

Official organ of the American Newspaper Guild, an affiliate of Committee for Industrial Organization.

# The Guild Reporter

Published Monday of each week at Guild headquarters, 1560 Broadway, New York City.

Entered as second-class matter August 18, 1937, at the Post Office at New York under the act of March 3, 1879

Vol. IV. No. 26

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 18, 1937

Single Copy 10c; By the Year \$3.50

## CIO PARLEY RALLIES STRIKE AID

### UP Staff Votes Guild As Agency

Majority Is 277 to 84; Watson to Press For Contract

By the majority of 277 to 84 the editorial employees of the United Press Associations have designated the American Newspaper Guild as their exclusive collective bargaining agency.

Morris Watson, chairman of the IEB Wire Service committee which petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for the election, announced there would be no delay in pressing for a Guild contract with the UP covering hours, wages and working conditions. A conference with Guild leaders in UP units was being arranged.

"Guild policy was well known to the United Press employees before they elected the Guild to represent them," Watson said. "Therefore it can be said that 79.3 percent of the United Press editorial, department employees want the Guild shop, the five-day, 40-hour week, severance pay and wage minima greatly above what they are getting now."

Announcement of the poll result on October 12 by Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, second region director for the National Labor Relations Board, climaxed a long struggle for United Press recognition of the Guild.

The United Press is the only major wire service still operating on the archaic six-day week.

Majority Set at 79.3%. Of the 421 United Press employees eligible to vote, 374 returned their ballots. Nine were rejected because of defective marking, two were blanks and two were challenged by the Guild.

The percentage victory for the Guild was 78.7 of those voting. By past decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the 46 not voting gave tacit approval to the majority

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### First Lady's Belief In ANG Reaffirmed

WASHINGTON.—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has "reaffirmed her belief in the principles of the American Newspaper Guild."

The AP, reporting Mrs. Roosevelt's Oct. 11 press conference, said that she had announced that, "as a member she would abide by the majority decision in the Guild's recent referendum which confirmed Guild affiliation with the CIO."

### Toledo Drive Nets Members

### Office Workers In News-Bee Join

TOLEDO.—The campaign to organize the commercial departments of Toledo's newspapers is off to a flying start.

Because the TNG organizing committee was able to make its first contacts on the News-Bee, the initial organizational meeting was entirely of News-Bee workers. More than half of the commercial workers of this unit appeared at the meeting and all but two of them signed application cards.

Honore Armstrong, ANG International representative, spoke at the meeting as did members of the local committee, all of whom were surprised by the enthusiasm of the commercial workers.

A provisional committee of six was chosen from among the workers present to co-operate with the TNG committee in continuing the campaign. This committee felt certain that the News-Bee employees would be almost completely organized in a short time, and plans are being developed to start organization on the Blade and Times as soon as possible.

Interest High The turnout at this first meeting was particularly surprising in view of the fact that the News-Bee workers had less than 24 hours' notice of its exact time, although considerable preparatory work had been done.

The organizing committee found

(Continued on page 6)

## Historic Meet Seeks Unity, Demands Real Free Press

### CIO Resolution on Press

The text of the Committee for Industrial Organization's resolution on freedom of the press follows:

Whereas, Freedom of the press is a cornerstone of democracy, and the stake of labor in a free press is the stake of the American people themselves, and

Whereas, On June 29, 1937, the newspaper proprietors met behind closed doors under the auspices of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and issued a venomous attack in the name of freedom of the press upon the rights of their editorial and other employees to self-organization for the purpose of establishing union standards, and

Whereas, The pretext given by the publishers for their opposition to the organization of newspaper workers, namely that freedom of the press is endangered, is a specious pretext, utterly without foundation, and known to be so by the publishers themselves, and

Whereas, The aforesaid secret session made no announcement of the nation-wide concerted campaign of propaganda there determined upon, to stem the tide of organization, not only in the newspaper field but in other fields as well, by distorting the objectives of the labor movement and attempting to discredit its leadership, a campaign which started immediately after this session and which has continued in full force to the present time, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we call upon all the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization and upon their millions of members to foster and support a free press by every honorable means at their disposal, to the end that their cherished American freedom may be preserved, and be it further

Resolved, That this convention asserts most earnestly that the freedom of newspaper proprietors to conspire behind closed doors against the interests of any group or groups is not essential to a free press, and that, on the contrary, such secret conclaves prostitute the freedom which they profess to serve, and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon certain publishers to accord to their own workers the same rights of free and independent association and self-organization as are enjoyed by other citizens.

### New Labor Strength Vividly Revealed In Gathering Of Union Heads

By JONATHAN EDDY

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—Leaders affiliated with the two unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization have just concluded here five days of conference of tremendous significance to the future of the country. Universal job security, a decent standard of living for all Americans, and restoration of civil liberties were the objectives of all.

Representatives of the working newspapermen of the country took part in the deliberations with the result that a real fight was launched for freedom of the press as "the cornerstone of democracy." In addition steps were taken to marshal the entire forces of the CIO in the city of New York to win the Brooklyn Eagle strike. A meeting has been arranged at ANG headquarters at which Director John Brophy will preside.

### Conference Made Public

On motion of President Heywood Brown of ANG what had been originally planned as a private conference to consider organizational measures was turned into an open forum of progressive labor leaders. The working press was admitted and through them, the country had a direct view of the deliberations resulting in an effort—which is bound to go down

(Continued on page 3)

### Green's Splitter Asks For a Card

PHILADELPHIA.—Believe it or not, Phil Wagner, whose attempt to organize Philadelphia and Camden on behalf of William Green's dual newspaper union was a dismal flop, has applied for admission into the Philadelphia and Camden Guild.

Wagner's application was brought before the Executive Council with an editorial he wrote for an AF of L weekly here, in which he declared the American Newspaper Guild is dominated by "stooges and radicals."

Wagner's application was accepted contingent upon his repayment to the Guild of \$65 loaned to him when he was hard up and could get help nowhere else, and upon explaining whether he wishes to be accepted as a stooge or a radical.

## AP Stalls Pact Negotiations; Guild Shop Is One Excuse

The Associated Press is attempting to withdraw completely from its present bargaining negotiations with the American Newspaper Guild.

Acting on a request from the Guild that representatives be clothed with power to conclude a contract and thus close the prolonged negotiations, the AP's Executive Board at its Oct. 7 quarterly meeting instead adopted a statement rejecting the proposed contract and refusing to bargain further until the Guild had met two conditions:

1. It demanded that a decision be obtained from "accepted authority" as to "what should be the bargaining unit within the Associated Press." This condition was

posed in connection with an argument maintaining that the AP was such a thoroughly integrated national organization that "no one office or no one group of employees should be singled out by the Guild and management for separate action."

2. The Board declared itself unanimous in refusing to sign a contract for news department employees that "provided for a closed shop, a Guild shop or a preferential shop." Since the Guild is making this demand the Board said, it was "compelled to conclude that these negotiations were futile and therefore declared them ended."

The Board's demand for a decision

(Continued on page 6)

## Eagle Strike Gets CIO Aid, Chiefs to Confer in N. Y.

The Committee for Industrial Organization has called a meeting of all CIO international unions with headquarters in New York, to marshal the strength of those unions behind the Brooklyn Daily Eagle strike.

The meeting will be held in the American Newspaper Guild headquarters on Oct. 19, and John Brophy, director of the CIO, will come from Washington to preside over the session. The presidents of the following internationals, all attending the meeting of the CIO in Atlantic City, agreed to attend in person or be represented at the meeting:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, National Maritime Union, Transport Workers' Union, Fur Workers' Union, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Union, American Radio Telegraphists' Association, and the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

New York District Council No. 9 of the Painters' Union, an important AF of L affiliate, also will be represented at the meeting.

The meeting of the CIO internationals at ANG headquarters will precede one later the same day of 154 locals, both CIO and AF of L, which will gather in the Transport Workers' Union hall in Brooklyn to intensify the labor support.

The decision of the CIO to take the lead in organizing its huge New York membership in active promotion of the strike cause came after a conference of ANG and New York Guild officials with Brophy and with Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee and international vice-president of the United Mine Workers. The importance of the strike also was called to the attention of the conference by Michael Quill, president of the highly-successful Transport Workers' Union.

The strike, involving more than 300 editorial, advertising, circulation and commercial employees, has cost M. Preston Goodfellow's Eagle management at least 240 columns of advertising during the first 13 days of October.



## EAGLE GETS 'RED INK' SUPPLY FROM FANCY SYPHON SYSTEM

Bottomless Bucket Revealed in Holding Company Plan—Very High Finance

Why are newspaper managements in so many cities so flatfootedly opposing contractual protection for their employees? The Eagle strike has led many outsiders to ask that question.

"What's the matter with Goodfellow?" they inquire. "Doesn't he see that—aside from the moral obligations to labor—his anti-Guild campaign is actually bad business? His own best interests as publisher should lead him to a just settlement with his striking employees."

The answer—which will undoubtedly fit many similar situations elsewhere—is precisely this: Goodfellow is not primarily in the publishing business at all—he's in the business of floating issues of stock.

Once this is grasped, once it is realized that the football in this financial campaign just happened to be a newspaper and might quite as well have been a grapefruit farm, the picture clears up. Data compiled by the Eagle Strike Investigative Committee makes most—though not all—of the picture clear.

