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Committee for Industrial
Organization.

The Guild Reporter

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STAHLMAN'S RECORD OF DISTORTIONS

The President of the American Newspaper Publishers Association is indulging in plain treachery to the reading public.

James G. Stahlman, front man in their fight against the Guild and the publisher of the Nashville Banner, has been stung into replying to the Guild Reporter's revelations of his anti-labor bias and is crying "editorial dishonesty."

Attempting to appear as an apostle of editorial ethics he has been going over the country enlarging on the obligations of a paper "to print the truth in its news and editorial columns."

If his words mean anything he wants his readers to believe that they can depend on papers for truth and the honest presentation of facts on the great issues of the day.

Yet in his own paper he publishes contemptible distortions, he traduces the memory of great characters when it serves his ends, and when the truth gets in his way, he suppresses it.

That he is a complete and dangerous fake is shown in his own paper, in which he:

1. Published an article viciously maligning the reputation of the late Mrs. Florence Kelley, one of the leaders in the fight for the Child Labor Amendment, in an attempt to blacken the amendment in the eyes of his readers, and then refused to print an answer and correction from Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War.

2. Suppressed all mention of the recent beatings of the CIO organizer in Memphis, Norman Smith, despite the fact that the story was nationwide news and appeared on many front pages, not only in other cities but in his own rival, the Tennesseean; also, despite the fact that his paper has consistently tried to represent the CIO as given to violence.

3. Edited the news of the Chicago Memorial Day Massacre Film to distort its revelations about the police and cut the piece down to a two-inch story on the back page.

The attack on Mrs. Kelley, whom Baker described as "intellectually the greatest woman I have ever known," occurred on Feb. 11 in the course of the Banner's campaign against the Child Labor Amendment. For the purposes of this fight one of America's leading fascist organizations, the Sentinels of the Republic, set up the "National Committee for Protection of Child, Family, School and Church." Half of

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Bargaining Drives Pushed For Commercial Workers

San Francisco, New York and Philadelphia Active
on Behalf of New Members

SAN FRANCISCO—Following an intensive 30-day membership drive in business and advertising departments, the Northern California Guild now is preparing to bargain collectively for such units as have organized. Meetings are being held daily with the various departments to determine basic contract demands. New members are being encouraged to work out their contract proposals for presentation to the local at the earliest possible moment.

Contract negotiations with the four San Francisco papers and one Oakland paper are expected to be reopened within two weeks. Tad Irvine, international representative, has taken charge of organization, assisted by Verne Kennedy, CIO organizer loaned by Regional Office.

Attempts to wreck the vigorous Guild drive by means of company unions have met with little success. The NCNG in its official paper, the Pacific Reporter, publicized the fact that two "leaders" in the Examiner's AF of L company union are former Seattle Post-Intelligencer strike-breakers. The movement has been confined to the classified department and has not been attempted on any other paper. The Executive Council named a committee to investigate the activity on the Examiner, and authorized it to file charges of unfair practices with the National Labor Relations Board if such action seems warranted.

Informed two of his department heads had discouraged Guild membership, the executive editor of the Chronicle called a meeting of the

(Continued on page 2)

Dillon's Toledo Dual Union Drive Flops; 'Loyalty' Pledge on Blade Fizzles

TOLEDO—The plans of Francis Dillon, William Green's representative, for a federal newswriters' union here, apparently do not interest a single Toledo newspaper man or woman.

No one appeared for a meeting which the American Federation of Labor organizer called to form such an organization Oct. 17.

Individual invitations had been mailed to every editorial worker in the city, the newspapers had given the meeting publicity and Dillon had hastened back from the AF of L convention in Denver to be there. But the editorial workers proved that the resolution, adopted at a recent Toledo Newspaper Guild meeting which pledged loyalty

to the American Newspaper Guild, was no empty gesture.

Dillon, Harry Diddlebock, his press agent, and another aide planted themselves in the lobby of the hotel, where the meeting was to have been held, a half hour before its announced time and waited for the rush of prospective members.

Dillon Waits Watchfully
A few minutes later a Guildsman "happened" to drop into the hotel and Dillon and Diddlebock spent the rest of a quiet Sunday afternoon conversing with him and waiting for that rush.

As the minutes sped by, they turned hopeful eyes to the hotel door. Every time some one walked

into the lobby without baggage, they would turn to the Guildsman and ask him: "Is that a newspaperman?"

The Guildsman eventually tired of this and departed, leaving Dillon and Diddlebock convinced that no editorial workers were going to be there.

With Dillon's plan a complete goose egg, the Guild moved ahead with its organization of the commercial department workers on all three Toledo newspapers.

Guild Pushes Organization
The organization of Scripps-Howard's News-Bee is rapidly nearing completion and the first steps

(Continued on page 4)

Strike's Power Gains As CIO's Aid Is Felt

Eagle Guildsmen's Right to Picket Stores Vindicated in
Court, Forcing Advertiser Out, Spurring Campaign

The Brooklyn Eagle fight reached new heights of effectiveness last week as the full power of the CIO in the New York area was massed behind the strikers and the Guild won a signal victory in the courts. The new turn came when, even as CIO Director John Brophy was presiding over a conference at ANG headquarters on Oct. 19, word was received that one of the

5 Guilds Ask Pacts Of Hearst

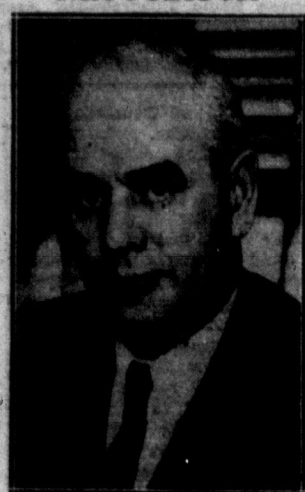
Chain Parleys Grow
—Philip Murray May
Aid Pittsburgh

With the Los Angeles, Chicago and San Antonio Guilds already in contract negotiations with their local Hearst papers, two more Guilds will begin bargaining this week with the chain's papers in their cities. New York has a bargaining conference with the Mirror today, and Pittsburgh one with the Sun-Telegraph for Tuesday. The New York negotiations will cover both editorial and commercial divisions.

The Los Angeles Guild was locked in negotiations with the Herald-Express, Hearst afternoon paper, while the management is trying to play off against it the stooge AF of L unit recently developed on the Examiner, morning Hearst paper. The management is seeking to force into the contract clauses that would be a cloak for unrestricted firing and enable it to get rid of all active

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NEGOTIATOR



Philip Murray, SWOC chairman, who may negotiate a Hearst contract for the Pittsburgh Guild.

Miners Renew Fight for Guild

WILKES-BARRE.—Backed by 53,000 organized miners in the Wyoming Valley, the Wilkes-Barre Guild on Oct. 23 was to make its third effort to obtain industrial union contracts with the Wilkes-Barre Publishers' Association on four papers. A district convention of the miners condemned the publishers for their stalling.

