



TEN YEARS

The Story
of a People's
Newspaper

by
AL RICHMOND

Executive Editor

PUBLISHED BY THE DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 FOLSOM STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, 5, CALIFORNIA

JANUARY 1948



GENESIS

ON THE first day of the last year of the uneasy peace between the world wars, on January 1, 1938, The Daily People's World was born. The first copies creaked off a balking flatbed press on New Year's Eve, the season when one rings out the old and rings in the new. Here was something new, indeed, possessing the boldness and audacity and vision of true newness.

If the paper was new, the press was old. It was a relic of the gay nineties, and in its early years had imprinted headlines that told of the sinking of the Maine, and the war with Spain that followed. We had bought it for \$2000, and the price of dismantling it for transportation, transporting it, reassembling it into what we hoped would be running shape brought the total cost up to \$5000.

As late as Christmas what seemed like a

million individual parts which in their sum total were supposed to comprise the press were strewn about what was to be the press room. Those who looked at the shambles and smithereens shook their heads with apprehension, wondered whether they ever could be fitted together into one functioning mechanism.

This apprehension was not just the ignorance of laymen. Never, probably, was the birth of a paper accompanied by such labor pains. The old press creaked and groaned, and some of us, like anxious fathers, paced the floor and suffered agony with each moan of the machine.

From a few blocks off, on San Francisco's Market street, could be heard the shrillness of a New Year's Eve revel, but in the press room all was somber anxiety. Finally, the first



copies rolled—no, they didn't exactly roll, they haltingly issued from the press. We looked at them, and, again like the traditional father, shuddered. They were ugly. They resembled a newspaper only in the general sense that a newborn infant resembles a human being. The print was a pallid gray, hardly legible in spots. The photos were black smudges, rendering the sharpest detail indistinguishable. But there it was, and the first shock was supplanted by a sense of wonder.

That press remains in my mind as the tangible symbol of the odds against which The Daily People's World was launched. A new daily newspaper is a daring venture in the most favored circumstances. The mortality rate among old and established newspapers had been extraordinarily high. From 1930 to 1944, for example, 576 daily newspapers folded, almost 30 percent of the total number of dailies then in existence.

The smart money says that \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000 in the bank is the necessary capital for launching a metropolitan daily. What must the smart money have thought of the founders of The Daily People's World who entered this murderously competitive field with a capital of \$35,000, and a minimum of know how?

But here it is ten years later, and The Daily People's World has survived and grown, has gained for itself a definite position in the journalism of the nation. It has survived many older institutions that appeared immeasurably more powerful on that New Year's Day in 1938. Hitler was then proclaiming the 1000-year reign of the Third Reich. Singapore was regarded by the military experts as an impregnable bastion, yet it was to fall without honor but three years later.

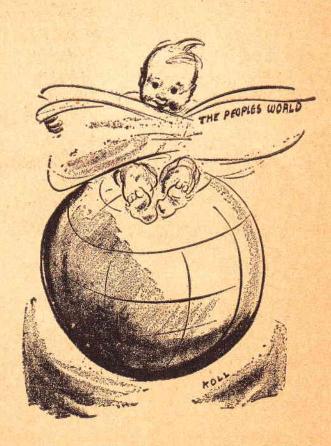
On the thrones of Yugoslavia, Italy, Bulgaria, Albania sat monarchs of ancient lineage. arrogant with centuries of rule by "divine right." Benito Mussolini strutted like a peacock on the balcony of the Palazzo Venezia before the shouting throngs in Rome, fresh from his triumph in Ethiopia, and even then boasfully crushing the Spanish Republic.

Who would have ventured to bet on January 1, 1938, that The Daily People's World would have survived these monarchies and empires, the impregnable fortresses and 1000-year reigns?

But it has survived. It has endured through the stormiest years of human history, despised by the powerful and wealthy, circumscribed by the lack of funds, limited in technical facilities, attacked and threatened by the bigots and the witch hunters. It has survived, defying the pressures of politics, and the laws of economics.

It is the story of a newspaper that is different, that evoked the unparalleled devotion and loyalty of thousands of people who worked and sacrificed to make its survival possible. To those thousands who made the story possible, it should be a source of great pride, and the quiet joy that comes with achievment wrought at great cost. To thousands of others, it can serve as an inspiring example of what ordinary people can do by banding together to create and sustain a voice that speaks their thoughts, and champions their interests.

It is a story worth the telling, and worth the reading on this tenth anniversary of The Daily People's World.



A legend of toil, of age, of faith . . .

Often has the story been told, and with the telling has grown into a legend. The hero of the story has remained anonymous, and by now must be dead. But the rich warmth of his simple deed remains. . . .

Even the date has been forgotten. It was late afternoon when the aged worker walked into the offices of The Daily People's World. He must have been in his eighties, say those who saw him. And he did not wear his years lightly. Hard work had etched them into the deep furrows of his face, into the gnarled outlines of his workman's hands.