**How to Make Red Ink**  
This data shows how Goodfellow—or any publisher—can so arrange the corporate ledger as to be able to wave red ink statements in the faces of his employees, the while black ink is spreading comfortably over the pages of a subsidiary (sometimes a parent) corporation.

Here's the picture: The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, an internationally known newspaper, published by a "family" corporation with closely held stock, doing a big business on comparatively small circulation.

The family, just before the depression, decides to get out; the newspaper is sold to Frank E. Gannett, whose metropolitan newspaper empires came a cropper through a combination of: (1) the depression; (2) ill-advised expansion of plant; (3) a vigorous ad campaign in one of the wettest cities in the world; (4) a consistent perversion of the "old Eagle" standards into pseudo-metropolitan policies; and (5) a revelation that his purchase had been financed by the International Paper and Pulp Company.

Gannett, as far as the Eagle goes, begins to crumple. Enter: Goodfellow and the gang.

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All this is only the beginning. The show really began a year ago, October, 1935.

On Oct. 31, 1935, the Brooklyn Daily Eagle Properties Corporation was organized up. The real estate and buildings of the Eagle were "conveyed" to the Properties corporation. For paring with this property, the Eagle acquired 100 shares of common stock and 40,000 shares of preferred stock in the newly born Eagle Properties Corporation. The Eagle company (as distinct from Eagle Properties) threw in with its buildings and real estate some 400,000 shares of its own common stock.

**The Financial Deal**  
Where had these 400,000 shares come from? In part, anyway, from a write-up of the Eagle's "intangible" assets which conservative companies commonly list at the nominal figure of \$1. The Eagle listed them at \$1,200,000. In the words of the prospectus, "this valuation was not based

as head of Eagle Properties included a neat arrangement by which a nice slice of Eagle income could be syphoned into Eagle Properties. This device was the lease under which the Eagle rented the buildings it used. In place of some flat rental, the lease provided that the Eagle would pay Eagle Properties any amount whatsoever necessary to pay dividends to pay off the mortgage at the rate of \$24,000 per year; to pay taxes and assessments, depreciation, etc. From this step alone, a burden of \$95,000 was added to the Eagle—and it was, of course, to come out of the hides of the employees.

No further examinations have been received from the third source—from which the money would have to be filled.

**Philadelphia Adds 31 Office Workers**  
PHILADELPHIA—Thirty-one advertising and business office workers of the Second were admitted to membership in the Philadelphia and Camden Guild at the last meeting of the Executive Council.

These admissions brought the advertising department enrollment almost to 100 per cent in The Record. The Inquirer classified staff is already in 100 per cent.

The council authorized the filing of a National Labor Relations Board action against the Inquirer on behalf of Edward Walsh, a Guild member, who was dismissed from the sports department.

Delegates were appointed to represent the Guild at the National Negro Congress being held in Philadelphia.

Eagle has an important bearing on newspapering all over the United States. It is an example of the magic by which a newspaper runs at a loss, when decent wages are the issue, but runs at a profit when the pocket-books of the owners are the issue.

Extra burdens are added on the backs of employees, publishing mistakes are made—without the employees being in any way to blame. Management's rush into new schemes without consulting their employees and with no intention of sharing any profits that come if the scheme succeeds but if the scheme fails, the first victims are the employees—unless they are Guildmen, wise and spirited enough to call a strike against this sort of plunder.

**A Correction**  
A typographical error in Ferdinand and Lushwitz's article on the Oct. 11 Reporter made the article say that Fremont C. Peck owned about 200,000 shares of Eagle preferred stock. It should have said about 20,000 shares.

**More Collusion**  
Other facts make the collusion even more apparent. The management has stalled negotiations by refusing to hold sessions at night or any other time readily convenient to the working newspapermen on the Guild committee.

But for this conference, managing editor Campbell instructed the city editor to notify the entire staff to be present and in addition personally told individual employees to be there to "make the Guild committee quit stalling."

Almost simultaneously, the Examiner management offered to reinstate Miss Urcel Daniel, who was fired for Guild activity, and to post a thirty-day notice on the bulletin board that it would not interfere with union organization.

John Howard Lawson's WPA PROCESSIONAL THE FIRST MODERN AMERICAN PLAY MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEATRE 210 St. N. of Broadway, Room 120. No Performance Monday Night. Sat. Mat. at 2:30.

**A HERO IS BORN**  
An Extravaganza by THERESA HELBURN Music by A. LEHMAN ENGEL ADOLPH THEATRE 10th Street, East of Seventh Avenue, Room 120. No Performance Monday Night—SAT. MAT. at 2:30.

## Vote for IEB Post Held in Abeyance

Unit Hits AT HEARST

Coast Group Takes Firm Stand as Trick Is Tried

Mailing of ballots to local Guilds for the election of a successor to Vice President Garland Ashcraft of Cleveland has been held in abeyance on the request of Vice President Gusser Michelson of Milwaukee. Michelson has raised the question whether a vacancy exists in view of the fact that the Board has voted to request Ashcraft to reconsider his resignation.

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## N.O. CONFERENCE WKS HONEST PRESS

A CONFERENCE ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Strike Looms Anew Portland Set

Negotiations Seem Near Success

Pay Rises Follow Negotiations Drive

NEW YORK RESTAURANT PIROLLE NOW AT 111 W. 45th

—Famous for French specialties, Lunch 55c. Farina dinner \$1. Wine and Liqueurs. Tel. BR. 9-8816.

**SPEEDGUNS** REWIRED RESYNCHRONIZED \$3

Worn or outmoded parts completely replaced and new except for plating. Send to stamp for FREE photoflash exposure slide scale.

S. MENDELSON 202 E. 44th ST., NEW YORK

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## The Anti-Labor Front

### Misnamed "Labor Facts" Talks Language of Employer

A good sample of the latest and most vicious employer-propaganda tactics aimed at destroying confidence in labor unions is a dandy little slick-paper magazine misnamed "Labor Facts."

You may be finding it under your door most any morning now, for it is designed for presentation to "all workers," and, according to the anonymous publishers—except for their corporate name—the copy may be met by chambers of commerce, associations of manufacturers, or, of course, by "unions or other organizations."

In fact, the person or persons promoting the publication don't seem to care much who pays them for their trouble, but their promotional literature—prepared by the "sales department, Labor Facts, Inc."—is aimed obviously at employers and assures them that distribution of the publication will not be in violation of the Wagner Act.

The magazine has a platform. It is in favor of all sorts of nice things: honesty in administration of unions, legal tactics, the right of workers to decide whether they wish to join any union, etc.

And, strangely enough, it takes a definite stand in its platform against violence, thuggery, theft of union funds by union officials, all forms of union racketeering and ex-jail-bird collectors forcing workers to strike. It is to be assumed that the editors also are against the man-eating shark.

#### These Terrible Strikes

Blood-and-violence photographs tell of the horrors of striking. Other pictures indicate that the hand of Moscow is ever-present on the strike front. And smiling faces at the time clock show how well it is to get back to the job.

On the cover of one issue is a picture of auto workers returning to the factory. The caption informs one that these workers "know now that a five-weeks strike costs them as much as a 10 per cent. raise will get them in a year."

The literature distributed by "Labor Facts" has no identification other than its corporate name and address, 42 Broadway, New York City. Its authors are modestly anonymous, its editors nameless.

Avowed purpose of "Labor Facts," according to the circular promotional letter, is to provide an "educational campaign" to stabilize industrial relationships and is the answer to the needs of "intelligent employers" and "honest union leaders."

Yet, strangely, the circular speaks only the employer's language, as in the following:

"The magazine prepares your employees right in their own homes to act with deliberation—to ask questions—to demand written confirmation of the promises that are so glibly made at mass meetings. Of particular importance is the influence of the magazine on the wives and relatives, after the truth is presented in the home."

"The result: when you bargain collectively, you bargain in a fair and decent atmosphere."

#### It Won't Cost a Cent

Simply by subscribing to an introductory offer of 35 cents per month, per person, the employer can have "Labor Facts" sent to the home of his employees. It can also be furnished in foreign languages at small extra cost.

And, of course, inquiries will be treated in the "strictest confidence." Not that surreptitious distribution of "Labor Facts" for an employer is illegal, of course not, says "Labor Facts." Besides, here is a lengthy opinion by a brace of lawyers who says it can be done without violating the Wagner Act.

"Labor Facts" itself does not preach against unions. As a matter of fact, its editorial in the first issue states that: "Employers, at first doubtful, are realizing that honest labor, in honest unions, are a real

tangible asset to progress. And labor carries on with high hopes, with a pledge to keep clean of those chiselers who alone can halt the rapid progress of this new enlightenment."

#### Everything's a Racket

Thus the seeds of suspicion are sown. Once planted, they are nurtured cleverly and consistently with word and picture. The reader is warned again and again of "racketeers and criminals" who prey on him through unions. He is told to check up on the careers of union organizers and demand "an accounting of all funds."

The photographs are even more forceful. They show death and violence on the picket line. They show rogues gallery portraits of convicted racketeers. Communism is displayed as the black beast of the labor movement and John L. Lewis as a possible cog in the Third International's machinations.