The last previous bargaining session, on Oct. 12, was broken up by the fogging technicalities raised during a six-hour conference by H. R.

(Continued on page 4)

Eagle's biggest advertisers, Davega-City Radio, Inc., had been denied an injunction which would have prohibited Guild picketing of its stores.

The action was followed immediately by a mass campaign to persuade the remaining advertisers to quit the Eagle.

Meanwhile, CIO threw its support behind Guild efforts on other fronts. In Pittsburgh, SWOC Director Philip Murray agreed to act as negotiator for the Guild, and in Pennsylvania a district convention of the United Mine Workers promised to back to the limit the Wilkes-Barre Guild's fight for contracts with four local publishers.

Immediately after the Oct. 19 conference, thousands of unionists were mobilized to bring early victory to the strike. The conference was followed by a meeting of 27 Brooklyn local union officials, AF of L as well as CIO, at which the broad campaign outlined under Brophy's leadership was mapped in detail.

The same day, hundreds of unionists reported for strike duty, at the

(Continued on page 2)

Waterbury Strike Nets \$250 Profit

WATERBURY (Conn.)—What the Waterbury Guild apparently needed to get on its feet financially was a strike. Although the strike on The Democrat was called for very different reasons, it served, incidentally, to put more than \$250 in the local treasury.

It lasted only a week, but plans had been made for a financial campaign that would permit the strikers to stay out all winter to win their demands if necessary. The financial machinery was well under way even before the strike. Fine support came from other Guilds, notably Boston and Lynn, Mass., and Portland, Me. The Waterbury Brass Workers' union, and the Brewers' union, also helped.

Out of its profit, the Guild made a donation of \$100 to the ANG defense fund, more than covering what the ANG had sent for the first week strike benefits.

Negotiations with the management of the Republican will be started soon, after the contract with the Democrat, won by the strike, is signed.

The Republican is the morning paper of a morning-evening combination. The Guild will negotiate for editorial workers, proof readers and office boys.

WHEN C.I.O. UNION HEADS MET TO PLEDGE AID



ANG President Heywood Brown grips the hand of CIO Director John Brophy as the CIO pledges its complete support to the Brooklyn Eagle strike. Seated, left to right, are Willard Bliss, general organizer, American Radio Telegraphists' Association; Joseph Curran, general organizer, National Maritime Union; Heywood Brown, John Brophy, and Jonathan Eddy, executive vice-president of the ANG. Standing: Albert Stankus, director of Utilities Division, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Eugene

Turner, secretary-treasurer, United Office and Professional Workers; John Green, president, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; Charles Zimmerman, secretary-treasurer, Local 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Allen Heywood, New York regional director, CIO; Julius Ensmark, secretary-treasurer, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Michael Quill, president, Transport Workers' Union; Irving Potash, vice-president, International Fur Workers; Carl Randau, president, New York Guild; Harold Pritchett, president, International Wood Workers.

BROOKLYN FIGHT GAINS

Strike Aided by CIO's Concerted Drive in Aid of ANG

(Continued from page 1)

Eagle picket line and for other tasks. The CIO conference formally adopted the strike as a key one for all labor. The meeting was symbolic of the militant spirit with which the CIO unions are supporting one another's strikes. Brophy, who came from Washington to preside, said:

"This is the fight of every one of us." He urged weekly financial assistance and union action to persuade readers and advertisers not to patronize the Eagle.

Court Case Picketing of recalcitrant advertisers as well as of news dealers still handling it was promised by the officials.

That the campaign can almost completely wipe out the remaining support for the paper was indicated in the news of the Davenport City ruling, which was made by Supreme Court Justice Leander B. Faber. The management of the stores announced that no appeal would be taken, and agreed not to advertise further if the Guild would cease its picketing.

The court's action was regarded with great satisfaction by the New York unionists, who had fought for years to make Brooklyn safe for labor.

The presence of large numbers of women trade unionists in Brooklyn, of whom some 25,000 are enrolled in the International Ladies' Garment Workers, represented at the meeting by Charles Zimmerman, secretary-treasurer of Local 22, assured that intensive pressure would be brought particularly against stores, most of whose customers are women. The availability of thousands of additional pickets will make possible the holding of large parades as well as the picketing of the widely scattered stores and dealers.

The first parade planned will be sponsored by a united front of A F of L and CIO unions, on October 30.

Many of the union officials present at the conference are prominent in the political campaign of the American Labor Party and plans were made to have the strike issue explained at all party rallies, thus

ASHCRAFT TO STAY

Office Workers Bargaining Drive In 3 Cities

(Continued from page 1)

request for a leave of absence from my duties until Feb. 1, because of the nature of the work, and health. It is fully understood that I will resume active duties within the realm of the possibilities of a working newspaper man. I do not want to do anything that a majority of the IEB might think would hurt this organization. The collective opinion of the IEB majority, I am sure, contains more practical wisdom than I possess. However that may be, I do not conceive the American Newspaper Guild as the handiwork of any individuals, but as the product of the common needs and collective thought of American editorial people.

In attempting to resign, it became apparent that old associations which held through times of stress, like ours on the IEB, were not broken so casually. I wanted rest and relaxation, and asked for it when sever assignments made the work almost impossible.

I am glad the resignation called into the field some excellent candidates. I hope they will remain in the Guild picture as potential leaders.

Prior to receiving the news of Ashcraft's decision Jack Weeks, Detroit Guild president nominated by the local Executive Board to fill the IEB post, had withdrawn as a candidate because of the urgency of immediate affairs in his own Guild.

The World-Telegram, where similar negotiations have been requested, has also asked for a Labor Board certification.

The Journal-American and Post commercial divisions are being reorganized and are expected shortly to present the New York Guild Executive Committee with a request to initiate contract negotiations.

Philadelphia Pushes Organizing Drive PHILADELPHIA. — The drive to enroll advertising and business office workers in the Philadelphia and Camden Guild goes steadily forward. Eleven bookkeepers on the Inquirer signed Guild cards at a meeting last week.

Activity on the Record has proceeded at such a speedy rate that the Guild now has a majority of all eligible Record employees — including advertising and business office workers.

With the Record advertising departments now in the Guild almost 100 percent, the organization committee has shifted its attention to the business departments, where gratifying progress already is being made.

JACKSONVILLE GUILD ANNOUNCES ITSELF

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — The Jacksonville Guild was announced on Oct. 14 with the organization of the editorial employees of the Jacksonville Journal.

All but one of the eligible reporters, desk men and photographers signed a letter to the management announcing formation of the Guild. The organization was conducted quietly over a period of several months.

The management announced its willingness to deal with the Guild. Negotiations are pending.

The local unit is the second to be formed in the John H. Perry chain of newspapers. The unit on the Reading (Pa.) Times was one of the first Guilds organized.

