

BUILDING

**The Immediate Job:
Consolidate the Guild
In Face of Opposition
Concentrated On Us**

By JONATHAN EDDY

THE main concern of the American Newspaper Guild (and the other new unions) today is consolidation. We have established ourselves as the recognized bargaining agency for the editorial workers of the key industry in which we work. In some places we have already established the Guild in like manner in the other departments over which we have been assigned union jurisdiction.

Our basic membership embraces the vast majority of those employed on the urban newspapers of the United States, not to stress a goodly representation in Canada.

In the past very few years we have been the instrument of reducing working hours for newspapermen and women by the millions. Through Guild activity millions of dollars, in the aggregate, have come to broaden and improve the lives of working newspaper people. Moreover, under a most widespread and concerted attack we are battling for and winning economic security for our members.

THE last few months or year have marked a period of tremendous growth. Also we have had our share of dramatic conflict, not only directly with employers whose interests clash with ours, but, amongst ourselves on matters of the policy with which we confront the employers. Perhaps some of us thought the fate of the Guild was at stake.

From the time the ANG got its formal start with constitutional organization late in 1933, there has never been any question as to whether or not there would be an American Newspaper Guild. We spurred up to the status of a national union too quickly for any enemies to stop us altogether. Whether or not the American Newspaper Guild will survive as the recognized collective bargaining agency of newspaper men and women throughout the country is not at stake now.

But in a narrower sense much is at stake. The unprecedented forward march of labor stimulated by the CIO has brought about an unprecedented combination to stem that tide. Unquestionably we have been in the forefront and the thick of it. The newspaper workers are the last ones some people want to see firmly and permanently and progressively organized.

PERHAPS we had a psychological letdown after that referendum. Perhaps we are a little weary of strikes, especially long strikes that cost fortunes to fight out. Perhaps we figure:

(Continued on page 2)

The Guild Reporter

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Wilkes-Barre Guild Strikes; Powerful Aid Closes Paper

29 A.N.G. CASES GO TO N.L.R.B., EXPOSING PUBLISHERS' LINE

That the publishers' expressions of horror about the Guild shop have been paraded before the public for just one purpose, namely, to cover an intensive effort to break up the Guild, has been proved by the record since the Chicago convention.

Since that time the publishers have indulged in a firing orgy exceeding by far any previous period in Guild history.

And by so doing they have proved up to the hilt the Guild's case for the Guild shop. If there was any doubt before, the publishers have demonstrated now that the unrestricted power to fire is to them a weapon for breaking the Guild. The livelihoods of their employees mean nothing.

They have made a record which the public in any city will brand as irresponsible, unscrupulous and contemptible.

Here it is:

Since that "free press" convention, Guilds in 19 cities have been obliged to file not less than 29 cases before Labor Boards. (There may be others not recorded at ANG headquarters.) Other cases are now in preparation.

In at least 17 of the cases the charge includes intimidation, coercion and usually actual discharge used in attempts to break up Guild units.

In six, the employers have sought to discourage membership by refusing to bargain with the Guild.

In six the Guilds have had to seek certification of their (Continued on page 4)

Units May Hit Other Publishers

State Association Man Wrecks Conference

WILKES-BARRE.—A three-months' battle over conference tables with four publishers of this city ended last Tuesday in a strike that forced the Wilkes-Barre Record to suspend publication for the first time in nearly a century.

The strike came after the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association had stepped into the local situation and forced to a head the wearisome stalling tactics used by the four Wilkes-Barre Association members.

The Guild Executive Committee, armed with a strike vote approved unanimously by the entire Guild membership, was preparing Friday night to close the other three papers—the Times Leader, the News and the Sunday Independent—if the publishers continued to refuse a reasonable settlement. District officials of the United Mine Workers serving on the Guild negotiating committee, told the publishers that the miners who number more than 50,000 in this district would provide unlimited numbers of pickets "to stop unfair attacks on organized labor" and to win a fair contract.

L. J. Van Laeys, general manager of the Record, announced Thursday that his newspaper was closed "indefinitely." To the announcement he coupled an inflammatory "demand" published two columns wide in the News and Times Leader, that state police, county police and city police "do their duty." More than 500 cheering and singing pickets paraded before the dark and curtained windows of the ornate, granite Record building on Thursday (Continued on page 3)

Los Angeles Hearst Pact Agreed On

Long Parleys Reach Terms; Progress in Other Cities

Completion of negotiations between the Los Angeles Herald Express, resulting in a contract which the unit approved, subject to two minor changes, on Thursday night marked the high point in a week of important progress in negotiations with Hearst chain papers. It followed protracted, hard bargaining over point by point with units sending negotiators back repeatedly to insist on improvements.

Pittsburgh received from the Sun-Telegraph an undertaking to recognize the Guild as bargaining agent for all editorial employees, although the Guild emphasized that it was not accepted (Continued on page 4)

Hearst Fires P-I Stooge City Editor

SEATTLE.—Oliver Morris, Post-Intelligencer city editor, who was used to gather the "evidence" for the firing of Frank M. "Slim" Lynch just a little over a year ago, was paid off in regulation Hearst style on Oct. 30. He was fired.

Morris, editor of a Mid-Western "radical" newspaper in his earlier days, at Hearst's orders posed as an "adviser" to his staff—threatening them with discharge if they joined the Guild. He was instrumental in all efforts to destroy the P.I. strike finally culminated in the P.I. strike of a year ago.

Now he is looking for a job, and Lynch—goes on working at the P.I.

**Are You Paid Up
on Dues and
Assessments?
They Are
the Life Blood
Of Our
Organization
Pay Now!**

Labor Board Gets AP Case

Charges of Refusal to Bargain Filed

A complaint charging that the Associated Press failed to carry out the order of the Labor Board that it bargain with the Guild on behalf of its New York editorial employees was filed last week by the ANG. The action was unanimously requested by the AP unit.

Charging that "the persons designated by the Associated Press to conduct negotiations were not negotiators with authority to bargain collectively" the complaint added that management representatives merely went through the motions of conferring. The conferences were the result of an NLRB election in July, 1936, in which AP employees chose the Guild as their collective bargaining agency. The AP had refused to meet the negotiators however, until after the Watson case was decided by the Supreme Court in April, 1937.

The charges were filed with Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, regional director of the NLRB. They were signed by Morris Watson, international vice president.

Byron Price, executive news editor of the AP, who represented the management in the discussions with (Continued on page 4)

Eagle Ads Take Loss of \$47,000

'Mediation' Tactics Appear; Strike Strengthened

BULLETIN
Three mediation offers possibly representing tactical maneuvering more than desire for settlement, have been made to the Guild in the Brooklyn Eagle strike. One came through Mayor LaGuardia, who called in a Guild committee and asked on what conditions a settlement could be made. He had previously received a visit from Publisher M. Preston Goodfellow, who told him his story.

A second offer came from the State Mediation Board, which suggested an open hearing before a three-man board under the direction (Continued on page 5)

Norwalk Guild Wins Fight For Reinstatement, Raises

NORWALK (Conn.).—A vigorous fight by the Guild for reinstatement of a dismissed worker, Guild recognition and a contract has been won from the Norwalk Hour and, at the same time, brought about a rejuvenation of the entire labor movement in the town.

Terms have been agreed upon and await signing by the Hour management and President Leonard Wood. They contain substantial wage increases, reduced hours and increase in vacations from one week to two. In the meantime, Mrs. Anna May H. McGregor, society reporter, has been reinstated with a 40-percent raise in pay. She was dismissed during negotiations that dragged for eight

weeks. Backing in the fight for her reinstatement came from organizations ranging in variety from church sewing circles to the Ladies Garment Workers Local.

The vigor with which the local labor movement got behind the Guild fight, has resulted in the launching of plans to revive the dormant central labor body and have it include CIO and A.F. of L. organizations.

The Guild fought on several fronts. A conditional strike vote was taken by the eight unit members, a Labor Board complaint prepared, and a wide public appeal made, in addition to the other steps taken.

SEATTLE STRIKERS GET NEW BACKING

Harry Bridges Presides Over Conference Of Leaders Called to Aid Guild

SEATTLE—A conference of Pacific coast labor leaders was held Nov. 5 to bring the full weight of the labor movement behind the Guild in the fight to win the Seattle Star strike.

The conference, presided over by Harry Bridges, West coast director for the CIO, was under way as the strikers reached a new high point in their attack upon the Star's advertising contracts. Sixty-one have been cancelled, and 23 advertisers have promised to hold their space down to a minimum.

Called by Richard Francis, CIO regional director, the conference was attended by representatives of both AP of L and CIO unions, including seven international officers. The conference took up finances and plans for a concerted drive to remove the remaining advertisers from the paper, in addition to general strike strategy.

Among those attending besides Bridges and Francis, were Harold Pritchett, president, International Woodworkers of America; O. M. Orton, vice-president IWA; Matt Meahan, secretary, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union; Conrad Espe, general secretary-treasurer United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing House and Allied Workers; Hugh De Lacy, international vice-president American Federation of Teachers; John M. Fox, secretary, Masters, Mates and Pilots. Also present were international representatives of the American Communications Association, and United Mine Workers, and a large group of officers of state and local unions.

The Seattle Industrial Union Council at its last meeting set up a committee to bring weight upon the "heavy" advertisers left.

A recent development was a raise in the price of the Star's competitor, the Times, from three to five cents. The Star remains at three cents a copy. Both the Times and the Post-Intelligencer have recently announced increases in circulation, but not the Star.

Washington

Star Contract Drawn; Approval Asked

WASHINGTON—A proposed contract between the Guild and the Washington Star has been drawn up in negotiations with the paper's management and is awaiting sanction by the International Executive Board. The Guild has voted to ask IEB approval.

The vote was taken at a special meeting on Nov. 2 after a debate on Guild policy regarding unusual features in the contract.

One of these features was a provision defining "experience" as employment on newspapers published in cities of not less than 200,000 or on newspapers of not less than 50,000 circulation.

An amendment to the motion to approve was offered by Ben Pearce, which would have instructed the executive committee not to negotiate future contracts containing the objectionable features on the ground that they constituted an injurious precedent for the Guild. This amendment was defeated by 40 to 34, after which the vote to approve was unanimous.

