

CHICAGO EDITION

IN TWO SECTIONS:

Section I . . . General News

Section II . . . Chicago Features

GUILD REPORTER

Official Organ of the American Newspaper Guild, an Affiliate of the C. I. O.

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SECRET GROUP COMBATS LABOR

Fountain-Head of American Reaction Turned Up by LaFollette Committee

The existence of an organized group of the nation's biggest industrialists who are secretly conducting the fight of business against labor and against the main popular reforms of the New Deal was revealed in Washington last week by the LaFollette Committee.

Called the "Special Conference Committee" the group consists of representatives of the eleven largest corporations and one big New York bank. It maintains an office in New York City and keeps contact with other business groups all over the country, with only one or two key men in each city knowing of the central group's existence.

Here are the companies participating in the main committee:

American Telephone & Telegraph Company	International Harvester Co.
Bethlehem Steel Company	Irving Trust Company
E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company	Standard Oil Company of New Jersey
General Electric Company	United States Rubber Co.
General Motors Corporation	United States Steel Corporation
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company	Westinghouse Electric Manufacturing Company

The company representatives meet once a month to weigh plans, and once each (Cont. on Page Six)

West Coast Plots Big Time For Convention Delegates

By STANLEY BAILEY

San Francisco Convention Committee Chairman

SAN FRANCISCO—"San Francisco, here we come." Delegates to Toronto will remember how we sang it, what we promised if the 1939 Convention of the American Newspaper Guild came to the city by the Golden Gate. Today San Francisco and Oakland say: "Come on, we're ready." Every promise shall be kept—and more.

When delegates arrive at the Fairmont Hotel, sitting atop Nob Hill, overlooking the bay, two mighty bridges and Treasure Island, scene of the Golden Gate International Exposition, they will be received by a welcoming committee. The auxiliary also will have a committee on duty. The committee will turn the town—yes, and the state—over to the visitors.

There will be a "Press Room" for your idle moments, where you can gather and discuss the facts of life and living. There will be all the parties that time and the Convention agenda permits. Instead of a dinner dance the opening night, the Convention committee has determined on an evening buffet cocktail party, with music, entertainment and dancing for those who wish.

As has been announced, on the final night, Friday, the delegates will be guests of the State of California at the State Building on Treasure Island, scene of the exposition's most elaborate entertainment.

Convention headquarters, the Fairmont, is one of the city's finest hotels, containing a large plunge and other facilities that will make the stay of visitors delightful. Rates will be from \$4.50 up, a rate slightly higher than that paid in Toronto, but if it isn't worth it we'll put it with you.

Another expense factor is that the San Francisco-Oakland Guild plans to provide the "entertainment" for visitors, including a large part of those "incidentals"

(Continued on Page Five)

Seattle Wins A Job Back

SEATTLE—Dismissal notice given to Miss Marie Pearl, secretary of the Seattle local and a commercial employee of the Post-Intelligencer (Hearst) has been rescinded following Guild protests.

Miss Pearl was one of seven given notice as the result of economic moves ordered by the national Hearst management, presumably to further the Chicago fight. Four of the seven were not Guild members. One Guild man wanted his case dropped, the other got increased indemnity.

The Worth of Industrial Organization: Vertical Units Won Raises All Around

By MORGAN HULL

ANG International Representative
An editorial Guild member has six chances out of 100 of getting a wage increase in a renewal of an editorial contract as against 84 chances if the contract is made industrial.

Once there was an argument—a rather excited one at the St. Louis Convention and in the subsequent referendum—that something like this would prove to be the case; that the broadening of the Guild would not only benefit thousands of commercial department employees but would continue to improve the conditions of editorial workers more effectively than craft organization.

Paradoxically (if you like), the argument was that only by winning wage increases for two or

three times as many commercial workers, could the editorial workers continue to improve their wages.

A good many Guild members did not believe it. A few still do not. They still take the short end of this 84-to-10 proposition. Not because they like to take long shots but because they actually think they're playing it safe.

Who are these remarkable Guild members? They are the editorial workers who decline to organize newspaper commercial workers.

Once this point was only an argument. Now it is an indisputable fact, proven by experience.

Proved by Renewals

To obtain the facts, a study was made—upon the fairest possible basis of comparison—of all renewed contracts (exclusive of new

You know, of course, and I should like to assure you again, that the Congress of Industrial Organizations stands solidly behind you in the struggle you are carrying on for the right and the principles of unionism. You have my sincerest wishes for the early success of the Chicago Newspaper Guild in this significant fight, and I hope that you will convey these wishes to all members of your striking unit.

The "adoption" plan was worked out by the Strike Committee some weeks ago. To insure steady and regular funds for the strike, appeals have been made to other unions and individuals to "adopt" strikers, i.e., to send a \$5 down payment, and \$5 weekly for the duration of the strike.

Lewis signed his name to the Tonchick "adoption" papers in Washington after the plan had

(Continued on Page Three)

Chicago Lays That Fake Typo 'Dispute'

CHICAGO—A formal "no jurisdictional dispute" contract signed by the Chicago Guild with the Typographical Union has definitely removed from the Hearst anti-strike arsenal one of the management's main weapons in fighting the strike. The contract belies statements spread by the Hearst organization that the American and Herald & Examiner is a dispute between the Guild and Typographical Union.

Further impetus was given the strike last fortnight when CIO President John L. Lewis "adopted" Miss Ann Tonchick, striking bookkeeper. The "adoptions" are part of the strikers' fund-raising campaign. In forwarding the "adoption papers" Lewis wrote to Robert Greenock II, chairman of the fund raising committee:

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This Is Our Way To Back Chicago

Only two things could stop the Chicago strike: 1, Victory; or 2, lack of funds. The determined way in which assessments are being paid is an assurance that point 2 is ruled out.

Assessments become due on the 15th and last days of each month.

ANG Letter Stirs Hearst Stockholders

Absence of dividends and the increasing losses caused by the Guild strike in Chicago, as portrayed in the open letter of the Guild to Hearst stockholders, continue to bring in responses to the letter to ANG headquarters.

By mail, by telephone or personal call to ANG headquarters, numerous stockholders have expressed their desire to cooperate in any way they can to bring the Chicago strike to a successful conclusion.

