

Why The Eagle Screams

**Control of the Paper
Traced to Wealthy
Families—Reasons
for Its "Losses"**

By FERDINAND LUNDBERG

WITH the strike of American Newspaper Guild members on the Brooklyn Daily Eagle about to enter its second month, a glance at the inner machinery of this newspaper becomes advisable if we are to know what makes Publisher M. Preston Goodfellow tick.

An analysis of the interests concerned in the operation of this paper will serve as a good case study of standard newspaper properties, showing not only what the Guild confronts when it goes on strike, but also what substance lies behind that oft-raised plea of newspaper "poverty."

The analysis shows the Eagle to be linked with some of the most wealthy families in America; it shows a direct relation between the paper's "poverty" and its policies; and places in a new light the question of the amount that a paper can afford to pay its employees.

Eagle Is Linked With Big Corporations

In general, the Brooklyn Daily Eagle financial picture exhibits those classic features associated with large corporations. It has stocks and bonds outstanding, owes money to big banks, and is at least partly owned by a Delaware holding company about which little is known; its nominal proprietors are to a significant degree absentee owners and in some cases may conceivably be "dummies" acting for invisible third parties; its management is heavily rewarded while its lesser employees are refused legal bargaining rights, etc.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle is owned by the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Inc. (which probably holds unissued treasury stock only); by the recently formed Brooklyn Daily Eagle Properties Corporation (which holds 400,000 shares of Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Inc., common stock against conversion demand for 40,000 shares of convertible preferred stock issued by the Brooklyn Daily Eagle Properties Corporation); by the Brooklyn Publishing Corporation, of Wilmington, Del., a holding company controlled by Goodfellow and about which there is no information in standard corporation manuals; by the First National Trust and Savings Bank of Santa Barbara, Cal., and by Natalie Hester Cleveland, of Santa Monica, Cal., M. Preston Goodfellow, Arthur W. Hester, of Woodstock, N. Y., Seth A. Keeney, of Santa Barbara, Cal., Anna L. O'Neill, Cora M. O'Neill and Jennie V. Stewart, all of Kingston, N. Y. The interesting thing about the last four names is that none of the Eagle editorial workers or persons familiar with Brooklyn civic affairs seem to know anything about them; they may be distant relatives of former owners, but evidence of this is lacking.

Obligated for Million To Insurance Company

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle Properties Corporation is obligated for \$1,000,000 to the Union Central Life Insurance Company of Cincinnati, Ohio. Notes in the amount of \$585,000 are outstanding—according to a report to the Securities and Exchange Commission made last January—in favor of the Brooklyn Trust

(Continued on page 4)

The Guild Reporter

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Hearst-A.F.L. Plot Charge Filed

Eagle Strikers Battle in Courts

Guild Wars On Paper's Law Action

Affidavits Shunted Back and Forth By Courts

Pressed by falling circulation and large advertising losses, the Brooklyn Eagle management turned to intimidation of strike leaders through the filing of "conspiracy" complaints in police courts last week.

The strikers fought back with counter complaints against the management, continuing meanwhile the attack upon circulation and advertising, and devising new forms of picketing.

The principal management attack, a "conspiracy" action against Jack Deegan, one of the strike leaders, and I. Kaufman, strike chairman, has thus far been a hot potato. It appears as though no judge wants it.

A week ago Magistrate Mark Rudich tossed the case back to Magistrate Nicholas H. Pinto, who had heard the complaint originally and had been forced to dismiss the case as it had not specified charges.

In referring the case back to Pinto, Rudich remarked that it was an "unusual proceeding in which the affidavits are in the judge's pocket." Magistrate Pinto shunted the case back to Rudich the second time on Wednesday on the basis of jurisdiction, that the Coney Island Court in which Rudich sat was the only place where the charges could be heard.

Not yet has the Guild been able to see the mysterious affidavits on which the action is based.

Hard to Trace
Working on the little information available, the Guild has learned that its leaders will be charged, if at all, (Continued on page 5)

2 N. Y. Units Launch Drive For Business Organization

The New York Guild's attempt to organize outside editorial departments has met with management opposition on the Bronx Home News and has been challenged by the New York Daily News management.

Holding that dismissal of several Guildsmen in the circulation department was due to discriminatory measures of the publisher, the Guild unit on the Bronx Home News asked the Guild to take the cases before the National Labor Relations Board if the discharged employees were not reinstated.

Questioning the Guild's right to represent business departments, the New York News management requested a Labor Relations Board election to determine the bargaining agency. A petition was accom-

WE MUST FIGHT! LEND YOUR AID

GUILDSMEN!

The full force of the publishers' attack is on us! In Brooklyn and Seattle we are locked in crucial struggles.

Not only the publishers but their corrupt official allies within the American Federation of Labor are watching these struggles with bulging eyes.

Elsewhere, they are seizing this moment to use intimidation, coercion and crookedness against us.

They are hoping that somehow we will be defeated on these main fronts and then can be broken on the others.

We will not be defeated.

We will fight these struggles through to victory with the same tenacity, vigor and skill as we have fought before.

But despite the determination, devotion and courage of those members on the picket lines and those many others helping, one commanding need remains:

Money.
Without that we could be defeated and the long hard work of these last four years wasted.

The Guild will meet this crucial need just as it has met those in the past; it will meet them even more confidently, because of the knowledge of past fruits. Every successful struggle of the past has brought benefits to an ever widening circle.

The need is here NOW. The measure of it is the number of assessments levied by the IEB.

To pay them NOW is to insure turning back the publishers' attack all along the line.

That is our counter-attack. This is the call to make it!

Wilkes-Barre In Pact Parley

Publishers, Guild to Meet After Postponement

WILKES-BARRE.—For the first time in Guild history, negotiations will get under way for a city-wide industrial union to cover four newspapers when the Wilkes-Barre Publishers Association meets with Guild representatives on Oct. 12. The conference, scheduled originally for Oct. 8 and postponed because of the illness of one of the publishers, will be the first since Oct. 4, when the publishers abandoned their refusal to

(Continued on page 3)

Strike Is Won In Waterbury

Labor's Support Brings Speedy Victory

WATERBURY, Conn.—The Guild strike against the Waterbury Democrat was won in record time when on Oct. 3, the tenth day, the management agreed to a settlement. The eight strikers returned to work the next morning—Monday.

The terms cannot be made public yet because two points, one major and one secondary, were put up for decision to the State Mediation Board, and the board wished the whole settlement to be revealed at the same time. Two major improvements were agreed to, however. The Guild feels that it has a strong case on the remaining points, particularly in view of precedents set by other Guild contracts.

Both management and Guild were to submit briefs to the board. The Guild's was drawn up by ANG International Representative Fred Myers, who helped conduct the strike. Decision is expected this week.

The Guild immediately followed up its victory by organizing the Democrat's key circulation department employees and signing a majority in the department at a meeting, on Wednesday night. Plans were being made to negotiate a supplemental agreement covering this group.

The small band of strikers and their allies were putting on a whirlwind campaign up to the time of the settlement. Fifteen hundred subscription cancellations were obtained

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NLRB Gets Los Angeles Complaint

'Bargaining' Effort of Company Union Halted by Move

LOS ANGELES.—William Randolph Hearst and the Los Angeles Examiner were accused of intimidation and coercion of workers, and collusion with the American Federation of Labor, in a charge filed with the National Labor Relations Board by the Los Angeles Guild.

The charge was filed after the Guild had accumulated a large volume of evidence to prove collusion in the formation of a company union, between J. W. (Busy Buzz) Buzzell, secretary of the AF of L central body, and Bart Guild, the \$47,000-a-year man who directed the Post-Intelligencer fight on the Guild in Seattle. Morgan Hull, ANG international representative, is assisting the local in the fight.

The first man to sign with the "American Federation of News Writers and Reporters, No. 1" was J. H. Richardson, city editor who had signed a Guild application before his promotion. Quickly thereafter, Busy Buzz enrolled Louella Parsons (\$46,800 a year not counting Xmas presents from Marion Davies, etc.), drama editor of the Hearst chain, and such other Examiner trade unionists as Princess Conchita Sepulveda Pignatelli (all one person).

The real newspapermen on the staff (those who don't week-end at San Simeon) freely admit that they have been bullied and coerced by department heads and management

(Continued on page 5)

Strike Levy Made; Money Is Needed

A new assessment has been voted by the International Executive Board to help finance the Brooklyn Eagle and Seattle Star strikes.

It is the third for these strikes and is dated as of Oct. 8.

The money is needed at once to help meet the immediate running expenses.

Quick collections on this and previous assessments are important and local controllers are urged to get behind them.

4 MEN NOMINATED FOR POST ON I.E.B.

Ashcraft Urged by Board to Reconsider—If He Declines Ballots Will Go Out This Week

Four nominations for the office of ANG vice president from the Third Region have been received at headquarters to fill the plan that will become vacant if Garland Ashcraft of Cleveland adheres to his resignation. Meanwhile a formal vote of the International Executive Board has been adopted asking Ashcraft to reconsider.

The nominees are:
I. L. Kenen, president of the Cleveland Guild, nominated by Cleveland, Youngstown and Akron, Ohio.
Jack Weeks, president of the Detroit Guild, nominated by Detroit.
Al F. Case, secretary of the Indianapolis Guild, nominated by his local.

Perry Morrison, member of the Columbus Citizen unit and veteran railroad unionist, nominated by the Columbus Guild.

The time limit for nominations was to expire on Oct. 9 (the day after this issue of the Reporter went to press).

The motion to urge Ashcraft to reconsider was put by Vice President Gunnar Mickelson of Milwaukee and carried by the votes of Vice President Farmer, Watson, Klynn, Pasche and Eddy, with Ashcraft not voting.

Ashcraft's answer had not been received at headquarters at press time. In the normal course of events the official ballots would go out on Oct. 12, and the local Guilds would cast their ballots in the next fifteen days. Votes to fill vacancies on the Board are cast by the International Council, consisting of the local Guilds throughout the ANG. The votes are cast by the governing bodies, each casting the number of votes to which its local would be entitled in Convention.