NEW YORK RESTAURANT

PIROLETTE now at 111 W. 45th—Famous for French specialties. Lunch 55c. Parisian dinner \$1. Wines and liquors. Tel. RY. 9-6816.

PAY RAISES INTORONTO

Star Gains Precedence Opening of Guild Negotiations

TORONTO.—General wage increases pending expected negotiation of a Guild contract came into effect this week on the Toronto Star, largest and most liberal of the Canadian dailies. Minimum pay for reporters was raised \$5 and for copy boys \$2 a week and advances were granted also to a large section of the business office.

Severance pay at Guild rates was instituted a week ago.

The Star is the local stronghold of the Guild. Joseph E. Atkinson, publisher, alone among Toronto newspaper proprietors has placed no obstacles in the path of Guild activity.

Terrorism has been used against organizational efforts on the other two major dailies, the Telegram and Globe & Mail. Driven underground, Guild membership nevertheless has progressed satisfactorily, and the local has a concerted campaign under way. Globe & Mail employees have already benefited from the drive, since one method used against it was introduction, for the first time in the paper's history, of a scale of minimum wages and maximum hours.

The scale, however, does not conform with Guild standards.

Roger Irwin, financial editor of the Star, is the new president of the local.

Bargaining With UP And INS Is Opened

Collective bargaining with the United Press and International News Service and International News Photos got under way last week.

INS and INP posted bulletin board statements of policy after Guild negotiations last January.

United Press received the Guild committee after a nation-wide election conducted by the IRLB, in which the Guild was victorious, 277 to 84.

Meetings with both services were exploratory and in both instances the management promised to reveal their attitudes on the Guild programs at the next meetings. The UP conference will resume today.

Labor's Role in the Municipal Elections

The labor vote has become a factor to be reckoned with as never before in municipal elections in various parts of the country. In New York City, the American Labor Party, polling nearly half a million votes, was shown to hold the balance of power, carrying Mayor F. H. LaGuardia into office and smothering the Tammany machine. In Buffalo, the A.L.P. vote gave Thomas L. Holling, International Typographical Union member, the vote he needed to achieve the mayoralty.

In Detroit and Akron, significantly large blocs of labor votes were a consolation for lack of electoral success. In Pittsburgh, the labor-informed Mayor Cornelius D. Scully was re-elected, while steel organizers became chief executives of the steel towns of Duquesne and Clairton.

Altogether, Pa., a steel town, elected a labor state, Bridgeport swept the Socialist ticket into office.

Detroit Analysis

DETROIT (FP)—Satisfaction over the 150,000 vote showing made by labor's slate in the Detroit city election Nov. 3 accompanies a searching analysis of how it got that big and why it didn't get bigger.

Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, labor candidate for mayor, brought his 100,000 primary vote to 154,000 in

the final. R. J. Thomas, who trailed as labor candidate for council in the primaries, increased his vote over 125% in the runoff. All the labor nominees made tremendous gains.

The most gratifying aspect of the election to labor political fans was the fact that labor's council candidates were all bunched close together in the final reckoning. Less than 20,000 votes separated Maurice Sugar at the top from the bottom labor man. This, it is pointed out, means a solid bloc of people in Detroit who vote labor, instead of running after this or that hero or self-styled friend of the people.

None of the three daily papers supported the labor slate. Two of them were viciously and unscrupulously hostile. In the movie, news-stands of Richard Reading, O'Brien's conqueror for mayor, were shown in his capacity of election commissioner urging people to be sure to vote.

The Reading side also had immense sums for radio propaganda at its disposal.

Nevertheless 150,000 voters, most of whom had never voted labor before, resisted the attack and built up in Detroit a mass labor bloc that will be a potent element in all future election calculations.

Several factors held down the labor vote. Frank X. Martel, local

Chicago Takes Part In Political Party

CHICAGO—The Illinois Labor Party convention, held at Decatur, voted unanimously to support Labor's Non-Partisan League wherever the league backs candidates friendly to labor in Illinois.

For example, Chicago Guild Executive Board member was a fraternal delegate to the convention.

He wrote the resolution adopted by the convention, inviting President Roosevelt's Chicago speech on international peace. Unions like the Guild, not affiliated with the party, were allowed a vote at the convention without vote.

So what, well, we cannot afford to take it easy now. At least not until we CONSOLIDATE THE GUILD.

Canada Acts

C.L.U. Forces Hand of Montreal Official

MONTREAL.—Efforts extending over three months to force the Provincial Government to act in the Ballantyne case last week resulted in an announcement by the Attorney-General's Department that Provincial Police had been instructed to investigate Ballantyne's complaint that he was discharged by the Gazette for Guild activity in violation of law.

The announcement came soon after Civil Liberties Union attorneys announced they would petition for a writ of mandamus to force Attorney-General Duplessis to answer Ballantyne's petition for permission to sue the paper. Under the statute the Attorney-General's permission is necessary.

Meanwhile, the Guild continued its campaign to acquaint the public with the Gazette's violation of the law in discharging the Guild president. More than 500 letters went out during the week to prominent liberal citizens asking them to join the trades union movement in protesting the Gazette's attitude. It is planned to send out 2,000 more.

Following the recommendation of the Trades and Labor Council that affiliated unions place the Gazette on their unfair list, numerous locals have informed the Guild they have taken this step. The Guild informed Gazette advertisers of the Council's action.

The Guild Executive Board has been constituted a committee to push organization work in the other departments and is making progress.

Jo Gooch Tries Out These Sixteen ANPA Rules

Almost the entire ANG membership became eligible for dismissal last week under Rule 16 of the ANPA's proposed code of behavior for newspaper workers just as they were reading it. Rule 16 prohibits "loud, profane or indecent language" (Guild Reporter, Nov. 1).

Since such language cannot be printed in these columns, we will quote only some of the mild remarks:

"What about Richard Harding Davis?"

"Where is the romantic tradition?"

"It's regimentation!"

"Page filler!"

"What do they think we are—janitors?"

"Or housewives?"

"You can get fired for leaving a pencil on your desk."

"Or using too much copy paper taking notes."

"Or flushing the toilet twice."

Some of the boys sat down and figured out that a perfectly good, decent citizen and perfectly good, decent, hard-working reporter could break every single rule in the code working reporter could break every single rule in the code in a single day and still be a good, decent, hard-working guy.

Here comes Jo Gooch, for instance, to his work on the Daily Blab. As he enters the office another reporter asks him if he wants to join the election pool. "Sure," says Jo, pulls out a dollar bill, takes a number. He has broken Rule 1—"gambling in any form while on the premises." (What if he had been playing "21" for pennies in the long stretches between football scores on Saturday afternoon?)

Cleanliness is Next to—

Jo goes into the men's room. He washes his hands and uses two paper towels. He has broken Rule 2—"wasting of supplies, water, light or power."

He is assigned to cover a hearing in a building 10 minutes walk from the office. He stops for a cup of coffee, to prime himself for long dull stretches of testimony, and arrives at

PEARL'S WINES AND LIQUORS
"Trade with America"
230 East 42nd St., N. Y. C.
(Opposite News Building)
Murray Hill 4-1192

THE DINER
"NO FOOD STREET"
234 EAST 41st STREET
Opposite NEWS Building Entrance
YANKEE 5-9055

LYNN'S FOOD SHOP
Good Food for Less
246 EAST 42nd STREET
(N.Y.C. Center Between A & V)
Employees of THE NEWS Invited

Building

The Immediate Job: Consolidation

(Continued from page 1)

"Well, might as well take it easy for a while."

By and large nothing that we or any union has gained is safe under the open shop, because the union shop is the only thing that will make the union and the security and good conditions which the union provides independent of shifting moods. No realist expects us to gain the union shop everywhere overnight.

So what, well, we cannot afford to take it easy now. At least not until we CONSOLIDATE THE GUILD.

CONSOLIDATION will be truly sound when we have all our departments—

which often means a majority of the entire plant. Some Guilds are near this point already but most Guilds, before they can achieve this position of power, prestige and security, must first consolidate the present basic membership, beginning right at the old editorial department.

What Guildsman has not had experience of the effect of two or three months back dues, piling up, and then three or four? How disastrous it can be when nobody scents it in the air in time and heads right out to scotch it! A big group of men and women which only yesterday was an important organization in the city or community is almost unknowingly wrapped up in a shroud. It takes months, sometimes years to recover.

The most active Guildsmen go to ANG Conventions and at each Convention they trim and spruce up anew the constitutional machinery to kill that devil, back dues and assessments. Each year we improve. The membership has been through it before and we get out of it quicker. But right now is the time to catch it this trip. We have too many new members, too many great prospects, too severe an attack from outside to take it easy. Correct it now, and it will be a cinch to keep it corrected—at least till next Summer—Guild shop or no. Guild shop! And time, the speed with which we get after it, is more important today than in the past because of the greater responsibilities, and tremendously greater overhead of a greater organization.

So, in our local Guilds let's make immediate CONSOLIDATION OF THE UNION the main business of the day. There is hardly a local in which an average brass-tacks Guild committee cannot clean up this situation in one week.

NEWARK CONTRACT STIMULATES DRIVE

Sunday Call Agrees to New Features; Office Workers' Enrollment Increased

NEWARK—A contract was signed last week with the Newark Sunday Call, giving the Newark Guild editorial department agreements with the three Newark papers which have Guild units.

Windup of the Call negotiations stimulated the enrollment drive for commercial department workers. Following a meeting addressed by ANG Vice President Watson, a majority of the Call office workers were reported signed up, with an increase in activity and enrollment on the Newark Star-Eagle.

The contract with the Call, which is a weekly paper with an editorial staff of 22, grants salary minima up to \$30 weekly for reporters, copy-readers, artists and photographers with five years' experience, which means increases of from \$5 to \$12.50 for staff members; vacations of three weeks for employees with the paper five years or more, two weeks for those employed less than five years and one week for those employed less than a year, and dismissal indemnities ranging up to 24 weeks' salary after 15 years of service. Sick leave in any 12 months will be granted in accordance with the dismissal indemnity schedule.

Limitation of apprentices is covered in a provision that not more than 15 per cent of the reporters, photographers and artists shall be composed of employees who are paid on a basis of less than three years' experience and not more than five per cent less than one year.

A guarantee that Guild members will not be called upon to handle struck work or work destined for struck departments is contained in a clause that stipulates they will not be required to handle such copy "provided that the publisher is a direct party to the strike or has power to settle the strike in the department or shops involved."