Three persons, presumably stockholders although one of them remained anonymous, have written back in defense of Hearst's policies. Significantly, the anonymous communication was postmarked in Chicago.

The Hearst stock, originally sold at \$25, was down last week to \$3.50.

The communications from small stockholders showed that they knew whom to blame. Illustrative of this understanding is a letter from Frank J. Inciardi, 1662 Crispsey Avenue, Brooklyn, who said:

I want to thank you for your efforts in enlightening the stockholders. Your message moved me so much that I sent a letter to the Hearst Enterprise, a copy of which I have enclosed to you.

(Continued on Page Four)

Break Is First in Chain's Opposition

MILWAUKEE—A contract containing a partial Guild shop clause was signed on June 27 with the Hearst News-Sentinel, breaking down for the first time in the chain the Hearst general management's arbitrary opposition to clauses protesting Guild membership.

The clause captioned "Guild Membership," reads as follows:

Employees of the Publisher, who as of June 23, 1939, were members of the Guild and any other present or future employees who may elect to become members of the Guild, shall maintain membership in good standing, as a condition of employment.

A second clause guarantees preferential rehiring to employees discharged last January following the transfer by Paul Block of the Sentinel to Hearst and its consolidation with the News. Any employee rehired who was a member of the Guild at the time of the dismissal will be required to maintain his good standing. Employees whose dismissals are caused by failure to maintain good standing lose their right to severance pay under the contract.

Made for one year and covering the editorial department and runners and metal men in the composing room, the contract has a special local significance as well as national. It contrasts sharply with an AFL Office Workers Union contract signed April 24 on behalf of commercial department employees who elected AFL representation against the Guild in an NLRB poll. The AFL contract is for three years, contains an automatic renewal clause, a 6-day week, arbitration, and severance pay lower than the Guild's.

The Guild's renewed contract reduces the top experience requirement in the salary schedules by one year, to provide a minimum of \$55 a week for reporters, copy-readers, photographers, etc., after five years of experience. Copy boys and composing room runner boys got a top of \$20 after three

(Continued on Page Two)

Baker Asks Broun To ITU Convention

President Claude M. Baker of the International Typographical Union has extended to ANG President Heywood Broun "a most cordial invitation" to address the Eighty-Third Convention of the ITU, which convenes at Fort Worth, Tex., on August 19.

President Baker wrote that he was "confident that those who are fortunate enough to attend . . . would greatly appreciate hearing from one about whom they have heard so much and that they would receive real instruction from an

(Continued on Page Five)

ANG Letter Stirs Hearst Investors

Stockholders Offer Cooperation to Settle Strike

(Continued from Page One)

The copy of his letter to Hearst Consolidated Publications follows: Recently I have received an open letter from the American Newspaper Guild. No doubt you have received and scrutinized the same letter. No doubt you have carefully planned answers to the charges made by the Guild and you will probably circulate them to interested stockholders, especially when you realize that your stockholders are studying the advertising image graph as presented. . . . That graph explains why we are not receiving regular dividends more emphatically than your explanation that government taxes are eating up profits.

I am only a small stockholder in the Hearst enterprise; but like many of the small stockholders I have been able to buy Hearst stock because of increased earnings procured through the efforts of organized labor.

This benefit that we stockholders have received from organized labor we are desirous of passing on to other workers. That is why I urge the Hearst enterprise to make peace with organized labor, which is, in this instance, the American Newspaper Guild.

Iceland informed the Guild that if he could "be of assistance to your organization in my position as a stockholder I will be pleased to cooperate."

Suggests Petition
Leonard Rosen, of 216 West 100th Street, New York City, wrote:

That letter to Messrs. Hearst, etc., is "great"—a wonderful letter—you have put me on edge. What should I do now? Let me suggest that you prepare a petition for the stockholders to sign. One of the critics, Martin Decker of 98 Thomas Ave., Baldwin, N.Y., showed his sympathy with Mr. Hearst by a violent attack on the labor movement. Here is a sample:

In every block in the garment district one can find "muckers"—not Americans—but just plain "kikes" picketing, for they don't know what for, where instead they should be grateful to the rest of us country which they and the rest of us radicals and communist leaders are determined to turn into a Russianized union of dear old Moscow.

Doesn't Like Unions, Anyway
A second critic, J. W. Haggerty of Port Jervis, N. Y., is not a stockholder by choice. He says:

"The stock I own I was compelled to purchase when I was a wholesaler for him (Hearst), but that need not affect my ideas of right or wrong."

To him "unionism which has for its aim the domination of the minority in this country by the mob."

As one avenue of reaching Hearst stockholders, the ANG sought to place ads more than 20 newspapers in 16 cities. So far as ANG headquarters has been able to check to date, Mrs. Eleanor Patterson, publisher of the erstwhile Hearst-owned Times-Herald, is the only publisher who has extended "freedom of the press" to the Guild in its advertising columns.

The two Hearst papers in New York rejected the copy as did the Scripps-Howard management indicated it could be induced to overcome its scruples if the Guild were to offer the entire letter at display advertising rates.

The Baltimore Sunpapers, feeling very uncomfortable about it all, went so far as to send a representative to ANG headquarters to discuss the matter. But it eventually arrived at an answer. It said it had refused to "handle" any advertising for the Hearst stock when it was being sold, so it couldn't change its "policy."

Hearst Stock IS ALL They Have

Cop Hits Pickets—Then He Gets Hit

Newark Printer, Guildsman Were Hitting Hearst

(Continued from Page One)

NEWARK—Using strong arm methods, police attempted to break up a Guild picket line in front of the Bond Clothing Company, a Chicago Hearst advertiser. Two pickets, one a member of the Newark Typographical Union, the other the Newark Guild secretary, were beaten and taken to police headquarters, later to be released with apologies. Within 48 hours, the detective who seized and beat them, was ordered returned to uniform and patrol duty.

But It Was Newark

About a dozen Guildsmen and friends were marching in orderly fashion before the store, during the evening shopping hours on June 14, when detective Lombardi barged into the line. Without identifying himself in any way, he shouted a demand that half of the pickets drop out and called out, "Where the hell do you think you are—in Jerusalem?" Leo Ring, a printer, asked the speaker where he thought he was, whereupon Lombardi hit Ring in the face and dragged him to a waiting car. When E. B. Berlinert, Guild secretary, tried to learn the name of the officer, he was ordered into the car also.