Walter H. Marshall was elected president.

United Paper Workers Joined Eagle Picket Line Last Week

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BECK and 'AIDES,' BOETTIGER and DORE

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(Continued from page 1)

in Seattle less than a year ago, according to Beck.

As has been said, Beck was much in evidence on the night of the President's arrival. Mayor Dore—who formerly was a caustic critic of the Post-Intelligencer—was at the station to greet the President and stood with him and Boettiger through Seattle's streets. The story is told here that it was Mayor Dore and Beck who took Boettiger into camp on his arrival here to be the new Hearst publisher—not Boettiger taking them into camp. That is the way Dave Beck works.

Beck's title is organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the 11 Pacific and Rocky Mountain States. The teamsters union is an important A F of L organization because its members are employed in or serve virtually every industry and enterprise.

This demonstrates why Dave Beck

has become an important labor figure. He is in a key position to exert his influence and he takes advantage of his position.

When Lewis broke away from the A F of L, Beck decided to remain loyal—and, as the CIO expanded its activities, he decided to exploit that organization for the benefit of the A F of L. The CIO automobile and steel strikes—their matching mobs of workers, their sit-down strikes and their failure to live up to contracts—seriously disturbed Seattle's business men. They formed an industrial council to fight off the efforts of organized labor.

Beck went to them and pointed out what the CIO was doing. He told them they were stupid to think they could defeat the organization of their workers—that such a day was gone. He urged them to be smart by recognizing the A F of L union and thus beating off the CIO.

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Star-Teamster Alliance Fights Seattle Boycott

Tactics Indicate Huge Losses to Struck Newspaper

(Continued from page 1)

The letter attacked the CIO as "subversive," and added:

"Business men who listen to this small minority group and not according to this group's wishes by boycotting the Star in any way, make it clear to the Joint Council of Teamsters that they are voting for the CIO, and are opposed to sound American principles in the ranks of labor."

A letter in similar vein, circulated by Charles Doyle, secretary of the A F of L Central Labor Council, was promptly repudiated by the local Teamsters Union, one of its largest affiliates.

Meanwhile the Guild gained fresh support in the growth of the newly-organized Seattle Industrial Labor Union Council, CIO central body with 22 affiliated unions representing a rank and file of 22,000. The latest group to join the council was the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Union, a local of 6,000 members.

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Guildsman Is a Candidate For Mayor in Ohio Town

(Continued from page 1)

SEATTLE—Fighting to stem the strike-created tide of resentment which is wiping out its advertising, the Seattle Star last week through Dave Beck's teamster organization, turned to a campaign of threats against Seattle business men who withdraw their advertising.

Clearly revealing the management desperation and the open alliance with Beck's organization, circular letters were sent to business establishments in the name of the Joint Council of Teamsters. They were signed by Frank Brewster, who has been revealed in court testimony as director of the gangster "goon" squads.

The letter attacked the CIO as "subversive," and added:

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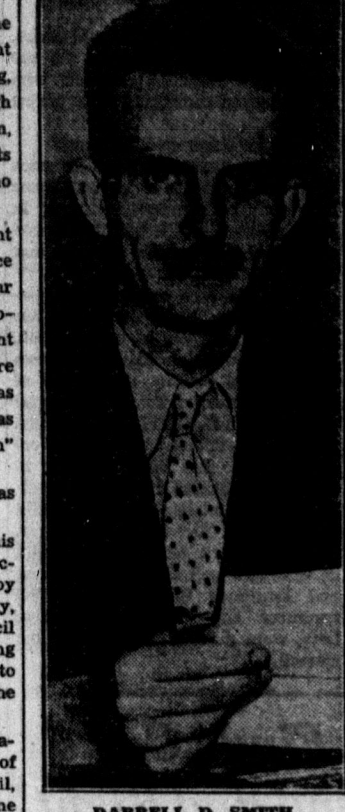
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DARRELL D. SMITH

Promises 'Town Hall' Meetings and Labor Administration

CANTON, O. — Darrell D. Smith, 34-year-old Guild member, is running for mayor against a Republican backed by the industrial interests of this city of 110,000 population.

Winner of the Democratic nomination through support of organized labor, Smith promises to give city government back to the people by instituting "Town Hall" meetings at which officials must face the music of public questioning instead of reporting privately to real estate operators, steel and manufacturing company officials and bankers.

Other planks in his platform include slum clearance and park and playground projects designed to prevent crime at its source.

Smith joined the Guild when he became Canton correspondent for The People's Press in the Fall of 1933. After three years as a driver salesman with a local dairy company, he helped organize Milk Drivers and Dairy Employees local 113, an A F of L union. In December, 1936, he became the local's business agent a post he held until September, 1937. At the same time he was associate editor of the now defunct Canton Labor Bulletin.

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BUILDING: So It Depends on WHO Backs a Free Press

By JONATHAN EDDY

RESOLUTIONS of tremendous import, covering not only freedom of the press but many other aspects of the functioning of society today, were adopted at the first broad gathering of the CIO. They will go out through union memberships and through local communities as an organizing force for true American progress. And they will be mutilated and distorted and confused by the self-anointed creators of "public opinion" who sacrifice their souls to their vested interests anew each time an edition rolls off the press.

Concerning stories in which the Guild is particularly interested, I never try to ascertain what happens between the typewriter and the linotype, because we have conceded from the beginning (despite all lies and propaganda to the contrary) that that is a matter for the management and the individual reporter concerned. Sometimes, however, the management's intervention departs from reliance on long-established editorial policy refined down the years by the relentless copy desk pencil until it has become a part of the reporters' mental robe; it departs and becomes direct and overt. At such times the reporter on the assignment may become a trifle incensed by the rudeness of the managerial reminder of his kinship with the Magdalene, and I may inadvertently hear an indignant word or two, such words being, perhaps, prefaced by an expletive "Maybe my news judgment has gone haywire, but . . ."

What's Wrong with This Picture?

MAYBE my news judgment has gone haywire, but has not freedom of the press considerable news value today? I see by the paper it is under dire threat. I have been seeing by the paper ever since the industrial code days of NIRA that it is menaced, and that the publishers' associations are defending it with heads positively gory, but unbowed. I see by the paper that practically nobody but the publishers are concerning themselves for the protection of this basic American heritage. So, when the spokesmen for 4,000,000 American citizens rally to the support of a free press—when, incidentally, 15,000 working newspapermen and women go on the record "unequivocally and unreservedly" for a free press—you might consider that the publishers had practically won their brave battle. Indeed, you might think it excusable in them to make quite a thing of it, with more of their fine editorials and front page splashes.

I presume the New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch are among the most liberal newspapers in the United States. On the day after the free press resolution was adopted by solemn unanimous rising vote at Atlantic City, I read in the Times that the conference "denounced the publishers of the country for meeting 'in secret' in St. Louis (sic) to combat the American Newspaper Guild." This was better than the Post-Dispatch, which followed the seeming policy of most newspapers of making no mention of the action whatever.

