

THE GUILD REPORTER

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\$75,000 Raises in Boston Contract

BOSTON—A new contract, covering 461 persons and raising pay about \$75,000 in 1939, has been signed by the Boston Guild with the Herald-Traveler corporation.

It is the third contract between the Guild and the Herald and the Traveler, but the first one to cover both editorial and commercial employees on the two papers.

The agreement makes the 5-day, 40-hour week universal in the plant, sets the highest wage minimums and severance pay in New England contracts, and in all of its major aspects conforms to the ANG bargaining program.

The management refused the Guild shop with the declaration that "we're not open to reason on this subject." The statement was made by Charles Wyzanski, former solicitor for the U. S. Department of Labor, whom the H-T management retained to negotiate with the Guild.

408 Are Guild Members

"There's no use talking about the Guild shop," Wyzanski said. "I'll not say that there isn't good reason for a Guild shop; I say we're not open to reason on this subject."

With 408 of 461 employees in the Guild, and with less than 20 of these members in bad dues standing, the unit accepted the contract, declaring, however, that it is "determined ultimately to obtain the Guild shop."

A new minimum of \$70 a week is set for heads of many departments in both editorial and commercial departments and for such jobs as columnists and cartoonists. Other typical minimums established in 34 classifications are \$60 for copy readers and rewrite men; \$55 for experienced reporters and district men; \$60 for display advertising salesmen after six years of experience; \$28 for janitors, and from \$22 to \$45 for experienced office clerks of various classifications.

70 Per Cent Got Raises

Approximately 70 per cent of all employees covered received raises.

Severance pay is one week's wage for each 26 weeks of service, with a maximum of 30 weeks, payable upon discharge unless the discharge

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Coast Guild Gets Check on Firings

SAN FRANCISCO — A commitment from the Hearst Examiner management that there would be no more dismissals in the Examiner's business office up to and during the forthcoming period of negotiations has been obtained by a Guild committee. The Guild posted a notice of the management's pledge on the Examiner Guild bulletin board. Since the city-wide contract was signed last April, about 25 employees of the Examiner business office have been dismissed through elimination of work.

Guilds Active In CIO Drive To Save NLRA

(See Wagner Act amendment analysis on page 5)

Responding to a call to action issued by the CIO, labor organizations throughout the country have opened a campaign to save the National Labor Relations Act.

Reports indicated that many AFL organizations, whose national leadership sponsored the amendments, were active in opposing the proposals. They are being joined by many liberal, civic and social organizations.

A striking phase of the battle is in the pamphleteering, turn which the fight has taken. Pamphlets or reports are streaming from the headquarters of such organizations as the CIO, the American Civil Liberties Union, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the League of Women Shoppers, and others. These analyze and oppose the amendments introduced for the AFL leadership by Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts.

The new CIO pamphlet, "The Wagner Act Is Threatened With Destruction," has been sent to all international and city and state CIO councils.

Spreading the Word

Many local Guilds joined early in the drive, it is indicated by their reports to ANG headquarters, and the matter was to be brought before the IEB at its quarterly meeting Feb. 25, 26 and 27. ANG locals acted in the effective CIO drive to prevent Congress from slashing the Labor Board's appropriation.

In its pamphlets and letters to affiliated bodies, the CIO urged special meetings to organize the campaign. Emphasis was placed on

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17 Hurt in Hearst Attack On Strike Bystanders



CHARGING HEARST GOON: Note the crank handle in the hand of this thug, one of the crew that charged at spectators who were gathered across the street from the Hearst plant in Chicago on Feb. 18. Seventeen persons were slugged in this assault, three requiring hospital treatment. The photo is used by courtesy of the Chicago Times, which carried it on the front page.

New Tactic Stalls W.-B. Settlement

WILKES-BARRE.—Apparently attempting to starve the Guild strikers into accepting a contract with inferior terms, management representatives of Wilkes-Barre's three strike-closed dailies embarked on a new campaign of stalling last fortnight.

The strike has just completed its fifth month. For 13 weeks the strikers received state unemployment compensation, but this relief ended two weeks ago. After having paid its own way with the aid of the local labor movement, the local Guild has just made its first application to the ANG for financial aid in the strike. Leaders believed that the publishers were banking on financial need to break down the strikers' resistance.

Minor executives represented the publishers in the last fortnight's conferences. Refusing to compromise even on minor points, they indicated no desire to hasten reopening of the plants. They clung to the publishers' offer of a six-day week, arbitration and low wages.

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U. S. Agency Probes Queer Chicago Ads

Exposure of the deal whereby the Union Server, a Chicago weekly, catering to the liquor trade, engineered the sending of telegrams supposedly from the Chicago Bartenders Union to force several liquor companies to resume advertising in the struck Chicago Hearst papers, was under way last week.