Sunday-Paper Plan

Because the paper is published only on Sunday, the hours' provision is a departure from the straight five-day, 40-hour week, in that more than eight hours may be worked on Saturday.

The contract provides, however, that no employee shall work more than 40 hours in five days.

An improvement over most existing contracts is found in the provision covering overtime, which provides that overtime shall begin accumulating at the end of the normal working day even when the assignment is in the evening and that in the case of Sunday assignments the overtime

shall begin at 9 a. m. except when the assignment is earlier.

The Guild was represented in negotiations by President Agnes Fahy, Virginia Lee, Russell Schneitert, and ANG Representative Goldberg. Unit observers were E. B. Berlinski, W. Kenneth Fiester, and Douglas McKay. Management representatives were Editor Edward F. Bataille and Managing Editor John E. Bear.

Wilkes-Barre

Strike Closes Paper; Miners Help

(Continued from page 1)

evening. One policeman was on duty, and there was no disorder.

Police Chief Taylor, who visited the picket line after reading a black face description of the pickets in the two papers still publishing as a "Mock" told Guild officers it was the most orderly strike he had seen in many years.

The strike was provoked by attempts of the publishers, with state funds of circulation, to use the pickets of last Tuesday as an excuse for another of a long series of delays in instituting serious discussion of a contract. The Guild negotiating committee last met the four publishers on Oct. 28. Fred Myers and Morris Iushewitz, international representatives of the UMW, participated with John B. Gallagher, district auditor of the UMW, acting as chairman of the Guild committee. The discussion centered, as it has for three months of sporadic conferences, around the Guild shop clause and recognition of the Guild's

jurisdiction over the business, advertising and circulation departments. Still unable to agree after two hours of debate, the conferees set up a sub-committee and gave its members full power to reach an agreement upon the disputed issue.

The Guild negotiators, wary of stalling, obtained an agreement in writing that Corwin would have full power to make decisions; also the publishers agreed that Corwin would submit a complete "counter contract" in answer to one offered by the Guild which the employers said they "never" would accept.

Corwin did submit what he called a "proposed contract," but its terms were so insulting that Myers and Iushewitz refused to discuss it. Besides being drawn in company union form, it offered a wage of \$18 for 40-hour week to a reporter with two years of experience, and set no minimum whatever for employees in the non-editorial departments. It offered no guarantee of sick pay, severance pay, or pension.

Corwin said he had no authority to proceed on "a Guild shop basis." The Guild executive committee ordered the unit's strike vote effective in an emergency meeting at midnight. The 40 Guild members on the Record walked out of the plant at 2:30 p.m. Tuesday, after working a half day.

A day crew of printers had just left the building and the night typographical crew numbering 26 men, was not due till 6:30 o'clock. Other members of the Guild, and of the UMW, immediately joined the strikers in a picket line that covered four doors on two sides of the block long building. When the night composing room crew arrived, the line was so strong that no printer attempted to cross it, neither did stereotypes nor pressmen, when they arrived later.

Company Union

Employees of the business office and advertising office, members of a company union, worked Wednesday and Thursday but were told by the general manager not to report Friday. By Friday night, six of them had signed Guild applications and joined the picket line. Officers of the Wilkes-Barre Guild, with a smoothly functioning finance com-

mittee, hope to conclude the strike without using ANG funds and without asking other unions for financial aid. Out of a local Guild fund, gathered before the strike began, the local is furnishing cigarettes, chewing gum, peanuts and coffee to the pickets.

New in Guild strike tactics is the extensive use Wilkes-Barre is making of radio facilities. Since the strike began, Guild speakers have been on the air four times daily. In addition, carriers have distributed more than 25,000 copies of a strike bulletin by route boys distributing the circulars to help out the district managers who are on strike.

Although on Friday there were indications that the publishers might be suffering from internal dissension, and that a settlement might be imminent, preparations to close the plants still open were nearly complete. Such action would leave a sea of unemployed by 30,000 persons without a local newspaper.

"If that happens," said John Kmetz, member of the UMW international executive board, "we miners will deliver the Scranton papers to every home in the valley with our own men and trucks. This is the fight of labor."

Paper Meets Exclamation Point

Months of Stalling Brings Picket Line In Wilkes-Barre



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the press table five minutes after the hearing begins. He asks his neighbor at the table what he missed. "Not a thing, just a lot of red tape," is the answer. But in that five minutes Jo could have been fired for "absence from appointed work during working hours."

Jo gets his check on pay day and his jaw drops. The check is for \$25 instead of the usual \$35. Jo learns that the telephone company has garnished his wages for the \$40 he owes them. This is the first time Jo has let a debt run, but he sublet his apartment last summer in order to move his wife and child to the country and came back to find the tenant had doubled-crossed him at the rent and a huge phone bill. Jo paid off part of the telephone debt, paid his landlord, and figured on paying the remaining \$40 before Christmas. But Jo, a solvent person, has now broken Rule 4.

Jo leaves the city room to look up something in the morgue. It takes longer than he thought. While he is gone an important but unexpected telephone call comes and no one knows about taking it. Jo has broken Rule 5—"failure to protect his situation in case of absence for any reason."

Clip, Clip—Clipped

Jo takes an envelope of clips out of the morgue, uses them for a story, is hurried out to another story, forgets to return them until he opens his desk the next morning. He has broken Rule 6—"failure to return materials to their proper places in the proper time." (What if Jo had forgotten the cutter paper?)

Jo comes in from lunch with a package neatly wrapped and puts the package in a drawer. It is likelier!! He got it for use at home tonight. Jo has broken Rule 7—"bringing in intoxicants." (What if Jo has bought that bottle of gin in his desk for emergencies—colds or long night assignments or the many times in a reporter's life when a "smort"—by anybody's ethics—is essential?)

There is a continual chair shortage in Jo's office. Jo comes in one morning and finds the chair with the loose back at his desk. "Blankety-blank that chair!" says Jo and pushes it aside for another one. He is given an assignment right away and gets on the phone, forgetting the chair subject. He has broken Rule 8—"neglect to immediately report breakage, etc."

"Keep That Story"—Long!

Jo decides his stories are running long. He begins to pack them in and boil them down a bit. He has broken Rule 9—"limiting one's output."

Jo is late getting his expense account in. He usually is—he hates writing it. He is always forgetting his taxi receipts. He has broken Rule 10—"failure to fill out time slips or other records."

Jo sneezes. He has broken Rule 11—"failure to observe the ordinary rules of hygiene."

Jo gets tight at a friend's house Saturday night. Some readers of the Daily Blab, who know he is a reporter there, see him at the party, merry and undignified. Jo has broken Rule 12—"conduct outside of office hours, etc."

Jo is a fiery little guy and he can get fired under Rule 13—"insubordination of any kind" (italics theirs) easily.

"I interviewed Carole Swanson today and she told me she isn't going to divorce Bang Powty," Jo told his wife when he got home. The interview wasn't yet published. He had broken Rule 14—"failure to keep as confidential news, obtained through his employment."

Jo left a cigarette on the edge of his desk while answering the phone, burning the edge of the desk. He broke Rule 15—"defacing property of employer."

Jo said to a fellow-reporter in the cloakroom, "That firing code is

PACT LINES SET IN L.A.

Hearst Signing Is Near; Gains Made In Other Cities

(Continued from page 1)
cepting this in place of the Guild shop.
The Chicago Guild obtained from Publisher Meigs of the American an agreement to base dismissal indemnity payments on the highest salary received in the year preceding discharge.
In New York the Guild filed a Labor Board complaint against the Hearst Mirror.
San Francisco is preparing to bargain with five local papers, including Hearst.

Los Angeles Agrees
LOS ANGELES.—The Herald-Express unit on Thursday night agreed, subject to two minor changes, the contract worked out between the Hearst management and the Guild after a month of vigorous bargaining in which the unit repeatedly turned down objectionable management proposals.

One of the changes sought is a slight matter of wording; the other calls for the addition of a clause permitting retirement with severance pay after 25 years' service. The latter was in accordance with a verbal agreement made by Harvey Kelly, Hearst labor adviser who has been conducting the negotiations for the management. Guild negotiators included International Representative Morgan Hull and Roger Johnson, Los Angeles Guild president.

The contract as virtually completed had been accepted by the Guild negotiators subject to the usual Guild approval when the management, after twice flatly refusing to pay dismissal indemnity in case of "gross negligence and gross insubordination," at last yielded. The management changed its position after the unit observers had ordered the negotiating committee not to discuss the indemnity provisions until the management did change.

Other favorable changes included the cutting down of 5-day-week exceptions to four individuals; 7-cent mileage reimbursements for users of private cars; minimums of \$50; and elimination of traditional discrimination against photographers and artists.

The severance indemnity goes to six months' pay after 15 years; computed at the rate of one week's pay for every 30 weeks of service or major fraction thereof, and at the highest pay in the six months prior to discharge.

Unearned Gains for AF of L
Proof of the fact that Guild prestige is the only collective bargaining leverage of the Examiner union which was recently split off from the Guild and turned into the AF of L, was revealed in a clause contained in a contract reported to have been signed with the management on Thursday.

The clause provided that "if any other Hearst paper in Los Angeles grants any conditions more favorable to them than the Examiner document—which contains minimums slightly in excess of Herald figures but is otherwise qualified with management prerogatives and objectionable severance pay features, including those rejected by Herald unit and by stacked-deck arbitration clauses.

Hours after the Examiner document was signed Examiner employees were trying to find out what was in it. The AF of L had signed it for them without their knowledge of its contents.

Pittsburgh Recognition
PITTSBURGH.—Sun-Telegraph negotiations today plunged into the body of Sun-Telegraph and Guild contract proposals after agreement

29 A.N.G. CASES GO TO N.L.R.B.

(Continued from page 1)
right to represent their membership—in some instances even where they have already bargained earlier.
In two cases the charges include complaints of the formation of company unions.
Below is the case-by-case record. It does not include consent elections already arranged or held.

ALBANY, KNICKERBOCKER PRESS AND ALBANY NEWS—Complaint filed Aug. 13, charging that the Press Company, and the Gannett Company discriminated against Guild members when merging the Knickerbocker Press and the Albany Evening News, by firing 27 Guild members and when rehiring, choosing people who had only short-term experience in Albany, and also dismissal of employees without giving them vacation pay guaranteed in a signed statement. Hearings are in progress.