#### Nary a Label

"Labor Facts" ingeniously uses the art of insinuation and acts of omission to present its message. Violence is pictured to chill the hearts of workers, but the LaFollette Committee is never quoted to reveal the source of this violence. Prosecutor Dewey is shown triumphant in his fight against labor racketeers, but the union aid to Dewey is not mentioned.

Mayor Daniel J. Shields of Johnstown, Pa., of back-to-work fame, strikebreaker extraordinaire, receives friendly mention in "Labor Facts." But, according to the Federated Press, "Shields, more intimately known to his former penitentiary pals as No. 1707, figured in more figures by receiving \$20,000 for strike-breaking activities during the recent Bethlehem Steel Corp. strike."

"Labor Facts" has a good word for only one union—the International Typographical Union. The editor points to the benefits the workers derive from membership in the I. T. U. Death benefits, unemployment pay, strike funds and a home for the aged or incapacitated. And "Labor Facts" finds all this good. But nowhere in the publication is there evidence—in the form of a union label—that "Labor Facts" thinks enough of the I. T. U. to use the union's labor to set up the magazine.

Travis E. Hedrick, secretary of the Chattanooga Guild, has been elected temporary secretary-treasurer of the new CIO central body organized at Chattanooga, Oct. 13.

## Portrait of an Organizer: AF of L's Old Charley Hands Out a News Item

"... a force of 345 full-time organizers for the AFL was instructed this week to concentrate on bonding news and editorial department workers in unions under the AFL."

—Editor & Publisher, Oct. 2.

And here, good people is what one of the 345 looks like. Just put it under a Newark (N. J.) date line and read on:

It's Oct. 1, 10 p. m., at the Newark Labor Lyceum, where, in dusty and smoke-filled halls, meets the Essex Trades Council, central AF of L. labor body for Newark and the other towns that comprise Essex County.

The council has just finished its meeting and most everybody is leaving the hall. A reporter approaches Charles L. Cullen, general organizer for the AF of L. Cullen is a nice old fellow—they call him Old Charley. He wears a heavy gold chain across his vest.

The reporter: "Any news around?" Cullen (thinking a minute and toying with his chain): "Spoke at the West Orange Rotary Club today and they seemed to like it. Think that'd be news!"

## SPLIT VOTE

### HITS LABOR

#### Lack of Unity Proves

#### Pitfall in Ontario Elections

TORONTO—Study of Ontario's recent provincial elections show that at least six seats were lost to Labor because of the insistence of various workers' organizations on entering rival candidates from the same riding, thus splitting the Labor vote into insignificance.

Thanks to this mistaken policy and Premier Hepburn's strategy in calling an entirely unnecessary and unexpected election, thus preventing his opponents from perfecting their campaign plans, the nominally "Liberal" Premier was returned with his overwhelming majority undiminished. The party standings in the provincial legislature are: Liberals, 65; Conservatives, 21; Liberal Progressives, 2; and Independent Liberal and United Farmers, one each.

The bright spot in the situation, from the progressive point of view, is the election of both Hon. David Croll and Hon. Arthur Roebuck, former Hepburn cabinet ministers who resigned in protest of the violent attitude toward labor which he assumed at the time of the General Motors strike in Oshawa.

#### Threat Is a Fake

The election of Croll in Windsor-Walkerville, center of the automotive industry, was practically certain from the first, and this fact, together with recent revelation that neither Hepburn nor the provincial legislature has power to carry out his threat to imprison any CIO leaders who "dare to show their faces in Ontario," seems to have lulled interested observers outside the province into a belief that reactionaries were bound to be beaten.

Among the curiosities of the campaign were: the appearance of John Noble, former president of the District Labor Council of Toronto, as a Conservative candidate and opponent of Labor; also the successful candidacy of Lionel Cosens, former hockey professional, under Hepburn's banner.

Resuming election, Hepburn announced that there would now be "four more years of industrial peace." Since his first session was notable for an excess of Labor unrest, this cryptic speech may be interpreted as meaning that there will be an intensified suppression and exploitation of the workers.

## Portrait of an Organizer: AF of L's Old Charley Hands Out a News Item

A delegate, overhearing and butting in: "No, that wouldn't be news. What he wants is labor stuff."

Cullen thinks some more, squinting at the ceiling. Then he remarks, audibly: "Say, why don't you fellows organize?"

The delegate: "Aw, they are organized. They're in the Guild."

Cullen, ignoring the delegate and turning to the reporter: "You don't mean that CIO Guild? Say, I'm trying to get reporters for the AF of L. reporters Guild."

The reporter: "That's funny, now, isn't it? We're trying to get reporters for our own Guild, too."

Exit Cullen. Exit reporter. Exit but-in delegate.

#### Green's Gift

Funny? No. Old Brother Cullen might be what people call a character, but he is characteristic as well of the field organizer upon whom the AF of L. relies for its organization of the unorganized. He is one of the 345 stalwarts. But he, like so many of his brethren, is a broken-down local or central trades body functionary put out to pasture. Many

## The Free Press

### It Sees the CIO as an AFL Shirt Tail, then Comet

The editors considered the AF of L more important news than the CIO. They also rubbed it in, that is, until the CIO stepped out with the peace offering that just couldn't be ignored.

Call them rival conventions if you will, but the fact is there was a big meeting in Denver of the AF of L. and one just as big in Atlantic City of the CIO. And for the past solid week, Atlantic City appeared as a date line on brief shirt tail to Denver stories. A sampling of the country's papers is enough to indicate that the CIO had tough sledding getting by most telegraph desks for anything more than the shirt tail to the AF of L. gyrations in Denver.

On October 11 the AF of L. enjoyed a four column spread on page 16 of the Detroit Times, which proclaimed: "AFL Rips U. S. Labor Board, Launches Formal War on CIO." Attached to the end of this story was a hundred-word dispatch from Atlantic City quoting John L. Lewis' belief that the chasm separating the AF of L. and the CIO was as broad as ever.

The next day the two groups received similar treatment in the Cleveland Plain Dealer. Again the CIO found itself at the bottom of the column, preceded by a story of the CIO's "Pact" with the AF of L. Leaders.

The AF of L. made page one of the Washington Post on October 12 when readers were told "A. F. L. Votes Chiefs' Power to Oust C. I. O." But the CIO conference in Atlantic City, which announced the financial and numerical standing of its organization, was relegated to page seven.

The Philadelphia Record, on the same date, also gave the AF of L. page one preference, but the CIO managed to win a top position on page two. As for the N.Y. Times, the AF of L. again rated page one on October 12, but the CIO struggled along on page 16, where three columns were devoted to reports of the Atlantic City conference.

Nevertheless, in spite of the evidence that the AF of L. is favored news, all editors do not see eye to eye on the subject. This is borne out by events at Atlantic City, where the Evening Union put the CIO conference into a few short paragraphs, falsely reporting that Lewis broke an ash tray trying to bring the meeting to order. In evident opposition to this editorial policy of dismissing the CIO as inconsequential, the editors of the local high school paper thought the assembled labor leaders important enough to be interviewed by one of

his reporters, a student of journalism. The lad was busy all of one day.

#### Persecution of 'Free Press' Staggers Springfield Editor

It's up to us newspaper readers, according to the Springfield Republican in an editorial Sept. 3, which said in part:

"The college president at the Institute of Human Relations at Williams College who referred some what despairingly to Americans as 'a most propaganda-ridden people'—with the implied suggestion that something should be done about it—did not seem to understand that propaganda and liberty are inseparable. Freedom of speech and of the press, to the extent that Americans enjoy them, necessarily afford full scope for propaganda from everybody, everywhere, any time."

"Free propaganda is nothing but free publicity for the views, interpretations, arguments, pleadings, truths and untruths, half-lies and lies of all creation. Propaganda is good as well as bad. We are surrounded by clouds of propaganda," complained the speaker at Williams College, and so we are. It is up to each of us to predetermine from the clouds the true and the false, the near-true and the near-false, identifying and giving to each classification its correct label. If this task is far beyond the facilities or ability of most of us, the fact has to be accepted as the price we pay for liberty."

#### Who Tells the Lies?

"Free speech, free press, free propaganda do not clear the way for an easy approach to a democratic millennium. Democracy, said former Premier Baldwin of Great Britain, is the hardest government to work successfully ever devised by man. One reason it is so hard to make successful is the burden imposed on the individuals who compose a democratic society to disentangle truth from half-truth, to separate selfish from public interest, even to know plain lies when they see them. The difficulties that beset us are aggravated by the fact that there is a market for lies; for people like to have their emotional appetites fed with fodder that will sustain their prejudices."

"The American press is as honest as any press in the world; certainly, it remains the freest in the world. That it is the freest needs no demonstration in view of the persecution of the British press in deliberately suppressing for months the news that Edward VIII wished to make Mrs. Simpson the queen of the realm. Yet the freest press in the world abuses its privileges shamefully. The deliberate misrepresentation and distortion of truth all the time going on for the promotion of some interest, political, financial, social or patriotic, is staggering."

## Madison Guild Joins CIO State Council

MADISON (Wis.)—One day after its expulsion from the Madison Federation of Labor, the Guild voted that it was an overwhelming majority on Oct. 4 to take the following actions in reply to an AF of L. threat to raid the local CIO membership:

1. Affiliate immediately with the Wisconsin State Industrial Union Council, which held its first convention in Milwaukee, Sept. 30 to Oct. 2.