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.

with its communistic influences and irresponsible leaders, as Beck put it.

Business Men Agree to Organization

Seattle's businessmen capitulated to his suggestion. They literally rushed to sign up with the teamsters and other A F of L unions. Now the officers of the Chamber of Commerce consult with Beck and seek his advice.

Dave Beck apparently likes to think of himself as a business man. "I run this office just like a business—just like the Standard Oil Co.," he said, leaning back in a huge chair behind an elaborate desk. "Our business is selling labor."

He believes it is a union's job to help protect enterprises trying to do a decent business under fair practices against cut-throat competition and chiselers.

"There's no labor racketeering here," he asserted in a loud and raspy voice, with his blue eyes suddenly showing the hardness of steel.

"That's easy," he shot back. "We are going to these breweries that are cutting prices and forcing everybody else to do the same and tell them we won't let our men work for them. We say to them that if they want to go on like that, it is all right, but we won't work for them."

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GUILDFLAYS AP EVASION

Charges Non-Compliance With NLRB Election Orders

Another legal fight to make the Associated Press obey the National Labor Relations Act appeared certain last Wednesday when the Associated Press unit of the New York Guild met and unanimously adopted a resolution charging that the AP had failed to comply with the order of the National Labor Relations Board that it bargain with the American Newspaper Guild.

On the same day, the AP opposed elections in its Washington, Philadelphia and Boston offices, still demanding a national election despite the fact that only these and the New York unit have requested bargaining.

Adoption of the resolution by the New York unit calling for action on the AP's refusal to continue negotiations followed an address by Morris Watson, IEB vice service chairman and chief negotiator in the attempt to reach a contract with the AP.

AP Seen Test
Watson charged that the Associated Press directors, in their statement refusing further bargaining, were representative of "that group of publishers who met secretly in Chicago in conspiracy to frustrate the law."

"For the second time," Watson told the unit, "the publishers seek to make the Associated Press the guinea pig in an attempt to break the back of the American Newspaper Guild. The unity and determination of this unit in the face of this challenge will have profound effect upon the struggle of the whole Guild to win its aims."

The resolution ordered that a committee "make clear the sentiments of the unit in reply to the statement of the Associated Press Board of Directors following the Board meeting of Oct. 7."

A large representative committee was appointed at the meeting and ordered to begin work the next night on the reply.

Guild Supports CTU
The unit also rallied to the support of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, an AF of L affiliate, in a strong resolution denouncing the AP promotion of a company union and intimidation and coercion of its telegraphers.

The resolution, recalling the CTU's intervention in the Morris-Watson case in behalf of the Guild, and the friendly relations between CTU and ANG, charged that "special privileges and favors are being shown members of the IEO to the detriment of the CTU." The resolution added that "it is to the interests of both organizations to oppose the company union wherever it may appear in the Associated Press and to promote each other's welfare," placed the Associated Press unit on record as "opposing the IEO and offering all its support to the CTU, which is in truth and in fact the representative of a great majority of Associated Press operators and their natural collective bargaining agent."

Lynn Ralston Funds
LYNN (Mass.)—The Lynn Guild contributed \$15.35 toward the Waterbury Democrat Strike, and although the contribution was made after the strike was settled, the Lynn Guild asked that the Waterbury Guild keep the money as an expression of good will. It was noted that contributions toward the fund were made by Edward A. MacAdams, managing editor, and Jacob O. Finkle, city editor of the Telegram-News, both non-members of the Guild. Another contribution was made by John F. Hunt, publisher of the Saugus, Mass. Herald, a weekly, and a member of the Lynn local. Members of the Lynn Typographical Union also contributed.

Miners Renew Fight for Guild

Charges Non-Compliance With NLRB Election Orders

(Continued from page 1)
Corwin, representative of the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers' Association Industrial Department, who acted for one of the local publishers inspected by illness.

Since then however, the Guild has told its story to the valley's half-million population by radio, and the United Mine Workers, always generous with its support, had reaffirmed its pledge to stand by and help. Michael J. Kosik, president of District 1; John Kmetz, international board member, and Morris Iushe, ANG representative, are the Guild's negotiating committee.

Oct. 23 was set for resumption of negotiations upon receipt of a letter Oct. 14, signed by the four publishers, which answered the Guild's request for individual negotiations. Presumably, the publishers were now ready to negotiate jointly, as the Guild asked originally.

Two hundred delegates to the District 1, UMWA convention at Scranton, last Wednesday voiced boycott sentiment and expressed indignation at the Wilkes-Barre publishers' attempt to conduct open shop plants. Their resolution condemned the association for its stubborn refusal to grant the Guild shop, which the convention declared "a basic principle of bona fide trade unionism."

The convention suspended its regular order of business to hear Iushe tell the story of the Guild's efforts in Wilkes-Barre. The convention discussed his report for more than an hour, expressing its warm support to the Guild's fraternal delegates who were present.

UP Men to Confer On Bargaining Plan

A conference to discuss the coming collective bargaining with the United Press has been called for Monday, Oct. 25, in the offices of the Associated Press Guild.

Leading United Press Guildmen in Washington and New York will attend.

Representatives of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, now in the process of bargaining with the United Press, also have been invited to the conference by the IEB Vice Service Committee, which hopes to bring about close co-operation between the two unions.

The ANG a week ago scored an overwhelming victory in a National Labor Relations Board secret poll case in behalf of the Guild, and the results being 77-04 in favor of Guild representation.

Three during the past few weeks the National Civic Federation, friend of "good" labor organizations, has popped into newspaper notoriety. Each time its name appeared, its valiant-looking executive chairman, Ralph M. Easley, was being pushed into a sea of hot water. On two of his dives Easley dragged a number of American Federation of Labor chair-warmers and New York Mayorality Candidate Jeremiah T. Mahoney with him.

Widepread attention was called by his first appearance when wires from Denver carried William Green's hot and spitting denial of a series of exposures in the New York Daily Worker.

The paper reproduced some of the close correspondence maintained between Easley on the one hand and Green, Matthew Wall, and P. Frey and Joseph P. Ryan of the AF of L on the other.

That Green was at least implicated in plans to break the Republic Steel strike at a time when pickets were being shot down in Chicago, Johnstown, Warren and Youngstown, appears likely from the reproductions

All Toledo Newspapermen Boycott Dillon's Meeting

Charges Non-Compliance With NLRB Election Orders

(Continued from page 1)
have been taken on Paul Block's Blade and Times.

The News-Bee group has elected a provisional executive committee and representatives to the TNG executive committee and voted to conduct weekly meetings. Two meetings already have been held with much success.