BALTIMORE, AFRO-AMERICAN—Charges filed Sept. 14, following dismissal of five Guild members.

BALTIMORE, NEWS-POST—Charges filed in September because the Hearst management coerced, interfered with and coerced its employees who were Guild members.

BALTIMORE, UNITED STATES NEWS—Petition filed in October for certification as bargaining representative of the mail and stencil departments of the United States News Publishing Corp.

BOSTON, HERALD TRAVELER—Petition for certification as bargaining agent filed in Oct. 26.

CHICAGO, TIMES—Filed in October, because the Times interfered with and coerced its employees for Guild activities.

CHICAGO, TRIBUNE—Charges filed Sept. 27, for coercion against employees who were or wanted to be Guild members.

CINCINNATI, POST—Charges filed in September, because the Scripps-Howard management intimidated and discharged employees in the commercial department for Guild activities.

DETROIT, TIMES—Charges filed Oct. 25, for restraining its employees from joining the Guild and dismissing an employee for Guild activity.

INDIANAPOLIS, STAR—Charges filed Oct. 4, for refusal to bargain collectively and for discharge of Guildmen to discourage membership.

KNOXVILLE, JOURNAL—Filed Sept. 16, because the company had, by libel, executive warnings, "loyalty" pledges, discharge and demotion of employees who were Guild members discouraged Guild organization. Further, the Journal refused to bargain collectively with the Guild.

LOS ANGELES, EXAMINER—Charges filed in October, because the Hearst Examiner intimidated and coerced Guild members and entered into collusion with the AF of L to establish a company union.

was reached upon a preamble and article 1 of a proposed contract recognizing the Guild as "authorized bargaining agent for all editorial employees."

Publisher Jacoby dictated for the record a statement, signed by the group of employees constituting a minority or majority would be recognized for bargaining during the contract period.

David McDonald, secretary-treasurer of the SWOC, appeared at a meeting at Philip Murray's direction on Monday, to inform Jacoby the Guild has SWOC-CIO support.

In accepting Jacoby's offer, the Guild specified it was not waiving the Guild shop. The management has flatly refused even to compromise the provision until now.

A grievance committee set-up proposed by the management, providing for arbitration of grievances in event of disagreement, was shelved temporarily. Vacation and leave-of-absence clauses were tentatively agreed upon.

The management seeks a clause giving it the right to post office rules not covered by the contract. The Guild, in the light of the American Newspaper Publishers Association's suggestions, is insisting upon insertion of the word "reasonable" to throw the matter before the grievance committee in the event of an attempt to saddle the shop with obvious excuses for dismissal.

Indemnity Boosted
CHICAGO.—Publisher Meigs of the Hearst American agreed last week to a dismissal indemnity based on the highest salary in the year preceding discharge after first proposing instead the average salary of the previous six months.

Both Levi and Meigs however agreed to drop their proposals to make the contract run for a two-year period.

The Guild is opposing arbitration demands of both publishers. Harry

LONG BRANCH (N.J.), DAILY RECORD—Charges filed Oct. 21, because of discrimination and discharge of Guild members, and discharging three for union activities.

NEWARK, MORNING LEDGER—Charges filed Oct. 21, because of the discriminatory firing of a Guild member.

NEW YORK, ASSOCIATED PRESS—Charges filed Nov. 3, because the Associated Press refused to bargain collectively with the ANG which represents AP's editorial employees in this office. Management refused to bargain, by conducting negotiation in bad faith without intent to reach agreement.

NEW YORK, COURIER & AMERICA AND EL PROGRESO—Charges filed Nov. 2, because the jointly owned papers had established company unions, interfered with employees joining the ANG, and discharged members.

NEW YORK, DAILY MIRROR—Charges filed Nov. 2, for refusal to bargain collectively with Guild for editorial and commercial employees. Petition for certification as bargaining agent also filed.

NEW YORK, DAILY NEWS—Petition for certification for commercial department employees filed on Oct. 6.

NORWALK (CONN.), HOUR—Charges filed Oct. 27, following discharge of a Guild member. (Guild member reinstated and settlement is being obtained through contract.)

PATERSON (N.J.), CALL—Charges filed on July 28, for coercion, discrimination and the discharge of a Guild member.

SAN DIEGO, TRIBUNE—Charges filed on Sept. 30, for discrimination and establishment of a blacklist and discharge of Guild members.

SEATTLE, POST INTELLIGENCER—Charges filed Sept. 3, for dismissal of an employee for Guild activities, discouraging membership in the Guild, interfering with employees joining the Guild.

SEATTLE, STAR—Charges filed Aug. 3, for dismissal of 30 persons for Guild membership and refusal to reinstate them; also interfering with its employees joining the Guild. Petition for certification as bargaining agent also filed.

WASHINGTON, D.C., ASSOCIATED PRESS—Motion made by Guild to intervene in Associated Press-Commercial Telegraphers' Union case in which CIO charges that the "Independent Employees Guild" is a company union fostered by the AP. The Independent Employees Guild seeks also to enroll persons eligible to Guild membership.

WASHINGTON, D.C., DEMOCRAT—Charges filed Sept. 28, because the paper opposed the Guild membership of its employees, fired two Guildmen for alleged incompetence; and refused to bargain collectively. Matter being settled by a contract following a strike.

WATERBURY (CONN.), DEMOCRAT—Charges filed Sept. 28, because the paper opposed the Guild membership of its employees, fired two Guildmen for alleged incompetence; and refused to bargain collectively. Matter being settled by a contract following a strike.

Wicks, prominent Typographical Union member, assisted negotiations.

New York Goes to NLRB
The New York Guild filed charges with the Regional Labor Relations Board on Nov. 2, against the Hearst Daily Mirror for refusing to recognize the Guild as the bargaining agency for the editorial and commercial division employees and to negotiate a contract. The Guild has also asked that the Board order an election. An informal hearing was set for today.

The Mirror unit, one of the largest in the city, recommended that the local Guild take this action in order to prevent any further delay on the part of the Hearst management in the opening of negotiations.

Speak for New Divisions
SAN FRANCISCO.—The Northern California Guild has notified five local papers in San Francisco and Oakland it is ready to open negotiations for new agreements for the editorial departments, and also that it represents and wishes to bargain for certain other departments.

Acknowledgment came promptly from the Hearst Examiner. Other papers under agreement are the Chronicle, Call-Bulletin, News, and Oakland Post-Examiner. The NCRG announced it represented the business departments of the Examiner and the Chronicle, and the classified departments of the Call-Bulletin, Chronicle and News.

These departments have about 250 employees. This will bring the total represented in bargaining, including editorial, up to more than 600. All of these are members or have applied.

The Guild shop was unanimously approved by all departments, as was preferential hiring. The new wage proposals are to put the morning and evening papers on a parity.

'PACT' HIT BY LOCAL

Philadelphia Publicly Denounces Daily News 'Policy'

PHILADELPHIA.—A bulletin board statement of office policy, posted by Lee Ellmaker, publisher of the Philadelphia Daily News, who declared it was a result of negotiations with the Guild, has been repudiated by the Guild.

"Mr. Ellmaker has made an expression of policy for the operation of his shop, providing for wages and working conditions below the standards prevailing in any decent metropolitan paper throughout the country," said a Guild resolution, adding that since Ellmaker has attempted to give the impression the Guild agreed upon these conditions it would make the true facts public.

Working conditions on the Daily News are shocking. Low cash wages are made lower by the obligation on the part of all employees to buy Daily News stock, and money for his purpose is taken from their pay envelopes weekly. In negotiations with the Guild—never brought to a close—Ellmaker agreed he would merely invite employees to take part of their pay in stock, instead of forcing them to do so as heretofore.

The Guild answered that poorly paid employees would have small chance of refusing the "invitation." Several Guildmen have been fired from the paper, including the last two unit chairmen.

AP Charges

(Continued from page 1)
the Guild, replied to them as follows:

"The negotiations with the Guild have been conducted in good faith. At the beginning of our first meeting, I stated that only the Board of Directors could sign a contract, and the Guild representatives proceeded with a full understanding of that situation, which was referred to many times thereafter by both sides.

"The Guild representatives said repeatedly, and in writing, that my position was not different from their own, since they had no authority to conclude a contract without first securing the approval of the International Executive Board of the Guild.

"In this spirit, I submitted to the Guild after long discussion the best form of contract which I felt would be acceptable to the Board of Directors. The Guild rejected it."

Watson said:

"The representatives of the management who purported to be negotiators undertook not to negotiate an agreement but merely to represent our views to the Board of Directors. Then they concocted an impossible document denying AP workers even simple constitutional rights and announced they would present it to the directors for approval.

"The management document had a kick-back to it that no self-respecting workman could possibly accept. It was bargaining by the kind in which A asks B for a certain wage for certain services, and in which B counters with an offer to split the difference providing A stands on his head and shoots himself.

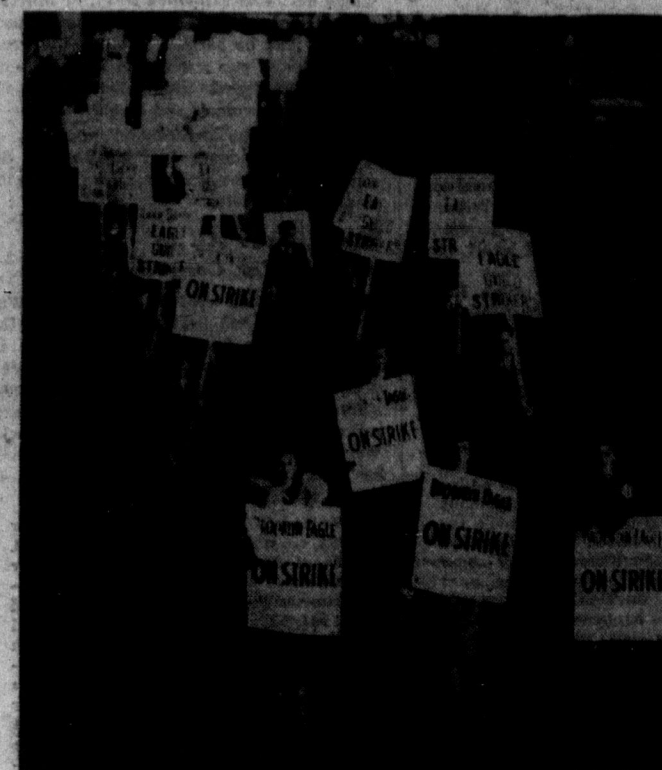
"The men and women of the New York AP office want a decent contract with adequate wage minima and decent conditions."