2. Affiliate immediately with the Madison Industrial Union Organizing Committee.

The Madison Industrial Union Organizing Committee is a provisional CIO central body, headed by Cedric Parker, Madison Guildman. At the state CIO convention in Milwaukee, Parker was elected to the executive board.

## Labor Lays Groundwork for Own Political Party

### Seeking Bulwark Against Economic Aims, It Is Building New Arm—Great Strides This Year

Millions of American voters will find labor candidates on their ballots when they march to the polls for the fall elections on Nov. 2. In New York City, Buffalo, Detroit, Akron, Youngstown, in a dozen Pennsylvania cities, in the Northwest and on the Pacific Coast, the election campaigns are seeing, in many cases for the first time, an attempt by organized labor to put into effect not merely candidates "friendly" at election time but candidates who owe labor their allegiance.

At least one Guild member is running, Darrell D. Smith, the Labor candidate who won the Democratic nomination for Mayor of Canton, Ohio.

While these developments are local in character, they are by no means isolated or unrelated. They are part of a definite policy of unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization in line with the presidential campaign, and practical demonstrations of John L. Lewis' policy to which many of the more vigorous AF of L. unions are also committed.

Coordinating and fostering much of the activity is the nation-wide Labor's Non-Partisan League, whose new executive vice-president, E. L. Oliver, has spent the last several weeks touring the country in connection with the campaign.

One of the strongest bids is being made in New York City, where the American Labor Party, a branch of the League, together with the AF of L. unions, forms the backbone of the support for Mayor La Guardia, who also has the Republican and Fusion nominations. From the standpoint of those favoring truly independent political action by labor, the New York situation leaves much to be desired. There is dissatisfaction over the deals the ALP has made with Republican and Democratic organizations, providing for mutual endorsement of certain candidates. But the ALP has made long strides in the last year and is working hard to elect purely ALP nominees to the new city council—and has a good chance for success. It is making a sharp attack on a fusion nominee for the Board of Estimate, labor-baiting George U. Harvey of Queens.

## Labor Views the New Fascist Law in Canada

THE National Labor Relations Act is of no force north of the forty-ninth parallel, nor have we in Canada anything remotely resembling it.

The Guild in Canada, in common with all other labor organizations here, faces an uphill fight to establish its fundamental right to function as the collective bargaining agency of its members.

The extent of the obstacles confronting us can be vividly portrayed by a description of one of these in particular, namely, the Act Respecting Workmen's Wages passed by the Quebec Legislative Assembly on May 13, 1937, and now in effect in the Province.

The preamble sounds great. To those of us versed in the peculiar ways that are Quebec's, to those of us mindful of Premier Duplessis' definitely fascist tendencies, his very "greatness" made us suspicious.

Says the preamble, in part:

"[The Act] confers...the power to enact that a collective labor agreement shall bind all the employees and all the employers in a determined region of the Province...The provisions of the collective agreement which become obligatory are those dealing with wages, hours of labor, apprenticeship and the proportion between the number of skilled workmen and that of apprentices in a given undertaking. [It] obliges the parties to a collective agreement to form a joint committee, charged with supervising and the ensuring of the carrying out of the [Act]."

So far, so good—but only so far. Trouble begins early in the fifty-fourth article. Let us quote section 1b: "Association" includes: a professional syndicate, a union or federation of syndicates, a group of employees or employers, bona fide or possessing the status of a civil person, having as object the study,

defense and development of the economic, social and moral interests of its members with respect for law and constituted authority."

Trouble? Yes, plenty.

1. Bona fide—How is determined the bona fide of an association? There is nothing in the Act to explain the basis for such determination. Presumably it rests either with the Minister of Labor or the Attorney-General (who is also the Premier). But the Premier's Cabinet is no under his thumb that the Hon. William

This is the first of two articles on conditions confronting the Guild and the rest of the labor movement in Canada.

Tremblay, Labor Minister, is not likely to do anything about the act which he is supposed to have sponsored except to sign his name in the indicated place upon instructions from his boss. The definition of bona fide rests, then, with Attorney-General Duplessis, who does not like (a) militant unions of any sort, nor (b) international unions ("run by paid, foreign agitators");

(2) note that "association" includes employers, as well as employees. There should be no need to enlarge upon the potentialities of that inclusion.

3. With respect for law and constituted authority? Presence or absence of such respect will, presumably, be determined as in (1) above.

Assume that a union has successfully cleared the bona-fide and with-respect-for-law-hurdles; what next? This "2..." may order that a collective labor agreement, under any trade, shall also bind all the employees and employers in a stated region of the Province." In other words, were the Montreal Newspaper Guild to conclude a contract with one of this city's lesser journals (providing, for example, for minima above those prevailing, but still below re-

ally desirable standard) it would lie within the power of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council (in simpler language, Mr. Duplessis himself) to extend that agreement to all other newspapers in Montreal, including those now paying more reasonable wages and capable of paying still better ones.

Read section 39, here reproduced, carefully, for it is the crux of the act:

Whoever, directly or indirectly, prevents an employee from becoming a member of an association (vide sec. 1b, above quoted) commits an unlawful act and shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding \$25 and costs for the first offense, and to a fine not less than \$25 but not exceeding \$50 and costs, for the second offense, or for any subsequent offense.

The suit may be brought by the Minister (of labor), by the committee (the joint committee where a labor contract is actually in force), or by any person having a written authorization from the Attorney-General. (Emphasis ours.)

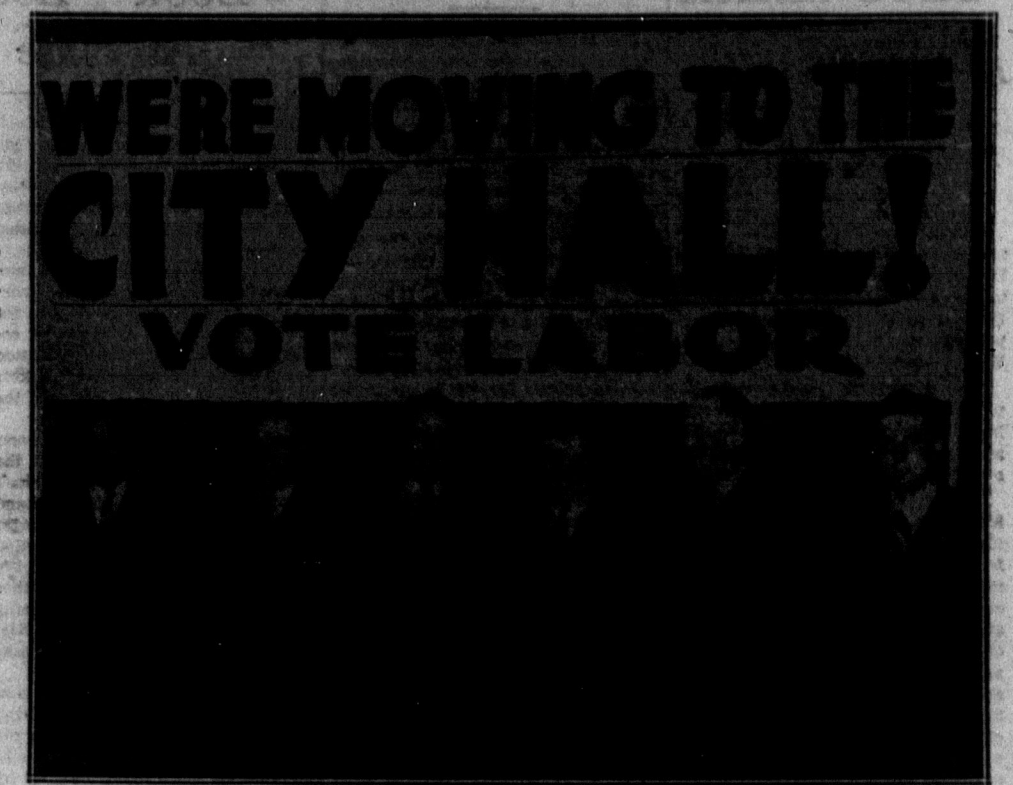
To make the punishment fit the crime, an erring corporation is fined \$25. For \$50 a crack it can continue to fire its employees for union activity!

There is no provision whatever in the law for reinstatement of the person fired for union activity!

Glance back at that portion of the section which we have emphasized. This is what it implies:

The Minister of Labor is not likely to do anything but pass the buck if an offense is called to his attention. Witness the present protracted struggle of Guildsman Ballantyne (Montreal President) vs. The Gazette, "Take it up with the Attorney-General," said the Minister of Labor to Ballantyne in his nicest manner.

The "committee" can only act where a contract is actually in force, for, if there is



CAMPAGNING IN DETROIT: Automobile Workers' Officials Running for the Council—Maurice Sugar, R. J. Thomas, Richard Frankenstein, Walter Reuther, Tracy M. Dill and Alan Strachan.

strides toward building a powerful progressive party.