As the organization work began on the Blade, the following "loyalty" petition suddenly made its appearance:

"Mr. Stanley Speer (Blade general manager):
"In these strenuous times, not only throughout the country but right here in Toledo in the newspaper business, we the undersigned desire to make some statement of appreciation and confidence in the management and ownership of the Toledo Blade."

Only five signs.

"We have never found it difficult to place our problems before our department manager and we have received every consideration from them. We want you to know we have a deep sense of appreciation of our treatment in years past and confidence of what the future holds for us on the Toledo Blade."

This first appeared in the classified advertising department but after only five out of 17 people in that department signed it, the petition disappeared without reaching any of the 70 or so in the other departments.

Mr. Roosevelt Finds Guild Principle 'Sound and Right'

Here is an official transcript of Mrs. Roosevelt's remarks reaffirming her adherence to the Guild in response to questions at a recent press conference. We do not have the questions.

"They took a vote and decided to affiliate with the CIO, and since we're members of the Guild, that's all right; we abide by the majority opinion of Guild members."

"I'm not entirely sure what understanding the Guild has with the CIO leadership, and from my point of view, writers would find themselves in a very difficult position if they had to abide by exactly the same rules as people who do manual work."

"I think the Guild has done perfectly splendid things in some of its accomplishments, but I rather imagine there will have to be some very definite understanding of a discrimination between rules that apply to

people who are doing different kinds of work. These adjustments will come, as we grow up. The principle is sound and right."

"I think you have to abide by the decision of the majority and work out questions gradually. I think we will have growing pains, of course, just as I think there are growing pains in almost everything we see around us."

NLRB Complaint

DETROIT.—The Detroit Guild is filing charges with the NLRB against Hearst's Detroit Times in the dismissal of Leon Evars, the Guild notified William Anderson, publisher, last week.

Evars, veteran advertising agent, who led the drive for business office organization on the Times, was dismissed on Oct. 2.

Now attacking not only the CIO but even labor's right of collective bargaining. They brought into the line-light a pamphlet by Easley headed, "There Is No Such Thing as the Right to Collective Bargaining."

Easley took his third dive when former WPA employees whom he had hired banded together in an attempt to collect salaries due them, the World-Telegram reported on Oct. 19. Three of them recovered \$180 in back pay on a court judgment, while five others are awaiting settlement of claims totaling \$1,000.

The letters primarily established Easley as a busybody with connections and interests that make him dangerous to labor. And the denials of the recipients of his letters did not convincingly exonerate them. The letters show Easley to be a member of their fraternity in good standing. The Federation is the body in which AP of L officers are specifically prohibited from holding office. The resolution establishing the prohibition was passed by the 1933 Convention on the motion of John L. Lewis. At that time Matthew Wall was the Civic Federation's third vice-president.

PRESSMEN TRY SPLIT

Alert Guild Officers In Indianapolis Wreck Drive

INDIANAPOLIS.—First under the guise of an anti-labor group and then posing as "The Indianapolis Newspaper Guild," an AP of L union without any newspaper publishing connection attempted to organize newspaper commercial staffs here last week.

Guidemen heckled and disallowed the 44 who attended and were thrown out after causing most to leave. The meeting adjourned to resume later as a "closed" session.

It is understood that ten persons who remained at the meeting contributed a dollar, each to purchase a Web-Pressmen's charter, and took on obligations to pay \$2.25 a month dues, to "buy stamps and stationery," to help support a school for fat-bed pressmen, and a home for decrepit pressmen, and to fight the CIO. All were circulated from The News, Guild-baiting afternoon daily. None was a Guild member.

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5 PACT PARLEY ON WITH HEARST

New Bargaining Is Started With The Chain

(Continued from page 1)
Guild members without recourse.

In Chicago leading Typographical Union members assured the Guild of support. Their contracts prohibit their members from handling struck work and it was made clear that this clause would apply to struck Guild work.

In San Antonio, the Guild has taken a provisional strike vote in support of the Guild shop demand. The management is trying to have this demand eliminated but is not using it as an excuse to avoid negotiations.

Backing in Chicago
CHICAGO.—Assurances of vigorous Typographical Union support of the Guild's negotiations for Guild shop contracts furnished the high light of a week of increased activity on many local fronts.

Bargaining is being pressed with the management of both Hearst papers. A well-attended meeting of the Herald and Examiner unit, for which contract proposals had been submitted on Oct. 21 and further negotiations were set for Oct. 27.

Meanwhile the reorganization of the Times unit was launched at a meeting attended by virtually the entire city-wide representative assembly. Al Jackson, was elected temporary controller and new elections for all unit officers were called for the next meeting, on Oct. 27.

Labor Board conferences on the ANG's recent charges against the Times were expected in the week of Oct. 23. When discussion arose at the unit meeting as to whether there had been sufficient cause for the charges, a secret ballot was held in which 79 per cent voted that there had been.

San Antonio Getting Aid
SAN ANTONIO, Texas.—The San Antonio Guild began building up labor and liberal support for its contract negotiations with the management of the Hearst Light following the receipt by Guild negotiators of a letter from the management stating that it could not enter into a Guild shop agreement. Organization of the unorganized departments on all three local papers is proceeding rapidly.

The Guild has already taken a provisional strike vote in support of its Guild shop demand. The management's letter seeking to eliminate this point added, "However, this is not a barrier when the time comes to enter into a mutually satisfactory agreement with our editorial employees."

The Guild subsequently wrote the publisher, asking him to set the earliest possible date for the resumption of negotiations.

Guild negotiators are Father Leo Murphy, Dr. Sidney Kaliski and Malcolm Barwell.

Murray May Aid
PITTSBURGH.—Wilmor M. Jacoby, Publisher of Hearst's Sun-Telegraph here agreed to meet with Guild negotiators on Tuesday morning and as frequently thereafter as possible until negotiations for the Sun-Telegraph editorial staff are completed. Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, will join the Guild's negotiating committee if he can make it.

The other committee members will include John E. Jones, President of the Guild and Joseph Hagan, secretary of the Pittsburgh Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union.

Murray will be at the Washington, D. C. CIO-AP of L peace conference during the first meeting but will join later sessions if he is in Pittsburgh.

The negotiations have been dragging for a year, but Jacoby has now assured the Guild: "I am as anxious as you boys are to get this thing over with, one way or another."

Meetings will be held in the William Penn Hotel—the first time that Guild suggestions in Pittsburgh have been held outside a publisher's office.

The Guild asks the Guild shop and other standard features. The Sun-Telegraph offered a contract last spring, almost identical with similar contracts accepted by the Press and Post-Gazette, but the unit rejected it because it failed to include the Guild shop.

Broad Parley in N. Y.
New York will open today at a conference with Charles McCabe, publisher of the Daily Mirror, when a preliminary presentation of contract points covering the editorial and commercial divisions will be made.

Considerable delay had been encountered because of the efforts of the New York Guild to confer with the Hearst general management for both the Journal-American and Mirror at the same time. The Hearst management, however, maintained that each paper had to be dealt with separately.