The NLRB complaint pointed to the following as evidence that the AP had no intention to negotiate in good faith:

"The management representatives repeatedly stated that they were without power to conclude a collective agreement."

The management representatives repeatedly stated that the only authority to conclude a collective agreement lay with the Board of Directors.

N. Y. LABOR MADE IT A BIG DAY



Brooklyn Eagle Takes Loss Of \$47,000 in Month's Ads

(Continued from page 1)
tion of the State Labor Department.

The third proposal was from a former officer of the Eagle who asked that his name be withheld. He said Goodfellow was ready to make an agreement if 75 or 80 strikers were left out, and provided there was no "closed shop."

Guild officers announced that no discussion would be considered without a guarantee of unconditional reinstatement for every striker, pointing out that that was the primary test of sincerity.

The eighth week of the Brooklyn Eagle strike, described by Allan Haywood, regional CIO director, as "the most important strike in New York City and one of the biggest in the United States," made clearer the nature of the forces struggling with each other on the Brooklyn battlefield.

Just as "little steel," rather than "big steel," was the theatre for the principal campaign of steel corporations to crush out CIO unionism, so has the least conspicuous—although not least important—daily newspaper in New York City been turned into the arena for a widespread publisher campaign to stamp out the Guild.

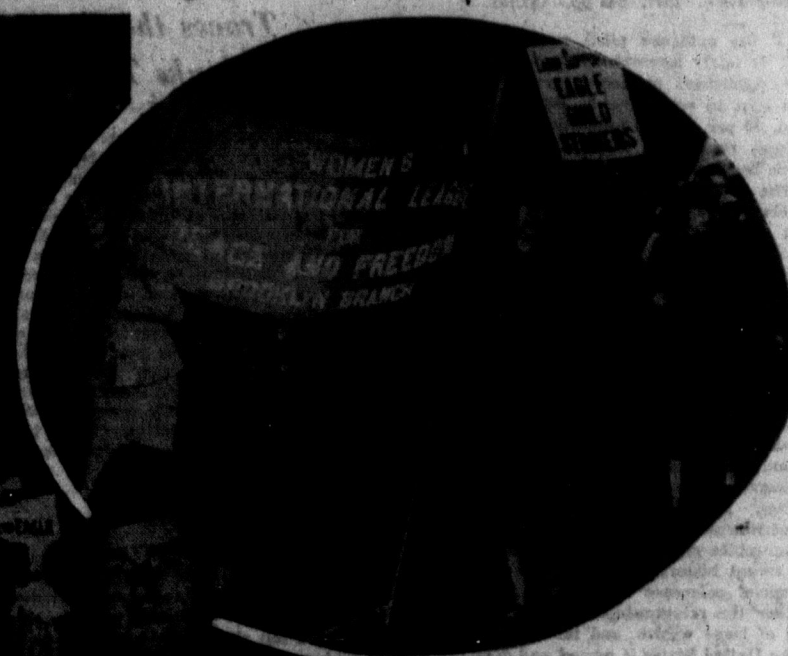
\$47,000 Loss
The extent of the management cabal became still clearer with the authenticated reports that an organization of top advertising executives in Manhattan had taken action to "throw business the Eagle's way" whenever possible. As a result a few ads, never seen in the Eagle before the strike, have been popping up in the paper. Despite this, Media Records, Inc. reports for October (second month of the strike) show that the loss in Eagle advertising for the month, compared to the same month a year ago, was more than \$47,000 for one month, some despite the fact that a year ago the Eagle had a powerful Brooklyn competitor, the Brooklyn Times-Union, which it has since taken over and wiped out, and despite the fact that in months previous to the strike the Eagle's 1937 record was showing consistent lineage gains over 1936.

A parade, 30 blocks long, in which more than 5,000 members of CIO and AF of L unions participated Saturday afternoon, was one signal of the

They Told Brooklyn

5,000 Unionists March to Back Eagle Strikers

WOMEN'S PEACE LEAGUE IN THE RANKS



'Business-Like'

Stern Wants NLRB Certification

PHILADELPHIA.—J. David Stern, publisher of the Philadelphia Record, has delayed for a few days longer actual start of collective bargaining with the Guild on behalf of the classified advertising, local and national display advertising, promotion and detail department employees.

He sent to his attorney the agreement to be signed by him and the Guild authorizing the National Labor Board to certify that the Guild has the membership it claims.

Such certification was demanded by Stern on the ground that it was "business-like." He acknowledged that the Guild has a majority. He also takes the position that although he has a written contract with the editorial department he may prefer "some other form of settlement" with the commercial departments.

Stern's request for Labor Board certification followed his receipt of copies of correspondence between the New York Daily News management and the New York Guild, in which the Daily News insisted on such certification before it would deal with the Guild. This evidence of cooperation between the managements of papers in different cities in their dealings with the guild was expected here, where the managements of the Record and Inquirer are authoritatively reported to compare notes after each meets with Guild committees.

The phrase was omitted from the rest of his statement. The Herald Tribune has printed little about the strike; the Daily News has carried no story for more than a month. Only from the New York Evening Post has there been anything like an impartial attitude, and even on the Post, several items have been suppressed. The Communist Daily Worker has covered the strike fully.

On the labor side of the tug-of-war there are less conspicuous, although still more powerful, forces in operation this week than the big labor parade. They center around the citywide labor drive to reduce sales at Abraham & Straus and through the A. & P. groceries. The list of known cancellations of charge accounts is nearing the 1,000 mark, and several thousands have pledged themselves not to buy from these stores. Reports from "inside" the department store indicate that this rising tide is causing consternation among store executives.

MARCHES: President Michael Quill of Transport Workers' Union

EAGLE STRIKERS TOUR

Take Story of Brooklyn About Country

Two Brooklyn Eagle strikers, Ed Hughes, sports columnist and cartoonist, and Charles Grutmer, Jr., political columnist, left last week-end on a 26-day national speaking tour to tell the story of the strike to Guildmen from Portland, Me., to Omaha, and from Milwaukee to Memphis.

They will let Guildmen all over the country know that the Eagle strike is a fight of all Guildmen and not only those in the New York area whose picketing and financial support to the Brooklynians is a "solid" matter.

For Hughes and Grutmer the harristening will not be a rest from the rigors of strike duty. It is a tough trip with an itinerary of daily engagements between his big cities. Arrangements are being made in some of the cities to put the visitors up for the night.

The itinerary:
Nov. 7, Albany, Schenectady, Troy, Nov. 17, Omaha, Council Bluffs, Lincoln.
Nov. 8, Portland, Me. Nov. 18, Kansas City.
Nov. 9, Boston. Nov. 19, St. Louis.
Nov. 10, Philadelphia, Camden. Nov. 20, Memphis.
Nov. 11, Pittsburgh. Nov. 21, Louisville, Indianapolis.
Nov. 12, Cleveland, Akron. Nov. 22, Cincinnati.
Nov. 13, Detroit. Nov. 23, Columbus.
Nov. 14, Chicago. Nov. 24, Washington.
Nov. 15, Milwaukee. Nov. 25-26, Washington, Baltimore.

Nov. 16, Twin Cities.

There, Sinnott held that this constituted a "threat" and held up the mailing. The Guild knows that such an interpretation cannot be sustained, but realizes that in the delay incident to getting the ruling knocked out the management's purposes will have been served. Sinnott was Democratic district leader for John Harman, prominent Democratic politician, county clerk, and on the Eagle's payroll at \$10,000 per year.

Police Harassment
In the midst of a Brooklyn Kiwanis club luncheon, at which a striker had been invited to speak, the invitation was suddenly withdrawn at the direction of a group of Kiwanis officers. The police campaign against the Guild sound-truck has resulted in the arrest of Joseph Applegate, former editor of The New York Graphic and Sunday Editor of the Eagle, on a charge of "making unnecessary noise"—this despite the fact that the Guild has a permit for the truck. In a hearing before Magistrate Mark Rudich, the charge was converted into one of "abuse of the permit," and Applegate was found guilty. The case is being appealed.

In many such minor ways, police harassment of the strike has grown steadily.

The Guild won a victory before Magistrate Nicholas Pinto, when Judge Pinto granted the Guild's motion that charges of conspiracy to commit forgery, incite riots, destroy property, etc., be dismissed. Only one conspiracy charge, against I. Kaufman and Jack Deegan, now remains—"conspiracy to commit the crime of disorderly conduct." The Guild holds that there is no such crime.

Newspaper Treatment
In reporting this decision, The New York Times added to the list an example of "freedom of the press" misrepresentation. The Times, ignoring the fact that the long list of serious charges had been dismissed, stated that Magistrate Pinto had "ruled yesterday that there was sufficient cause of action in the complaint of Thomas F. Mulhern, circulation manager of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, against Isidore Kaufman and John Deegan, striking employees, charging them with conspiracy."

All Manhattan newspapers have indulged in sly digs at the strikers. When John L. Lewis made his "the strike will be won" statement,

Eagle Advertisers Listed in Campaign

The Brooklyn Eagle strikers' cry of, "Don't patronize Eagle advertisers," is being shouted across the country in a national campaign of unions supporting the strike.

Those advertisers which persist in aiding the struck Eagle are:

Atlantic & Pacific stores.
Camel cigarettes.
Chesterfield cigarettes.
Cuticura soap.
Dexter and El Producto cigars.

Corona typewriters.
Gordon's Codfish Cakes.
Vick's medicines.
White Rose Tea.

Ties that Bind the Press to Ruling Group

AMERICA'S SIXTY FAMILIES. By Ferdinand Lundberg. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1937. 344 pp. (\$3.75)

If the evidence piled up in this book is fairly assembled, the union of the publishers on the recent great issue—75 per cent in opposition to Roosevelt's election, 90 per cent in opposition to the court reform plan—was no miracle. It could have been predicted.

