeks, the matter came to the attention of R. P. Guild (He pronounces the "i" as in pie—Ed.) business manager and ear of the Examiner, who contributed to the conditions in Seattle which caused the strike.

Guild not only reduced Saneos to \$40, but deducted the \$16 which

he had already been paid over and above that rate.

Whereupon Saneos, who still thinks it is very wrong for the Guild to strike in behalf of the rights of editorial workers, protested against this injustice to George Young, Examiner publisher. Mr. Young was sorry, but could do nothing, so he said.

Then Saneos announced he was quitting and asked his friends to help him find a job.

But the rapid growth of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and the oversight enrollment of a vast majority of the Herald-Express (Hearst evening) staff, changed the picture. Somewhere along the line some executive arrived at the conclusion that it would be unwise to make such a notorious example of a veteran and an anti-union employee. So they let Saneos keep his job and the extra money.

The Guild Reporter

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"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 Third Annual Convention of the American Newspaper Guild, and that he confine the editorial policy of THE GUILD REPORTER to that specific program."—Resolution of the 1936 Convention.

Editor:
Clyde Beals
Assistant Editor:
Leon Svirsky, New York World-Telegram
Staff for this issue:
C. E. Calkins, Adrienne Weil, Evelyn Sealey,
Joseph Greenidge, Selma Weisopf,
Frank Shay.

Vol. IV, No. 8

February 15, 1937

Close-Up of the ANPA

An investigation of the activities of the open-shop division of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee seems to us distinctly in order. Such an inquiry has been requested by the Allied Printing Trades Council of New York, which calls special attention to the ANPA's shipping of a strikebreaking crew of printers into the plant of the *Flushing North Shore Journal*, where the four major unions, including the Guild, are on strike.

The maintenance of a permanent crew of strikebreakers by an employers' organization, which thus stands on record as prepared to defeat collective bargaining efforts, is a circumstance the public should be informed about.

Little is known about this open shop division. Editor and Publisher laconically reported that it had supplied a crew to the *Flushing Journal*. Where do the strikebreakers come from? Are they quartered in New Orleans, as reported, and moved from city to city as occasion demands? What is the nature of their activities? Does it include spying, violence and other unsavory tactics which the La Follette committee is showing to be the pattern of such organizations?

We think the time has come for some plain speaking about collective bargaining with Roy Howard.

No better text could be found than an editorial on this subject in his own New York World-Telegram, published on February 3. Mr. Howard's paper says it believes collective bargaining "should be an accepted state of mind," and it continues:

Until it is accepted as a matter of course by industry, as industry deals in other matters, the damage will pile up. For industry itself, as it relates to labor, is organized. . .

Up to now, though industry more and more has been giving lip service to collective bargaining, the same old underlying and antagonistic attitude is there. It is that we, the management, will bargain with everyone with whom we do business, without getting mad, except that when it comes to wages and hours and working conditions, something glandular sets in . . . industry, dealing with the human element, which is labor, and which after all is more primary than materials, is motivated by a curious resentment that it should have to deal at all when it comes to the help.

Several Scripps-Howard Guild units have been attempting to bargain collectively with Mr. Howard's organization during the last two months. These negotiations make us wonder whether the management fully understands or accepts the principles of collective bargaining.

Is collective bargaining "an accepted state of mind" when the management attempts to use its influence to prevent other managements from signing a contract with the Guild?

Is collective bargaining an accepted state of mind when the management seeks to discredit the leadership of the Guild and insinuates its policies are determined by copy boys?

Is collective bargaining an accepted state of mind when the management, discussing wages, pleads poverty in a

manner it would not think of using, for example, in buying paper?

Is collective bargaining an accepted state of mind when the management resists a written agreement and then quibbles about the form of the agreement, to the point of attempting to dictate who shall be the signatories on the Guild's side?

Is collective bargaining an accepted state of mind when the management strives to place its editorial employees in a special category to deny them the safeguards enjoyed by other labor unions, such as a preferential Guild shop, concededly vital to the preservation of the organization?

Is the management giving anything more than lip service to collective bargaining when it falls into the language of General Motors, employing the moth-eaten anti-union slogan that it cannot see "why anyone should have to pay any outside organization to work on this newspaper?"

Frankly, the attitude and tactics of the Scripps-Howard management representatives in current negotiations do not strike us as a friendly attempt to accomplish a meeting of minds. For there are three basic principles of collective bargaining, none of which the Scripps-Howard management has apparently yet brought itself to accept. They are:

Abstention from any attempt to influence the members of the union in their organization decisions.

The closed shop (preferential shop in the Guild's case), inevitable companion of a single bargaining agency for the employees.

Recognition of the employees through their union as an equal with an equal voice on working conditions.

Those are the sine qua non of collective bargaining. Half-way collective bargaining is a contradiction in terms.

We do not know whether the trouble is glandular or cerebral, but we think it is about time the Scripps-Howard management faced the facts and engaged in real collective bargaining.

International Officers
—of the—
American Newspaper Guild

President:

Heywood Brown, A.N.G. Headquarters

Executive Secretary:

Jonathan Eddy, A.N.G. Headquarters

Treasurer:

Victor Pasche, A.N.G. Headquarters

National Vice-Presidents:

W. Erle Homan, 113 Eadlich Ave., Mt. Penn, Pa.

Garland Ashcraft, 44 East 211th St., Euclid, Ohio

Julius H. Klyman, 626 Forest Ct., Clayton, Mo.

Gunnar Mickelson, 2105 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.

Betty Ballantine, 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal.

Morris Watson, A.N.G. Headquarters

International Headquarters

1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

A Coming Liberty

Professor Robert Morris Lovett of the University of Chicago, a General Motors stockholder, writing in the *Nation* on the Sit-Down Strike.