The Mirror unit has been working for some time under a unilateral statement negotiated by the Guild. Considerable disagreement between the Guild and the management during the previous negotiations resulted in the introduction of Harvey J. Kelly, Hearst labor advisor, into the conference.

Fahy Dismissal Put Before Labor Board
NEWARK.—A complaint charging the dismissal of President Agnes Fahy was for Guild activity, has been filed with the National Labor Relations Board against the S. I. Newhouse-owned Newark Ledger. It was made as local unions and the CIO central body here continued their pressure upon Newhouse for Mas Fahy's reinstatement.

The Inter-Relations Committee of Organized Newspaper Crafts, composed of newspaper printing trades presidents, after seeking an explanation of the discharge from managing editor Philip Hochstein has arranged to interview Publisher Newhouse on the matter.

The NLRB complaint, filed by Attorney A. J. Iserman, pointed out that office discrimination against Miss Fahy became intensified after City Editor Moglever lost an appeal to the courts for reinstatement in the Guild. He had been expelled on charges of being a publisher's stooge. It added that Hochstein fired her within the same week, giving first one pretext, and then another.

Our Side of Table in Los Angeles

Guild Delegation Talks Turkey to Hearst Management



Left to right: Carey McWilliams, attorney; Roger Johnson, president, Los Angeles Guild; C. H. "Brick" Garrigue, member of San Diego Guild, now a district CIO organizer; Uwe Daniel, and Morgan Mull, ANG International Representative.

equal pay or time-off for overtime is offered.

American's Proposal
Bargaining advanced another step with Publisher Merrill C. Meigs of the Evening American on Oct. 20 when he submitted in contract form a counter proposal to the Guild's draft which he took under advisement on Sept. 30. Meigs' draft included all the basically objectionable features of the Herald and Examiner's counter proposal, although differing in minor respects.

The American unit was to discuss the counter offer on Oct. 21 and further negotiations were set for Oct. 27.

Meanwhile the reorganization of the Times unit was launched at a meeting attended by virtually the entire city-wide representative assembly. Al Jackson, was elected temporary controller and new elections for all unit officers were called for the next meeting, on Oct. 27.

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STAHLMAN'S RECORD

(Continued from page 1)

the board of directors of this committee were members of the board of the Sentinels.

One of the articles circulated by this committee was an attempt to read sinister purposes into Mrs. Kelley's actions by labeling her as a Communist. The chief evidence was that she had been married to a Russian by the name of Wischnewsky. Though Mrs. Kelley's works and career in close association with such American women as Julia Lathrop, Jane Addams and Grace Abbott were well known, the story represented the whole Child Labor Amendment as a Communist plot. The headline in the Banner was: "National Welfare Organization Brands Child Labor Proposal as Work of Communist Leaders."

The article did not mention that Mrs. Kelley's marriage took place and was dissolved long before the Communists overthrew the Czarist regime.

The attack on Mrs. Kelley was printed on page 1. Baker was presumably in the particular good graces of Stahlman at the time he replied. He had just been in Nashville attacking the TVA in Federal Court. Nevertheless the letter was suppressed. Here it is:

I am unwilling to remain silent if anything I can say will right a wrong to the memory of a very great and very noble woman, so I beg leave to say that my acquaintance with Florence Kelley for forty years was intimate and close. For many years I was President of the National Consumers League of which she was executive secretary. She has been a guest at my house and I have worked with her in her office and have collaborated with her in literary and other appeals for the National Consumers League. From that acquaintance and from a rather constant and wide association with great women in America during my generation, I do not have any hesitation in saying that Mrs. Kelley was intellectually the greatest woman I have ever known. With a lawyer's training, she had acquired a directness and candor of speech and a disciplined and penetrating mind which she applied with unselfish and really exalted devotion to the interests of women and children of the less fortunate economic class in the United States.

Mrs. Kelley's marriage, which I understand to have been to a Russian, was over long before I first met her. Whatever unhappiness there may have been about that I do not know, but Mrs. Kelley was left as a mother to educate and raise her children. This she did with splendid fidelity and great success, and they have achieved distinction in the professional and business world.

Mrs. Kelley lived for a long time in Hull House with Jane Addams. Later she made her home in New York City. In both places she achieved high distinction and had almost the reverent regard of all who knew her for her sincerity and straightforwardness. She was as American as any woman I ever knew.

It is wholly possible to disagree with some of the theories which Jane Addams and Florence Kelley developed. It ought not, however, to be forgotten that they spent their lives with the lowly and that the sorrows of the unfortunate became a part of their sorrows, so that if they put the emphasis somewhat too strongly in one direction, their mistakes were of the most generous sort. Both Miss Addams and Mrs. Kelley were brave women, both were able women and both were supremely good women.

San Diego Battles 'Economy' Firings
SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—Labor Board charges have been filed by the San Diego Guild in effort to stem the wave of dismissals started by the San Diego Tribune management five weeks ago.

Most recent "economy" victims are: H. P. Emerson, bookkeeper on the Tribune for 13 years; Eddie McMahon, circulation manager for 11 years; George Boeber, 3 years service, and Frank Thorford, a recently hired reporter.

The Labor Board charges state, in an attempt to pay more than 50 Guildmen who have made statements to the NLRB, that any employee revealing company "business" would be fired.

Meanwhile, the Guild was fighting the circulation department. More than 80 per cent organized, the local has grown stronger, however.

addition to the firings, that a list of "rules" posted Oct. 11 by the management, stating that anyone doing anything outside of office hours that in any way reflected on the Tribune was subject to immediate dismissal. This was interpreted as a direct threat to the Guild organizing drive.

The management announced also, in an attempt to pay more than 50 Guildmen who have made statements to the NLRB, that any employee revealing company "business" would be fired.

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Brophy Reviews 2 Years of CIO Progress

Unions' Phenomenal Growth and Gains Listed in Report

completed for complying with these re-

State, County and Municipal Workers.—Employees of states, counties and municipalities represent another large field of unorganized government employees, from which the CIO received many requests

Cannery and Agricultural Workers.—Representatives of AF of L federal unions of these workers met in July, 1937, to form the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing

and Allied Workers of America. This union has been accepted into affiliation and 27 organizers have been assigned to push a wide-spread campaign of organization.

Regional and Sub-Regional Offices

Prior to the March, 1937, meeting of the CIO, the direction of activities was carried on either directly from the national office or by affiliated international unions and organizing committees, and there were no regional offices. * * *

Chairman Lewis has since appointed 48 Regional Directors and 10 Sub-Regional Directors. Regional offices of the CIO have been set up in the following cities:

Birmingham, Ala.	Billings, Mont.
San Francisco, Cal.	Newark, N. J.