The reason is that control of the press is centralized to a degree most of us have not dreamed of. A certain small group of families with common interests in regard to fundamental governmental policies dominates the American press through one channel or another, even though they are not usually identified with it, Ferdinand Lundberg believes. He has marshaled here a vast quantity of proof in support of that view.

This is the phase of most immediate concern to newspaper workers in Lundberg's monumental compilation of facts about the ownership of American business enterprises. He has gone through records of governmental hearings, income tax reports, biographies and memoirs of leading figures in recent history, company statements and financial reference books and pieced together the relationships between the owners of large wealth, and he concludes that "The United States is owned and dominated today by a hierarchy of 50 of the richest families, buttressed by no more than 50 families of lesser wealth." The press fits into the picture as one of the agencies of economic and political power.

Who's Who of Business Among Time's Owners

He cites the ownership of Time, Inc., the parent of the Time-Fortune-Life-Tide etc. group:

According to the statement of ownership in the November, 1935, issue of Fortune, the leading stockholders... are Brown Brothers-Harriman & Company, private banking house (W. A. Harriman); J. P. Morgan & Company (for the account of Henry P. Davison, a partner); F. Du Sautoy Duxer, Mrs. Mimi B. Duxer, Henry E. Luc, editor, founder and college classmate of Davison; William V. Griffin, trustee of the James C. Brady estate and director of the Bank of Manhattan Company and twenty-four other corporations; the Irving Trust Company (for the account of Elizabeth Bush Pool); the New York Trust Company (for the account of William Hale Harkness—Standard Oil); and the principal editors and executives of Time, Inc. It thus seems to be owned by the inner circle of contemporary American finance.

The recognition of the ownership of newspapers by powerful business families is shown again in the activities of the DuPonts, who own the only two papers in Wilmington, Del. Their intense influence on other papers, Lundberg points out, is also evident in the immense advertising appropriations they control through their ownership of "25 percent of General Motors Corporation, of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, and the United States Rubber Company." "In General Motors," the author adds, "the DuPonts share control with J. P. Morgan & Company and the Fisher Brothers of Detroit."

These are but a few examples of Lundberg's compilation of the ownership and interests behind numerous papers. In numerous cases the wealth is based on other fields and the newspapers appear as adjuncts—as ownership appeared to be a secondary consideration to the late Frank Munsey, famous killer of papers, or to Ir. C. Copley of the United Gas and Electric Company, owner of a chain; to the Proctor (soap) family, owner of a chain of county papers, and so on.

Lundberg offers these examples of the direct ownership of a wide group. The control of another large group is accounted for in a quotation from Frank R. Kent, political editor of the Baltimore Sun. Lundberg quotes the following from his "Great Game of Politics":

Practically 75 percent of the country press—the smaller papers of the country—are straight Republican. The remaining 25 percent are Democratic. Many of the owners and editors of the country press not only depend largely upon party support for the existence of their papers, but are themselves interested and active in party politics. There are approximately 15,000 daily, weekly and semi-weekly newspapers in the United States. Of this number, 15,000 can be classed as strictly party country press. No such thing as fairness in political fights is attempted in these papers."

Thus, Lundberg says: "American popular journalism (as distinct from trade, scientific, religious and

Lundberg's Monumental 'America's Sixty Families' Traces the Financial and Governmental Links Through Documentary Maze

fraternal journalism) exists in three broad layers. The bottom layer consists of the directly controlled and financed party press immediately above this lies the layer of 'independent' newspaper entrepreneurs, many of whom have been tempted by pecuniary success to political affiliation to the inner circle of great wealth, most of whom operate their newspapers as businesses, and all of whom are dependent for most of their revenue upon the good will of the wealthy families which control the bulk of advertising and above this layer are the organs, directly owned, of the wealthy families themselves. These latter are, for the most part, the biggest metropolitan newspapers and the great national magazines.

Lundberg's Map on 'In'

In publishing industry. Unless someone could worm his way into the confidence of the dominant individuals, or unless some publisher would break down and tell all, it would be next to impossible, one gathers, to prove the extent or immediacy of the control of day-to-day politics by these remote influences. But occasionally the wheels crack and on incident comes to light which directly establishes the importance of having a member on a publisher's board of directors, or having some day of appearing a recalcitrant owner.

Thomas W. Lamont, the Morgan partner, has an "in" with the book publishing industry through being the agent of the Saturday Review of Literature. That he was it was demonstrated in the New York World-Telegram of April 7, 1935, which, Lundberg records, "interviewed that C. (the editor) had admitted having given to Lamont the proofs of 'M-Day,' by Ross M. Stein. The book discussed war preparations, past and present, and criticized J. P. Morgan & Company." The Morgan firm was then combating some unfavorable revelations in the Senate about their part in taking America into the World War. Canby said he gave the proofs to Lamont to suggest a competent reviewer, but Lundberg adds that Canby had gone out of his way to obtain advance proofs, and quotes Miss Stein's charge that Lamont had tried unsuccessfully to induce the publishers,

Harcourt, Brace & Company, to change portions of the book.

Lundberg, for some years a financial reporter on the New York Herald Tribune, recalls another illustration of Lamont's way in getting his version of news into print:

There are certain things which Lamont cannot depend upon the financial reporters, shackled though they are, to write. In such instances he has been known to telephone the newspaper editors after the financial men have gone home and inquire innocently whether anyone has telephoned him. Assuming that someone on the financial staff has actually called Lamont and that the subject is important, the editor has listened eagerly while Lamont subtly suggested what the unknown inquirer wanted to know. The editor has then rushed Lamont's version of some affair into print, to appear the next day with no mention of Lamont's name. This has happened a number of times.

Top Families Fought for Control Among Sales

The army of copyhounds who believe everything that comes from "big men" and nothing that comes from the rest will have a field day scoffing at this book—if they don't drop it unthinkingly in the waste basket. For one thing, it includes a large number of facts that have been front-page news in recent years, even though Lundberg seldom merely repeats but rather adds significant and less-known details. But more important is the very impossibility of showing the inner workings of a whole economic system. Who could prove the real motives of social climbers, meek jobholders, or for that matter, astute managing editors? Moreover there are endless contradictions in the activities of the top families. Lundberg shows how they have fought for control, as in elections, etc. From the evidence in his book one would say that the powerful families hold a common viewpoint, however, and are smart enough to take the same attitudes on such essentials as keeping the government from changing the rules of the game, or from hoisting the tax taxes.

And why is control of the press and other

mechanisms of public opinion so important? Well, Lundberg says, see what goes on which has to be explained away, or blurred, or protected from the menace to an aroused public. And he parades some of the great revelations of our generation, Teapot Dome, the Morgan "preferential" stock lists, the Van Sweringen deals and so on.

Are these the exceptional incidents or errors of individuals, or revelations of the reasons why control is so important to the wealthy families?

Report Tells All to A Post War Congress

Well, when we went into the World War everyone still had fairly fresh in mind the standards of the Spanish-American War, so we knew about what to guard against. Yet, says Lundberg, House Report No. 1400, sixty-sixth Congress, reporting an investigation of purchase of shells in the World War by the Council of National Defense, has this tidbit (with emphasis by Lundberg):

We had 53 contracts for 37-millimeter shells, on which we expended \$9,134,582. None of these shells ever reached our firing line. We had 69 contracts for 75-millimeter shells, on which we expended \$30,141,450. Of these shells, we fired 3,000. We had 151 contracts for 3-inch shells, on which we expended \$44,841,044. None of these shells reached the firing line. We had 439 contracts for 4.2-inch shells, on which we expended \$24,189,075. None of these ever reached the firing line. We had 617 contracts for 155-millimeter shells, on which we expended \$264,955,387. None of these ever reached the firing line. We had 301 contracts for 6-inch shells, on which we expended \$51,771,207. None of these ever reached the firing line. We had 239 contracts for 3.2-inch shells, on which we expended \$54,389,377. None of these ever reached the firing line. We had 71 contracts for 12-inch shells, on which we expended \$9,507,818. None of these ever reached the firing line. We had six contracts for 14-inch shells, on which we spent \$1,280,490. None of these ever reached the firing line.

The chairman of the Council of National Defense which supervised these contracts was the distinguished Bernard M. Baruch. C. B.

Company Union Draws a Joker

Said less than a company union contract seldom has more words than the seven-page document just signed by the Buffalo Courier-Express with its Independent Editorial Federation, an organization headed by City Editor Edwin J. Leher. This can be contrasted with the fact that any company union contract is meaningless because of the lack of employee organization behind it for enforcement.

The Buffalo contract assures Courier-Express editorial employees not once, but twice, that it "benefits" will be enjoyed equally by all, and then flings in an occasional "except by mutual agreement" joker to leave the door open for exceptions. What would happen to an individual employee refusing to make a "mutual agreement" is anybody's guess.

Thus the management "binds" itself not to reduce salaries, "except by mutual agreement between an individual employee and the management," and to give all a 5-day 40-hour week, excepting those who make individual arrangements for a longer week. It establishes three grades of Courier-Express Journalism—"junior," "grade B," and "grade A." "Juniors" start at \$30 a week and work themselves up in five years to \$40. Salaries are computed from the beginning date of employment on the Courier-Express, as compared with the standard Guild provision which establishes minimum salaries on the basis of general newspaper experience.

The contract fails to make clear what a "junior" is, nor does it indicate who will determine when he is to become a grade A or B man, if ever. It lists \$45 a week for grade B employees and \$52.50 for grade A. The secretary and treasurer of the Independent Editorial Federation, both department heads, are grade A fellows.

The document establishes "the principles of collective bargaining between employees

and management as set forth under Federal and State statutes. What the IEF—or any group submitting to such a clause—would do if it were challenged to prove that it is subject to "federal or state statutes" is a question. The clause gives the management ample opportunity to take out the IEF should the IEF decide to enter into some real collective action over, let's say, some wholesale dismissal.

The contract takes up the subject of security of employment, stipulating as follows: That the present unwritten, but implied, guarantee of permanent employment for editorial employees be continued and that all present privileges be maintained; that no employee be dismissed without hearing as defined in other sections of this contract.