ANG Secretary-Treasurer Pasche called the attention of Federal agencies to the fact that about the time the telegrams were sent to the liquor companies, a series of twelve full-page ads from the Chicago Hearst papers began appearing in the Union Server, for no apparent reason.

Pasche wrote to U. S. Attorney General Murphy, Federal Alcohol Administrator Alexander and the Federal Trade Commission.

Deputy Alcohol Administrator Huntington replied that the administration was investigating the possibilities of violations of the Alcohol Administration Act through the alleged use of pressure methods

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Papers Meet Rebuff in Court Move

CHICAGO—Sluggers salting out of the Hearst plant unleashed a new wave of violence on Feb. 18 against the Guild strikers as the struggle against the Herald & Examiner and American neared the end of its third month.

Seventeen persons were slugged with crank handles, steel cable strands and lead-filled pipe hose in the hands of the Hearst goons. Three of the victims required hospital treatment. Edward G. Woods, Hearst counsel, was a witness to the attack.

The latest assault followed shortly after the management had obtained a temporary injunction against the Guild. It did not have even the pretense of breaking up a picket line. The victims this time were in a crowd of onlookers, standing across the street and watching a mass picket line placed in front of the plant by the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, under the leadership of Don Harris, a national director of that organization. In compliance with the temporary injunction, issued by Judge G. Cleveland Niemeyer, the Guild had only two pickets at each door of the building.

Contempt Charges Filed

Shortly after the assault, the Hearst attorneys brought an action designed to jail a group of strikers on contempt of court charges. This action asserted that the injunction which, like all injunctions, was based in part on allegations of striker violence, was being violated by picketing of the plant and advertisers. It named 36 strikers, the Chicago Guild and the ANG. On motion of Guild Attorney Ben Meyers, Judge Niemeyer set over hearing on the petition to March 14. He overruled Wood's vehement objections and demands for immediate action "because the Guild would continue to violate the injunction." The Guild, however, also took defeat when Niemeyer denied Meyer's motion to remove the

(Continued on Page Three)

Continue Levies, IEB Body Asks

Continuation of the series of semi-monthly strike assessments levied at the beginning of the Chicago struggle was recommended to the International Executive Board at its quarterly meeting (Feb. 25, 26 and 27 at headquarters) by the Board's Finance Committee.

Prompt payment of these assessments, falling due on the 15th and last day of each month, has become even more urgent owing to the need of Wilkes-Barre to ask for International assistance. (See story.)

Paper Tries Law Evasion; Reaction Brings Raises

BROCKTON, Mass.—Reacting to publisher efforts to evade Wage-Hour law provisions and otherwise short-circuit employee rights, the Brockton Guild in a burst of activity doubled its membership in ten days, won a promise of substantial raises from the Enterprise-Times, and was well on the road to a full contract last fortnight.

Publisher Charles Fuller of the Enterprise-Times has long maintained the custom of holding district and beat reporters responsible for news coverage throughout the 24 hours of the day; no pay for overtime.

About two weeks ago two re-

porters, after a couple of 60-hour weeks, called the attention of their managing editor to the Wage-Hour law. The M.E. reported to Fuller. Fuller emerged with a bulletin board notice that "effective next Monday" the two protesting reporters and two others would be taken off the payroll and put on a space basis. The idea, said Fuller, was that "correspondents" on space are not affected by wages and hours laws and not even by social security laws.

The Guild met on the following afternoon (a Friday) with Fred Myers, executive vice president of

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City-Wide Talks Due On Coast

SAN FRANCISCO—A new draft agreement providing for Guild shop, preferential hiring, Guild recognition in all non-mechanical departments, and other improvements has been approved by the San Francisco-Oakland Guild membership for submission to the San Francisco-Oakland Publishers Association early in March.

The publishers will be asked to replace the present contract expiring April 1 with the new agreement. The present agreement covers the editorial departments of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Examiner, Chronicle, News and Oakland Post-Enquirer; the business offices of the Call-Bulletin, Examiner and Chronicle; the classified ad departments of the Call-Bulletin, News, Chronicle and Post-Enquirer; and the telephone operators of the Examiner and Chronicle. The Guild has a clear majority of all non-mechanical employees on all the papers.

Pointing to the coming negotiations, the membership voted to double dues payments for February, March and April, the extra dues going into the defense fund.

Office Members Gain in Denver

DENVER—Eighty-six commercial department employees of the Rocky Mountain News (Scripps-Howard) have received substantial benefits through the posting of a bulletin board statement by the management following more than six months of negotiations with a Guild committee. The statement covers the workers until June, when the present editorial department contract expires, and negotiations will be opened for a complete industrial agreement.

Although below the usual standard for Guild provisions, the statement brought an average pay increase of \$1 a week for the employees. Hours were slashed to 40 except for a few positions, and the work-week for most was set at five days. Dismissal indemnity was set at one week's pay for each year of service up to ten years, and vacations at two weeks after one year of service.