Beaten at Headquarters

On the way to headquarters, the officer threatened to beat up Ring. At headquarters, Berlinert was knocked about when he started to identify himself and Ring. Meanwhile, other Guildsmen who had been on the picket line went to headquarters and protested to the officer's superior. Ring and Berlinert were released amid apologies and the Guildsmen were assured the police department did not object to picketing.

The following day a Guild committee reported the entire incident to the Board of Public Safety. The Board promised to take proper action. The detective was put back in uniform and transferred to patrol.

BALTIMORE PICKETS

BALTIMORE—Guildsmen here continue their picketing of the Sears Roebuck & Co., a large and persistent Chicago Hearst advertiser. They have distributed several thousand pieces of literature in front of the store during the past fortnight. The store management occasionally unleashes threats to hire Negro women to stand alongside pickets with "Just Married" signs, to the pickets' amusement.

Except for a brief lull, police have not interfered with the picketing. A Guildsman threatening to arrest Guildsman Fred d'Avila, desisted when he was warned by Fred Houck, another Guildsman, that arrest would infringe on freedom of speech. Houck is a member of the Maryland Legislature.

Lobbyists Hit At Security Laws

Lobbyists of the Associated Farmers and the monopolistic food processing industries are forcing through Congress a bill which will strip from 1,500,000 employees in the agricultural processing industries all protection of the Wage and Hour and Social Security laws. The bill, H.R. 5435, last week was in the hands of the House Rules Committee.

Responding to an appeal from the United Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union, Executive Vice President Eddy sent the Guild's protest to the Rules Committee. The bill was introduced ostensibly to clarify the exclusion of agricultural labor, but actually covers the vast processing industries.

CHECKS FOR JOBLESS
ALBANY, N. Y.—A total of \$41,539 individual checks amounting to \$7,532, 687 was paid out in unemployment insurance benefits in New York state during May. Value of checks released increased 68 per cent over April.

Green Sees 'Plot' in ANG Plan

(Continued from Page One)

President Green of the AFL has detected a plot to color AFL newspapers in favor of the CIO through the instrumentality of the Guild, so he announced last week. Supposedly as evidence Green cited the fact that AFL papers have "ridiculed the position of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council on important" though unnamed "legislative matters."

His statement also contained mysterious references to some information that many AFL newspapers "in lieu of taking an ad, accept money, which is a dangerous policy."

The statement circulated to all AFL bodies, was issued just after the Labor Press Conference held by the ANG Labor Press Committee on June 2. This conference discussed the general problems of the labor press with particular reference to the report which the ANG committee will make to the San Francisco Convention.

In an answer to Green, Clyde Beals, Guild Reporter editor and chairman of the Labor Press Committee, said:

Presumably Mr. Green is talking about his Wagner Act amendments and attempting to find some sinister reasons why almost nobody, inside the AFL or out, likes them.

He pointed out, however, that the matter which AFL papers had picked up from the Guild Reporter about the amendments was a summary of criticisms by AFL bodies themselves.

Regarding the conference of labor editors, he pointed out that commercial papers were far ahead of labor papers in cutting costs and improving quality through various cooperative devices, such as news and feature services, regional purchasing of materials and an organized approach in the sale of advertising. He continued:

We propose to write a pamphlet on the labor press, embodying as much of this practical information as we can. To ensure its usefulness, we invited all the labor editors we could reach to come and hear the preliminary discussion of its content, and to make suggestions.

This is what has alarmed Mr. Green. However, we hope that AFL editors as well as others will find the work useful. If, in the quiet of their offices, the pamphlet still carries enough of our message to do what Mr. Green fears, he will have to put it down as just one more proof of the world's wickedness. We intend to go ahead anyway.

'Frisco Plans Big Convention Time

(Continued from Page One)

That usually make bills run up. Remember, we have been promised \$1,000 from the city's publicity and advertising fund, the local Convention and Tourist Bureau will help.

Governor Olson has tentatively accepted the invitation to address the opening session of the Convention and has extended official welcome and greetings.

Other speakers will include Harry Bridges, CIO coast director; George Kidwell, AFL state director of industrial relations; John F. Shelley, state senator and president of the San Francisco AFL Central Labor Council.

A representative from ITU also will appear and Tom Mooney has been invited to be a special Convention speaker. From Lieutenant Governor Ellis E. Patterson today came a message which said: "May I express the hope that your organization continues to grow into such strength and numbers that its beneficial influences will be felt in every corner of the newspaper world."

Come on: San Francisco's ready.

Guildsmen, Other Unionists Make Gifts Of \$2,244 to Chicago Strike in 2 Weeks

Below are the Chicago Hearst strike receipts between June 5 and June 18, exclusive of ANG Defense Fund payments. The weekly strike budget is now \$3,000.

ADOPTION OF STRIKERS

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Locals Elect Convention Delegates

Below are reports of local elections of delegates to the ANG Convention of San Francisco. Unit membership and division of the delegates are listed.

CINCINNATI—Gilbert Kingsbury, Kentucky Post (editorial).

ST. LOUIS—ANG Vice President Julius H. Klyman, Post-Dispatch (editorial); Local President Ellwood Douglas, Post-Dispatch (editorial); Herbert Monk, Globe-Democrat (editorial); Ray Kringer, Star-Times (editorial); William Welch, Star-Times (commercial); Howard Piening, Post-Dispatch (commercial); Rev. Edward P. Dowling, S. J., Queen's Work (editorial).

TOLKID—Secretary Lester F. Heins, Blade (editorial).

SEATTLE—ANG Vice President Robert T. Camozzi, Post-Intelligencer (commercial); Frank Lynch, Post-Intelligencer (editorial); Executive Secretary Claude M. Smith, Alternates, Marie Pearl, Cliff Erickson, Forrest Williams, Pat Page, Ruth Givan.

MEMPHIS—ANG Vice President Harry Martin, Commercial Appeal (editorial); Local President W. A. Copeland, Press-Scimitar (editorial); Malcolm Adams, Commercial Appeal (editorial); Paul R. Coppock, Commercial Appeal (editorial).

EL PASO—Treasurer S. A. Barker, Times (editorial); Secretary Alexander Hicken, Herald-Post (editorial).