**Programs Moderate**  
The programs of these local units are similar. They embrace moderate reforms designed to use the resources of each community to mitigate immediate calamities that fall with heaviest effect on workers and farmers. Thus in the cities labor's political program is good government, in place of the corrupt machines that protect the interests of the wealthy and neglect general civic needs, such as housing; protection of civil rights, in place of use of the police to help employers suppress labor control of the public utilities, which have unmercifully reaped the consumers; shorter hours; honest and adequately paid civil service; relief for the unemployed; better schools; shift of the tax burden to the rich.

To a considerable extent the program for farmers follows the same lines, with relief

from drought and mortgage foreclosures the chief elements in their plans.

Economic benefits are already accruing to union members in dramatic fashion as a direct result of these activities. In Detroit the General Motors Corporation made a complete about-face as regards bargaining with the United Automobile Workers immediately after the recent primary election. In New York City the recent amazing growth of the Transport Workers' Union is due in considerable part to the exploitation of a favorable political situation. These successes almost match the historic change of front of the United States Steel Corporation after Pennsylvania labor demonstrated its political power in the presidential election.

#### Erecting a Foundation

However, labor is building for permanent results today. If the unions emerge from the present campaign with any measure of success, as they promise to do, they will have done more than merely put favorable candidates in office. They will have laid the foundation for even more effective political action in the future by establishing functioning local machinery.

Moreover, they will not merely have replaced one political machine by another that will function in the same old way. A political organization operated by unions introduces an entirely new feature into political affairs. Heretofore we have been operating—or having operated nominally for us—archaic machines primarily fitted to small town life and which have been carried over into big-city life, for which they are unfitted.

The labor union offers a modern version of the old small town. The common interest relations with the employer provides a binding tie. Labor unions can go wrong, just as the ward political machines have done, but the members can much more easily keep or regain control. And through this direct control of their own union affairs their latent control over their political representatives becomes far more direct than under the old system.

So the unions, which have been forced to become political instruments because of their struggle for existence, offer the possibility of a considerably improved political system.

So in the elections of Nov. 2 labor is not only electing officials who will actively promote collective bargaining; it is laying the foundation for more effective democracy.

no contract, there is no "committee."

Recourse must then be had to the Attorney-General. He may, presumably, accede in the request to enter suit or refuse to grant such permission (without, mind you, the necessity of giving any reason for refusal). However, the Attorney-General, in his role of protector of labor under this act, may do a third thing: he may ignore entirely the humble petition of a citizen of the Dominion.

Truly, labor in Canada has something to overcome!



## WAGE SCALE SETS MARK

**Highest Minimums For Weekly Won In Seattle**

SEATTLE.—The highest wage minimums paid on any weekly in the United States will go into effect under a Guild contract signed in Seattle with the "Timberworker" publication of the International Woodworkers Association.

The agreement covers six employees—one editorial, one advertising salesman, one business office manager, one advertising outside salesman and two office assistants. The editorial minimum starts with \$22.50 for newspapermen with less than a year's experience and his \$25 for three years' experience. The minimum for advertising department employees starts at \$40 and goes to \$65. The same is true of business office workers, except stenographers and typists, who receive \$25, any accounting responsibility bringing five dollars more. The contract also calls for an eight-hour, five-day week and either time off or cash for overtime, at time and a half rate.

The contract was negotiated by H. Richard Sells, president of the Seattle Guild; Claude Smith, free lance Guildman, and Harold Pritchett, president of the International Woodworkers of America. O. M. Orton, vice president, and E. B. Weber, secretary.

## Explanation

**ANG Didn't Withdraw N.Y. AFOFL Told**

The New York State Federation of Labor's decree of disassociation to the Newspaper Guild of New York, recently has been answered by the Guild with a letter pointing out that the American Newspaper Guild had never withdrawn its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Executive Secretary Milton Kaufman, of the New York Guild, had been informed by George Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, that the Guild's affiliation with the state body was terminated because the ANG "has officially withdrawn its affiliation" with the AF of L.

Kaufman replied respectfully "that the ANG has not withdrawn, officially or unofficially." He expressed regret that "we should be deprived of the privilege of working with our brother unions in the State of New York."

**Unsettled in Rochester**  
ROCHESTER.—Delegates from the Rochester Newspaper Guild to the Central Trades and Labor Council were summarily unseated on orders from William Green at the council's last meeting.

No action was taken by the council itself, as President Henry D. O'Connell read Green's letter, and ruled that it be put into effect immediately after the action a motion, proposed by Julius Loos, typographical union secretary, that a letter be sent to the Guild explaining—and regretting the action—was carried unanimously.

## Party Nets \$50 For Eagle Strike

WASHINGTON.—Like some other husbands whose wives are away on vacation, Gordon Cole, treasurer of the Correspondents' unit, held a party in his apartment on Oct. 8, but Cole is not afraid of being discovered. The party netted the Eagle strikers \$50.

## Simplified Forms For Dues Sent Out

The simplified forms for the reporting of dues and other collections by unit treasurers to local treasurers and by the latter to international headquarters have been printed, in accordance with instructions by the St. Louis Convention, and sent for all Guild units were mailed to local treasurers during the past week.

The new forms replace the former elaborate receipt system, although small books of receipts, whose use is optional with the local, have been made available to the locals at the cost price of fifteen cents per book. The reporting forms provide spaces for the entry of all items of collection in the unit and for their breakdown by local treasurers in arriving at the international's share of the collections.

The convention also called for the preparation, in consultation with local officers, of uniform local records. Because local officers have so far indicated little desire for such forms, their drafting has been deferred pending further discussion.

## Win UP Vote

**ANG to Press for Wire Service Contract**

(Continued from page 1)

Included in the election were the employees of the city News Bureau of Los Angeles, Inc. The Labor Board, after a hearing conducted several weeks ago, decided the Los Angeles News Bureau was an integral part of the UP for bargaining purposes.

Excluded from the voting were bureau managers of other than one-man bureaus, executives and personal secretaries to executives.

Mrs. Herrick, who conducted the balloting by mail and cable with the assistance of Jerome Hetherington, thanked both the Guild and the UP management for their cooperation.

**Certification Due**  
Formal certification of the Guild as exclusive bargaining agency is expected to be issued by the Labor Board at Washington within the next few days.

The ballots were counted in Mrs. Herrick's office with Mrs. Herrick and Hetherington officiating. The UP management was represented by Clem Randau, business manager, and Tom Edwards, Cleveland attorney. Watson represented the Guild.

The election technically was a consent election in that the management made no demurrer to its being held. However, the management objected to votes by bureau managers or voters from the Los Angeles news bureau. To settle these questions a hearing, limited in scope, was held.

## Guild Aide Named To Airport Board

GREAT FALLS (Mont.) Oct. 8.—Fred J. Martin, secretary of the Great Falls Guild since its organization and active in labor affairs of Cascade County, has been appointed a member of the Municipal Airport Commission for a two-year term.

Martin was named to the board as a representative of organized labor in the city and will play an important part in development of the field and extensive improvements planned during the next two years.

He is a member of the executive board of the Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly and has been one of the two Guild delegates to the assembly for more than a year. He recently was sent to Washington, D. C., as a representative of the assembly to seek installation of power-generating facilities at the Fort Peck Dam in northern Montana.

## Developments in the Industry

**"Look" Looks Critically At State of Liberty**

The 2,000,000 readers of Look found wedged between a story on Swingball and a study of the world's best dressed women a no-punches-pulled article on civil liberties when they picked up the magazine dated October 12.

The article was the second and concluding piece on personal freedom in America, and another in the series Look has to its credit on social problems. Previous attention has gone to the migratory workers of California, child labor and the third degree.

Look's civil liberties series covers a multitude of sins. Look asks the questions and points to America's record. Is America really the Land of the Free? Pictures show a Negro being lynched, and the Constitution is quoted on the deprivation of life without due process of law. Other photos cover Pennsylvanians being jailed for refusing to salute the flag. Is State Freedom of Speech? asks Look.

Equally sharp are the pictures that show fire-bombed homes of Harlem County workers who dared join the union; children laughing at a lynching; radical clubs being smashed by vigilantes; the Klan and the Black Legion and their achievements; and the three outstanding miscarriages of justice—Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, Sacco and Vanzetti.

Established less than a year, Look early in its career inaugurated a vigorous liberal editorial policy. Look, published by Gardner Cowles, Jr., of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, has met with phenomenal success. It is sensational in tone,

with solid meat served every between lurid stories. As the picture magazine published "every-other-Tuesday" Look reaches two million readers, chiefly via the newsstands.

Latest to join the pack hard after Look's circulation is See, a monthly photo magazine, with the subtitle "The World in Action." Published by Victor S. Fox of Reed Charn and World Astrology. See is the first of the picture books to retail for a nickel. Publisher Fox is somewhat bolder than the average newcomer to the field in that he carried advertising and guarantees a circulation of 400,000 on an initial print order of half a million.

In content See is close kin to the trail blazer, Look. The stories include hypnotism, football, movie of the month, how to yawn, how to get a divorce in New York state. The editorial policy resembles Look's, with the first issue taking a swipe at Hitler's baby breeding and the hypocrisy of Mussolini and Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

The success of a nickel photo magazine will be left to the public quirk. However, See faces a tough job in trying to obtain first run on pictures after Life, and to a lesser extent, Look, have sewed up the field. See's first issue was composed exclusively of agency photos, but editor Arthur Brackman aspires to original work in the near future.