Posting of the statement brought additional members into the Guild from the classified advertising and business offices.

M. J. CALLAHAN
ST. PAUL—M. J. (Mike) Callahan, old-time newspaper cartoonist, and an early member of the Guild, is dead. He was last employed on the Minnesota Leader.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS!

Cleveland Gets Adjustment In Firing of Press Reporter

CLEVELAND—Acting on the dismissal by the Cleveland Press of a reporter with 16½ years of service, the Cleveland Guild obtained two important concessions from the management, although it was unable to restore the fired man to his job.

The reporter, Carl Clark, the father of three children, was summarily dismissed with the announcement that his writing "was not up to the standard of the Press." The Guild's contention was that the firing actually was for economy reasons. For many years Clark had covered the criminal courts and general assignment. Recently he was admitted to the Ohio bar. He has been a member of Cleveland Local No. 1 since its organization. He was paid the contract dismissal indemnity of

Kelly Starts the Verse—Guildsman Finishes It

LOS ANGELES—Harvey Kelly, Hearst's negotiator, walked into one in the negotiations with the Herald-Express unit of the Guild here.

After a prolonged argument over a contract point there was a pause during which Tom O'Connor, LANG president, was rewriting the clause. "The moving finger writes, and having writ, moves on," Kelly quoted archly, whereupon O'Connor, without ceasing to write, supplied the rest of the verse:

Brooklyn Reacts, Wins Pay Raises

(Continued from Page One)

The New England District. The members voted unanimously that they would strike on Monday if Fuller had not revealed his order by then.

At 10 a. m. the next day Fuller met a committee headed by Myers and Local President Tom O'Brien and revoked his order.

On Saturday afternoon the Guild met again and resolved to organize the rest of the Guild's jurisdiction in the plant and to demand immediate negotiation of a Guild contract.

The members again voted unanimously to strike if Fuller persisted in his previous refusal to sign a contract.

Organized Commercial. Organization of the mail room, business office and circulation and advertising departments was almost 100 per cent complete by Monday, and before the week was out a Guild committee began negotiation of the contract. Fuller offered pay raises immediately.

At a later meeting the new and doubled unit reiterated its determination to strike if necessary, and gave authority to its negotiating committee to order a walkout when it deemed it advisable. Bargaining is continuing.

Gallup to Address N.Y. Guild Forum

Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, and Quincy Howe, author of "England Expects Every American To Do His Duty," are among the speakers announced by the New York Guild for its March series of Wednesday night forums, to be held at the Guild Club Rooms, 117 West 46th Street.

The series will start March 1 with a symposium on "Editing the Cable." On March 8, Quincy Howe will speak on "British Propaganda in the United States" on March 15, George Selig will speak on "Does the Press Need a New Deal?" March 22, Dr. Gallup on "Measuring Public Opinion" and March 29, Guy Hickok, director of National Broadcasting Company's shortwave news broadcasts to foreign countries, on "Breaking the Fascist News Censorship."

Whitney replied that: "We consider it a vital part of our business to be concerned with legislation that as vitally affects the welfare of working men and women that you once declared it to be labor's magna charta."

AFL Council Split Reported
Another prominent letter writer addressing Green was Louis Waldman, attorney for a number of AFL unions, who analyzed the amendments for Green and warned him that they "carry with them great danger to the labor movement."

Meanwhile, reports from Washington indicated that the AFL executive council was far from united in its support of the amendments. A modification plan reported by Federated Press and attributed to the International Association of Machinists proposed repeal of the present act and enactment of a law virtually identical, with the exception that a five-man board would take the place of the three-man board.

Industrial Pact Up in Pittsburgh
PITTSBURGH—The Pittsburgh Guild has just presented to the Post-Gazette on behalf of the unit the local's first industrial union contract. It is to replace the separate contracts now covering the editorial department and the business office employees. The new contract embraces all commercial employees.

Here Are UNFAIR Advertisers

The following nationally distributed products and chain stores are the most consistent advertisers in the Hearst Herald & Examiner and Evening American, despite the Chicago-Guild's strike. They are thereby assisting Hearst's attack on the Guild.

Automobiles
Chevrolet
Ford
Packard
Buick
Cadillac
Chrysler
Dodge
Hudson
Nash
Oldsmobile
Studebaker
Wheeler
Chevrolet

Clothing
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal
L. S. Beal

Drugs
Mentholatum
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex
Pain-Ex

Food
Aunt Jemima Flour
Borden's
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Household Goods
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Laundry
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Shoes
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Tobacco
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Wine
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Whisky
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Beer
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Coffee
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Tea
Aunt Jemima Flour
Borden's
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Sugar
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Flour
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Aunt Jemima Flour
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Corn
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Wheat
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Rye
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Barley
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Malt
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Grain
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Straw
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Stubble
Aunt Jemima Flour
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Manure
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Compost
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Cite Frameup Try In NLRB Charge

Charging the management attempted to frame a Guildman on a charge of dishonesty given an excuse for dismissing him, the Westchester Guild has petitioned the National and State Labor Relations Board in an effort to secure his reinstatement.