If the election is to be held, the Executive will invite each local to send a statement in support of its candidate for the next issue.

Watson Trip Spurs Organizing Drive

Vice-President Morris Watson returned to New York this week after a trip to the South during which he addressed Guildmen in Philadelphia, Winston-Salem and Atlanta. In Atlanta Watson, who is chairman of the IEB Wire Service Committee, conducted a wire service conference of AP, UP and INS employees and later addressed a full Guild meeting on ANG policies.

He also visited Durham, N. C., and Raleigh, N. C. The Raleigh Newspaper Guild with members from both papers and from the wire services was formed immediately after his talk there last Tuesday night. Provisional officers were instructed to apply for an ANG charter.

In Philadelphia Watson met with the AP unit of the Philadelphia and Camden Guild and discussed collective bargaining problems. The AP unit, 100 per cent organized, was also 100 per cent represented at the meeting. The unit has requested collective bargaining and now is awaiting Labor Board action on a petition for an election.

Labor Board Orders AP Case Transfer

The National Labor Relations Board has ordered three Guild cases against the Associated Press transferred to the second region (New York) and consolidated for hearing. The cases concern petitions for elections in the Washington, Philadelphia and Boston offices of the AP. Each is a separate petition. Date for hearing on the petitions has not yet been set.

Expansion Plan

Twin Cities Outlines Drive; Spear Elected

ST. PAUL.—The Twin Cities Guild at its annual meeting instructed its Executive Committee to proceed with broadening of the membership base by encouraging and assisting the organization of unorganized departments of papers in the two cities.

Arthur U. Spear, newly elected president of the Guild, announced that every precaution would be taken to avoid jurisdictional disputes in any membership extension. It was announced also that it was the expressed intention of the local to preserve, as much as possible, the separate identities of the various classifications and to set up divisional organizations from the main body.

A committee report adopted at the meeting instructed the Executive Committee, in addition to encouraging and assisting in the organizing of unorganized departments in the industry, and to issue cards to non-editorial workers when a majority in the respective departments comply with membership requirements. The action is subject to ratification of a constitutional amendment to be placed before the membership.

President Spear, a member of the St. Paul Dispatch staff, succeeds John J. Blodgett. Other officers are Kenneth Krause, St. Paul Pioneer Press, vice-president; Blodgett, vice-president; James Sutherland, Minneapolis Star, secretary; Daniel Upham, Minneapolis Journal, treasurer.

A. H. Casey, St. Paul Dispatch, chairman of the representative assembly.

Sounds Familiar

Such is fame. One of the most prominent labor leaders in the country frequently breaks into print as "Raymond Brown."

From the Typographical Journal.

CIO Candidates Sweep Detroit Primary; Fight Propaganda, A. F. of L. Sabotage

DETROIT.—A hundred thousand Detroit voters showed their contempt for the anti-CIO propaganda of the Detroit daily papers by nominating for mayor, Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, heading the "Vote-Labor" slate, in the October 5 primaries. His opponent for election on November 3 will be Richard W. Reading, who polled 118,000 votes. Reading is an old-line Republican wheeler.

The principal also-ran was John W. Smith, president of the city council, who was endorsed by the local AP of L leadership in a sabotage campaign against the CIO slate. Touted as a sure winner, Smith ran over 30,000 votes behind Judge O'Brien.

The powerful United Automobile Workers of America joined with the other CIO unions to place all five of the "Vote-Labor" council candidates among the 18 who will run in the November election. The candidates were: Richard T. Frankenstein, UAW vice-president; Tracy M. Doll, UAW international board member; Walter Reuther, UAW international board member; R. J. Thomas, UAW vice-president; and Maurice Sugar, UAW attorney. The voters cast 88,000 votes for Sugar, who had been attacked as a red, to place him seventh in a field of 68 candidates.

Pickets in Seattle Fined as Disorderly

SEATTLE.—Outgrowth of the Seattle Star management's desperate fight on the Guild strike, a new blow was aimed at picketing here October 7 when police arrested two Guild pickets placed before a store advertising in the Star.

The pickets were found guilty of disorderly conduct the following day and fined \$25 each by Police Judge Jacob Kalina. "Picketing a store which has no dispute between management and employees is illegal and therefore must be disorderly conduct," ruled Kalina.

The case was appealed to Superior Court and the pickets released in bail of \$100 each.

Labor Law

It's Nothing But a Dodge in Montreal

MONTREAL.—A new step in the fight to obtain the reinstatement of President R. A. G. Ballantyne, fired June 23 by the Gazette for Guild activity, was taken here when a summons against the Gazette was applied for by the Civil Liberties Union.

The attorneys asserted the Gazette had violated the provincial labor law passed last May 27 in dismissing Ballantyne without explanation.

The law states that the Attorney-General's permission must be obtained before a summons may be applied for. The permission was granted on July 14, but so far the Attorney-General has withheld his permission. On this ground, the judge refused to issue the summons.

The Civil Liberties legal committee announced it would petition for a writ of mandamus in an attempt to force the Attorney-General to grant or refuse Ballantyne permission to take suit. Failing this, a civil suit for damages will be initiated.

BENJ. HALL, assistant radio editor of the Billboard, and HELLAN MORGAN, freelance writer, were married on Sept. 25 at New York's City Hall. Before joining the Billboard, Hall was on the New York Times. Miss Morgan has been a reporter and feature writer on the San Francisco Examiner, Universal Service's European staff, New York American, Post and World-Telegram.

Another red herring was dragged in when President Frank X. Martel of the Detroit Federation of Labor (AP of L) branded the labor slate "communist," after he had tentatively accepted a council place on it. Martel's action effectively removed him from the Michigan leadership of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

With the cooperation of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the organized labor movement of Detroit set up a distinct political organization for the campaign. The labor slate was largely responsible for bringing out Detroit's all time primary record in volume of votes. The victorious slogan, seen on banners, buttons and placards everywhere was "Vote Labor."

Every UAW and CIO member in the city was listed at campaign headquarters by his home address. Precinct and ward captains were appointed and detailed instructions for house-to-house vote canvassing were issued from headquarters. The ward and precinct organizations served under the direction of sixteen section leaders. For the key posts in this political organization the UAW Political Action Committee chose shop stewards and other union leaders.

NEW PROPOSALS DRAFTED FOR I.N.S.

Points in Tentative Contract Submitted to Wire Service Members for Approval

Continuing plans to seek a collective agreement with the management of International News Service, the IEB Wire Service Committee has prepared a revised set of proposals for negotiation. These were compiled after views were sent in by IEB wire service men from various parts of the country.

Changes from the original draft sent out August 27 were incorporated in the proposed contract proposals. The points sought include: The minimum wage scale for regular employees to be \$10 per month for each year of service; employees hired on a per diem basis to be paid time and a half; 10 per cent additional pay for regularly assigned night workers; no transfer of employees to other IEB organizations or to another bureau without his consent; transfer expenses to be borne by management; and the stipulation that all bureaus are to be fully manned at all times except in emergency, in which case no wire flers shall be required to serve more than two wires.

The minimum wage scales range from \$30 weekly for apprentice reporters to \$100 a week for main desk men in division points. Copy boys range from \$15 to \$30 for head boys. Mail, market and mast editors range from \$30 (starting assistants) to \$65 after two years for editors.

If these proposals are found to be satisfactory, a formal mail vote of the INS membership will be taken to authorize negotiations on that basis. Copies of the scale and other provisions were sent to all IEB wire service members.

Indianapolis Files Star Complaint

INDIANAPOLIS.—The Guild here on Oct. 4 filed a complaint before the National Labor Relations Board, charging the Indianapolis Star with discrimination.

Rebuffed during negotiations seeking to have three dismissed Guildmen reinstated, or failing that, placed on a preferential list, the unit decided that a more aggressive attitude would be necessary to gain the respect of the Star management.

In this first legal test for the local, members are combatting what they believe to be an effort on the part of the management to wash out the Guild.

Shortly after posting of office policy bulletins in the Star office, four staff members were dismissed for "retrenchment." It was the Guild's contention that "retrenchment" was just a challenge to see what the Guild would do.

The editions of a campaign newspaper were published and half a million copies of each edition were distributed door-to-door throughout the city. Citizens of Detroit received the campaign newspaper with their morning milk as the chairman, CIO affiliates, did their part in the campaign.

In addition to the newspaper, numerous pamphlets stressed the issues. The platform, 17 points in all, emphasized civil liberties, public ownership of utilities, better education facilities, equal rights for Negroes. Since Detroit's housing is among the most inadequate and costly in the country, the platform demanded better housing and improvement of street cleaning. One plank demanded removal of the Chief of Police.

Detroiters who scarcely knew of unionism before the United Auto Workers went to town the past year were amazed at four o'clock of the morning following the primaries to read the huge electric Goodyear signboard flashing in red letters: "FOR CITY COUNCIL ALL CIO CANDIDATES NOMINATED."

Encouraged by the victory, Labor's Non-Partisan League announced that organization would soon start in Illinois, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

CHICAGO PRESSES NLRB COMPLAINTS

AF of L Splitting Tactics Seen Anew As Local Continues Negotiations

CHICAGO.—Labor board actions, Hearst contract negotiations, general officer elections and organizational problems in the fact of increasing signs of revival of an AF of L splitting attempt engrossed the Chicago Guild this week.

With charges of unfair labor practices in intimidation, interference, coercion and discrimination having been placed late last week by the ANG against the Chicago Tribune, the local expected the next filing would be against the Chicago Daily Times as soon as preparation of the case was completed in ANG headquarters late in the week. The Times charges were expected to be far more extensive than those against the Tribune and to cover a long series of violations of the Wagner Act, including firings. Reinstatement demands are demanded.

The Tribune case, first such ever filed against a large Chicago daily, created considerable stir in publishing circles but not a line was printed about it in any such dailies. Director Leonard C. Bajor of the regional office of the NLRB assigned an examiner to the case to investigate as to next steps. Three Tribune employees, cited in the complaint as having turned in their Guild cards under management pressure, were reported ordered into conference by the management with Tribune legal counsel.