See's fate is impossible to forecast. It may click with its hoped-for half million readers if the lady taking a shower is as heady a temptation as Look's first issue picture quirk.

## AP Stalls Negotiations; Guild Shop Is One Excuse

(Continued from page 1)

on the bargaining unit was in defiance of the finding of the National Labor Relations Board, which has held that the New York office is an appropriate bargaining unit.

The Guild recently filed with the Labor Board a petition for investigation and certification of its right to represent AP units in Washington, Philadelphia and Boston.

Its refusal to bargain at all because the Guild shop was included among the demands was in opposition to a statement unanimously adopted by the AP unit. This statement, forwarded to the AP by the ANG's International Executive Board declared the unit was not impressed by the attempt of the publishers to raise the freedom of the press cry and added "the unit believes the freedom of the press will be encouraged and promoted by an employer-employee relationship which requires that each employee in the bargaining unit accept his share of responsibility for the maintenance of a satisfactory working relationship."

The AP statement, issued by Kent Cooper, general manager of the AP and secretary of the corporation, was headed, "Statement for Board of Directors of the Associated Press concerning the matter of collective bargaining and the action taken unanimously in regard to the contract proposed by the American Newspaper Guild for employees in the news department in the New York office." The statement was sent to the Guild and was posted upon AP bulletin boards.

The statement indicates that the AP board will refuse to consider any bargaining which is not on a nationwide basis.

The position of the Guild, made clear to the management through correspondence, is that it does not bargain except when it is requested to do so by its basic units. At the present time there has been no request for bargaining on a national basis. However, the Washington, Boston and Philadelphia offices have asked to be represented.

The New York bargaining, which began in May, was the result of an order by the National Labor Relations Board which followed an election conducted in the New York office. The board clearly defined the limits of the bargaining unit as the editorial and photo employees of that office.

The AP statement in arguing for national negotiations—which would depend upon a national election and thus involve another long delay—said:

"Precedent and procedure already outlined clearly define the Associated Press as a national organization. The Board pointed out that the Associated Press employees have but one administrative head. Their work and conduct are fitted to one standard and policy of operation. They are all engaged in identical occupation. The employees are in instantaneous telephonic and telegraphic communication with each other throughout the land. So intimate is the contact through these communications that their work may be said to be carried on in one nation-wide office."

Thus, the Board believes that if the employer of the Associated Press desires to select a bargaining unit, then it appears right and logical that all employees should have a voice in choosing their agent and that no one office or no one group of employees should be singled out by the Guild and management for separate action.

When the Associated Press argued against the Guild before the Federal Circuit Court in New York its attorney, John W. Davis, made as a main plea the contention that the AP was not engaged in interstate commerce and not subject to the Labor Relations Act. He emphasized the separateness at the various steps in what he called the "manufacture" of news, adding:

"News comes in as raw material and is put in final shape by editorial employees, and then only does its interstate transmission begin. Not until this process is completed does it become an article in interstate commerce."

## DRIVE IS ON IN TOLEDO

**Commercial Workers At News-Bee Sign Up**

(Continued from page 1)

that the commercial workers were generally ready to assume responsibility for work in their group immediately and this, to a major extent, responsible for the success of the initial session.

The commercial workers came into the TNG the night after the Guild had found itself booted out of the Central Labor Union at the orders of William Green.

Opposition to the expulsion of the Guild was led by the printing trade delegates, E. A. Sinnis, president of the Toledo I. T. U. local and delegate, moved that Green's letter, ordering the CLU to "disassociate" the Guild be tabled. His motion was ruled out of order over the protests of a large, but not sufficient number of delegates. A motion to concur in Green's letter was then put and passed.

**ANG Loyalty**  
During the debate on the motion, Raleigh Hoover, Guild delegate, read a resolution prepared by the TNG executive board, stating the TNG's position.

Just before the question was called, Otto Brach, CLU secretary, suggested that the vote might be deferred for two weeks because that would give the Toledo Guild an opportunity to join the federal union of newspapermen which Frances Dillon, Green's personal representative, says he will establish here.

Richard Overmyer, another Guild delegate, however, announced that the TNG had voted to remain loyal to the American Newspaper Guild and that it not only intended to stay out of Dillon's union but to fight its organization.

## Labor in Montreal Backs Guild Stand

MONTREAL.—Acting on a recommendation of its executive, the Trades and Labor Council at its last meeting voted unanimously to endorse the stand of the Guild in declaring the Gazette unfair. The motion also called on the delegates to the council to report back to their locals and request them to take similar action.

The council's action came as the result of the discharge in June of President R. A. C. Ballantyne by the Gazette for Guild activity. The paper has refused to meet a delegation from the council to discuss Ballantyne's reinstatement.

Civil Liberties Union attorneys this week were drafting a petition for a writ of mandamus in an attempt to force the Provincial Attorney-General to give Ballantyne permission to sue the paper. Under the provincial labor law, this permission is necessary. Ballantyne petitioned the Attorney-General in July for authorization to sue, but his petition remains unanswered.

## 'Memphis Guildsman'

The first issue of the Memphis Guildsman has rolled off the mimeographing machine to start life as a monthly publication in the interests of organized newspaper workers in Memphis, Tenn.

## CIO FIGHTS DISMISSAL

**Threatens to Call Newark Ledger 'Unfair'**

NEWARK.—The Greater Newark Industrial Council, CIO central body, has taken over the drive to win reinstatement for Agnes Fahy, Guild president fired by the Newark Ledger for Guild activity.

Meeting October 12, the council gave Publisher S. I. Newhouse and Managing Editor Philip Hochstein one week to restore Miss Fahy to her job. The Executive Board was instructed to put the paper on the council's unfair list if the paper refuses.

The action was taken following a report by a council committee which had interviewed Hochstein, saying that he was evasive and contradicted himself in trying to explain the dismissal as an "economy measure."

Guild delegates asked the council merely to take action in protest against Miss Fahy's dismissal, and that all CIO unions in the area be notified. Other delegates, in urging that the paper be placed on the unfair list unless it makes the reinstatement, asserted that the council must act vigorously in the case, because it involved the dismissal of the president of one of its unions.

Meanwhile, the Guild continued the fight in other channels. Formation of a citizens' committee went forward. The Guild met and reaffirmed its pledge to get Miss Fahy back on the job, also deploring management terrorism it considers responsible for the Ledger unit's dismissal. The newspaper's Committee to Stand Back of the Reinstatement Fight. The Newspaper Crafts Inter-Relations Committee, composed of printing trades union presidents, was to interview Hochstein Oct. 18.

"And what are you going to do about the motormen? They asked Mike Quill several years ago, when he first began organizing the Transport Workers' Union in New York. That was when the union had only 200 members and President Quill was being kicked all over the lot by the New York transit corporations."

"Oh, them?" Mike answered. "They're hard to get in. They're the aristocrats of labor. They hold cards in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. I don't think they'll come with us."

Some did come but many members remained aloof and aristocratic; a relatively small and completely ineffectual craft union in an industry dominated by company unions that seemingly had a lifetime hold.

But even the hold of a lifetime sometimes breaks, and this one did, as the Transport Workers' Union cut across the craft lines and organized and organized.

Soon came the fruits of organization. Contracts were signed with closed shop protection for the union and its members. There were vacations with pay, increases of 10 and 15 per cent in wages. And as the union swept through the industry, it dragged into the higher economic levels its aristocratic kite tail, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The latest drag was on the BMT, where the Transport Workers' Union won an arbitration award of closed shop, wage increases and vacations. The Brotherhood's turn came after the corporation signed with the TWU. Several days later it received a contract with similar benefits, not because it had demanded it or had the power to demand it, but because the BMT had been compelled to sign with the industrial union and was in no position to ignore the small remaining craft groups, even if they

## Jake Falstaff Sings of Life and Death In Posthumous Volume Just Published

**Late Poet Remembered as One Who Helped at Guild's Birth**

THE BULLS OF SPRING, by Jake Falstaff, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, \$2.00.

Reviewed By WILLIAM MILLER, Treasurer, Cleveland Guild

Four years ago in Cleveland the embryo that became the American Newspaper Guild stirred in the womb of a troubled era, stired by the general awakening to old life long neglected. It was born during those hundred days when no one was quite sure whether revolution or the Land of Oz lay just ahead, and at least one well-to-do Cleveland had stocked his country home with machine guns and canned goods.

This uncertainty was reflected among newspapermen. Unionization was a strange and new thing. The sure was great for those whose words carried influence and their names respect. There were a few such.

He Was Young  
One was Jake Falstaff, rewrite man and columnist for the Scripps Howard Cleveland Press. He earned enough to consider himself overpaid (though others did not) but he did not hesitate to affix his name to the early manifesto, nor did his hand lay in reaching for his pocket to help finance the junkets that were necessary to probe the mind of old Tin Drawers down at Washington and discover if the Blue Eagle's wings could cover us, too, without moulting.

Jake Falstaff was then still on the sunny side of his 30's (and as it turned out he lived only two years more), but already his poem on Sacco and Vanzetti had won him The Nation's Poetry Prize for 1927 and his two published works—"The Book of Rabelais" and "Redol Kugel," both now collector's items—had earned him a small fortune.