And what if an employee loses his job in violation of the "implied guarantee"? Oh, then he has the "right to demand a hearing of the charges in his case before the executive and negotiating board of the IEF," under the following clause: This hearing board shall have the right of making recommendations to the management of the Courier-Express regarding the facts presented at any hearing. The management agrees to give due and fair consideration to any recommendation of this hearing board, including the granting of dismissal pay, as stipulated in other sections of this contract, in all cases deserving of that consideration. (Emphasis ours.—E.J.)

Dismissal pay is mentioned, and of course, dismissal pay of one week for each year of service will be allowed, PROVIDED HOWEVER, that the employee is not fired for any one of the 21 "causes" listed in the contract. With a reminder that the contract leaves it to the management to decide when the cause is just or sufficient, the causes are herewith repeated from the contract:

Habitual addiction to the use of morphine, cocaine or other drugs having

similar effect, or alcoholic liquors, gross and persistent insubordination, or any other professional, grossly immoral conduct, conviction of a felony, willful destruction or damaging of company property, theft of company property, fraud of the company by means of willfully falsified salary or expense vouchers or other means; engagement for remuneration in any activity not directly related to the operation of the Courier-Express, without express authority from the management; willful and malicious invasion of the Courier-Express in a libel action or actions; or potential libel action or actions; the act of demanding or inviting payment in money or other valuable consideration for the publication or suppression of any article or articles or picture or pictures in the news or editorial columns of the Courier-Express; the act of borrowing money or acceptance of unsecured loans from persons or person the result of which may influence the handling or presentation of news; willful refusal to obey the properly issued orders of a superior and all other acts of willful insubordination; furnishing to a rival newspaper for money or any valuable consideration of news or news pictures rightfully belonging to The Courier-Express; contraction of any disease or bodily ailment constituting a menace to the health of fellow workers or constituting a nuisance; willful tampering or interference in any form with the regular and orderly operation of any of the mechanical departments of The Courier-Express, or its news wires, teletype equipment, and telegraph facilities, with a view of hindering, impairing or terminating the functions of said equipment and accommodations; every other form of sabotage; striking or otherwise physically attacking any other employee; theft of the property of any fellow employee.

The contract also has a "free press" clause.

On Other Labor Fronts Farmers, Teachers, Salesmen Keep Pace With Upsurge

Activity of farmers, school teachers and auto salesmen was prominent in the labor news of week. Union advances and activity by these groups are regarded as noteworthy in quarters watching the upsurge of the past two years because it is not long since even so much as mention of the word "union" stuck in the gullet of many a farmer, teacher or salesman.

In the New York Adirondack region farmers who, a year ago, when the Dairy Farmers' Union was formed, thought of a union only as something for men in factories, are now driving 30 miles at dawn to help bolster picket lines in a neighboring county. Their union has 10,000 members who for three months have been striking against the New York City fluid milk dealers. The strike is directed, mainly against Borden's, Sheffield Farms, and the Dairyman's League.

The union demands recognition as sole bargaining agency and iron-clad anti-chilling and unfair trade practice clauses in its contracts.

Six thousand Chicago teachers gathered at the Civic Opera House last week in celebration of the amalgamation of four former unions into one — the Chicago Teachers Union of the American Federation of Teachers. The consolidation brings strength of the teachers in Chicago to the highest point in the history of their organization.

John M. Pewkes, nationally-known Chicago Teachers leader, who heads the new group, attacked the "unscrupulous and arbitrary policies of the present board of education and political machine behind it. Chicago teachers believe that their pupils are the chief sufferers from the present attack on the merit system, and the introduction of the spoils system of politics into the public schools. The very heart of democracy—freedom of education and expression—is being attacked in Chicago."

In Toledo, the 1938 auto show had an opening of dubious auspiciousness as a picket line of striking salesmen was thrown around it. The salesmen, members of United Auto Workers Local 12, kept a mass line moving in front of the show until the participating dealers began negotiating. The men demand higher commissions on sales, a union shop, and other union features in their contract.

What Scabs 'Produce' During Steel Strike

Scabs and gunmen were not making steel during the CIO strike in the Republic Steel Corporation plants, reports the Federated Press from Youngstown. Smoke from burning tar paper poured out of the chimneys to fool reporters, but steel for the market was not produced during the Little Steel strike.

This is proved in cold figures by the earnings report of Republic Steel for the last six months. The strike was at its height in the second quarter of the year, the massacre of Chicago strikers having occurred on Memorial Day. In that quarter instead of a normal profit of over \$3,000,000 the company could show only \$497,251, most of it earned before the strike began. In the third quarter, after much of the strike effort had been spent, earnings were reported as \$3,237,153.

CIO Plans Another Major International Union

The foundation for another great American industrial union will be laid at a conference called by John L. Lewis in Washington, on November 27, of representatives of the 200,000 workers in the furniture, bedding, and allied industries.

Indications were strong that the International Upholsters Union of North America, long standing AF of L affiliate, would respond to the call in the hope of finding relief

from the raids upon its membership by AF of L building trades unions. Discontent with AF of L treatment, voiced by this union's delegates to the Denver AF of L convention, was expressed by the Upholsters' Journal later in an article titled "Our International Given Runaround at Denver."

Lewis' conference call went out to all local industrial unions of the CIO in the furniture industry, to the AF of L upholsters' union and its locals, and to all AF of L federal and state chartered locals in the industry, as well as to all other local unions in the industry, whether independent or affiliated to CIO or AF of L international unions.

He announced that the conference would "lay the basis for unity for all furniture workers in a single, powerful, international industrial union, affiliated with the CIO and capable of organizing the 200,000 unorganized furniture workers."

Labor Demands Voice in 'Chest' Administration

Widespread interest is developing over the request of the United Electrical and Radio Workers local at Cleveland, to the CIO central body to investigate the Cleveland Community Fund.

The request is a development in an increasing demand for labor's participation in the administration of community chests and similar funds. It was believed to have been stimulated by the action of the San Francisco Community Chest in forcing the Union Recreation Center to close its doors by denying a requested \$4,000 appropriation. At the same time, the chest granted the Seamen's Institute, which marine workers regard as an anti-labor organization, a much larger sum.

The Cleveland Union Leader, in an editorial on the proposed inquiry, asserted that employers "who are willing to see workers murdered on the excuse that they are defending themselves from union checkoff, who are willing to see workers killed for the sake of the Community Chest contributions."

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Indications of the new trend can be seen in articles in trade and popular publications and in short lecture courses being offered at universities, and in other developments.

There are no signs that this means the millennium for labor. Employers may merely be learning that the union "problem" cannot be wished or tricked into solution, and that violence is unhelpful.

In any event, a new trail is being explored. The National Association of Manufacturers, for instance, has learned that its labor policy is all wrong, and has hired a research organization to "find out what the worker really wants." Individual employers who discover that loyalty pledges are meaningless, company unions an "unhappy solution" and boss-dominated AF of L unions even worse, are passing the word on to others so that they might profit. In the midwest auto centers, the company is sending executives to university lecture courses on labor relations. In the East, eminent economists are making surveys and delivering lectures to management executives.

NAM Wants 'Solution'

Roy Dickinson, president of Printers' Ink, the nationally circulated advertisers' journal, aptly sums up the new trend in his column "Labor Notes," in a recent issue. It is he who reports that the National Association of Manufacturers, discovering in a survey that "more than 80 per cent of the people interviewed

Remington-Rand Gets Slapped Again

WASHINGTON — (EP) — As temple of the Remington-Rand Company to avoid an order of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the second 'check,' it was revealed here, when that court denied a petition of the company to reopen the case.

On last March 13 the board issued an order against the company, requiring it to cease unfair labor practices, abandon the company union, offer reinstatement to 4,000 strikers and bargain collectively with the union.

On April 13 the company signed an agreement that any arrangement between the company and the union would not affect the rights of the union under the NLRB decision and four days later an agreement was reached between the union and the company which provided that strikers were to be reinstated where jobs were available.

The company claimed that the agreement with the union makes it unnecessary for it to comply with the NLRB order and petitioned the circuit court for a reopening of hearings.

Chattanooga Guild Resumes Parleys

CHATTANOOGA—After a long lapse due to the absence of Publisher George Fort Milton, collective bargaining has been resumed by the Guild with the Chattanooga News.

The renewed sessions are being held with Judge Sam McAllister, chairman of the News Stockholders Committee who has been delegated full authority to negotiate a contract in the absence of Milton, according to Executive Editor Poe and Business Manager Johnson. A Guild delegation headed by A. G. Representative Bernice Morgan, accompanied by printing trades union leaders, has held preliminary sessions with the paper's representatives.

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Loyalty Pledges

More frank was the attitude of the three small manufacturers who, Dickinson said in his Labor Notes, wanted him to "advise others to profit by their mistakes." Two of the three had suffered from poor advice, Dickinson said, continuing:

"They asked a foreman to test sentiment in the plant. Perhaps they didn't put the question just that way. But their action resulted in 'loyalty pledges' from employees, that didn't mean anything. Workers were afraid of the foreman and said what they thought he wanted. A little later when the CIO organizers came

Bargaining Questions Negotiations Under 'Provisions' of NLRA May Hide Trap

QUESTION: A publisher wants to insert in the preamble of the contract under negotiation with our Guild the statement that the contract is being signed "under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act." Is there any objection to this?

ANSWER: Yes, and while the objection may seem like a technicality, actually it is quite the reverse. We have had the experience of one local which made the mistake of approaching the management on the basis that the National Labor Relations Act made it possible, and the management promptly turned around and challenged the Guild to prove that it was subject to the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. In the particular case, and so far in many cases, it would take months to prove this in NLRB hearings, merely because the machinery is cumbersome.

The fact is that the right of union to represent groups of employees is long established. The National Labor Relations Act merely protects and does not establish that right. So far when a publisher has negotiated with the Guild on behalf of editorial employees, it has been because he has had sense enough to recognize that the Guild did represent these editorial employees. We should keep it so.

Cameras for Reporters

QUESTION: What is the advisability of having in a contract clause forbidding the use of reporters as camera men, the specific phrase "against his (the reporter's) will?"

ANSWER: The words "against his will" in the clause about a reporter acting as photographer or vice versa, are highly dangerous. The clause in general use stating that "No reporter or rewrite man shall be required to act as a photographer and no photographer shall be required to act as a reporter at the same time" already gives the individual leeway to accept if he chooses, something which is on the whole against printed origin. In Chicago it claimed an initial circulation of 200,000.