The Guildman, George Rance, was saving money for a substitute carrier, at the boy's request, so the boy could accumulate a necessary \$20 to post as bond to become a contracted distributor for the paper. The Guild pointed out to Publisher Macy that company representatives attempted to get the parents of the boy to alter or discredit statements they made in Rance's behalf, in an effort to support the company's "dishonesty" charge.

Collective bargaining can obviously succeed only when majority rule is made effective.

The attempt to bargain with a number of groups not only destroys that stability but it makes possible the control of the employer over the organization of his employees.

If the employees and the employer are not able to agree as to what constitutes the bargaining unit, I believe the National Labor Relations Board should decide what the bargaining unit shall be.

William Green got his wish. Today the majority rule in naming the units of our choice is in effect. But now Green has come a complete turnaround, claiming that the application of the majority rule by the National Labor Relations Board is unfair and detrimental to the interests of the AFL membership.

The Law Journals Speak
Is this true? It is not, and we have such outside observers as Fortune magazine, the Yale Law Journal, Professor Robert R. R. Brooks of Williams College, the Cornell Law Quarterly, the Columbia Law Review, the Illinois Law Review, and others citing the facts to show that the AFL, rather than the CIO, gets the breaks from the Labor Board.

The discussion conducted by the AFL leadership over the alleged wrongdoing of the Labor Board is a phenomenon, which, had the light turned on it in Fortune last October. Among the points mentioned in the Fortune article ("The G. D. Labor Board") was that a poll of public opinion taken last August indicated that "92 per cent of those people who believed that the Board had shown bias toward any particular labor organization felt that it was prejudiced in favor of the CIO." (Fortune found that "the record does not bear out this impression.")

The opinion is a tribute to the power of the press. The press has made its case of bias out of whole cloth and is still weaving it. Mostly it alleges bias against employers but it has eagerly seized also on the theme of bias against the AFL.

All the shouting and heat as regards bias against the AFL has at its core only 60 cases in which the Board has had either to rule or to hold elections as between the AFL and CIO regarding the appropriate bargaining unit—only 60 out of the more than 7200 mediated and 725 carried through formal hearings.

Election Rule Favors AFL
Of these 60, the AFL won in 29 cases, and the CIO in 23. The contentions of both groups were adopted in part, and rejected in seven cases, and no decision was necessary in one case.

Thus, in point of actual decisions, the AFL, and not the CIO, has been favored in the total of cases in which both groups made contentions before the Labor Board.

In point of election rules adopted by the Board to determine the employees' choice, the AFL or craft unions get the breaks. Since August, 1936, when craft and industrial unions have contended in a single plant, the Labor Board has applied the system of allowing each craft unit to vote separately on whether its members wished to retain their craft bargaining agency, or merge in the industrial unit. Said the Board in its "Data on Administrative Problems," Jan. 15: "The AFL protested judgments which went against the craft units; the CIO protested those which allowed craft units."

The Illinois Law Review comments that "It cannot be doubted that this (voting principle) is highly favorable to the AFL," and

indeed it is, as the results indicate. The Cornell Law Quarterly joins in: "Thus in granting the right to vote to determine whether they desire to continue under the craft form of organization, it appears that the craft method is assured of more than a fair deal at the hands of the NLRB."

AFL Unions Use Processes
The Columbia Law Review says: "The NLRB's unit policies and its refusal to exclude employer-aided AFL unions from the ballot has favored the AFL."

In point of demands made, AFL unions themselves have sought a form of industrial unit in 173 cases. The Board's data, noting the AFL unions have made these demands since the beginning, continues:

In many of these 173 cases, unions affiliated with the AFL have requested units broader than the units requested by the CIO. In a substantial number of cases, the contest between the two organizations was a difference not so much as to whether the unit should be craft or industrial at all but simply on the scope of the industrial unit.

As compared to the 173 cases in which AFL affiliates requested some form of an industrial unit, there were but 84 in which they requested craft units. In only eleven cases has the Board entirely rejected the request for the craft unit.

In the great majority of the cases in which craft units were rejected, the Board is doing good themselves had indicated no desire to be constituted as a separate unit.

To this report might well be added the Illinois Law Review comment: "From the standpoint of satisfying employees, who, after all, are the party primarily interested, the Board is doing good job in deciding the appropriate unit, despite the fact that from the standpoint of a labor organization advocating a particular type of unit, the decisions might be unsatisfactory."