They have now been assembled. This month G. P. Putnam's Sons issue a choice selection, "The Bulls of Spring." It is a small book, indeed little more than a cross-section of his more than 4,000 poems, of which many not included were

under 16 shall not be employed. It also bans convict labor and requires employers to enforce health rules and decent working conditions.

Since the Walsh-Healey Act went into effect, on September 23, the Division of Public Contracts of the Federal Department of Labor reports 4,283 contracts, valued at \$230,856,371, have been awarded to firms throughout the United States and its territories, which have agreed to comply with its stipulations.

**Wall Street Workers Next In Line in Union Drive**  
NEW YORK (FP).—150,000 Wall Street banking and brokerage workers, who often earn only \$15 to \$25 a week, are next in line in the big union drive.

To enroll them in the United Of-

## MARATHON MEETING

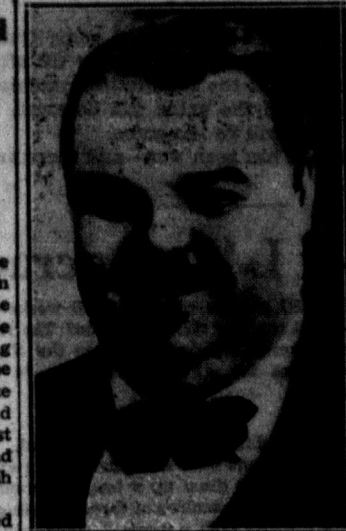
**Printers' 7-Day Session Wins Rise**

COLUMBUS, Ohio (FP).—The longest union meeting ever held in this locality has been concluded. It lasted seven days.

The prolonged union session was brought about when members of Typographical Union No. 5, employed in 28 commercial establishments, tired of stalling tactics on the part of employers.

For five months the union had wrangled with employers over increased wages with practically no results. Refusal of employers to arbitrate resulted in a militant aggressiveness on the part of the printers that startled the employers.

Under the leadership of T. Ralph Ellis, the compositors laid down their composing sticks, shut off their machines and assembled in the lengthy meeting until demand for \$5 weekly wage increase was met.



JAKE FALSTAFF

filled him to a small but unique place in American letters.

What that place ultimately would have been had Jake Falstaff enjoyed a longer span of the life he lived heartily and loved well, is anyone's surmise. Certainly those of us who were privileged to know both the artist and the man cannot judge, for we were always confused as to which was greater. But some indication can be obtained from his poems that lay yellowing in newspaper and magazine files, and which, assembled, could perpetuate and reinvigorate the American tradition of Whitman and Sandburg.

No Contents  
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the employers invoked the aid of the international union. The parent organization suspended all men involved, but the situation was not altered. President McCarron of the Akron Typographical Union, present to offer assistance from his organization, told the Columbus printers that if the suspensions lasted, they "could join with the CIO, and Charles P. Howard (international union president) would have to sign the CIO charter." Howard is secretary of the CIO.

However, employers quickly came to terms when the men displayed 100% solidarity in the face of all obstacles. It is believed that the military discipline displayed by the printers will aid in activating less aggressive unions in this notorious manufacturers' association stronghold.

## Defends IEB Resolution

**Klyman Criticizes Sanders' Stand**

St. Louis, Mo.

Editor, THE GUILD REPORTER: Brother Allison Sanders, President of the Houston Guild, protests in a letter to the Guild Reporters against the IEB's September resolution condemning the Maritime Commission's anti-labor practices. Brother Sanders repeats the argument made against the Convention resolution; i. e., they are not the Guild's business; we are wandering far afield; we have our own work to do. At the same time Brother Sanders asserts in no uncertain terms that he "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."

What, then, in essence, is Brother Sanders' approach? Simply this: He is as just as much against anti-labor practices as anyone else (may we not, then, assume that he would like to see such practices stopped?), but he wants to protect as an individual and not through his union.

First, I do not believe that Brother Sanders, getting hot under the collar, down in Houston, or myself getting upset in St. Louis, would accomplish much toward the elimination of the evil. Second, I believe the Executive Board of the American Newspaper Guild, making an official denunciation of such bad practices, might accomplish considerable good and be a force for their elimination. Third, while Brother Sanders in effect accuses the IEB of being sentimentalists concerning these evils, I must contend that the IEB's September action was completely realistic; you cannot inflict upon the body of labor, any more than on the body of an individual, an infection and let it fester; it will continue localized; an infection, not cared for, may spread and, conceivably, the whole body perishes. Any anti-labor practice, certainly an anti-labor practice on the part of a Federal department, is just about as much the Guild's business, and every other union's business, as it is the business of the union directly concerned.

If Brother Sanders believes the Guild can isolate itself and still retain its worth, I merely ask him what would be the first thing he, as President in Houston, would do if any unit of his Guild got into trouble? His answer must be: "I would immediately seek aid from the local labor movement."

There is one more thing I would like to point out: It is always said by those who protest against resolutions that the ANG harms itself by "going afield." How? Well, the membership doesn't like it. I think the answer to that is only that the membership is composed of men and women who joined the Guild to improve their conditions, to insure their conditions, or both. Such resolutions as the Convention and the IEB have passed are designed to gain those ends. Intelligent unionism is not concerned with next week's pay check alone; it must be equally concerned with the pay check of ten or 25 years from now. That is called the long view. And I am confident that the rank and file of the American Newspaper Guild will some day almost unanimously concur in this long-distance approach.

JULIUS KLYMAN, International Vice-President.

**Pharmacists' Union Gains on Coast**  
SAN FRANCISCO (FP).—The Pharmacists' Union has signed an agreement with 104 San Francisco drug stores, including major chains, providing for an eight-hour day, 48-hour week, time and a half for overtime, the union shop, vacation with pay, and a wage scale of \$165 a month for registered pharmacists. Disputes are to go to an arbitration board.

Twelve plants manufacturing wooden furniture have signed closed shop agreements with the Furniture Workers' Union. In hotel negotiations, 166 additional hotels have joined the original 18 in agreeing to be bound by the decision of the arbitration board instead of setting up a separate arbitration board of their own.

**Chattanooga Plans CIO Central Body**  
CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—The Chattanooga Guild was one of the CIO unions participating in a preliminary meeting that resulted in a formal call for the formation of a district central body for all industrial unions affiliated with the CIO.

R. L. Preston Is Sought  
The Guild has been requested to help locate Robert Lawson Preston. Will any member knowing of his whereabouts kindly write to headquarters? He worked in San Diego, Cal., last summer.



## The Guild Reporter

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Editor: Clyde Beale  
Assistant Editor:  
Leon Svirsky  
Staff for this issue:  
Jerome Kurtz, Jean Lyon,  
Frank Kelley, George  
Levin, Nathan Kahn,  
Felix Cotton (Washing-  
ton).

"... 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

|                                                                                              |                                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>President</b><br>Heywood Brown                                                            | <b>Executive Vice-President</b><br>Jonathan Eddy        |
| <b>Secretary-Treasurer</b><br>Victor Pasche                                                  |                                                         |
| <b>American Newspaper Guild International Headquarters</b><br>International Vice-Presidents: |                                                         |
| W. Erle Homan,<br>113 Endlich Ave., Mt. Penn, Pa.                                            | Garland Ashcraft,<br>44 E. 211th St., Euclid, Ohio      |
| Julius H. Klyman,<br>626 Forest Ct., Clayton, Mo.                                            | Betty Ballantine,<br>111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal. |
| Morris Watson,<br>ANG Headquarters                                                           | Harry R. Farmer,<br>74 Dunn Ave., Toronto, Ont.         |
| Cunnam Nicholas,<br>2105 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.                                   |                                                         |

International Headquarters: 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.  
Vol. IV, No. 26 October 18, 1937

## The UP Victory

The management of the United Press—where the five-day week never has seen the light of day—was coaxed some weeks ago that the American Newspaper Guild did not represent its editorial employees. The management had received a "flood of letters" from loyal employees saying they would have none of the Guild. Until the Guild proved its right to represent, the six-day-week management refused to bargain with it.

Accordingly, a National Labor Relations Board secret poll was conducted. The result was a "flood" of 277 pretty little green ballots neatly marked "YES". The management was able only to muster 84 to vote against the Guild. Is this the destruction that Editor & Publisher saw in the St. Louis Convention?

The Guild has won every Labor Board poll conducted. It is a winning organization. That is why employers hate to see it get started, for it has the habit of going on to win higher salaries, shorter hours and security for its members—all of which costs the employers money. They don't like it.

The UP vote means that the publishers have failed to impress Unipressers with their falsehoods about the Guild threat to the freedom of the press. It means that the Unipressers want the five-day week and better pay and that they understand the fundamental fact that these things can only be won through cooperation with each other in the solid front of a trade union, which is free from employer control.

The immediate task in the United Press is to bring about unity with the 84 who failed to understand that they were injuring themselves by their negative votes. Fortunately, the 277 who did understand saved the others from economic retrogression. Everybody in the bargaining unit must be shown his rela-

tionship to the bargaining and the part he must play to extend the gains.

This is a task not alone for United Press Guildsmen, but for all Guildsmen in contact with Unipressers. Their gains are the concern of all, for they will add to the momentum of gains and will be reflected everywhere.

This victory cannot be static. A going Guild unit, informed and understanding, in every UP office will be the power behind the negotiating committee. If this power is small the gains will be small, if it is great, then great will be the gains.