QUESTION: During contract negotiations in our city, a Guild member was fired. It is the feeling of our Executive Committee that a complaint to the National Labor Relations Board on the dismissal would weaken our efforts to get a contract.

ANSWER: Speaking generally, when there is occasion for a Labor Board complaint, the chance of getting a good contract would be weakened by failing to file it, and the chances of getting a good one assuming, of course, that the complaint is based on solid evidence, we are afraid that the publisher would feel that there was not much pressure for a contract if the dismissal were passed over without action.

On the other hand, an actual complaint might result, during the informal hearing which the board conducts, in the publisher being brought in to negotiate in the presence of the NLRB or a representative of the board in which the situation in re Guild activity would be taken as part of the general picture and there might be some pressure on the publisher to negotiate in good faith. We are not seeking, in offering these views, to persuade you to file a Labor Board action, but merely feel that you may want to consider these angles in arriving at your decision.

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The Guild Reporter

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Editor: Clyde Beale

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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.

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SECOND SIGHTS

Rents going up. Meat out of sight. Does the landlord or the butcher reduce the price for you on what he has to sell because you lay before him some fancy red figures regarding your income?

What are you going to do if the boss doesn't meet your "demands"—write to your congressman?

Actual security doesn't exist in a "dismissal indemnity scale"—no matter if it runs into astronomic figures—in an absolute-firing power, compulsory-arbitration, open-shop, joker-ridden "contract."

Arbitrary, unreviewable firing power in an employer's hands makes unionism a farce.

Compulsory arbitration means we agree in advance that, no matter what happens, we can't strike but must always accept the rulings of some "impartial" fifth-wheel who, nine times out of ten, is bound to be a stuffed shirt who has forgotten—if he ever knew—what it is to work for wages.

The history of arbitration is a history of defeats for labor.

The only guarantee of enforcement of better conditions after a contract victory and of being in a position to improve the contract in renewing it is the Guild Shop.

An open-shop "contract" is one under which the union members who won it have no guarantee they get the benefits of it. It's liable to be like a man getting a contract providing for some other man getting a job and the pay for it.

An open-shop "contract" is an agreement by union members to provide a free ride for flunks while the latter destroy the union.

The same publishers who scream that the Guild Shop invades the freedom of the press demand such "rights" as dictation over what an employee does on his own time.

When an employer's conscience won't allow him to take responsibility for telling an editorial worker he must join the union, explain to the employer the Guild will accept the responsibility and he can blame it.

The Guild shop is a principle of this organization, as the union shop is a principle of any union. To attack it is to attack the union.

Does the wife or girl friend object to time you spend on Guild work? There is no work that pays bigger dividends to her in your getting time off with her, plus security and wherewithal to enjoy it.

Most Guild gains were won by newspapermen tramping picket lines elsewhere. An occasional four-bit assessment to win a distant strike is bargain business.

Wives and children of newspaper workers gain more in security and living standards through their men being active Guildsmen.

Dues payment should be the smallest part of a true Guildsman's contribution to the organization.

—DON STEVENS.

Non-Members: NEUTRALITY —Needs a Second Look

"I am all for the Guild and what it is trying to do," said a non-member in a shop where the guild has a majority but not 100% membership. "Even if I don't have time to join, it can count on my moral support."

Unfortunately, the moral support of this individual, although he does not realize it, is on the publisher's side of the scales. Just as the time has long passed when a newspaper worker need fear to join the Guild where units have been established, so the time has also passed when a newspaper worker can give the Guild moral support and still remain outside. For today it is more true than ever before that there is no twilight zone. Indeed, there is no neutral zone. The current tactics of publishers give special force to the truism that he who is not with the Guild (i. e., a member) is in effect its enemy.

An obvious illustration is the "fidelity petition," of which publishers are making increasing use. Such a petition is forced upon non-members of the Guild. Where everyone, or nearly everyone, is enrolled in a Guild unit, it is a futile device, a boomerang to the publisher. This is also true of attempts to form company or A. F. of L. unions in editorial and commercial departments. The pride and self-respect of newspaper workers is outraged by efforts of employers to force them into stooge organizations. Yet, unless they have developed strong Guild units able to forestall such moves, they are powerless to resist this humiliation. Non-members of the Guild should face the fact that increasingly they are going to have to choose between stooge organizations and the Guild. The publishers will not let them remain aloof. Even when they do not circulate "fidelity" petitions, the publishers count on the inertia of the unorganized section of their employees to help them put up strong resistance to collective bargaining efforts.

It is not anti-publisher mania to recognize these facts. No employer, however philanthropic, likes the idea of so far losing control of the situation that he must deal with his employees as equals. This dependence is a little too useful. To avoid any impairment of his control, the most fair-spoken publisher, as the Guild has learned from hard experience, will do his utmost to weaken the Guild. Newspaper workers should not be less awake to their own interests.

This is an appeal to non-members of the Guild, whether in shops with units or those without, to ally themselves with their fellow workers for collective bargaining. There is today no doubt of the need for the Guild or what it can and has accomplished for newspaper workers. Moral support never butters anybody's bread. It is no good to the receiver or the giver. Let those who are for the Guild and for themselves act upon that impulse.

JOIN THE GUILD TODAY!

If there is no Guild in your city, fill out the blank below. All information will be kept in confidence and will not be given out without your permission.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD,

1560 Broadway,

New York City.

Please send me an application blank and statement of membership requirements.

Name.....

Address.....

Paper..... Position.....

How It Comes

In this day of rapid changes, it is well to remember how fascism comes.

1. A magnetic leader arises who hypnotizes the mob. He wins its loyalty.

2. A magnetic leader makes glowing promises which he does not hope to fulfill and which appear to promise a better standard of living for the underlying population.

3. A magnetic leader urges the pressure of mob tactics to destroy every liberal agency in his nation.

4. A mob rejoices and feels that a new day is being created because the old democratic forms are being destroyed. They expect Utopia; they adulate the magnetic leader.

5. The leader rides into greater power. He becomes all powerful. He now betrays the mob. He refuses to institute the reforms that he promised to bring the better day.

6. He conceals the rapidly falling standard of living behind a cannon. He waves the flag. He pounds his chest. He gives the people words instead of bread. Their emotions are aroused. They are beguiled.

The labor movement is a democratic movement. It must have leaders, but it must not follow leaders blindly. It must keep open the avenues of self-expression. Above all else, it must think rather than merely feel.—From the Electrical Workers Journal.

STEEL BROKE!

The Revolt of the Company Unions Was One of the Dramatic Moments Of Labor History. Here's Princeton Study of How It Was Engineered

From a Report

By FREDERICK H. HARRISON

(Research Assistant, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University)

The Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation employed in 1937 about half of the workers of the entire United States Steel Corporation, and nearly one-fourth of all steel workers in this country. Consequently, when the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee set out to unionize "Big Steel," it logically concentrated its main strength on the Carnegie-Illinois Company.

Assigning their most experienced and capable organizers to Carnegie-Illinois plants, SWOC officials conducted what is generally considered to be one of the best managed organization drives in American trade union history. Of particular interest was the strategy employed to eliminate the employee representation plans within this large company.

Organized labor has traditionally opposed company unions and scornfully criticized all employee representatives who take part in them. In this respect, however, the SWOC cast aside these older tactics in favor of a more effective strategy of "boring from within." The situation in several Carnegie-Illinois plants in the spring of 1936 was most favorable for this strategy. A small group of exceedingly aggressive representatives, who called themselves "progressives," were pressing management for the revision and liberalization of the employee representation plan. They demanded: (a) recognition of a central delegate bargaining committee to handle major interplant issues; (b) abolition of the joint committees; (c) certain changes in the grievance procedure to provide compulsory instead of voluntary arbitration as the final resort, and (d) substantial wage increases. Management had not acceded to any of these demands.

The Process of 'Boring From Within' Company Unions

As soon as the organizing campaign started in July, 1936, SWOC officials began to afford encouragement and advice to the struggling progressives. Without asking these representatives to declare themselves openly for any outside organization, the union leaders, nevertheless, kept them continuously "biting at the heels of management" for concessions of one sort or another. When the company hesitated to pay traveling expenses of delegates to an "outlaw" central committee meeting, the SWOC was always willing to offer its financial aid. Furthermore, the close working relationship between progressives and the union leaders gave the latter first-hand knowledge of what went on in committee meetings with management. Some of the progressives quietly joined the SWOC. In fact, one or two of them, who held high offices in the company unions, were put on the union payroll as organizers.

By the middle of February, 1937, the Carnegie-Illinois Company unions were most shaky. Progressives held sway in several plants; conservatives in others. Conservatives had the upper hand in the Pittsburgh District General Council, but a progressive member was head of the sub-committee which drew up demands for wage and hours concessions. It was generally assumed that wage increases were soon to be granted, and the conservatives hoped to secure credit. To combat this, the SWOC warned that the impending concessions were part of a plan of "Big Steel" to defeat the union, and that full credit for the wage increases should go to the CIO.

Internal Dissension Aided CIO as Crumbling Began

By the end of February the SWOC claimed that the Carnegie-Illinois plants, on the whole, were fairly well organized, although in only a few could it claim that a majority of the employees were union members. A few weeks before, B. F. Fairless, the president of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, had visited the employee representatives in most of the plants and had pledged management support of the company unions if the workers desired that form of collective negotiation. Yet, because of the internal dissension among employee representatives, it is probable that many of the top executives, superintendents, and foremen had lost confidence in the effectiveness of the company unions as they were operating at that time.

Suddenly, on March 1, 1937, following extensive conferences between Myron Taylor and John L. Lewis, Mr. Fairless opened negotiations with the SWOC for a signed agreement granting the union written recognition. As steel workers flocked in droves to the ranks of the SWOC, the stunned conservative employee representatives appeared helpless. Capitalizing on the rising tide of pro-union feeling, the progressive representatives soon became the backbone of several local union lodges.

President Green, to do the Newspaper Guild dirt for voting to remain in the CIO, offered to give jurisdiction over the employees of the business offices to the Pressmen's union. President Berry declined it with thanks.

Why newspaper workers, employed in the business offices, are closer to the pressmen than they are to the newswriters is one of the mysteries of the age. Another sign of the twisted conception of democracy held by the A. F. of L. hierarchy.

—From the Brewery Worker.