After considerable sparring for position in preliminary conferences, managements of both Hearst papers, the American and the Herald and Examiner succeeded in getting their staff units to ask Guild presentation of complete contract proposals before the management would commit itself on any substantial points in principle or otherwise.

The Herald and Examiner unit, which repeatedly had unanimously demanded increased dismissal, indemnities for mass firings of the summer, only to be repeatedly told "No" by the management, has unanimously abandoned the demand and asked that contract negotiations be gone ahead with as the management had requested. In contrast to a meeting of the unit a few nights earlier attended by three editorial department men, this action took place at a meeting attended by 73 staff members. Many of them attended on company time and a sudden sweeping pay-up in dues took place just before the meeting.

Subsequently AFL editorial union

Before joining the staff of the Long Island Press, Ryan had worked as a correspondent on Long Island for the New York Times and Standard News, and as a copyreader on the North Shore Journal. He has been in the newspaper business for ten years.

Columbus Renews Its Pledge to the ANG

COLUMBUS.—The Columbus Guild, mover of six of the questions in the international referendum, adopted a resolution at a recent membership meeting renewing its "pledge of cooperation to the program of organization and unification" of the ANG.

The resolution pointed out that Columbus "has contended and still contends that the membership referendum is the only fair, democratic way to decide important issues of the American Newspaper Guild," adding: "The Columbus Guild...renews its pledge of cooperation, and calls upon other Guilds to do likewise, to the program of organization and unification to the end that all newspaper men and women of this country will be joined in a solid front for the improvement of their economic status, believing this to be the basic and sole purpose of the American Newspaper Guild."

Publishers everywhere are looking over their shoulders, seeing the Guild draw closer. So it is that some of them, even those who have given columns of space to the evils of editorial department organization, are now fostering "employee associations" and signing "independent union contracts."

Weak Guild units are fertile ground for company union seed. Guilds that sit back and relax for a year after negotiating open shop contracts likewise face the possibility of finding company unions sprouting in their shops. This is an active danger in shops where publishers foresee the development of industrial Guild units, with demands for business department employees added to those of the editorial workers.

Unscrupulous employers, alert to every move in their plans, meet organization drives with drives of their own. They fight with meetings and counter meetings, with letters to employees or little coercive sessions which the executives have with the workers.

Often, enough pay raises are handed around to cut down discontent and militancy.

In most cases the employer's display little subtlety in their company union organization drives. Highly paid executives blatantly open the campaign with circular letters addressed in a breezy "Hi, fellas" spirit that says "Come one, come all, come and join our union."

THIS SIGN CONFRONTED PUBLISHERS

HEADQUARTERS Newspaper Guild of Wilkes-Barre CHAPTER 120 AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD CIO AFFILIATE

Wilkes-Barre Had Its Strike Headquarters Ready

CIO's First State Parley Tops AF of L Convention

MILWAUKEE.—Outstripping the American Federation of Labor State Federation at the first meeting it ever held, the CIO State organization in Wisconsin established itself in a four day convention which ended here October 12—the first of its kind in the United States.

More than 600 delegates jammed sessions at which the first state CIO constitution was adopted. Plans were laid for extension into half a dozen new fields. At the State AF of L convention at Manitowish a week earlier delegates numbered but 510.

The convention here elected to permanent positions the former temporary heads of the Wisconsin State Industrial Union Council. Out of this group, under their leadership, has grown the organization embracing 92,000 workers in 165 industries in little more than a year.

Enil Costello, State assemblyman from Kenosha, who was temporary State chairman, was elected president. Gunnar Mickelson, American

heads of leading unions in the county, both AF of L and CIO, was formed to carry the protest of organized labor directly to the publisher of the Paterson Morning Call on the discharge of Cohen. A Labor Board complaint is pending.

Francis Gorman, chairman of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, urged "unity with the millions of unorganized as more important than unity with a section of labor whose leaders spend their money on the energy fighting mass organization."

These bell wethers who once shrunk from the word "union" began telling about what a fine thing unionization is—that is, "middle course" unionization. In the Associated Press campaign the stooges even used the AP copy paper and distinctive upper case typewriters for their mimeographed circulars to employees.

Since company unions are illegal, the link with the management is usually carefully concealed. In fact, sometimes the trick is turned by some aspiring member of the staff "independently." The management merely watches while he tries his hand. If he succeeds, he has paved for himself a bright future. If he fails, the management "knows nothing about it."

However it comes about, with sledge "rank-and-file" or sub-executive leadership, company unions can and do become entrenched and once deeply entrenched, the process of making them over into real unions is a long and difficult one. But it can be done. An outstanding example of success was the revolt of the steel company unions during the early days of the CIO drive.

Big Bad Company Union Is A 'NATURAL' FOR DEFLATION

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Obviously as it is, it must be re-

PACT PARLEY SET FOR WILKES-BARRE

Bargaining Will Open After Postponement; Strike Averted

(Continued from page 1)

discuss contract negotiations and meet with the Guildmen.

Guild negotiators Michael Kosik, president of District 1, United Mine Workers, and John Knutson, International Board Member, UMWA, expect counter proposals at the forthcoming meeting with the publishers. The publishers' delegation will include L. J. Van Lely, general manager of the Record; Ernest G. Smith, president of the Times-Leader; John Hourigan, publisher of the Evening News; and T. F. Heffernan, manager of the Sunday Independent.

The Guild demands a contract to cover editorial, circulation, advertising, business office and switchboard employees. In the Circulation Department the minimum \$35 district managers ranges from \$25 after a year's experience, to \$45 after three years. The scale calls for \$20 after one year to \$30 after three years for roadmen and collectors. In the Advertising Department, for display and classified advertising salesmen, \$15 a week for beginners to \$60 after four years' experience is being asked; telephone solicitors will begin at \$15 and receive \$35 after four years' experience. In the business office general business office beginners will earn \$15 and advance to \$35 after four years' while secretaries and stenographers will start at \$15 and receive \$27.50 after four years' experience. Telephone operators will also start at \$15 and after four years will be earning \$30.

Vacation is provided for with one week after six months' service, two weeks after a year and three weeks after five years. The usual clauses for Guild shop and 8-day, 40-hour week are included.

Should publishers balk as they have threatened over the Guild shop clause, strike preparations need only the firing gun. The Executive Board has been empowered to call a strike on any one of the four papers. Special assessments of \$5 are being collected. Headquarters have been established at 27 North Main Street, and strike papers are ready to come off the press. It would be circulated throughout the Wyoming Valley.

Organization for the strike came as a result of the publishers' refusal on Sept. 14 to negotiate as long as the local insisted on a Guild shop.

Guild Shop Effective

To the well-organized Guild the answer to the question lies once and for all in obtaining Guild shop contracts. There can be no company union in a shop where every man is a Guild member by virtue of contractual relationship with the employer.

Where a company union actively opposes an established Guild unit, recourse can be had to the Labor Board. The Wagner Act declares company unions illegal in plain language and evidence against them can be marshaled by simple effort, with the cooperation of employees who have been coerced into membership or "invited" by an executive to join.

The battle is most effectively fought, however, by counter organization. To this every worker must add his weight. He must understand that only real and lasting economic benefits are obtained through legitimate unions. Volumes on the history of company unions available on every library shelf can make that clear to him.

Company union is finally organized and a "contract" signed, he can show how far short the newly won benefits fall of Guild gains made in shops where organization was effective.

Expose Weaknesses

There are always weaknesses easily spotted and just as easily exposed by the legitimate union in letters to members and potential members. The weaknesses should be clearly exposed. Nothing must be taken for granted. The high flown phrases and promises of the company union organizer sometimes find an eager receptiveness among workers who have been sold the idea that this is the way to get the benefits without the strike.

The unexpected grants of pay raises are in themselves the most potent argument for the organizer of a real union. He is in a position to point out what benefits can be gained under the mere threat of unionization. He can cite experience and precedent to show what happens to the raises and improved conditions as soon as the "danger" of unionization blows over for the employer. If the com-

Eagle's Ownership Linked to Wealthy Families

(Continued from page 1)
Company, which is dominated by the Pratt (Standard Oil) family; the Lawyers Trust Company of New York (formerly the County Trust Company), the chairman of which is Alfred E. Smith and director of which is John J. Haskin (Du Pont agent and former chairman of the Democratic National Committee); and the Mail Publishing Company of Toronto, which cannot be identified through New York records, but which may be connected with Canadian newspaper enterprises.

The Toronto Mail and Empire is published by the Mail Printing Company, but does not appear on New York records to be identified with any Mail Publishing Company. The Lawyers Trust Company is known as a Du Pont-Tammany institution; the Brooklyn Trust Company, while a unit in the Standard Oil province, is presided over by George V. McLaughlin, former Tammany Police Commissioner of New York City.

The notes held by the Brooklyn Trust Company and the Lawyers Trust Company amount to \$120,000 each and fall due in 1938. Notes held by the Mail Publishing Company amount to \$265,000 and fall due in 1939 and 1940.

The Daily Eagle was founded in 1841 by Isaac Van Anden, whose descendants are represented by the Hester family inherited it and are still among its stockholders. Politically Democratic, it spoke for the mercantile state before and after the Civil War against such organs of industry and finance across the East River as Jay Gould's New York World, Cyrus Field's Sun, the Vanderbilt's Mail and Express, Collis P. Huntington's Advertiser, etc. The Eagle expounded ideas very similar to those in Horace Greeley's New York Tribune, which changed much sooner than the Eagle into a publication of the financiers.

Tied Up With ANFA
Van Anden was succeeded in 1875 by his nephew, William Hester (1831-1921), who was one of the leading organizers of the Associated Press and the American Newspaper Publishers Association and became a trustee of the Brooklyn Trust Company. His son, William V. Hester, gave up active interest in the property in 1932.