Contract invalidation is a fourth point on which the AFL officials assert their officials have suffered. Since the CIO was organized and up to the end of 1938, the Board had been called upon to decide 31 cases in which either the AFL or CIO charged that a contract had been signed illegally by employers with company-dominated unions. In 1935, before the split, the AFL had filed three such complaints and was successful in each in having the company-union contract invalidated and the AFL organization established as bargaining agent.

The precedents established by these cases have been consistently applied since the AFL-CIO split. The AFL itself filed charges in 14 cases which resulted in the Board setting aside contracts made with company-dominated unions. The CIO has successfully filed charges in 19 such cases. In another case the AFL union joined with an AFL union in a successful action.

In the handling of complaints and petitions, Board statistics for the 1937-38 fiscal year reveal that both AFL and CIO received even-handed treatment. Of 1,454 cases filed by AFL unions, 22.9 per cent were dismissed or withdrawn after Board examination. Of 2,331 cases filed by CIO unions, 22.5 per cent were dismissed or withdrawn.

In tangible benefits resulting from formal Board orders since operations began, AFL unions have fared much better than CIO unions. As the result of employer compliance with these formal decisions, 400 members of 45 AFL units were reinstated with \$324,250 in remedial wages and 240 were reinstated without back pay. For the same period, 335 members of 33 CIO unions were reinstated with \$10,216 in remedial wages and 60

reinstated without pay. In the Carlisle Lumber case in 1936—an order which was appealed and which the Labor Board is fighting vigorously in the courts—an AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers local union won an order for \$200,000 in back pay.

Why the Amendments?
In the light of these highspots from the record, it is impossible to understand the Green-Walsh proposals to amend the NLRA as any cure for deficiencies in the act, or by way of protecting either AFL or CIO members in the right of self-organization. What is the shouting about?

The purpose behind the amendments seems to be completely alien to the original aims of the Wagner Act. The amendments would make easy the thwarting of self-organization and pave the way for employer selection of favored unions against the desires of his employees.

The top leadership of the AFL, faced with the CIO's continued growth is seeking through legislative protection an easy way to obtain members and contracts by an approach through the employer rather than the employees. It seeks to use the threats of CIO organization as a means to induce employers to sign up with the AFL instead. The bait to the employer is a tip that by working directly

it too.

WHERE IS NLRB BAS WHICH GREEN CHARGES?

The Record Answers Flatly, Chief Amendments and Their Effects

While the summaries of the proposed Wagner Act amendments sponsored by President William Green, and now introduced in Congress as Senate Bill 1600, represented them as eight fairly clear-cut changes, actually the amendments rewrite large sections of the Act and amount to a complete reversal of approach on many points. The main effects of the proposed changes are shown in the following summary.

AMENDMENTS WEAKENING NLRB'S PROTECTION TO LABOR

1. EMPLOYER INFLUENCE

The amendments legitimize the use of employer influence in labor organization. They do this in three ways. First, they eliminate the present positive injunction, which makes it an unfair labor practice for an employer "to dominate or interfere" with a labor organization "or contribute financial or other support to it," and set up positive limits to the definition of company union. Under these limitations a company union would be defined as such only when it was an agency which the employer "creates, dominates, controls or maintains." Thus whereas the present act rests on the doctrine that employees have a right to their own organizations free of all employer interference, the amendments leave the employer free to interfere up to the point just short of actual control. The burden of proof would be on the contending union to show that interference actually amounted to control.

Second, the way is opened for "supervisory employees" to participate in the unions. The amendments would insert a definition reading, "foremen and those employees of a higher rank... who are empowered to hire and fire." Thus an employer would need only to revoke nominally the hiring and firing powers of his foremen and other executives in order to give them complete freedom to take part in the affairs of any union.

Third, employers would have freedom of expression of opinion with respect to any matter which may be of interest to employees or the general public, provided that such expressions of opinion are not accompanied by acts of discrimination or threats thereof.

This completes the set-up. The factory proprietor could make a speech to his employees about a union of his choice; the "union" could meet on company property; the foremen and executives throughout the plant could participate and apply the pressure. Free discussion and independent leadership would disappear.

2. CONTRACTS
The Board's power to invalidate contracts negotiated with the aid of what are now unfair labor practices would be sharply curtailed. Whereas the present law provides that the Board shall take such affirmative steps as may be necessary to correct unfair practices, the amendments, after making it easier to arrive at phony contracts, would add a hurdle to prevent their being set aside.

3. BARGAINING UNIT
When a craft exists, composed of one or more employees, then such craft shall constitute a unit appropriate for the purpose of collective bargaining for such employee or employees; a majority of such craft employees may designate a representative for such unit.

Since still another amendment (Point 5) would give employers the right to petition the Board for elections and hearings, this proposal would compel the Board to divide any plant into crafts. The only exception to this rule would be where a controversy arises among members of one organization or between two organizations affiliated with the same parent body. The Board then would be required to keep hands off.