The first round has been won—and there are more rounds.

## A F of L 'Democracy'

Why was the CIO able to rally 4,000,000 workers to its banner in the short space of sixteen months? The following excerpts from Edward Angly's dispatch to the New York Herald-Tribune from the AF of L convention in Denver, explains in part.

Reversing the first impulse of their president, William Green, to reject the Lewis offer as insincere, the executive council of the Federation drew up a long telegram saying their special negotiating committee of three, appointed more than a year ago for just such a purpose, stood willing and anxious to go into a huddle with a similar committee from the Committee for Industrial Organization. The convention then re-elected Mr. Green by acclamation and renewed for another year the slate of vice-presidents composing the Executive Council, which had steamrollered its way through all the sessions of the convention.

A few moments later, Mr. Green renewed again the familiar attack upon the CIO, then, suddenly, with a burst of passionate rhetoric, he promised to do all he could to "heal the wounds, close the breach and solidify the labor movement."

"In the battle, I'll be in front, and not behind," he shouted. "If there is one who must fall, let it be me. But let the ranks of labor remain intact." That stirred the boys to long applause and Mr. Green sat down and wiped the perspiration from his brow.

Only forty-eight hours before his first thoughts upon reading the Lewis proposal were that it was insincere, lacking in good faith and intended for propaganda within the CIO.

Other things happened today that might seem inconsistent. During the debate on a resolution that would have empowered the executive council by a constitutional amendment to charter industrial unions — the kind Mr. Lewis favors — Daniel Tobin, one of the pilots of the executive council's steamroller, voiced the leaders' opposition to such powers.

Then he went on to say that every so often the council had chartered "a sort of industrial organization," that it had several times granted "semi-industrial charters." He was sure the executive council would exercise such discretionary powers in the future, but they were opposed to having the power to do so written into the constitution. To make the whole thing more bewildering, he then let a cat out of the bag with the remark that "if you'd wanted to do that two years ago there wouldn't have been any CIO."

The resolutions which the council's committee wanted adopted were adopted unanimously, those it asked the convention to reject were rejected without protest.

### Not an Intrusion

THE REPORTER is informed that the mention of the name of a famous actress in a story in the Oct. 11 issue seemed to some Chicago members an intrusion into private affairs. The name was mentioned in connection with the actress's gifts to a woman writer in whose column she is frequently mentioned. The connection had a direct bearing on the story in that it served to establish the large income of this writer and her probable interests as regards the Guild. THE REPORTER does not regard this mention as being in any sense an intrusion into personal gossip. The paper rigidly refrains from any intrusion in private matters.

## LABOR PARADE

100,000-Word Volume Fills  
Handbook Need on 1937  
Labor and Leaders

"MEN WHO LEAD LABOR." By Bruce Minton and John Stuart. (Modern Age Books, 35c.)  
Reviewed by RUTH McKENNY

Heywood Brown and the American Newspaper Guild are the subjects of one of the lively chapters of this volume, which can serve as a ready, popularly written handbook on today's labor movement. It contains bountiful chapters of biographical material on seven of the outstanding leaders in the labor movement, sketches of officers of new CIO unions, and reference material on the recent strikes.

The book itself is something of a revolution in the publishing trade. It's a full sized, 100,000 word volume. Its publishers, Modern Age, are breaking lances with the book trade. Operating on the slogan, "Good, cheap new books for everybody instead of expensive books for the few," Modern Age has put its new books on news stands and magazine stalls, selling some for two bits and some for a dime more.

"Men Who Lead Labor," is a new approach to telling the story of today's labor movement. It explains why Mr. Green acts that way, and how come Mr. Hutchison, the carpenter, makes the speeches that he does. The chapter on Mr. Green is subtitled, "Ghost of Gompers," and that on the president of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, "Success Story of a Bruiser."

The book, beginning with Green's life story, which serves to introduce a compact and authoritative study of the history of the AF of L and Samuel Gompers, discusses racketeering in the chapter on Hutchison and government labor legislation in a chapter on Edward McGrady.

The authors, who include plenty of documentary material, facts and figures, also add meaty details. McGrady they call the "best dressed labor leader," and add, "Two attributes helped Edward F. McGrady in his climb to high estate: an appreciation of what publicity could do for him and almost sixth sense of how to get it."

Mr. Minton and Mr. Stuart find nothing strange in Heywood Brown's early and continued interest in the American Newspaper Guild. Although they admit that publishers and gentlemen who owned race track stables used to look on Mr. Brown as "the playboy of the newspaper industry," they point out that the famous columnist always had an interest in union organization, in the rights of the oppressed.

The book covers the growth of the ANG from its earliest days to its membership in the CIO. "The experience of the American Newspaper Guild," the authors write, "served to encourage unionization among other groups within the 'new middle class'."

Quoting Mr. Brown's famous remark, "Small fry are no longer small when they begin to organize. They take on purpose and power," the authors point out that the surest way to prevent a Hitler in this country is to unionize the same sections of the population that the Austrian paper hanger won to his side in Germany.

The authors write their most brilliant chapter in an analysis of John L. Lewis, whom they call the "Samson of Labor." They tell the story of Lewis' early battles in the United Mine Workers against the union progressives without mincing words. "It took time," they write, "for John L. Lewis to learn: he distrusted theory and depended on experience."

"Men Who Lead Labor" reviews the events that led to the formation of the CIO and describes, in figures and facts, the amazing advance of the new labor movement.

The authors conclude their chapter on Lewis with this revealing quotation from the head of the CIO: "It takes every man some time to find himself in this world, to decide what he wants to do with his life. It took me longer than most people."

## Frey in Role of Free Press Crusader Makes Montana Labor Smile

John P. Frey, subject of the following article, was one of the pilots of the AF of L Executive Council who slurred the impartiality of Guildsmen because the Guild received loans from the United Mine Workers, ignoring the fact that it received funds from the AF of L also.

By JOSEPH KINZEY HOWARD  
President, Great Falls Guild

GREAT FALLS (Mont.).—The spectacular debut of John P. Frey, head of the metal trades department of the AF of L in shining armor of a crusader for the free press brought bitter amusement to Montana labor, craft and industrial alike, principal sufferers in recent years from Frey's activities as the ace American strikebreaker and wrecker of union solidarity.

Frey's destructive work first came to the general attention of Montanans when he smashed inter-union cooperation in the big 1934 copper strike involving about 8,000 miners and smelter men, members of the International Union Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and about 500 members of miscellaneous crafts employed in the same plants who had walked out with the miners.

After a bitter struggle had dragged on for three months and favorable settlement seemed possible Frey suddenly negotiated in the East a separate agreement for the striking craftsmen without consulting locals involved, then flew to Butte and demanded that the crafts accept or lose their charters.

After much protest and considerable delay the crafts finally yielded to the tactics of Frey, who now sees in the Guild a threat to free press and democracy.

The miners, however, held out a little longer and won acceptable, but far from satisfactory settlement, due to the virtually impossible task of forcing improvement of low standards already given Frey's strikebreaking blessing.

"They came to me," said Anaconda's Vice-President Hobbs of the International's action in opening Eastern negotiations, and admitted "this situation is a little bit unusual."

The Butte strike had been bitterly fought owing to the fact that the miners' organization a year earlier, active under NRA encouragement after many years inactivity, had been met by company threats to smash the union and make Montana open shop. The engineers' local of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen, charged with protection of properties from fire and flood, walked out with the others.

Soon after Frey's departure, a new operating engineers' union suddenly appeared on the Butte scene and when the Butte Trades Council, regarding it as a "Fink" union, refused it a seat, the Council charter was revoked by William Green. The Council, still without a charter, goes about its business undisturbed. The "official" A. F. of L. Council set up in opposition enrolled but five unions, most of them under International's orders and some with delegates to both councils.

But Montana labor believes in co-operation and when the Miners' agreement came up again in May, 1936, the crafts approved joint negotiations as in the ill-fated 1934 effort. To check this, Frey and other International representatives rushed to Montana and after the first joint conference of unions the crafts never reappeared. Frey handed the

agreement to the crafts and reputedly told them the choice was sign or strike. They signed. Smeltermen's negotiators were told by company officials that this agreement contained the following clause, surely the most shameful encouragement of scabbing which ever found its way into a union contract:

"If, as a result of the settlement of any such controversy, there shall be any increase in the wage scales, the members of the union who have been employed during such cessation shall receive for such period of employment wages at the rate finally agreed upon." The company then fought unsuccessfully to get the Smeltermen to endorse this clause.

The latest sortie of "free press" Frey into long-suffering Montana occurred last Labor Day when an International organizer for the Machinists distributed in autos to some of the 10,000 persons attending the Great Falls Labor Assembly's celebration copies of a Frey speech attacking Smeltermen as an unruly mob. This occurred in a city in which the smelter is the principal industry and its union the principal organized body.

The Assembly, which has steadfastly refused to break ranks over the AF of L-CIO issue, and which a few weeks ago referred to a committee without action Green's demand to expel the Guild, called the organizer to the floor to explain.

He said he was under orders to distribute "literature," regretted the "mistake," and promised no recurrence.

He was told to bring Frey with him some time. Great Falls wanted to see him. It doesn't think Frey will come.