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THE ANTI-LABOR FOUNTAINHEAD REVEALED

(Continued from Page One)

year the heads of the companies met.

The committee provided the pattern and set the pace for practically all of industry's opposition to New Deal legislation since 1933 and organized the spread of the "employee representation" or company union plans used to defeat real collective bargaining during the NRA days.

The evidence turned up by the LaFollette Committee is such as to indicate strongly that the American has its Sixty Families also has Twelve Corporations which come very near meeting the characterization of "invisible government." The Conference Committee operates a Washington lobby powerful enough to alter a report drafted by a federal bureau. It maintains a labor information exchange analytical and thorough and indicative of an espionage base. It maintains a file of information on labor union organizations which some of its members are inclined to regard seriously as possible allies, except for the fear that a Congressional committee might some day expose them.

They Stick Together.

A spirit of unity was at all times present among the Conference Committee members, the record reveals, never more so than when the head of a corporation holding committee membership was appointed chairman of a federal industrial board such as was prevalent during the days of the NRA. The chairman immediately appointed all of the members of the Conference Committee to his board, "as individuals," of course.

The group was organized in 1918, when the American labor movement was at its post-war organization drive after a long sleep. On June 16, 1918, documents from the files of this small group—387 printed pages of them—went into the record of the LaFollette Senate Committee investigating violations of civil liberties.

Last week its affairs were made public in broad outline, with the press paying little or no attention to them.

Secret as the committee sought to be, the LaFollette investigators were inevitably destined to run across its activities somewhere in the name of overlapping anti-unionism that swept the country in the mid-part of the present decade. The member corporations, among them leading violators of the Wagner Act and civil liberties, were constantly circulating reports through their secretary, The LaFollette investigators are said to have got their lead from one of these. When it came time to take up the matter of the Conference Committee however, the LaFollette Committee had run out of funds. If therefore only subpoenaed and placed in the record some of the documents from the Conference Committee's files. The subpoena covered the period from Jan. 1, 1933, to Feb. 19, 1937.

Avoids Real Examination

Thus it is that the cold record of exhibits lacks the examination and cross-examination of witnesses necessary to tie the material together and bring out its real significance. It would be interesting, for example, to have the record of cross-examination of the New York bank member of the Conference Committee, Senator LaFollette and his colleague, Senator Thomas of Utah, might have asked him to explain what a bank's interest can be in employee representation plans for industry, and programs for the training of foremen to teach employees "management loyalty" when the union starts organizing.

The documents were turned over to the Senate committee by Edward S. Cowdick, secretary of the Conference Committee.

Cowdick's office at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, is the clearing house for all committee activities. He makes the committee's surveys, conducts its correspondence, acts as the post office in clearing confidential bulletins among members, and he spends

considerable time lobbying at Washington.

In a sworn statement signed by him and appended to the LaFollette report, the Special Conference Committee describes the committee's origin and activities in general terms and denies, in effect, that it is a secret organization. He attempts to belittle its influence and says that "the existence of the committee has been known to persons interested in industrial relations almost from the time of its organization," and that its annual reports have been "circulated widely in some, if not all, the member companies had been distributed to persons outside those companies."

Nevertheless the committee's own documents show that the committee took elaborate precautions to keep its operations secret, even from other industrialists. The committee had, for instance, routine expenditures of \$16,000 or \$17,000 a year. These were cleared through the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, which subsequently was reimbursed by the committee. That was one device. Another, says the LaFollette report, was a studied avoidance of any public use of the name of the committee; for example, the committee did not have letterheads in its own name (although its correspondence was extensive—Ed, G. R.). It was not listed in the telephone directory. The minutes, and frequently the correspondence, of the Special Conference Committee are marked "confidential."

In Contrast to NAM

The anonymity and concealment . . . were in sharp contrast to the National Association of Manufacturers, the organization of such an organization as the National Association of Manufacturers. Secretary was facilitated because only a select few of the largest corporations in the country were represented on the committee and the number of individuals on the committee was limited to four, the most for each corporation.

The individuals serving as members . . . for the most part have been the officials in charge of labor relations and personnel management for their respective companies. The files of the committee contain occasional references to the "principals" in the member corporations. The "principals" consisting of one or more chief executive officers of each corporation, met once a year (in February) in New York City about once a month.

Who's Who of Big Business

The attendance list at the 1934 annual dinner of the committee, held at the Metropolitan Club in New York, was attended by both members and "principals," further illustrates the weight and importance of the group. The list, taken from the Conference Committee's minutes, follows:

American Telephone and Telegraph Company:

W. S. Gifford, President
E. F. Carter, Vice President
E. S. Bloom, President (Western Electric Co.)

W. A. Griffin, Assistant Vice President

Bethlehem Steel Company:
Eugene G. Grace, President
J. M. Larkin, Vice President
E. L. du Pont de Nemours Company:

Laurens du Pont, President
Irene du Pont, Vice President
William F. Harrington, Vice President

W. H. Foster, Director, Service Department

General Electric Company:
Owen D. Young, Chairman
W. S. Harwood, Vice President
G. H. Pfeil, Supervisor of Personnel

General Motors Corporation:
Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., President
John L. Pratt, Vice President
Donaldson Brown, Vice President

Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company:
E. J. Thomas, General Superintendent

International Harvester Company:
A. A. Jones, Assistant to Vice President
George J. Kelday, Manager,

Industrial Relations

Harry E. Ward, President
Northrop Holbrook, Vice President

Standard Oil Company (New Jersey):

W. S. Farish, Chairman
W. C. Teagle, President
F. W. Abrams, President (Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey)

F. W. Pierce, Executive Assistant to President

United States Rubber Company:
L. D. Tompkins, Vice President

C. S. Ching, Director of Industrial and Public Relations
Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co.:

A. W. Robertson, Chairman
A. Merrick, President
G. Marshall, Assistant to Vice President
E. S. McClelland, Director of Personnel
A. H. Young
E. S. Cowdick

"Denotes committee members present. The others are "principals."

No Others Big Enough

An imposing group. So weighty that it has been unable to find another industry in the country near enough to its membership stature to warrant inclusion in the committee's activities.

Omitting the Irving Trust Company, these corporations in 1937 employed more than 1,300,000 workers and paid total wages and salaries of more than \$2,400,000,000. The committee's total assets of more than \$12,500,000,000.