The nominal publisher of the paper from 1897 to 1932 was Herbert F. Gunnison (1858-1932), who came up through the ranks and became a stockholder. Gunnison's death left the management in the hands of Goodfellow, who had also come up through the ranks.

Goodfellow is one of the big stockholders, owning an undated amount of common stock in his own name and controlling 375,000 shares through the Brooklyn Publishing Company. Whether he has received the large blocks of stock by control as a management bonus or whether he holds some of this stock for the account of unnamed parties does not appear on the record.

In 1927 the Hesters and Gunnisons sold the paper to Frank E. Gannett, but in 1929 it was disclosed that the International Paper and Power Company had financed Gannett in the purchase of this and three other daily newspapers. There was a storm of criticism and ways were found of returning title to the Hesters and Gunnisons; the transfer was effected in 1932. Gannett had earlier turned back to I. P. & P. the money advanced by it, which critics felt to be money earmarked for control of a large segment of the American press through the novel device of a newspaper company affiliated with the "Power Trust."

Lost Early Prosperity
Once prosperous and semi-independent, it now entered upon unprosperous existence in the devious by-ways of finance capital. Its editorial and news columns, once spirited and hospitable to novelties in social and political ideas now became indistinguishable from the columns of hundreds of other newspapers affiliated with the ascendant banking estate.

As part of its program of financial rehabilitation following the crisis of 1929-1933 and the replacement of Gunnison with Goodfellow, the Brooklyn Eagle in 1936 arranged to acquire the Brooklyn Times-Union for \$600,015, clearing the field of competition but at a rather fat price as only the intangible good-will and the morgue were purchased. The plant and equipment of the Times-Union was bought by Hearst's Daily Mirror for its Brooklyn edition. It was first announced, however, that the Times-Union would be continued under Eagle ownership, and permission to sell new stock was gained from the SEC on the basis of this statement in the prospectus; but the Times-Union was scuttled in June, 1937, and the sale of stock was discontinued.

Acquisition of the Times-Union marked

Analysis Shows Paper's 'Losses' May Be Due to Nature of Its Control

The absorption of an important rival journalistic estate and a consolidation of bank capital around the Eagle, for the Times-Union had been owned by Fremont C. Peck, a director of the F. W. Woolworth Company and son of the very wealthy former vice-president of F. W. Woolworth. The Peck family acquired the Brooklyn Times before the World War, and used it to make itself felt politically. It acquired the Brooklyn Standard-Union from Paul Block in 1932. Under the terms of the sale to the Eagle, Peck has some 200,000 shares of preferred stock.

We have then, entering into the background of the Eagle as it stands today, the Peck family (Brooklyn Trust Company and Standard Oil Company), the Du Pont family (Lawyers Trust Company), as well as Mr. Goodfellow and his fellow stockholders. All these families and their associates are connected with leading institutions in Brooklyn such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Children's Aid Society, the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and schools, churches, hospitals, and political organizations.

The Eagle's connections with distant banks provide further interesting ties with large-scale finance. How the First National Bank of New York became a stockholder has not been disclosed, but it holds the stock for its own account. One director of the bank is Charles B. Raymond, who is also a director of the B. F. Goodrich Company. One of his co-directors on the B. F. Good-

rich board is Sidney J. Weinberg, partner of Goldman Sachs and Company and a director of the F. W. Woolworth Company with Mr. Peck. Another Woolworth director is Henry E. O'Neill, who may or may not be related to the O'Neills who are stockholders of the Eagle.

One of the directors of Union Central Life Insurance Company of Cincinnati is Charles W. Dupuis, president of the Central Trust Company of Cincinnati and a director of the Procter and Gamble Company (Ivory Soap). The Procter family is highly politicized and heavily interested in newspapers. In 1929 it attempted almost single-handedly to push General Leonard Wood into the presidency of the United States; it owns today in Ohio the largest chain of weekly newspapers (second) in this country.

Most of the current information of record about the internal finances of the Brooklyn Eagle was brought into view by the registration of securities with the Securities and Exchange Commission last January. The occasion was the offering for sale of 300,000 shares of common stock at \$1.75 by the Brooklyn Eagle, Inc., and the offering of 40,000 shares of convertible non-voting preferred stock by the Brooklyn Daily Eagle Properties Corporation.

The proceeds of the common stock issued were to be employed to pay off indebtedness and to remunerate L. N. Rosenbaum, a New York private banker, for "services," and the proceeds of the preferred stock issue were to be used to purchase the good-will of the Times-Union and to provide fresh working capital. As of the last report the working capital was \$184,073 and total assets and liabilities \$6,075,032. Neither stock issue, it is understood, was entirely sold. Until June, when stock selling was discontinued, 4,000 shares of preferred, for which there is no listed market, had been

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Eagle for the first ten months of 1936, as reported to SEC:

Gross revenue	\$2,386,602
Operating expenses	\$1,808,645
Maintenance charges	\$5,531
Depreciation	167,282
Selling expenses	257,516
Other expenses	25,458
Provision for doubtful accounts	38,474
Operating loss	\$263,970

After drawing down reserves for interest, amortization charges, and local taxes the deficit was increased to \$175,756.

An extremely unusual item in the foregoing statement of earnings as reported to SEC is the \$557,516 for "selling, general and administrative expenses." Approximately the same amount has been entered in previous earnings statements. The item, it will be noted, does not relate to operating costs, which are separately given. What it includes nobody can tell. Whether this unusual item nor the item of operating costs was "broken down" in the report to SEC, which does not require such regulatory breakdowns. The \$557,516 item of additional "expense" would, if eliminated, be sufficient to turn the newspaper's annual deficit into a good profit. It is instructive, therefore, to note that it has been expenses apart from operating expenses that have caused the newspaper to show a loss. Goodfellow's salary of \$55,000 comes under operating expenses.

Effects of Its Policies
The financial stringency of the Eagle appears to be traceable to its contradictory editorial policy. On the one hand it must cater to its backers who are, on the whole, opposed to the New Deal on the other hand, it must sell newspapers in a city that is preponderantly in favor of the New Deal. If the Eagle had been able to espouse New Deal principles in a militant fashion, if it had not been weighed down by banking connections with Fratts and Du Ponts, it would today, perhaps, have been prosperous.

At any rate, its circulation would have been bigger and its attractiveness as an advertising medium for merchants greater. Newspaper publishers either have been slow to realize that journalistic liberalism in the present day has a cash value or have been deterred from acting on their knowledge by anti-liberal bankers standing behind the scenes of newspaper ownership. It has been demonstrated in several parts of the country that liberal editorial policies produce an immediate reflex in circulation.

J. David Stern has proved it with his Philadelphia, Camden, and New York papers; Chicago Times has proved it; E. Manchester Boddy has proved it in Los Angeles; and the dizzy continued rise of the New York Daily News has proved it. On the other hand, the mishaps of Hearst and Gannett, both anti-New Dealers, have demonstrated the financial hazards on the opposite road.

Any notion that the Brooklyn Eagle is headed for extinction is not borne out by the figures under review. It is entirely possible, of course, that continuation of the present strike may involve the property in reorganization proceedings, which would only mean that the bond and noteholders would take it over and that holders of preferred and common stock would experience a shrinkage in their equities.

Not Near Extinction
As the publication is the only daily newspaper in the very populous and politically strategic borough of Brooklyn and as it speaks for obviously important interests, in politics as well as in finance, it will very probably not be allowed to pass out of existence. It could, of course, be absorbed by one of the Manhattan newspapers, but this seems a remote likelihood.

A fair and measured conclusion from the data examined would seem to be that the management and dominant interests in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle are attempting to make Newspaper Guild members carry the burden of economic necessity for the operation of a commercially unprofitable newspaper that is unprofitable because it speaks for special interests rather than for the general public interest. These special interests could very well afford to come to a more satisfactory arrangement with the editorial workers that are now on strike even if the property is continued on its present editorial course and continues to show a loss.

The strike on the Brooklyn Eagle reflects, it is patent, practically every social and political issue of the day.

UNIONS WAGE WAR ON EMPLOYEES GUILD

ANG, Telegraphers
Fight Action In
AP Drive

WASHINGTON—Joint action of the American Newspaper Guild and the Commercial Telegraphers' Union was planned last week in their resistance to efforts of the Independent Employees Guild to gain membership among Associated Press employees.

Maurice Friedman, Washington attorney for the CTU, conferred with Donald Smith, National Labor Relations Board member, and on Friday was to confer again with Secretary Wolfe of the Board, on the filing of proceedings against the AP management.

Two charges were prepared for submission to the Labor Board by the CTU. The first stated that the AP management was intimidating and coercing members of the CTU and attempting to foster the organization of the Independent Employees Guild so as to prevent the election of the CTU by AP employees as sole bargaining representative.

The second charge was made by Roland C. Kennedy, Washington telegrapher discharged by AP. He cited instances of coercion because he joined the CTU, and asked for redress for his lost job.

Coming at a time when the Guild is negotiating for an AP contract, as is the CTU, the organization of the Independent Employees Guild, a company union scheme projected as a national organization, is an adroit attempt to checkmate both legitimate unions.

Action Strengthens Guild
However, with the case now to be presented to the NLRB, asking aid in preventing illegal coercion, the CTU leaders were encouraged. Moreover, joint Guild action in the protest to the Labor Board was expected to strengthen their position in the employee election.

The protest filed with the NLRB by Harry S. Leimback, general chairman of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, cited instances of AP attempts to limit membership in Dallas, Atlanta, Kansas City, Harrisburg, Indianapolis, New York, Birmingham, Washington, St. Louis and San Francisco.

It described the organization of the IEG by Harold Carlson, "a highly paid research engineer" in the New York office.

"The membership for the most part has consisted of executives in the administrative set-up of the Associated Press, who hire and fire employees, the activities of this organization, namely the American Employees Guild (now called Independent Employees Guild) have been favored and sponsored by the management of the Associated Press," charges the protest prepared by the CTU.

The formal charge asked the NLRB to investigate the AP and Independent Employees Guild and to "take measures" and "grant relief."