The amendment recalls conditions before the CIO was organized when the AFL from time to time organized large groups only to divide them up among many craft unions. Such organizations, being ineffectual in large industrial concerns, quickly vanished, leaving the employees worse off for having stuck their necks out.

The mandatory segregation here proposed, further, would enable the employers to create a wave of jurisdictional disputes that would keep most unions from ever reaching the bargaining stage.

reinstated without pay. In the Carlisle Lumber case in 1936—an order which was appealed and which the Labor Board is fighting vigorously in the courts—an AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers local union won an order for \$200,000 in back pay.

Why the Amendments?
In the light of these highspots from the record, it is impossible to understand the Green-Walsh proposals to amend the NLRA as any cure for deficiencies in the act, or by way of protecting either AFL or CIO members in the right of self-organization. What is the shouting about?

The purpose behind the amendments seems to be completely alien to the original aims of the Wagner Act. The amendments would make easy the thwarting of self-organization and pave the way for employer selection of favored unions against the desires of his employees.

The top leadership of the AFL, faced with the CIO's continued growth is seeking through legislative protection an easy way to obtain members and contracts by an approach through the employer rather than the employees. It seeks to use the threats of CIO organization as a means to induce employers to sign up with the AFL instead. The bait to the employer is a tip that by working directly

it too.

with the union head, he can get better terms than working through the real representatives of his employees.

The last time the labor movement had a great spurt in membership was during and just after the World War. By 1920 the membership had reached more than 4,000,000. Then the business groups began an attack which by 1922 had reduced it to 2,000,000. There was no CIO then. If the AFL should succeed in passing these NLRA amendments, and could knock out the CIO, we wonder how long the business organizations would wait before beginning their attack on it.

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4. ACCESS TO RECORDS

The amendments would entitle "any party to such proceeding" to the right to apply for a subpoena or subpoenas requiring the attendance of witnesses and the production of any evidence that relates to any matter under investigation or in question. If denied, such party could go to a federal district court to obtain them.

Also, "formal charges, petitions, complaints, orders and testimony relating to a proceeding before the Board under Sections 9 and 10 of this Act (the vital sections dealing with certification of bargaining units and with complaints of unfair labor practices) shall be made public records and be made available for inspection and copying."

Two AFL amendments would endanger all union members by giving the employers access to the union's confidential records. They were not authorized by the AFL Convention at Houston. If an employer could get at the membership records of a new union, he could almost certainly find ways of breaking it up. Although the Labor Board might still refuse a subpoena for this purpose, the district courts, which have the final say here, have usually been found to favor the employer's side.

To give the employers advance access to the testimony to be introduced by the Board in hearings would give them the opportunity to eliminate witnesses through pressure of various kinds. Even if this were not the result, the employer, who is being examined for alleged violation of the law, would have all the edge over the union in defeating or hamstringing the case. The Board has always made available to employers such documents as they had a right to examine.

5. EMPLOYERS' PETITIONS
The right of employers to petition for the designation of a bargaining representative would be virtually mandatory under an amendment reading: "Whenever it is alleged by an employer or by an employer's representative that there is a question or controversy affecting commerce concerning the representation of employees, the Board may investigate such controversy... and may conduct an election by secret ballot, etc."

The Wagner Act is silent on this point, leaving the determination of employer petitions to the Board's discretion. Under this amendment and the others, if the Board refused the request of an employer, it could be compelled to grant the request by a district court.

This proposal, one of the important ones not authorized by the Houston Convention of the AFL, cuts across the right of self-organization. That right, guaranteed in the present act, presupposes the right to choose unions without employer interference, which implies also the right to say when the union is ready for the election. An employer, on the other hand, would in most cases only make such a demand when he thought he could head off organization or favor the union most amenable to his influence. The organization of employees is their concern and not the employer's.

6. COURT REVIEW
Besides giving the district courts the opportunity to step into the cases in numerous ways on the employer's side, the amendments would practically require all cases to be tried both in the Board and in the courts by the insertion throughout of the apparently harmless requirement that the Board's findings be "supported by substantial and credible evidence."

The Act at present says, "If supported by evidence." In other words, the Board at present hears both sides and reaches its conclusion as to what are the facts; the court review is intended only as an extra guarantee that employer shall have a fair hearing and that the law shall

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THE GUILD REPORTER

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"... 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.

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Roosevelt's WPA Request Has the CIO Behind It

(From a CIO message to all affiliates)

President Roosevelt has just asked Congress for an additional \$150,000,000 for WPA.

In his message he said that it was necessary under the present appropriation of \$725,000,000 passed by Congress for the WPA either (1) to be cut immediately by a million on April 1st, or (2) to be reduced in the three months of April, May and June to only a little over a million WPA workers by the end of June. He said that either arrangement would cause a grave crisis in the country. Therefore it was necessary for Congress to appropriate \$150,000,000 immediately.