In 1936 the committee appointed a subcommittee to act on a suggestion "that the Special Conference Committee be enlarged or that in some other way the influence of its work be extended to industries not now represented." The subcommittee recommended that the proposal be "held in abeyance for the present" because the labor problems in other industries were not comparable with those of Special Conference Committee companies or because the subcommittee could not decide upon any suitable company to which an invitation might be extended. Special attention was given to the textile industry, the labor situation of which is usually interesting and significant. The subcommittee, however, was unable to learn of a company that would be fully representative of that industry. It is therefore recommended that the proposal be enlarged to the committee be held in abeyance for the present.

A Business "Underground"

The committee decided, however, to extend its influence. The attendance list at the 1934 annual dinner of the committee, held at the Metropolitan Club in New York, was attended by both members and "principals," further illustrates the weight and importance of the group. The list, taken from the Conference Committee's minutes, follows:

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community support in the fight against labor and progressive legislation, as the committee's July 30-31, 1936, minutes reveal:

In the course of the discussion on radical tendencies in labor and politics in the United States and elsewhere—it was suggested that members of the Special Conference Committee might wish to promote the development of community interest in economic subjects emphasizing to business people the disadvantages of labor disturbances. It was thought that this might be done through groups of local councilmen, business leaders, service clubs, professional men, women's organizations, and other bodies.

Name Was Avoided

The same under-cover technique was followed by Secretary Cowdick in his activities. The LaFollette committee notes:

One of his functions was to secure information for members which they did not wish to ask for in their own names. When he requested information, he was an employee of the committee or in the name of some other organization. This procedure was made more effective than otherwise through the fact that in certain other organizations with which Mr. Cowdick maintained close contact, there were only one or two individuals who possessed knowledge of the Special Conference Committee's existence and with whom Mr. Cowdick communicated.

In his correspondence with individuals or other organizations, Cowdick carefully refrained from mentioning the Special Conference Committee by name; instead, he referred to his "associates" or "a group by which I am employed" in supervising the detail of the committee's activity. Mr. Cowdick's use of disguise was not, however, a means of keeping knowledge of the Special Conference Committee confined to a restricted number of strategically placed individuals.

Who Sets Labor Policy?

The LaFollette committee cites an address by J. M. Larkin, vice president of Bethlehem Steel and chairman of the Special Conference Committee, as a "clear statement of importance indicating the point of view of the Special Conference Committee." In the address, prepared for delivery at the 1934 annual meeting, Larkin had said that "labor policies, like other primary laws for the government of corporations, are and must be determined by the chief executives."

But, adds the LaFollette committee, "for the most part I have dealt through these acquaintances rather than through direct contact with the government. I have tried to avoid making myself too conspicuous or doing anything to give the impression that I am lobbying."

The LaFollette Committee noted that this statement "appears to be correct," but that once an occasion arose which was regarded "as important that the general practice had to be altered." This occasion was the imminent appearance, in October, 1935, of a study on "Characteristics of Company Unions," made by Isadore Lubin, commissioner of statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, about which the committee learned from an advance newspaper story. This was followed by the "representation plans" as company unions.

Toned Down the Report

Cowdick got in touch with Ernest G. Draper, assistant Secretary of Commerce. Draper attempted unsuccessfully to reach Secretary of Labor Perkins and Lubin, writing to Cowdick that he had "registered a most vigorous protest" and was prepared to follow it up with Miss Perkins and Lubin as soon as they could be contacted.

Within the month a committee consisting of four members of the Conference Committee and several others visited Lubin. On January 22, 1936, Chairman Larkin of the Conference Committee wrote to his fellow members:

Whereas we were rather un-

(Continued on Page Seven)

tion, in fact, furnishes an effective means through which management can exercise its normal functions of leadership over the working force.

Decision for Company Unions

The "leadership principle," it will be recalled, rules labor relations in German industry today. Here is how it works in this country, as reported by the LaFollette committee:

At the time of the code (NRA) hearings, the Special Conference Committee felt "that it would not be wise" to have employers' representatives appear at public hearings on industrial codes. No employee representatives appeared.

Another example of how it works: this time it is Cowdick discussing the campaign against the Wagner Labor Relations bill in 1935, as taken from the Conference Committee's minutes:

Last year the most influential testimony against the Wagner Industrial Disputes bill was that given by employee representatives; next in importance was that given by operating executives of companies in which harmonious labor relations were maintained by the bill.

Wagner reintroduced his bill in February, 1935, but long before this Special Conference Committee had laid its plans for a new outburst of "spontaneous" employee protests. Arrangements were made to distribute copies of the bill to workers, with covering letters captioned "How the Wagner Bill Would Affect the Working Man."

The Conference Committee put up a hard fight, during which Cowdick earned recognition by getting a copy of the Wagner bill "through some confidential source," a month before it was reintroduced. But the bill became law, and the committee then turned to a new line. It developed the strategy, which later became common throughout American industrial life, of blocking Labor Board actions by injunction action in the United States District Courts. It took a Supreme Court decision to unman the tangle by taking jurisdiction away from the District Courts.

Cowdick in Washington

As the New Deal advanced in the field of social legislation, Cowdick began spending considerable time in Washington. On June 18, 1934, he wrote to the members of the Conference Committee as follows:

I have had very useful contacts with individuals and organizations . . . for the most part I have dealt through these acquaintances rather than through direct contact with the government. I have tried to avoid making myself too conspicuous or doing anything to give the impression that I am lobbying."

The LaFollette Committee noted that this statement "appears to be correct," but that once an occasion arose which was regarded "as important that the general practice had to be altered." This occasion was the imminent appearance, in October, 1935, of a study on "Characteristics of Company Unions," made by Isadore Lubin, commissioner of statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, about which the committee learned from an advance newspaper story. This was followed by the "representation plans" as company unions.

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(Continued on Page Seven)

Industrial Units Get Most Raises

(Continued from Page One)

El Paso Herald Post, El Paso Times, Houston Press, San Diego Sun, Bayonne (N. J.) Times, Lynn (Mass.) Telegram News, Cumberland (Md.) Times & Alleganham and Daily News, Norwalk (Conn.) Hour, Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph, Washington Star and Knoxville News Sentinel, and Nashville News.