Los Angeles, Cal.
Wilmington, Del.
Washington, D. C.
Springfield, Ill.
Indianapolis, Ind.
Sioux City, Iowa
Chicago, Ill.
Terre Haute, Ind.
Des Moines, Iowa
Pittsburg, Kan.
Lexington, Ky.
Louisville, Ky.
Baltimore, Md.
Cumberland, Md.
Boston, Mass.
Buffalo, N. Y.
Newark, N. J.
Winston-Salem, N. C.
Cincinnati, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
Toledo, Ohio
Muskegon, Okla.
Portland, Ore.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Scranton, Pa.
 Erie, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Joliet, Tenn.
Houston, Texas
Salt Lake City, Utah

Detroit, Mich.
 Minneapolis, Minn.
 Duluth, Minn.
 Kansas City, Mo.
 St. Louis, Mo.

Richmond, Va.
 Norton, Va.
 Seattle, Wash.
 Milwaukee, Wis.
 Calgary, Alberta

Sub-Regional offices have been set up in the following cities:

New Haven, Conn.
Bridgeport, Conn.
Rockford, Ill.
Des Moines, Iowa
Omaha, Neb.
Bennington, Vt.

Trenton, N. J.
Providence, R. I.
Dallas, Texas
Huntington, W. Va.
Wheeling, W. Va.

Working under the direction of the above-mentioned Regional Directors are 198 Field Representatives, whose activities are devoted chiefly to organizing in the miscellaneous

In addition to these, 286 Field Representatives have been placed on the payroll of the national CIO and assigned to work under the direction of international unions whose organizing campaigns we are aid-

Publications Discussed

In the past six months the number of papers and magazines printed by CIO unions or supporting CIO policies locally or regionally has increased to between one and

Many proposals have been advanced for the CIO to finance or sponsor local or regional papers of this kind. But the policy has been followed to date of leaving sponsorship and support of such publications to our local unions and other organizations.

Publication of a CIO paper has been proposed on many occasions since the CIO was started, but the demands for it have increased greatly in frequency and insistence in the past few months due to the expansion of our movement and to the propaganda which we have had to counteract.

The expenses of producing an adequate paper for such a great movement and one popular enough to have general appeal, have been the main consideration against adopting such proposals so far.

The most frequently advanced proposal is for a weekly publication along lines

somewhat similar to the paper *Labor*, published by the railroad labor organizations. It is pointed out that this paper has had much political influence, particularly where special editions have been printed in large quantities for general circulation in state or local election campaigns.

such a paper of the CIO could be much more influential. The special edition idea could be used for the furtherance of special organizing campaigns, as well as in political campaigns. * * *

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The Guild Reporter

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Editor: Clyde Beale
 Assistant Editor:
 Leon Sivirsky
 Staff for this issue:
 Ralph Izard, Jean
 Lyon, Evelyn Seeley,
 Felix Cotton (Wash-
 ington).

"... 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 Pascher	
American Newspaper Guild International Headquarters International Vice-Presidents:	
W. Erie Homan, 113 Eadich Ave., Mt. Penn, Pa.	Carland Ashcraft, 44 E. 211th St., Euclid, Ohio
Julius H. Klyman, 626 Forest Cl., Clayton, Mo.	Betty Ballantine, 111 Ellis St., San Francisco, Cal.
Morris Watson, ANG Headquarters	Harry R. Farmer, 74 Dunn Ave., Toronto, Ont.
Canar Michelson, 2105 E. Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.	
International Headquarters: 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y.	

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Vote Labor

November 2 will be one of the great days of this generation.

Labor in numerous cities is going to the polls under its own banners to vote for its own candidates to reclaim its political heritage. It is taking the first long step to redress a balance that has been turning further against American workers for generations.

The publishers themselves are spurring us in the Guild to hasten this independent political action. Their increasing boldness in intimidations and reprisals, carried on under the smoke-screen of "freedom of the press," would force us to seek this new strength, even if there were no other reason.

There is another reason. The present arrogance of the publishers grows directly out of the same conditions that have given us the Tom Girdlers and the Memorial Day massacres. Tom Girdler could defy the law because he could buy the local governments. The Chicago police force beat the brains out of the steel strikers because it is controlled by Chicago's ruling business clique. The publishers can ignore the law because they are either controlled by, or draw their main sustenance from sources hostile to our legal aids. These things are only possible while the bulk of the population sits back in supine ignorance.

This year a large part of it is demonstrating that if it was hoodwinked, it is so no longer; and if it lacked a political instrument before, it knows how to forge one now.

No one pretends that even if a labor party came into full maturity this year it would bring the millennium. It will, however, mean an effective medium through which to work, and it will multiply the power of our economic action.

The size of the vote in every city where labor has candidates will determine the momentum with which this movement will go forward in the nation. This is not like earlier frittering "third party" attempts. The movement has behind it the union organizations and hence it rests on a policy and on the binding tie of fundamental economic interest which those oftentimes odd political coagulations lacked.

The labor "movement" is moving again—at last! It is drawing to itself the finest elements of American life, sweeping into its ranks the good, honest millions of plain workers and more and more segments of the middle class. As it demonstrates serious purpose, determination and power, it will draw more. Hence every single vote cast for its candidates this year will have definite constructive effect.

To solidify and build up this tremendous, significant growth, on November 2—

Vote Labor.

"Forgotten" Lines

Editor & Publisher is upset because the REPORTER credited to the Guild much of the improvement in editorial pay of the last four years. "Plain impudence," says E. & P. Well, here's a little more impudence:

Said Editor & Publisher when the New York Daily News contract was signed:

Although the wage levels set in the contract are stated as minima . . . it was learned that in reality they are higher than the maximum now paid to more than 175 employees of the editorial department, and that the increased cost to the News for the first year will be in the neighborhood of \$100,000. In effect, the contract is a general wage increase. . . . The minimum wages established are the highest for any daily in the country.

Said Editor & Publisher when the Chicago Times

PROFESSORS WEIGH CIO GAINS

I. Princeton Report Acknowledges SWOC Drive as Best in U.S. History; Credits Campaign with Winning Highest Pay, Lowest Hours

The Princeton University Industrial Relations Section has just issued a 43-page report, "Collective Bargaining in the Steel Industry: 1937." It should be welcomed as a scholarly approach to a labor subject, for this is a thing seldom accorded labor these days.

Except for its failure to see through Little Steel's "independent employee associations" as company unions, the report can rightly be called a fair survey of the remarkable advance made in the steel industry.

This is true even if the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune of Oct. 21 differed sharply on what the survey reported. Each paper carried about a column on the pamphlet. They claimed to be talking about the same one, but here is how the Times headlined the review: "Princeton Survey Cites S.W.O.C. Gain."

The Herald Tribune headline said this: "Survey Shows C.I.O. Losses in Steel Ranks." There was nothing in either the report or the story to bear out the head.

Prepared by Frederick H. Harbison, research assistant of the industrial section, with a foreword by Professor J. Douglas Brown, director, the report "does not presume to evaluate or conclude," but presents facts.