By the time that the Senate came to consider the slashed appropriation that the House of Representatives had passed, the protest from all parts of the country was so strong that it was impossible to pass the \$725,000,000 appropriation without an amendment which directed the WPA administrator not to cut the rolls by more than 5 per cent in February and March. That provision called upon the President to make a further request for an appropriation if in his judgment there would be an emergency on the first of April.

The President has answered more quickly than Congress thought he would.

The Congressional reactionaries have already indicated that they plan to stall on this new request of the President. Unless they hear from the country again the way they heard from it when considering the previous proposal, the chances are that they will put off considering the appropriation for some time. It is most important to get in as widespread an expression of sentiment on this message as possible.

The fight for adequate WPA appropriations and for a proper provision for the unemployed is continuous. A new attack is in the offing with the introduction by Representative Woodrum of Virginia of a bill for relief for 1940. Woodrum led the fight in the House of Representatives to cut the WPA appropriation. His new bill for the coming year would provide a further cut. It would not only slash the appropriation but return work relief to the States. That would mean chaos.

The CIO and the progressive forces have a long fight before them to impress upon Congress the necessity of appropriating adequately for work relief. The CIO Committee on Unemployment is now studying a plan to provide a real works program. When it is completed it will be submitted to affiliates and to the Congressmen.

RALPH HETZEL, JR.
(Unemployment Director)

Why the California Farmers "Wanted" That Anti-Labor Law

Economic Whip Cracks Over Last Individualists

One of the names most notable in support of the anti-labor initiatives in the Coast states last November was the Associated Farmers. It worked for the initiatives in all three states. About the same time it began to spread into the Middle West, bobbing up in Minnesota.

The LaFollette Committee began to look into this body toward the end of the year but has had to hold off until more funds are voted.

It will take a governmental agency with subpoena power to delve adequately into the vigilante activities in which the group has engaged. But in the meantime, an illuminating pamphlet is at hand which indicates why these sons of the soil take such an interest in labor. This is a bulletin called "Who Are the Associated Farmers?" issued by the Simon J. Lubin Society of California, a research organization among whose sponsors are California's Governor Culbert E. Olson, Congressman H. Jerry Voorhis, Methodist-Episcopal Bishop James C. Baker, Father Charles Phillips, University of California's Professor Robert A. Brady, Movie Actor Chester Conklin and San Francisco News Columnist John D. Barry.

Farmers in Cutaways

The Associated Farmers, the society discovered, is one of the prize flim-flams of our time.

It is supposed to be an organization of farmers out to protect working farmers' interests. Here are some of the "farmers" that control it:

Bank of America.
Southern Pacific Railroad.
California Packing Corp. (CalPak).
Libby, McNeil & Libby (packers).
Charles McIntosh, president of the Bank of California.
A. J. McFadden, president of the State Chamber of Commerce.
Mortimer and Herbert Fleishacker.
Herbert Hoover.

Not visibly identified with the Coast Associated Farmers, but contributors to a forerunner in Minnesota were Lamont DuPont and General Motors' Alfred P. Sloan Jr.

The group has a "mass basis" and this is how. The little fellows on California farms need crop loans every so often, and they have to get these loans from corporations like CalPak. An A.F. organizer on one of these occasions announces: "No membership card, no crop loan." At the time of the Stockton cannery strike in 1937, farmers received a letter from the Cannery League (CalPak et al.) informing them that if they didn't

LaFollette Committee Funds Are Exhausted

The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee, which is now drawing up legislation to deal with strike-breaking agencies, regulate private police and the traffic in arms, gas and other munitions and protect civil liberties, has come to the end of its funds and specific action is needed to enable it to continue.

The CIO has just issued a call to all affiliates and their locals to support the committee and urge their Representatives and Senators to make the necessary appropriation.

One of the big tasks which the committee looked into but was unable to complete was the investigation of the Associated Farmers, the Pacific Coast anti-labor and vigilante organization. Some of the facts about this body are told in the accompanying article.

get out and break the strike they'd lose their crops and contracts.

Also Patriotic

This type of persuasion has to be used on farmers who are not carried away by the oratory of A.F.'s front men. The Associated Farmers lay most stress on defending "Americanism."

And that is where the Great Flim Flam comes in. Associated Farmers is so busy downing subversive activities that the small farmer gets hurt. When cherry farmers, members of A.F., struck against delivering cherries to CalPak (which broke a price agreement), it was the A.F.'s own president, Colonel Walter E. Garrison, who drove through the farmers'

Oklahoma City Drive Nets \$200

OKLAHOMA CITY—More than \$200 in back dues poured into the local Guild treasury at the February meeting after a notice had been mailed to the membership advising that all Guildsmen four months or more behind would be dropped.

The meeting was delayed more than 40 minutes as Secretary Bruce Palmer and President Ed Pryor dished out dues and assessment stamps.