The 10 editorial contracts that were turned into industrial covered the Boston Herald-Traveler, Philadelphia Inquirer, New York Daily News, Memphis Commercial Appeal and Press Scimitar, Madison (Wisc.) Capital Times and State

were covered in the eight contracts providing increases in top minimums. Unlike the slim gains for a few people in the two editorial renewals, five of the eight industrial renewals meant increases in top minimums of not less than \$5 for reporters, deskmen, artists, photographers, etc. Another meant a \$2.50 increase in all these categories; another, a general increase for society and women's department workers plus a \$10 increase for library workers and tabulators. Only one affected so small a group as editorial clerks and telephone operators. The greatest change in

Editorial Worker Gets the Best Contract

Editorial workers fare better in industrial contracts than in exclusively editorial. This was found by Representative Hull in a comparison of conditions obtained in cases where old editorial contracts were continued for the editorial department alone as against those where they were expanded on an industrial basis. The study is based on re-negotiated contracts with daily newspapers only, for the year ending June 1, 1939.

Editorial Contracts Renewed on Editorial Basis

Editorial Contracts Renewed on Industrial Basis

Number of Contracts in each group

Total Editorial Workers covered by contracts, each group

Number of Contracts raising editorial top minimums in any classification

Total Editorial Employees affected by increases

Relation of Editorial Workers affected by increases to total editorial workers in each group, by percentage

Number of Guild shops won

Number in which severance pay was improved (in any degree)

Journal, Columbus Citizen, Cincinnati Post, St. Louis Star Times, Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune, and Los Angeles Herald Express.

The 12 editorial renewals covered a total of 403 workers. Exactly 26 of these or 6.45 per cent were covered by the two renewals which upped editorial top minimums. Under one contract, editorial assistants were increased from \$18 to \$20 a week; in the other, editorial workers, from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per week to the top minimum.

Industrial Renewals

The 10 contracts renewed industrially covered 1032 editorial workers, of whom 896, or 83.9 per cent

any one classification was a \$15 hike upwards.

The average top minimums for reporters in the industrial group is \$48.50; in the editorial group, \$41.70. Only one contract in the industrial group has a top reporter minimum of \$40, the rest being higher, but 6 of the 12 editorial contracts fix \$40 as top figure in this classification. However, these figures are not a fair basis of comparison, neither to the editorial level pay increases of from five to 15 percent for these workers.

These figures illustrate a solid victory for industrial unionism in the newspaper industry.

(Continued from Page Six)

certain as to whether or . . . protests to Lubin would do much good, I think we are entitled to feel now that the trip did some good because the tone of report is quite changed from its original setup by the qualifications that are used, which takes much of the sting out of the report as compared with the preliminary release. One important thing you will notice is that . . . in using the term "company union" Lubin makes it plain that it is used without any intention at all of reflecting on employee representation.

Walked Into Government

When the Federal government in 1933 was attempting to hasten recovery by creating quasi-official recovery bodies and whatnot, the U. S. Department of Commerce established a Business Advisory and Planning Council with Gerard Swape of General Electric as chairman of the Council and Walter C. Teagle of Standard Oil as chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Council. Let the LaFollette Committee tell what happened from then on.

Both of these individuals were executives of firms which were members of the Special Conference Committee. Teagle proceeded to appoint all the members of the conference committee to the

Industrial Relations Committee, and made Cowdick secretary of the new committee. As Cowdick explained in a letter to W. A. Griffin, of American Telephone & Telegraph Co.:

"Each member is invited as an individual, not as a representative of his company, and the name of the Special Conference Committee will not be used."

The work of the new committee will supplement and broaden—not supplant—that of the Special Conference Committee. Probably special meetings will not be needed since the necessary guidance for the Industrial Relations Committee's work can be given at our regular sessions."

The first undertaking of the Industrial Relations Committee was a report on employee representation, which appeared under the heading of "Employee Representation and Collective Bargaining."

Acted on "Reputation Plans"

At the meeting of the conference committee on Sept. 14, 1933, Cowdick was instructed to "prepare a draft of a report which should deal mainly with employee representation, but should include as background material some general discussion of collective bargaining through unions and other agencies." At subsequent meetings, the conference committee, "in its capacity as

Industrial Guild Shops Get Most Raises

men, rewrite, etc., most of whom are protected only by reporters' minimums in the smaller cities.

Industrial Guild Shops

No editorial renewal won the Guild shop, while two of the 10 renewed industrially did. All 10 of the latter improved severance pay provisions while only seven of the 12 editorial renewals made any improvement in this respect.

All of the industrial contracts were in general more thoroughly consistent with Guild collective bargaining policy, which means that editorial, as well as all other workers under these agreements, enjoy a greater degree of protection than the editorial workers under contracts for themselves only.

The major conclusion to be drawn from these facts should be pretty obvious to those editorial workers who are indifferent to the problem of industrial organization. The relation of the facts to certain so-called theories of labor organization, however, deserve comment.

Green Believes It

There was once a theory (it still exists in the heads of William Green, Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, et al) that the way to improve the conditions of skilled workers was to keep the unskilled unorganized so that employers would be willing to pay good wages to a few in order to keep the many at a starvation level. A few publishers, via stooges, are still endeavoring to communicate this notion to organized editorial workers, but it is plain from the facts of few of them are actually willing to back up the delusion with cash.

Because these arguments are always directed to editorial workers already organized, this analysis is directed to their attention and stresses the gains which they have won from industrial unionism. The commercial department membership has made great gains under these industrial contracts in which they are protected for the first time. Exact figures are difficult to determine for the same reasons that this study had to be made on a basis of re-negotiated contracts; it is difficult to make an accurate comparison of contract benefits with pre-contract conditions. The evidence of big advances is clear, nevertheless. As an example, one of the industrial contracts which brought big increases to the editorial workers not only established new minimums in the commercial department but won, in addition, level pay increases of from five to 15 percent for these workers.

These figures illustrate a solid victory for industrial unionism in the newspaper industry.

Reaction at the Helm

We recently have had evidence of the efforts, some of them highly successful, in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin pro-labor policies and enactments of progressive administration have been smashed in a few short months and, worse, the labor laws distorted until they became instruments to suppress labor. Just to show that the business being carried on a coast-to-coast basis, the horrible repression laws recently passed in Oregon need only be mentioned. In Illinois, laws drawn along the Oregon pattern were defeated by a not-too-big majority, and in Washington (D.C.), it has been nipped and tuck during the

present session of Congress, with the Administration fortunate to hold its lines intact.