Hearst-AFL Plot Charges are Filed

(Continued from page 1)
stooges into joining the Federation. Conclusive evidence also shows that the office of Pearl Gross, society editor who fired Ureel Daniel, a leading Guild member as a prelude to the company union campaign, was used as headquarters for signing up members. The Guild is also pressing a complaint over the dismissal of Miss Daniel.

Bury Buzz has already developed difficulties, however, with his rank-and-file. First off, Buzz announced to a so-called scale committee of the staff that "the AFL doesn't ask for vacations."

This was too much for the boys who really don't want to be in a company union, but who haven't developed the courage to make a real one, and they told Buzz so. Upshot is that Buzz has kindly consented to allow a committee of Examiner employees to negotiate with the Examiner, under the impression that he, Buzz, has fixed things up to smooth the way.

But there won't be any negotiations now until the labor board cases are disposed of.

To a local committee negotiating with the management of the Herald-Express, Harvey J. Kelly, Hearst labor counsel, has expressed fervent and repeated denials that he was or is in any way involved in the activities of the Examiner.

The unprincipled assault of AF of L officials on the unity of editorial workers has aroused the Guild, and particularly other Hearst workers, to a determination to defend their interests. A large fund of contributions for a publicity campaign has been collected and thousands of trade unionists in the city, including the printing crafts rank and file are becoming aware of the joint attack upon the Guild by the Hearst management and discredited AF of L officials.

Buzzell's Letters
Among evidence in possession of the Guild is a letter to Dr. Frank Barham, publisher of the Herald-Express, in which Buzzell wrote that he just learned the American Newspaper Guild is negotiating for a contract. He declared that "there are a substantial number of newspaper writers and reporters of this city who are members of the American Federation of Labor, or have made application to become members of the Federation, and that any agreement that may be reached as a result of the presentations now being made by the Newspaper Guild, will not be binding upon any of the men and women employed in the edi-

Fight Goes to Advertisers

Eagle Strikers Substitute Their Story for Sales Talk Inside Department Stores



Strike in Brooklyn 'Will Be Won'—Lewis

John L. Lewis, chairman of the CIO, issued the following statement on the Brooklyn strike during his visit to the Transport Workers convention in New York: "The Newspaper Guild strike against the Brooklyn Daily Eagle has the complete support of the CIO."

"It is not merely a Brooklyn strike. It is centered the opposition of publishers of this country to a union that is genuinely responsive to the need of workers in the newspaper industry. The strike will be won."

A similar letter was addressed to Dr. Barham by C. P. Liles, president, and Edward M. Balz, secretary of the Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council.

The Hawaii Reporter
HONOLULU.—The Hawaii Reporter, organ of the Newspaper Guild of Hawaii, has made its appearance in Honolulu. The "Voice of Labor," official organ of the Hawaiian Islands Federation of Labor, has been the sheetlet as "a definite step forward in the banding together of newspapermen and women in the territory."

Local CIO officials took as active part, among them Alex Cashin and Philip Brannard, organizers, and John Driscoll, office manager, all of whom picketed. Members of the Teachers' Union, including Rudolph Tata, business agent, picketed during the last two days, adding to the management's worry about delivery of supplies.

Because of the brevity of the strike the Guild will be able to turn back the \$80 sent from the International Defense Fund, and the first week's pay increases will be sent in.

When William Green speaks piously of the "split in the House of Labor" he refers specifically to the CIO-A F of L rift, and not to the dissension among A F of L Executive Council moguls which, for months, has been an undercurrent threatening an open break.

It is an open "secret" that many A F of L leaders have no confidence in Green, John L. Lewis said in his speech last week at the Transport Workers Convention in New York. He added, they "have a perfect personal contempt for him." These internal troubles, Lewis believes, oblige Green to keep up his temperate attacks on the CIO, especially now where he is up for re-election.

The controversy growing out of Vice-President Matthew Woll's frustrated desire to go to Geneva as

Waterbury Guild In Quick Victory

(Continued from page 1)
in the first three days—the Democrat's circulation is 11,000. Advertising on the second Saturday of the strike was 30 per cent lower than on the first Saturday.

Great cooperation was received from the Waterbury Brass Workers' Union, a CIO affiliate, which loaned its sound truck, bought \$30 worth of prize tickets and adopted a strong resolution pledging its 3,000 members not to buy the paper or patronize its advertisers; and from the Brewery Workers, who, besides other assistance, helped with the prize contest and themselves took \$60 worth of tickets. The extent of the Guild's support from these and other unions threatened to have important political ramifications in this city of 100,000 and was a material factor in causing the management to settle quickly.

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EAGLE HITS AT STRIKE

Brooklyn Newspaper Cries in Court of 'Conspiracy'

(Continued from page 1)
with conspiring to commit all sorts of crimes and misdemeanors, including forgery, intimidation, bribery, causing crowds to collect, impairing of morals, etc. The "conspiracy" legal weapon against labor is unusual in New York City. It is believed that the management is not hoping for a conviction but simply seeking a sounding board against which its charges can be hurled. Because the strike is never mentioned in the Eagle, and because Publisher M. Preston Goodfellow has avoided publicity in any other New York newspapers, the management needs a good sounding board.

An ineffectual investigation was conducted during the week by the police following the slugging by two thugs of Ed Hughes, strike executive committee member and sports cartoonist and columnist on Oct. 4. Detectives began their investigation in strike headquarters and made occasional visits to the Eagle Building before running into their well-known stone wall.

Hughes, a former "Evening World" man, has been a star sports cartoonist and columnist for nearly a decade. A leader in Guild activities, he twice bore the brunt of management attacks—one, an attempt to have his salary; the other, a "suspension." Both attempts failed due to energetic Guild protests.

Walking with Jack Ryan, New York Guild organizer, Hughes was set upon by the thugs and beaten into unconsciousness. The pair leaped out of an auto with a third unidentified man who held Ryan during the assault. Ryan was uninjured. Hughes was given hospital treatment and is recuperating at home from severe head injuries.

New Fierce Styles
Picketing inside department stores was a new weapon developed during the week. A group of well dressed women invades a department store; they remove their coats to reveal picket signs stitched to the backs of their dresses. Store detectives eventually escort them out, but the pickets come right back in.

The strikers began a process servers in their first suit against the management. They served Supreme Court summons on Goodfellow, Editor Cleveland Rodgers and Business Manager William F. Crowell in an injunction and damage action on the use of the name of Helen Worth, striking columnist.

Miss Worth, in her complaint, charges the Eagle with "causing readers to believe that Miss Worth wrote the printed matter" by using her name without her permission. She also charges that the Eagle has been opening her personal mail and demands that the management be enjoined from opening, using and accepting her mail, in addition to refraining from using her name.

MAURITZ HALLGREN, associate editor of the Baltimore Sun and a Guild member, will be one of the speakers in a course on trade unionism offered by the Baltimore Industrial Council, CIO central body. Hallgren's lecture will be the "History of the American Labor Movement."

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On Other Labor Fronts

CIO's Historic Role As a Distributor Of the Country's Wealth

The part played by the Committee for Industrial Organization as an instrument in the distribution of the nation's wealth stands high in the Department of Commerce report showing that the country's workers last year received a larger share of the national income than ever before. Moreover, estimates of the department, the national income will increase 12 per cent this year, and labor's share will be still larger in percentage than last year.

The Associated Press, in reporting the department's announcement, quotes officials as explaining that "employees' compensation undoubtedly will increase further this year because of fattened pay envelopes given to workers in the steel, automobile and other industries." That these were the industries which the CIO organized and signed to history-making contracts went without saying.

Philip Murray, one of John L. Lewis' chief lieutenants, estimates that pay envelopes have already been fattened by \$200,000,000 through concerted efforts of CIO unions. And the process continues. The Transport Workers Union has increased wages of transportation workers several millions of dollars in New York alone. Clothing workers' unions sign new contracts almost daily, especially in the south, where union wages mean emancipation from slavery. Elsewhere, the rubber workers, who have increased the membership of their union from 25,000 to 75,000 during the past year, raised wages more than 10 per cent at the same time.

Organization under the CIO banner continues, and drives for new contracts keep pace. Soon 4,000,000 workers will be under its protection.

Vet Denounces 'Traitor' Green

(Open Letter to William Green)

Dear Mr. Green:

On Sept. 22 you spoke to World War veterans, and in your customary hypocritical way you talked of democracy while you already had planned to betray democracy by attempting to form a rival to the American Newspaper Guild because Guild members, by referendum, had decided to join a growing labor group which has no record of selling its members down river.

I am a gravely wounded World War veteran, with decorations and citations and honorable discharge, and I tell you that if this were a time of war, and labor ranks were military ranks, and you had done what you have, you would be shot for a traitor—and I should be proud to be on the firing squad.

I am also a veteran newspaper man. In early years of my service I dimly knew something was wrong, wondered why someone did not give us a union. No one did until Heywood Brown and others organized one. There being no other central group, they tied to yours, knowing you had no record of which to be proud. When a militant organization sprang up, ANG members joined it, in Convention, then by referendum.

You can't abide that sort of democracy. So you have set out to scuttles ANG by forming a rival. Yet, those "rebel" AFL groups which formed CIO have not tried to scuttles AFL bodies by trying the same thing. It has organized only workers who in your bigotry and stupidity never tried or wished to unionize. Let me predict you will get nowhere. Our people, if they have the enlightenment that should go with new men of mature service they will shun your sell-out, organize without employer advice, and know that CIO stands on principles for, by and of workers themselves.

EARL R. DOUGLAS,
(St. Louis City Journal)

Half a million steel workers, now under contracts signed by the SWOC with 415 companies since July, 1936, when the steel industry, will send delegates to the first national convention of the SWOC late next month or early in December.

Vacations with Pay—A Routine Union Demand

Vacations with pay are a feature of the contracts being signed with precedent-setting rapidity by the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee. Fifty-two thousand workers in the textile industry received vacations of one week this summer, as the result of the TWOC drive.