The report acknowledges that the historic drive of the SWOC headed by Philip Murray early this year to unionize Big Steel was "generally considered one of the best managed organization drives in American trade union history." And it further adds "that the pressure of a CIO campaign was largely responsible for the industry-wide wage increases of November, 1936, and March, 1937, together with the establishment of the 40-hour normal week." "As a result," the survey adds, "steel workers were receiving higher real earnings and were working fewer hours than ever before in the history of the industry. Their favorable economic position was further enhanced by vacations with pay that have been granted by the larger companies for the past two years."

The document does not discuss the strikes waged in the fight to unionize Little Steel. Nor does it mention the lives lost on picket lines. Little Steel's resistance to the SWOC was attributed in part to a hope for competitive advantage over Big Steel, if it successfully fought off the union.

Mr. Harbison gives several of his pages to a discussion of the "independent employee associations" which, he notes, "were gaining in numbers and activity" during the first six months following the organization of the SWOC. He adds:

"Membership was usually confined to employees of a single plant or district within a company, and the by-laws were in many cases similar to those of the former company unions. During the summer of 1937, it was evident

that these were most powerful and active in plants of those independent steel companies that had resisted the strikes called by the CIO union. The most obvious obstacles confronting the independent association were the lack of full time experienced leaders and financial weakness."

In discussing "independent" steel unions as such, Mr. Harbison revealed the major weakness of his approach. They are company unions, as his own report shows. First, he points out that they cropped up soon after the openly operated company unions died; second, that they adopted the company union by-law form, and third, that they were most active in the plants "that had resisted the strikes called by the CIO unions."

He adds that the independents were lacking in full time leaders and moreover, that they suffered from financial weakness. It is naive to characterize such a union as "independent." Any trade unionist knows that a union without financial and moral backing outside its own plant, a union without permanent financial resources, couldn't last a month. The "independents" in the Little Steel strike were phantoms created by the companies for union busting purposes.

Ever present on the scene of any sabotage, John P. Frey, head of the American Federation of Labor's Metal Trades Department, who recently joined labor baiting publishers in attacking the Guild and crying for a "free press," has his place in the report's discussion of the so-called independent unions.

"Just when the SWOC secured an agreement with the Carnegie-Illinois Company, the American Union (of Steel Workers) burst into headlines by calling on J. P. Frey for advice and help. The main objective of this gesture, it appears, was to divert publicity from the SWOC. The leaders of the American Union were not in sympathy with the craft union idea. Because of insufficient financial resources and lack of full time officers, the American Union of Steel Workers has since become inactive."

The role of the SWOC is characterized by Mr. Harbison as a "labor receivership." He points out that a formal steel union does not yet exist, and that most of the SWOC leaders are mine workers. He displays an understanding of the problem any young union has in developing leadership and maintaining dues discipline. He says:

"Finally, the question of union responsibility will apparently have great influence on the renewal of the contracts in February, 1938. Considering the number of agreements signed and the newness of the union, up to mid-summer, 1937, it appeared that the SWOC record, as far as living up to the contracts was concerned, was very satisfactory."

II. U. of Michigan Historian Says Green's Great 'Frisco Betrayal of '34, 'Static' Policies, Brought Need for Industrial Unionism to Head

"ROOSEVELT TO ROOSEVELT." By Dwight Lowell Dumond. Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1937. \$3.50.

An eminent, disinterested historian has recently expressed his views on the basic difference between the CIO and the A.F.O.L. Professor Dwight Lowell Dumond, of the University of Michigan, in his valuable work, *Roosevelt to Roosevelt*, makes the following remarks about the rival policies and the cleavage:

"Sensing the situation (in the San Francisco general strike of 1934) and seeking to save the face of the American Federation of Labor at the expense of the San Francisco laborers, President William Green disavowed any responsibility for it on behalf of his organization. The craft unionists went back to work and the longshoremen were forced to submit their grievances to arbitration."

The American Federation of Labor had failed to do more than increase its membership by 2,000,000 in the early days of a frankly friendly administration. It failed to take advantage of its opportunity to organize along industrial lines and thus fortify itself against the day of a hostile administration. Instead, it supported the Wagner bill and the National Labor Board, thus actually seeking to make itself the ward of the government, surrendering its freedom of action at times of industrial strife, and laying itself open to destruction in event of hostile control. It had been frustrated in its attempt to establish a labor dictatorship (which was so nearly within its grasp after the Denver Tramways case) by the automobile code and the abandonment of the original Wagner bill."

After picturing the weakness of the A.F.O.L. Professor Dumond describes the formation of the Committee

posted its new conditions, worked out in bargaining with the Guild:

The rates of minimum pay, effective as of March 8, constitute an average increase of approximately 23 percent over the present total pay of those affected, according to Mr. Thomason (the publisher).

According to our critic our improvements were really "in the works and would have been compelled by competitive conditions."

Conditions such as the throwing out of hundreds of workers in the Hearst, Gannett and other newspaper suspensions, no doubt,

tee for Industrial Organization and the controversy over industrial versus craft organization. He continues:

"The contest was no mere struggle for power. It was as broad as the labor movement itself. It was the difference between craft and industrial organization which meant a static labor movement or a vigorous labor movement in conformity with modern industrial conditions."

And in those words, Professor Dumond epitomizes the entire "issue" between the C.I.O. and the A.F.O.L. While this view is not unknown to progressive unionists, it comes here from a highly trained historical specialist with no ax of self interest to grind.

Professor Dumond's book will repay study in its entirety. It covers factually and completely the period 1900-1936. It is virtually indispensable to people who require in brief form the historical background of present day events. For all progressive trades unionists it is a useful volume to consult for marshalling arguments for the general public or for their own members that do not quite understand the need for positive action.

Professor Dumond's work, the most complete available on the period 1896-1936 in American history, explains the complicated causative factors that entered into the debacle of 1929-1933. Although published before the recent Supreme Court controversy, the discussion of the Supreme Court question in the book anticipates in a penetrating general fashion recent events with respect to the court. Professor Dumond is, perhaps, a shade too uncritical about the ostensible liberal ingredients of the Theodore Roosevelt Administration and the first Woodrow Wilson Administration, but he is critical, although friendly, to the New Deal.

A complete index enables the busy person to use the book for ready reference on questions such as taxation, tariffs, public opinion, government control and regulation of anarchistic individualism in business, foreign policy, social programs, etc. At the same time the book is excellent reading for those who wish to acquaint themselves with the broad stream of events since 1896. In crucial respects, it serves to negate the shallow propaganda of most current editorial writers and of trained seals among the columnists like Westbrook Pegler, Dorothy Thompson, Hugh Johnson, Walter Lippman, Simeon Strunsky, George Sokolsky and David Lawrence, all of whom draw very large salaries.

F. L.