Now, what have we to look forward to in 1940? We can be certain of one thing: An increasingly bitter and ruthless fight against the New Deal and organized labor on the part of such august organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metals Trades Association and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association.

How is this to be combated?

First, labor (and when I speak of labor I most certainly mean the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods as well as the CIO)—labor must work to a political purpose in supporting progressive candidates of the old parties, and it must do so within an organization of its own. That organization may be Labor's Non-Partisan League in one state and a Commonwealth Federation in another. But united in purpose they must be if they hope to succeed.

Second, labor, through its leagues or federations, must get into the streets. The 1940 elections will not be won by resolutions of union locals. They will not be won if every union member votes. They only will be won if the rank and file membership goes beyond the confines of its locals and actively, intelligently, fervently aids in forming county and ward organizations, precinct organizations; in the membership, under guidance of predict groups of its own choosing, goes from door-to-door (literally) and explains the election issues to the rank and file of American citizenry.

Guild a Strategic Group

This is where the Guild comes in and is a big way.

The membership of the Guild to a great extent springs from the so-called white collar group, the so-called middle class. Now, the great majority of these middle class persons need union organization for their protection. But union organization among middle class workers has not proceeded as rapidly as it has among the workers who combine both brain and brawn. Newspaper workers, teachers, and others in what broadly may be called the entertainment fields, have made long strides forward in unionism; social workers and technicians and clinical workers are organizing. But in the main the middle class worker is still the subject of exploitation both economically and politically.

There are millions of such people, and it is precisely the Guild's job to reach them and bring them to aid themselves by aiding progressive Americanism in 1940.

There is always the danger that emphasizing the need for political action on the part of trade unionists will result in some confusion. Certainly, to emphasize political action is not to imply that political action should in any way alter our basic concern. Our basic concern is the strongest possible Guild, the strongest possible international. If the law were something sacred and simple and untouchable, if there were no "injunction granted" courts, a thoroughly organized labor movement could win its battles by its economic strength.

That is not the case. Industry has always, and always will, attempt to use the law against labor. It does that by acting politically. That is why we must add political action to union organization.

In 1940 political action on the part of progressive Americans may mean the perpetration of economic and political freedom. Political action demands a place on the agenda of the San Francisco convention. We'd better get busy.

PAY YOUR DUES AND ASSESSMENTS!

JULY H. KILMAN

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MEETING TIME

Locals Get Ready for Convention

THIS is the season when nine huddles out of ten among Guild members will be found debating what the Convention will or should do. Letters from local officers and delegates are arriving with the usual question, "What will the issues be?"

Viewed in the light of Guild history since the earliest days, no decisions that could be called major appear on the horizon for this year. At least we see none comparable to such steps as we took in 1936, when we first formally identified ourselves with the labor movement, or in 1937, when we entered the CIO and broadened our jurisdiction to cover the whole unorganized newspaper departments.

In its broad outlines, in other words, the structure and orientation of the Guild are fairly crystallized, and evidence could be cited to show that they are commending themselves to a larger proportion of the membership all the time. At this time, therefore, any major new step would be made only in response to some new external situation, and if there were one of sufficient magnitude to create an "issue," it would be on the horizon by now. We don't see any.

The main issues, therefore, promise to be those arising out of the functioning of the ANG. The Convention is the time for a thorough review of the machinery. A year of operation of the ANG either develops a set of complexes or brings to light the serious flaws of the machine. Each year there are numerous proposals for improvement; this year will be no exception. The best equipment each delegate can bring will be a thorough familiarity with the way in which the ANG has functioned in relation to his local. All the main decisions to be made will grow out of this functioning, and if a delegate has such a familiarity he will be able to test the criticisms and proposals in the most practical way.

BESIDES the annual overhauling of machinery, there is the question of what public position the ANG will take in resolutions on various large national and international issues. In each Convention thus far there has been opposition to the passing of such resolutions. This opposition has been expressed chiefly in three arguments, first that, because so many of our members were in the editorial side of the industry, the Guild should not commit them publicly, or even appear to do so, on matters on which they were supposed to be neutral in their work; second, that to do so was virtually to wave a red flag needlessly in front of the publishers; and third, that the resolutions are of no effect anyway and we might as well save our breath.

The Conventions have consistently taken the views opposite to all three. Our resolutions are our collective editorials, it is held, which, while committing the whole ANG and guiding the acts of its officers during the year, exercise no more compulsion over the individual member than a paper's editorials do over its individual staff writers; second, that the publishers themselves are heavily involved in political affairs, often taking positions opposite to our best interests, so that we would be suckers to blindly follow their wishes; and third, that our resolutions in common with those regularly passed by other branches of the labor movement are far from meaningless, that on the contrary they serve as important indications to governmental bodies and officials of the opinions of large elements of the population which otherwise could have no voice except at elections.

Accordingly successive Conventions have stated the ANG's position on a broad range of subjects. It is remarkable to see today how these matters have grown not less but more important to us with the passage of time.

IT takes little prophecy to say that most of the issues on which resolutions were passed at Toronto last year will come up for fresh statement at San Francisco. The main resolution was a broad attack on manifestations of fascism, both at home and abroad, and a pledge of support of efforts to defeat it and to defend democracy. On independent political action, one of the most controversial issues of a few years ago, there was an overwhelming vote for reaffirmation of earlier stands in favor of it, and for participation in Labor's Non-Partisan League and local bodies of a similar character. Other resolutions on recurring issues stated our stand for genuine freedom of the press based on the integrity of the news; for the liberation of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings; for legislation preventing the courts from enjoining the exercise of fundamental union rights; for preservation of the WPA arts projects; for work-security and aid for the unemployed in the United States and Canada; for labor unity on a basis that will enable the organization of the unorganized to continue; and against the harassment of union leaders on the basis of citizenship status as a sop to publishers and open-shop employers.

Most of the issues have become more intense today. The formulation of these statements is an important means of developing and maintaining conditions favorable to the growth of the trade union movement. These statements will certainly be among the "issues" at San Francisco. We urge every local that has not already taken a hand in formulating them to do so.