Vacations with pay? Once an unheard-of demand, a rare privilege for the industrial worker in the United States. Today the progressive unions conducting aggressive organizing drives make the vacations demand a part of their routine program.

The drive in the textile industry, incidentally, has unionized 225,000 workers in less than six months' effort. Thus the foundation has been built for the complete unionization of the industry.

Insurance Union Growth Reported

The first union charter presented to the Industrial Insurance Agents' Union of Boston. A letter to the new union from L. W. Berner, general organizer of the New York Industrial Insurance Agents' Union, reported: "Our local in New York has enrolled 90 percent of the John Hancock agents, 100 percent of the Colonial Life and similar majorities in the Metropolitan and Prudential. We shall shortly proceed to collective bargaining."

Radio Announcers Win Union Recognition

PHILADELPHIA (AP).—Ten radio announcers who had been discharged from union activities, and who took their cases before the National Labor Relations Board here, were back at work at their jobs in 24 hours.

After the hearing, John Israel, operator of twin stations WPM and WPMX, agreed not only to recall the discharged and reinstate the new hire, but also to recognize the American Guild of Radio Announcers & Producers, an independent union to which the 10 men belong, as the exclusive bargaining agency.

Why Unions Should Employ Research Men

The BMT subway system in New York City uses an old dodge in refusing to grant demands made by its workers, newly organized in the Transport Workers Union. Reputedly the wealthiest traction company in the city, BMT states that submission would mean the firm would be forced into insolvency. This, despite the fact that the company made \$4,500,000 net profits in 1937 and \$5,500,000 in 1938.

The Transport Workers Union research department reveals that the company has a surplus of \$20,000,000 which would be sufficient to combat any threat of bankruptcy. A clause in the contract between the company, which built the subway, and the banking interests that operate it, guarantees the bankers \$3,500,000 annually no matter what the operating costs or net income might be. Another revelation is that from 1922 to 1932 the bankers had collected \$468,000,000 in profits.

Gerhard M. Dahl, chairman of the BMT, the one who has said that the company faced bankruptcy should

the grants of the workers be allowed, collect \$155,000 annually. He has also been forced to admit that he once paid himself a personal bonus of \$480,000.

Radio Paid Aided By Slowdown

A twin to the slowdown strikes—the slowdown—was one of the motivating factors in the successful negotiations and agreement gained by the American Radio Telegraphists Association with the Globe Wireless Company.

The agreement covers 150 operators employed in Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam and the United States mainland. General wage increases were made to bring pay to a minimum of \$180 to \$280 monthly.

New Fact Book On Labor Slated

Supplementing the information in the Labor Fact Books, the Labor Research Association will issue within the next few weeks a new kind of fact book. About the size of a vest pocket diary and about 100 pages in length, it will bear some such title as "Annual of Facts." It made aim will be to make the facts brief and ready for action, to be used by speakers, students, writers and labor propagandists of every sort.

SIDE LINES

By CAROLYN MARK

Frank Mayer, Guild member and courthouse reporter for the Minneapolis Journal, collaborated with Bernie Bierman, coach of the University of Minnesota football team, in writing a new book, "Winning Football." Mayer and Bierman were teammates on Minnesota teams when undergraduates there.

Theodore Strauss of the New York Times circulation department and Representative Assembly delegate of the New York Guild, has brought 1250 page "Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World," is coming from Random House.

Robert Cantwell, of Fortune, and T. S. Matthews, of the Time unit of the New York Guild, have contracted with Simon & Schuster for a book appraising the passing generation in English literature. It will be published in the Spring of 1938 under the title, "Good-Bye to the Georgians."

William Henry Chamberlin, foreign correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, has a new book due early in November. It is called "Japan Over Asia."

Hugh V. Haddock, city editor of the Tulsa Tribune, a member of the Tulsa Guild, is the author of a forthcoming novel titled "City Desk."

Eddie Cope, of the San Antonio Evening News, former member of the Guild, recently sold a detective story to Pearson's Weekly, London. He and a collaborator, James Cleveland, have almost finished a book-length detective story which they modestly enough call "The Best Mystery of 1938."

David Dietz, science editor of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, will publish this fall a book called "Medical Magic."

Pitts Sanborn, music critic of the New York World-Telegram, has collaborated with Emil Hübner on an opera guide called "The Metropolitan Book of the Opera." Sanborn belongs in the New York Guild.

Developments in The Industry

'Week End' to be a New Sunday Supplement

Week End, a magazine supplement for newspapers to distribute with their Sunday editions, will soon make its appearance. It will be the third such supplement, the others being the New York Herald Tribune's This Week and Hearst's American Weekly. This advertising magazine, has permitted reprinting of the following on Week End:

Dr. Kurt Simon is an exile from Nazi Germany where—pre-Berlin— he had been publisher of the celebrated and potent Frankfurter Zeitung. He is, as a new American, the husband of an American of important means, already has an interest in the literary periodical Story, Sports Illustrated, and a boys' tabloid, Young America.

He was, as a German, one of the earliest enthusiasts and developers of radio in the country where it originated. His demonstrations of what it was and how it could be used, in fact, are supposed to have intrigued the New York Times that they became the first U. S. paper to run radio.

He's lately announced a new radio venture of his own. What he means that he laid out an elaborate first dummy, then a second one full of articles he'd bought from people of the caliber of Robert Benchley, Dorothy Parker—many of whom he's signed up as contributors along with names known for photographs, cartoons.

That final dummy as now being shown to prospective advertisers and newspaper customers by editor Joseph M. Hopkins (late of The American Weekly), is said to be pretty close to the format Week End will be in when it makes its debut now scheduled for next Feb. 6. Its base size will be 16 pages, four or more in color, tabloid size to take 1,000-line ads.

It'll be, in Simon's words, "a magazine devoted to high class fiction, movie and radio features, and humor, contributed by the foremost writers and artists available today. It will be the iron-clad policy of Week End to avoid politics, religion and other controversial subjects."

So far Week End won't say just who their first readers will be. But they do say they've already found publishers with a combined circulation of 2,500,000 who've got their pens pointed over an ink bottle. Which places them a lot considering that they planned the whole thing on a basis of paying off on 1,000,000.

Harry K. Kidd, sports editor of the Daily Gazette, Sterling, Ill., contributed a series of photographs of the first grave-digging contest ever held to the Sept. 27 issue of Life.

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that he's after a new population middle-ground.

New Idea Grew

Week End's been an amorphous idea for a year and a half.

But after Simon got Joseph Pulitzer (St. Louis Post-Dispatch), Eugene Meyer (Washington Post), other publishers into a huddle with him early this year, the idea's jelled fast.

For which, credit Richard Davis, the dual-scarred, foreign-born, right hand in the publishing domain Simon's staking out.

Fact is, Davis really popped the idea himself, so pleased his boss thereby that he got an immediate OK to go ahead, an open account to pay for expenses.

Which means that he laid out an elaborate first dummy, then a second one full of articles he'd bought from people of the caliber of Robert Benchley, Dorothy Parker—many of whom he's signed up as contributors along with names known for photographs, cartoons.

That final dummy as now being shown to prospective advertisers and newspaper customers by editor Joseph M. Hopkins (late of The American Weekly), is said to be pretty close to the format Week End will be in when it makes its debut now scheduled for next Feb. 6. Its base size will be 16 pages, four or more in color, tabloid size to take 1,000-line ads.

It'll be, in Simon's words, "a magazine devoted to high class fiction, movie and radio features, and humor, contributed by the foremost writers and artists available today. It will be the iron-clad policy of Week End to avoid politics, religion and other controversial subjects."

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Bargaining Questions

Negotiations On Arbitration

QUESTION: Our publisher insists upon an arbitration clause in a contract under negotiation. He refuses to bargain further until we agree. How can we break the deadlock?

ANSWER: The most immediate and peaceful way to try in the bargaining is to reason with the publisher, point out that it is much better for two parties to a dispute to settle it by getting together and negotiating than by turning them over to a third party. If he fails to see the light, you can at least suggest that to bargain in all fairness he should take up the other points and come back to arbitration later. Another logical step in a strong stand by the unit, in the form of a resolution, opposing any arbitration in the contract.

In the final analysis, since most publishers like arbitration, your ability to get a contract without it hinges very largely, or almost entirely, on the strength of the Guild in the particular situation. First the strength of the unit and its readiness to stand on its position, and second the strength of the local labor movement and the amount of backing the Guild could get.

At a time like this it will help, while carrying on the negotiations, to proceed to enroll the eligible in the other departments, advertising, etc., since that will greatly strengthen your position. It should be possible to expand your contract proposals to provide minimums for the other departments just as fast as you enroll them, so that you wouldn't be expanding your membership on the basis of the collective bargaining program.

Some of our most successful negotiations have been long drawn out, and there is no reason for discouragement.

IEB Move Played By Guild Leader

HOUSTON, TEXAS.

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER: I want to enter a wholehearted and vigorous protest against the action of the IEB at its meeting of Sept. 11-12, as reported in The Guild Reporter for Sept. 20, in adopting in the name of the American Newspaper Guild a resolution condemning the Maritime Commission's anti-labor attitude and demanding the resignation of Chairman Joseph P. Kennedy and others.

At the St. Louis Convention I voted against a bunch of just such silly debating-society resolutions as that. I voted against them again in the recent referendum. Whenever and wherever they or their like appear again under ANG sponsorship, I give you my promise I will vote against them.

This is not, by any means, to say that I am unympathetic to the sentiments expressed in many of the St. Louis resolutions, and I will be glad to join personally in denouncing the anti-labor attitudes of the Maritime Commission, the AF of L, or any similar group that manifests such an attitude. But the ANG has a job to do, and for God's sake, let's postpone playing around in other fields until the job is done, or at least reasonably under way.

It was had enough when the Convention itself forgot its objective and started wandering aside. We at least had a chance to vote on those propositions. Now the IEB has started in committing us and there's no telling what that course will lead to.