The General Motors strike of 1937 may prove to be historic, inasmuch as it has acclimated the sitdown strike in this country as a weapon of industrial conflict. The right of non-working employees to occupy the plant can hardly be classed among civil liberties. It is, rather, one of the industrial liberties which are on the way to become legally recognized.

The sitdown is the most effective form of strike. It permits the strikers to remain in comfort, even if somewhat bored, instead of tramping about on the picket line in heat, cold, wind, and wet. It obviates the most unpleasant and demoralizing feature of a strike, the use of strikebreakers. It eliminates violence, or at least places responsibility for it squarely on the police. It promotes the morale of the strikers. Above all, it is a forcible reminder to workers, to management, to shareholders, and to the public that legal title is not the final answer to the question of possession. Who has the better human and natural right to call the Fisher plant his—I, whose connection with General Motors is determined by the price recorded on the New York Stock Exchange, or the worker whose life and livelihood are bound up in the operation of making cars?

Expert Warns Against the Drive for Union Incorporation

By MARK STARE

Educational Director International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Labor Historian and Two-Time Parliamentary Candidate of British Labor Party

THOSE who falsely history in order to fortify reaction are particularly busy at the present moment trying to prove that American trade unions should be incorporated, taking as a faulty parallel the alleged incorporation of British trade unions.

According to these gentlemen, strikes do not occur in England, racketeering and violence are absent from labor troubles and the lamb of labor lies down with the lion of capitalism because the British unions enjoy the benefits of government supervision. Admiring eyes are cast upon the "Scabs' Charter" carried through in 1927 by the vested interests, who had been frightened by the general strike in support of the miners in 1926. Despite the fact that the Labor Party fought this act line by line in the House of Commons, on letter writer was allowed to say in the New York Times (see communication from Goodhue Livingston, Jan. 18) that organized labor actually welcomed this measure.

Registration of British trade unions with the government, interpreted here as amounting to incorporation, is necessary only to secure the legal safeguarding of "friendly benefit" funds of unions. While it involves a report of membership and finances, it is purely voluntary and does not in any way give the government the right to interfere with the administration of the unions.

Comparing the position of labor in the two countries, these differences are outstanding: Trade unionism in Great Britain has a consecutive history of over 200 years; over 30 percent of the workers are organized as compared with 10 per cent in the United States. Unions are an established part of the British picture. Collective bargaining is taken for granted, and a "strike for recognition," with the employers taking the recalcitrant position of the General Motors officials would be almost unthinkable. The

unions there administer government unemployment insurance, old age pensions and other social security benefits for their members.

Company unions are practically unknown in Great Britain, except as they have been started by branches of American firms. Spies, flunks, thugs and professional strikebreakers, as revealed here by the LaFollette inquiry, are happily missing from the British scene.

These differences are due fundamentally to the higher political consciousness of the British workers and their penetration by ideals of class solidarity and socialism. The racketeering which marks capitalism in its decadence is likely also to infect labor leaders if they have no working class ideals.

The Taff Vale case in 1901 brought forth a decision which made unions liable for damages incurred by the employers through a strike. This is precisely the idea behind the present agitation for incorporation of American unions. The Taff Vale Railway was awarded damages of over £46,000 (roughly \$230,000) from the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants which had, quite without violence, frustrated the attempt of the railroad to bring in strikebreakers. A trade union could not take legal action against its members or agents, yet could be sued as an organization for anything individual members did.

It was this attack upon the legal immunity of the unions which compelled them to enter politics and to build an independent labor party. The first fruits of this political action came in 1906 with the Trades Dispute Act which nullified the Taff Vale decision. This Act prevented any court from entertaining an action for damages against a trade union or its members or officials for acts alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union. Of course, individual members or officials of a union can be sued as individuals in the ordinary way.

The right of unions to finance political action was challenged by the Osborne Judgment of 1909. It may be noticed in this connection that large American corporations

which give huge contributions to political parties are now trying to hamper American unions in exactly the same way. An act in 1913, however, gave unions the right to use special political funds on condition that individual members could claim exemption from levies.

Terrified by the immense show of labor solidarity in the general strike of 1926, jittery Conservatives jammed through Parliament the Trades Dispute and Trades Unions Act of 1927, popularly known as the Scabs' Charter. It declares sympathetic strikes and lockouts to be unlawful if they "inflict hardship on the community or cause the government." The attorney general is given power to issue a court order restraining the use of a union's funds in such strikes. The act also curtails the right of a union to levy political contributions on its members by providing that each member must make a signed declaration of willingness to pay—a point which the unions have found little difficulty in meeting. It also prohibits civil service workers from belonging to trade unions with members outside the state service. Incidentally, the exponents of this Act pointed to the use of injunctions in the United States as a precedent for many points.

What the workers thought of Premier Baldwin's perfidy in the "settlement" of the miners' issues and of the Scabs' Charter was demonstrated in the next election when Labor's popular vote was raised to 8,292,000 and its parliamentary strength from 160 to 287.

As a matter of fact, the terms of this measure are so vague and indefinite that the government has hesitated to use it. The government has preferred to hold it as a sword of Damocles rather than bring it to a test, and is uncomfortably aware that attempts to enforce it would be followed by retribution at the polls and, in all probability, the establishment of a labor government.

Incorporation is no cure for the exceptional cases of racketeering in American unions. An enlightened and healthy labor

movement alone can cut this cancer from its body and the AF of L should have guts enough to take the lead in this and not shelter behind the alibi of union autonomy.

Chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations themselves do not come into court with clean hands in this matter. Let American unions beware of the false friends who would fix upon them the chains which the British unions smashed in the Trades Dispute Act of 1906. Let them rather fight for the abolition of the injunction and the establishment of collective bargaining.

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