Conventions of the ANG: Milestones of Growth

San Francisco in 1939 will mark a new milestone in the life of the American Newspaper Guild, when from July 31 to Aug. 4 leaders of the ANG throughout the country meet at the sixth annual Convention to review another year of accomplishment and experience and to base upon these the policies and program for the coming year.

The 1939 Convention will have before it in perspective more than just a year of activity. Our union already has passed through most of the cycles of struggle that befall American organized labor. Today it has nearly six years of experience behind it on which the Convention delegates will build.

Problems in New Light
This means, also, that the problems of 1939 will appear in a light less intensive than those of past years. So, to old-timers at least, it may seem that the days of tense, round-the-clock work at Guild Conventions are probably gone. There may be breathing spells at San Francisco, perhaps more than there were at Toronto, for participation in the program of entertainment being arranged by the San Francisco-Oakland Guild. There may be time also for the delegates and visitors to look about them—to see at first hand the "real labor town" that is metropolitan San Francisco.

But Conventions have a way of drawing the delegates into a rush of work from the minute of their arrival until the last taxi-load careens off to the station, homeward bound. By now many Guild officers are veterans of ANG Conventions and are barely able to get their foot inside the hotel before they are buttonholed or themselves start buttonholing to get the low-down on this or that or line up votes for something.

The Convention starts on a Monday. On the day before the IEB meets for its formal session—it yields its power when the Convention opens. Its main task on this day is to undertake the tentative organization of the Convention, the nomination of committees which will do the real spade work.

By Sunday night most of the delegates will be on hand and through with registering. Monday morning will start with welcoming speeches. Soon afterward the committee slates will be received, altered to suit, and adopted. Then the credentials committee will complete its work and the Convention will be launched.

From then until the end each delegate will live most of his life in a smoke-filled room as the committee or committees to which he is assigned grind out their work or as he goes from one to another to put forward some idea propounded by his local. ANG Conventions started in 1936 trying to concentrate the work of the full Convention into fairly brief morning or afternoon sessions and leaving the other time free for committee meetings or caucuses, so that the formal business of the Convention, the perfecting and adoption of reports, could be done with all delegates present rather than with two-thirds of them scattered on miscellaneous assignments.

The dozen or more committees—Constitution, Employer Relations, Resolutions, etc.—will review and pool experiences and draft for Convention action the proposals brought to San Francisco by the local delegations. Each committee report will be discussed on the floor of the full sessions, the more important ones—no doubt—at several sessions before adoption.

Hot issues will be aired often in open caucuses. The open caucus is an innovation introduced by the New York delegation at the St. Louis Convention in 1937. At these gatherings the delegates meet informally, sometimes at night in the

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.

GUILD REPORTER deadlines: Issue of the 15th—Letters and features, 7th of the month; news and ads, 8th; news bulletins, 9th. Issue of the 1st—Letters and features, 22nd; news and ads, 23rd; news bulletins, 24th.

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Convention Hall, sometimes between sessions in committee rooms, to discuss major questions as fully and as long as they please without the restrictions necessarily imposed by parliamentary procedure at the formal meetings.

Besides the vast amount of routine work handled in this way, the San Francisco Convention already has one novel feature on its schedule in this convention of auxiliaries in a convention of auxiliaries. Guild Auxiliaries, invited by the IEB, will be held during two of the five days of the ANG sessions. During the past year the Board has been issuing the certificates of recognition authorized for local Auxiliaries by the Toronto Convention. This year, many of the wives of the Guild delegates will have more than just a visit to a Convention city to attract them, and many more than usual are expected.

Each year brings a new high point in Guild advancement, and the progress that San Francisco is due to record will be no deviation from the straight line forward.

The St. Paul Start

Delegates at the St. Paul Convention in 1934 took note of the fact that national legislation such as the NRA was a tenuous base for unionism and, accordingly, mapped out the ANG's first year of activity as a labor organization designed to stand on its own feet. Cleveland, in 1935, with the experience of the Guild's first major strike—the Newark Ledger—before it, took a much longer step in the process. A new Constitution was adopted, containing a declaration of principle for industrial unionism, and a referendum on affiliation with the AFL was ordered.

The referendum failed by less than 1 per cent of the two-thirds majority then required. Another year drove home the necessity, and delegates to the New York Convention in 1936 came instructed in large part and voted overwhelmingly at the very outset to formally affiliate the Guild with the main stream of the labor movement, then the AFL.

The year that followed was one

of tremendous growth. This, together with the CIO organizing surge, brought industrial unionism right to our door. We welcomed it at St. Louis, and affiliated with the CIO.

The year following has come to be regarded as the year of crisis for the ANG, because of the publishers' onslaught that followed the St. Louis Convention. We not only survived but made the best record of its five-year career. Toronto in 1938 found the membership grown to 16,797, and contracts to 77.

The Toronto delegates reviewing this record of struggle and progress placed the emphasis on consolidation—regularization of dues collection and unification of the membership behind the gains. Our collective bargaining program was developed still further, becoming a powerful instrument in helping locals boost their contract standards.

Now San Francisco has a new year of progress to review. Many new contracts have been signed and the old ones renewed and improved. The membership has increased again; commercial workers are joining with the editorial people in greater participation in Guild activity. Guild Auxiliaries are convening. The ANG continues to grow.

Seattle Creates Labor Aid Group

SEATTLE—In an effort to repay the Seattle labor movement for the cooperation it has given the Seattle Guild, a public relations committee has been established by the local. Its purpose is to aid unions in handling their news releases and cooperate in campaigns.

The committee consists of the following guildsmen: Russ Ammer, chairman; S. Copeland, Archie Campbell, Willard Elsey, Forrest Williams, Jack Heise, Ellen McGrath, Cliffe Erickson, Claude Smith and Robert Camozzi.

'VICTORY' FOR AFL

(From the AFL weekly clip sheet)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The National Labor Relations Board informed the House Labor Committee that it had amended its rules to permit employers to petition the board for an election to determine which of two rival labor organizations should be certified as representing a majority of employees for collective bargaining purposes in cases where the unions had not petitioned the board for such certification.

"Chalk it up as one victory for the A. F. of L." commented Joseph A. Padway, counsel of the American Federation of Labor.