If the lady and gentlemen of the IEB just can't keep their great, big, generous hearts from bleeding for the victims of every injustice that is perpetrated in all the far corners of the world, please, can't you instruct them not to bleed in the name of the ANG?

ALLISON SAUNDERS,
President, Houston Guild.

At long as the members of the unit and the members of the unit get stronger and they stand over a fairly long period of time around under the membership of the Guild's activities. It also gives you a full opportunity to study the various factors and line up local labor support for any eventuality.

ANG Pays \$360 Due

International Body

Total dues owed to the International Federation of Journalists by the ANG for 1936, amounting to \$360, was paid recently following the decision of the FIJ's Finance Commission to write off the Guild's dues for 1935.

The amount to be paid was arrived at by charging the Guild one-half cent a month a member on an average membership of 6,000.

Victor Pasche, ANG secretary-treasurer, has notified the FIJ of the Guild's decision to make business department employees eligible. He points out that inasmuch as the Federation is concerned principally with the interests of editorial staffs, the ANG feels that future dues payments should be made only on the number of members so employed in the Guild.

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THE ANTI-LABOR FRONT

A Police Convention Talks of Peace and Tear Gas

From Canada, where policemen have horses, came General D. C. Draper, chief constable of Toronto, to the International Association of Police Chiefs met in high-minded session in Baltimore.

After stalling adroitly through the commercial exhibits of police equipment—the latest repeating tear gas guns, riot sticks and other bludgeons used on strikers—Constable Draper addressed his fellow chiefs of their work. "We recommend greater use of the state's criminal syndicalism law, enactment of national legislation to the same purpose and deportation of alien agitators."

"Every police chief present," said the general in ringing tones, "is familiar with the difficulties and dangers presented by the activities of crime and Communism in fostering and in inciting strikes and riots. These interests foster active unrest and international mistrust and develop those monstrous clouds of bitterness and enmity which burst into rioting, insurrection and open warfare."

As though to make the general's remarks a little more concrete, Chief L. V. Jenkins of Portland, Ore., the association president, told the boys that their policemen needed instructions on how to handle strikes. "We have to study carefully the kinds of police equipment—horses, tear gas, riot sticks. We have got to study police tactics, how many men to use, how to use them. We should warn pickets and strikers generally that agitators make a living by promoting strikes."

After which the police chiefs went home to wrestle with a few "monstrous clouds of bitterness."

How California Cops Want to Do Things

OAKLAND, Cal. (AP).—The California Peace Officers Association has just shown its idea of impartial administration. It has a Subversive Activities Committee, which just issued a report disagreeing with the association, holding that its business is to make the law in addition to enforcing it.

The committee's report says the

Labor Looks Gift Horse In Mouth

The Free Press

CHICAGO.—The Corn Products Refining Co.'s gift of a plot of ground for a police station to Cook County (Chicago), Ill., went almost unnoticed in the daily press, but labor was interested.

For one thing, the half-acre plot is less than a half-mile from the main gate of the plant. For another thing, there had been rumblings of organization among the company's 1,500, unorganized employees. Thirdly, the firm broke a strike in 1935 after three persons had been killed and 30 wounded by company guards and sheriff's men who fired on the strikers.

Added People's Press, labor publication: "Does the gift . . . mean that the taxpayers are paying \$125,000 for erection of a building and further sums for equipping a station and staffing it with some 25 highway police so that a noteworthy anti-union firm can call on county authorities, obligated by the gift, for aid in quelling labor disturbances?"

Foreign Writers Elect

The Association of Foreign Correspondents unanimously elected its officers for 1937-38 at a recent meeting. The officers are: R. de Roussy de Sales, president; Kenneth Durant, Harold Butcher, vice-presidents; Alan O. Trower, secretary-treasurer; Jean La Grange, assistant secretary; David Brown, membership secretary, and Al Sherman, press secretary.

Company Unionism Rides the Pony Wires

Small dailies that pay hard cash for the United Press pony service, getting less than a dozen items on news events of international importance, recently received this world-shaking flash over their wires: "The New York Sun announced today that it had signed a contract with the Sun Editorial Employees Union covering working conditions in the editorial department."

The item continued for another paragraph and consumed as much space on the wire that day as did Mussolini's latest war rattle and the news of Japanese destruction in Shanghai. That's making big news of a company union contract.

Quits the ANG

Tyler, Texas, Rebels Over CIO, Lewis

The Tyler, Texas, Guild of nine members has withdrawn from the ANG, according to a letter received by Secretary-Treasurer Pasche from President M. T. Lennons.

"It is the unanimous feeling of the Tyler Guild," the letter says, "that they cannot conscientiously remain in the ANG while it is affiliated with the CIO, since the Tyler Guild voted unanimously against that affiliation in the recent referendum."

Lennons further said that "in this section of the country, John L. Lewis and the CIO are regarded as anathema and a menace to the safety and welfare of the nation."

In his reply, Pasche said, "It seems to me that when the members of the Tyler Guild cast their votes in the referendum, whether they voted for or against the CIO, they were considering themselves as part of this organization, and that their voting carried at least an implied agreement that they would abide by the decision of the entire membership."

"I assure you that we are not lacking in sympathy or understanding of the fact that to certain locals in areas where sentiment is for AF of L, CIO affiliation will create special problems. We certainly intend to do our best to assist those locals in meeting those problems."

All of which, the New York Times the next morning reported, was an "outline of the history of the American Newspaper Guild."

Another speaker on the forum program was James G. Stahlman, labor basting president of the Ameri-

The Free Press

Columbia Dean Goes 'Objective' On Guild Before H-T Forum

The New York Herald Tribune's seventh annual Forum on Current Problems considered the American Newspaper Guild one of the highly controversial subjects on its agenda at the Waldorf Astoria on Oct. 4.

It was for that reason, said the chairman, that Dean Carl W. Ackerman of the Columbia School of Journalism "who holds no brief for either group," was asked to speak on the Guild during the afternoon session devoted to discussion of "The Status of a Free Press in the World Today." The dean opened his talk by saying that he was asked to make an objective speech. Then he quickly told the audience that actions of the ANG Convention at St. Louis precipitated "the greatest crisis in the history of modern journalism," and "have created nationwide concern for the fate of the freedom of the press in the house of its guardians."

The dean said this—and other things equally of value to publishers—with that faculty he possesses for adopting a point of view without seeming to be critical. It almost went across to the audience of several thousand. At the end of Dean Ackerman's speech a woman in a front row was heard to ask her neighbor querulously, "Which side did he say was right? I didn't get the word."

Dean Ackerman didn't say. He just adopted the publishers' point of view completely. For instance:

"After its organization in 1933, the American Newspaper Guild became an aggressive champion of the political, social and economic philosophies of its leaders."

"Finally, in June this year, the greatest crisis in the history of modern journalism was precipitated by the resolutions adopted at two national conventions—one prohibited contracts or agreements between Guild units and publishers without closed shop provisions, except by special permission of the Guild Executive Committee. The other was a series of resolutions committing the Guild membership to the support of specific causes of political, social and economic import."

Note how dispassionately and unemotionally, but resolutely, the dean laid victim to the mistatement of which the ANPA is so guilty. He doesn't know the differences between the closed shop and the Guild shop that the Guild seeks in its contracts.

Dean Ackerman in preparing his speech sent a Guild member to ANG headquarters to get the facts for him.

It is also of interest that once again a publishers' "forum" undertakes to inform the public of the Guild and its nature without giving the organization opportunity to present its case. During the 1936 presidential campaign the Herald Tribune, with a great show of fairness invited all presidential candidates, from Republican to Communist to state his case before the forum. That was what actors call "good theatre." The lesser candidates were not a serious threat before the forum. With the Guild it's different.

Returning to the dean's speech and point of view, he saw in the St. Louis resolutions dynamite that "aroused editors and publishers to the necessity of unity of action." So they called the big Chicago convention of June 29.

"At this meeting," said the dean, "the important organizations representing practically every daily newspaper in the United States, with the exception of the newspapers which shared the Guild's political and economic philosophies, were represented."

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can Newspaper Publishers Association. He made a speech about freedom of the press.

NLRB Complaints Find Print In Invisible Ink

When the Guild files charges with the National Labor Relations Board of unfair labor practices of publishers, it isn't news. The publishers stick together on that.

It wasn't news in Seattle when John Boettiger, son-in-law of the President, and publisher of Hearst's Seattle Post-Intelligencer, was told he must face the NLRB on Guild charges.

It wasn't news in Albany when Gannett's Knickerbocker Press officers were ordered to appear before the NLRB on charges of discrimination and coercion against the Guild. Gannett, incidentally, once made a full page advertisement of his creed. It was all about his honesty in the "presentation and interpretation of all subjects, unbiased and unprejudiced," and about his complete freedom from selfish interests as well as his devotion to the free press. Of course the fact that Mr. Gannett wanted to crush collective bargaining on his papers is not due to any selfish interest. Anyone can see that.

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The Guild Reporter

Copyright, 1937, by the American Newspaper Guild



Editor: Clyde Beals

Assistant Editor:
Leon Svirsky

Staff for this issue:

Philip Dodge, Jean
Lyon, Mark Sherwin,
Nathan Kahn, Felix
Cotton (Washington).

"... It shall be the duty of the GUILD REPORTER, under the supervision of the IEB, to promote in every legitimate way the policies of the ANG as established in Convention, and to confine its editorial policies to that specific program. All notices printed in the REPORTER shall constitute notices to the entire membership." — From Art. XX, Sec. 1, ANG Constitution.

GUILD REPORTER deadlines: For letters and feature material, Tuesdays; for news, Wednesdays, and bulletins on Thursdays.

ANG International Officers

President Heywood Brown
Executive Vice-President Jonathan Eddy
Secretary-Treasurer Victor Pasche
American Newspaper Guild International Headquarters
113 Eadlich Ave., Mt. Penn, Pa. 44 E. 211th St., Euclid, Ohio
Julius H. Klyman, 626 Forest Ct., Clayton, Mo. 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal.
Morris Watson, 74 Dunn Ave., Toronto, Ont.
Gunnar Mickelsen, 2105 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.