A membership drive among the business office staffs of the Oklahoma News and the Daily Oklahoman and Times is being considered and complete organization of the editorial department of the latter is now under way. At the News, editorial employees are discussing coming negotiations.

Formation of state and city CIO councils has materialized and the Guild is represented in both groups.

Senate Inquiry Is Awaited--And Badly Needed

picket line. When the small farmers helped the big farmers cut labor costs by breaking strikes, they cut their own throats, because they helped the big farmers to undersell them. A.F. actually supported a State sales tax and refused to oppose a freight rate increase—both poison to small farmers. The crowning injury was Associated Farmers' fight against a bill to enable small farmers to get together to produce cheaper water and power.

Look Longingly at Germany

Associated Farmers, then, is an organization of big business to flatten the efforts of farmers as well as workers to help themselves. Does all this add up to a well-known phenomenon whose name is not Americanism? It does. At a convention of Associated Farmers a year ago a State Senator reported on how splendidly things are done in Germany. Phillip Bancroft, a leader of Associated Farmers and unsuccessful candidate for the U. S. Senate in the last election, liked the speech so well that he had it repeated at another farmers' convention.

Associated Farmers is beginning to alarm California farmers. Little groups of them are standing up here and there and demanding the LaFollette investigation. The Dies Committee listened to testimony from some of A.F.'s leaders. They testified that California was rife with un-American activities which Associated Farmers was working hard to put down.

(Copies of "Who Are the Associated Farmers?" may be obtained for 5c from the Simon J. Lubin Society, 25 California Street, San Francisco.)

Two Locals Take Labor Unity Steps

Two Guild locals have taken steps to promote AFL-CIO unity in their areas. In San Antonio, Tex., Frank Ragsdale was appointed chairman of a Guild liaison committee to cement relations with other unions, both AFL and CIO, and move for a united local labor front. In Harrisburg, the Guild adopted a motion calling for unity in Pennsylvania, and requesting that CIO and AFL leaders confer on the matter. The Harrisburg Guild is a member of the local Central Labor Union.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS! THEY BUILD THE GUILD!

HERE'S A DUES TRANSFORMATION—AND HOW!

By JOHN RYAN

New York Guild Organizer

New York is assuming a new attitude toward dues and the experience of the past two months indicates that the whole membership is seeing the point—the point being that dues-paying no longer is a matter of "kicking in to a good cause" but an obligation as real as insurance premiums and rent.

The finance committee of the local has graphic evidence that this new concept of dues-paying is spreading rapidly.

In one unit of 340 members a petition was signed by more than 200 persons in good standing protesting against those who don't pay regularly and suggesting that the worst 10 offenders be subjected to publicity first in the unit and later in the Guild as a whole, if necessary.

In the five major contract units with a membership of 1,934, dues has become number one item at unit council and unit meetings. Stories about the departments with the best dues records and stories praising individuals who are paid up in advance are finding their way into shop papers.

Guild-shop units are giving final warnings to delinquents without demand from the executive committee. Other units—on their own—are threatening not to consider grievances of those who are out of good standing.

There are many other indications that the members who pay their dues are cracking down on those who are inclined toward free-riding.

This is brand new in New York. As a matter of fact, until recently there was no connection between paying dues on time and being a

good Guild member. Many active Guildsmen, through carelessness, were far in arrears.

Which leads us to the matter of why this transformation is taking place. In order to explain it we will have to consider for a moment the set-up of the New York Guild.

There is an executive committee of 21 members representative of most of the major shops. Then there is the representative assembly composed of more than 200 delegates from all of the units. Both of these bodies meet regularly, the executive committee usually twice a month and the RA once a month.

When the present finance committee was appointed in January it reviewed the work of past finance committees and discovered that every conceivable idea for collecting dues had been suggested

but few if any had been carried out. There already existed all the plans necessary for improving dues collections, but something was wrong with the machinery to carry out the plans.

The committee set out to discover what was wrong. It went first to the leading body, the executive committee. Here it was obvious that dues was an unpopular subject. It went then to the representative assembly and made the same discovery.

With the 221 or more leaders in the Guild reluctant to talk about dues, how could the membership be expected to become dues-conscious?

The committee saw its first job clearly, that of making the leadership dues-conscious. This was done or is being done through relentless propaganda for the benefit of the two leading bodies. This propaganda is seeping down to the rank

and file and results are noticeable.

Graphs showing the state of the Guild and the individual units over a period of four months have been compiled and are hanging in the Guild office for all to see. Strict rules have been made in both the executive committee and the representative assembly on eligibility. An executive committee member must be paid up to and including the current month. At the last RA meeting a credentials committee was appointed. It examined every Guild card in the room and gave a list of those unable to vote to the chairman.

Unit executive councils are following suit and it won't be long before most of the larger units enforce the good-standing rule at every unit meeting.

Briefly, New York's "dues drive" consists of changing our attitudes toward dues-paying.