International Headquarters: 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Vol. IV, No. 25 October 11, 1937

Wreckers at Denver

If William Green wasn't the Benedict Arnold of the American labor movement that Heywood Brown called him several months ago, he is today.

Slowly unfolding itself at the Denver convention of the AF of L is an incredibly tragic scene of how far he and his misleaders of labor will go to protect their jobs, their rackets. At the moment, they seem determined to drag the Wagner Labor Relations Act down with them if they must go. There was strong evidence of this in the carefully staged speech made before the convention by Joseph Padway, described as a counsellor to the AF of L. Padway's talk was belligerent and provocative. He said that, unless the act is amended to split labor board elections along craft lines, the alternative was to repeal it. Padway—speaking for the federation—advised that unless this change is made, the act will aid the growth of industrial unions.

Amend the Wagner Act? Repeal it? The Wagner Act was the greatest victory labor ever won from a Congress in the United States. The blood and tears that it cost will never be calculated.

Amend the Wagner Act? Repeal it? Industrial lobbies have the amendments, the repealers ready. They are waiting, eager for a chance to cry, "Even labor doesn't want the Wagner Act!" No matter what the AF of L finally decides to do about it, this will be heard at the next session of Congress. There will be much confusion, and possible emasculation of the act.

Green called the Wagner Act labor's emancipation. It's different today. Labor on the march is a menace to Green and his clique of Hutchesons, Freys

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, Circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933.

Of The Guild Reporter, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1937. State of New York, County of New York, ss. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Clyde Beals, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor and Manager of the Guild Reporter and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher—American Newspaper Guild, 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Editor—Clyde Beals, 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor—None.

2. That the owner is: American Newspaper Guild, President, Heywood Brown, 1560 Broadway, N. Y.; Sec. Treas., Victor Pasche, 1560 Broadway, N. Y.; Vice-Presidents, Gunnar Mickelsen, 2105 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.; G. Ashcraft, 44 E. 211th St., Euclid, Ohio; W. E. Homan, 113 Eadlich Ave., Mt. Penn, Pa.; J. H. Klyman, 626 Forest Ct., Clayton, Mo.; Betty Ballantine, 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal.; Harry R. Farmer, 74 Dunn Ave., Toronto, Ont.; Morris Watson, 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Clyde Beals, Editor.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1937.
(Seal) Harry H. Altman, Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 28, 1938).

and Wolls. There is indication in their hysteria of how close they are to the fadeout. They will fade out in time; but it is not so much a question of time as how much damage they will do the labor movement before they go.

Will the members of the AF of L stand for their treachery?

Hatched in 3 Months

Mr. Eric Baume, an Australian editor at present visiting these shores, recently contributed a three-column article to Editor & Publisher on the subject of the unionization of editorial workers.

Guild members, used to Editor & Publisher's line in fighting their organization, could almost recite the article without looking at it, so closely does it—through some occult means, of course—follow the stereotyped argument. Of course newspaper publishers should expect to deal with an organization of their editorial workers, BUT the Guild is not the right model.

After three months in this country, Mr. Baume, who is editor of the Sydney-Sunday Sun and whose late father was a member of the New Zealand parliament, finds himself "amazed... at the unsound foundation of the whole Newspaper Guild." Professing to believe in the "principle of unionism in newspapers," our visitor attacks the ANG's stand for independent political action in words strikingly similar to those often employed by our own publishers and their organs. He writes:

"But in my travels here I have found an entirely different attitude among the majority of working newspapermen, reporters and editors, who have linked themselves to strange faiths; who have become the bedfellows of weird political aims; who have attempted in many cases to make journalism safe for 'parlor pinks' and men and women with un-American ideas."

Evidently unaware that a three months' visit hardly qualifies one to say whether the working newspaper men and women of this country are "un-American," Mr. Baume goes on to render the judgment that what he calls "balanced and sound industrial unionism in American newspapers is as far off as ever."

To anyone familiar with the mechanics of magazine publishing it is obvious that Mr. Baume consulted with Editor & Publisher before he wrote and sold his article. It is, therefore, apropos to note that this supposedly convinced trades unionist made no visit to the headquarters of the newspaper men's union in order to obtain the Guild's viewpoint on the question about which he was to write.

Since Baume is a practicing newspaperman, albeit his relations with the owners are closer than with the workers, it might have been expected that the visitor would have followed one of the most elemental tenets of journalism—checking both sides of a controversy—before plunging into print. And, let it be noted, for a medium through which to express himself on the Guild he used America's leading mouth-piece for the publishers.

Naturally, in three months Mr. Baume could not become intimately acquainted with America's political system and problems. He could hardly be expected to know of the control exercised by large employers through the political bosses; he could hardly know that this control reached around to thwart the Guild's efforts to use governmental machinery under the NRA; how it reaches through police departments to exert pressure to break strikes; or how it reaches into courts to create a big preponderance of decisions hostile to the aspirations of working people. Naturally Mr. Baume could not have obtained an adequate understanding of this situation in three months. That is why he should not have allowed himself to be used in a crucial fight.

Moreover, without underestimating the important gains won for Australian newspaper workers by their union, it is still possible to question whether they are well served by the system of compulsory industrial arbitration which Mr. Baume praises so highly because it prohibits strikes.

Under this system "impartial" judges are provided to arbitrate disputed questions. But are they really impartial? Or do they, through their social contacts and through the system that enables them to win their appointments, become warped to a particular view of the status appropriate for newspaper workers? And do they, consequently, award only such pay increases as are necessary to meet changes in living costs, etc?

Obviously this has been the case. Australian pay after twenty years of unionism is only where the best editorial pay is in America after four years of the Guild. In other words, the publishers have gone on growing wealthy while their employees have just a little more than stood still. That is precisely the purpose of industrial arbitration. And it is because the Guild will not be content to rest at or near the present levels that it will have none of this arbitration.

It is not surprising that Mr. Baume, as an editor with a salary much beyond the union minimums, thinks such aspirations improper.

TWO FRONT FIGHT

Lewis Shows Why Labor Needs Both Political and Economic Strength

Today's labor movement, as represented by the CIO, is fundamentally different from all preceding social and political upsurges in this country, John L. Lewis claims in an article on "What Labor Is Thinking," published in the current issue of Public Opinion, Princeton University Quarterly.

It is different because it arises from a determination on the part of labor "that there shall be no return to the industrial and financial conditions which were responsible for the depression of 1929-33; that there must be new economic and social controls and objectives established in America; and that constructive reforms must be worked out in accordance with American precedents."

Labor gained little during the fat days of 1923-29, Lewis says. "There were substantial reductions in living costs and an expansion in the opportunity for steady employment, but the actual rates of pay of organized labor as a whole did not rise more than 10 per cent during those years, in deplorable contrast with the unprecedented increases in profits and speculative values accruing to other groups of the population."

He continues: "It has been apparent that labor was made the residual sufferer of the depression which followed the industrial and financial collapse of the autumn of 1929."

"In considering the tendencies and forces which were dominant before and during the depression, the inescapable conclusion which immediately presented itself to American workers was that the organized labor movement, as contrasted with what it should be, was ineffective, both from the economic and the political point of view. It seems incredible, but it is indisputable, that after a half-century of struggle through individual unions and federated organizations, only 10 per cent of the workers available for unionization—or three million out of thirty million—had been organized. Moreover, it was apparent that the prevailing form of labor organization—the craft or occupational union—in the light of modern industrial developments had become an anachronism."

"The basic, modern manufacturing industries, such as iron and steel, textiles, automobiles, glass, rubber, etc., had changed from relatively small, independent local establishments, to national corporate entities or holding companies, with capital furnished by hundreds of thousands of absentee security holders, and with operating plants in a dozen or more states. Management had also become impersonal and detached from ownership. Methods and policies were, as a rule, determined by private banking houses which furnished capital and credit facilities."

"On the other hand, subsequent to the adoption of the craft union form of employee organization, the productive methods and facilities of modern industry had also been completely transformed. Automatic machines and processes had become the predominant factors in manufacturing and mining. Only a small proportion of skilled craftsmen—5 to 10 per cent—were required, chiefly to make patterns or dies, or to repair and maintain machinery. The great bulk of workers were composed of machine operators who might be recruited and trained within a short period of time. Along with unskilled laborers, they constituted 80 to 90 per cent of the operating forces."

Efforts Made to Foster Industrial Unions

"Repeated efforts were made, therefore, at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor to secure authorization for industrial unions by labor leaders who realized the gradual decadence which was developing in the labor movement. Finally, after the deplorable performance of the American Federation of Labor under the stimulating effects of Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, it was realized that further delays would be more than disastrous. As a consequence, the Committee for Industrial Organization was established. Although this organization had been actively at work for less than a year, it is significant that it has now enrolled a membership greater than that which the American Federation of Labor has been able to secure in more than fifty years."

"If there is one fact which the rank and file of wage and salary workers, including the humblest, unskilled employes, have learned since the fateful year 1929, it is that our farms, mills, mines and factories are able to produce an abundance for all, provided our industrial facilities are managed in the public interest, and provided our industrial output is equitably distributed."

"Not only are the great majority of gainful workers alive to these past social and economic injustices. They hope through organization and concerted action to eliminate them or actually to attain economic well-being and freedom for themselves, in their own day and generation. This fact constitutes the real significance of the present-day labor movement, as presented by the CIO."

"Time was, before the depression, when the representative labor leader would have said: 'Guarantee labor the right to organize and we shall do the rest.' Now he knows that modern, mass-production industry—not only natural-resources industries but the manufacturing and mechanical industries as well—are uncoordinated, uncorrelated, and overcapacitated. With the guarantee of the 'right to organize' such industries may be unionized, but, on the other hand, better living standards, shorter working hours, and improved employment conditions for their members cannot be hoped for unless legislation or other provision be made for economic planning and for price, production, and profit control. Because of these fundamental conditions, it is obvious to industrial workers that the labor movement must organize and exert itself not only in the economic field, but also in the political arena."