He explained his mission to the managing editor. The words came slowly, burdened with a German accent. He was a German by birth, the aged workman explained, and all the years he had worked in the United States, he had tried to save some money so that in his old age he could return to the country of his youth, and there spend life's twilight amid the memo-

ries and associations of childhood and youth. But Hitler had seized Germany, and he did not wish to return to witness his country's shame. The money he had saved could no longer serve its intended purpose. Instead, he said, he wished to give it to The Daily People's World.

With that he pulled a manila envelope from his pocket, laid it on a counter, and walked out before any one had the opportunity to inquire his name.

In that envelope was \$960, the residue of a lifetime of work. How many hours of labor, how many acts of self denial did that \$960 represent? No one can tell, except to say that the hours and the acts were many. Nor can any one measure in more precise terms the total number of hours of labor, the total number of sacrifices that have sustained The Daily People's World. Except to say that they are many, and offered with the generous modesty of that legendary workman...

THE MORE ABUNDANT LIFE

P edro Torres was not the sort of man that gets his name into the newspapers. Perhaps in a bus accident if there were a list of the injured. . . . But even that's not certain, for Pedro Torres was one of those anonymous people who turn up as "body unidentified" in such tragedies.

PEDRO TORRES

"* * you're driving me crazy."

Yet, on May 10, 1939, his name appeared on the front page of the Daily People's World, and in a good-sized headline, too. And not only his name, but there on Page 1, in that space commonly reserved for statesmen or politicians or the perpetrators of unusually heinous crimes. was a large photograph of Torres.

The photo showed Torres, with a toothless grin, regarding a half-skinned banana which he held in his hand. The caption said: "You're driving me crazy." The story was fairly well summarized in the headline which read:

No teeth in SRA policy?

ASK PEDRO TORRES, HE KNOWS— ECONOMY KEEPS HIM TOOTHLESS

Torres was an unemployed worker, in itself a rather common designation in those days. But he had not only lost his job, he had lost his teeth. The State Relief Administration had undertaken to get him some false teeth. But on the day before he was to get his plates, an economy regime was instituted by SRA, eliminating medical and dental services. No teeth for Torres, and before him there stretched an endless vista of bananas, soups and milk.

Worse yet, Torres spoke English with a heavy accent, and without his teeth his speech was so garbled that he could hardly make himself understood to any prospective employer. But economy is economy. For Pedro Torres it meant: no teeth, no job.

A different sort was Archie Price, whose name appeared on the front pages of The Daily People's World in the summer months of 1938. He did something that's always good for at least a paragraph in the daily press. He committed suicide. In the ordinary course of events, his last act would have rated just about a paragraph. An old derelict (he was 64) strolled into Balboa Park in San Diego, mixed a bottle of wine with an eight-cent can of poison, drank the lot. What's so unusual about that? Nothing. From the day of the Great Crash in Wall Street nine years before until the day the police found Archie Price writhing in agony under a tree, there had been hundreds of such stories, maybe thousands.

But Archie Price's case proved unusual. His body was disinterred from a Pauper's Grave in Potters Field, and thousands came from as far off as Los Angeles to pay silent homage to the man who in death became the symbol of a million-strong pension movement that swept the state.

Two months before his death, the story went, Price visited the editor of a San Diego paper, told him what he was going to do.

"Son." said Price, "I have little left to live for. I'm too young for a state pension; too old, they say, for a WPA job. So I'm going to kill myself. I have thought of walking into the sea—but I'll let you know."

If an editor were to listen seriously to the story of every old crank that walked into his office. . . . Well, you see, he would never get his editing done.

Price's life story was common enough. Born in New York, he had come to California in '1918, just as World War I finished. He was 44 then, young enough to make a fresh start. In 1930, the year after the Great Crash, he was 56 and it was too late to make any fresh start

when he lost his position with a large and reputable firm. For the next six years, there were odd jobs and relief. In 1936, he went to work for WPA, was ruled off as "too old" to work. But he was too young for the state pension. And Archie Price found himself in the purgatory of relief case workers—listed as "unemployable."

The last blow came when he was informed that "unemployable" single men were to be cut off relief, and sent to isolated camps. Price was desperate. He wrote to the President. He wrote to Harry Hopkins, then WPA administrator, relating how he had been in a hospital three times to be treated for malnutrition. He appealed to the local newspaper.

Then, on July 25, 1938, he walked the 14 miles from his home in LaJolla to San Diego. He made one last effort to get on WPA. On a form which he kept, and which he had marked CASE HISTORY, he wrote this line:

"July 25, 10 a. m. WPA has no work. A.P."
That was the final entry in the ledger.

Why dig up this old stuff? Anybody knows there is nothing as stale as yesteryear's newspaper story. Stale? Maybe. But how is one to get the feel of a whole era, like the late 1930's in America? A rich theme of those years was the striving of millions of Americans for social security—for security in old age, for jobs, for some organized protection against the vagaries of an economic system that doomed thousands and millions to malnutrition while crops and pigs were destroyed.

In the sum of those years historically, one of the great stories is the story of this Battle of Security. Look through the papers of those years, as I have done, and ask: Who told that story? You will answer, as I have: The Daily People's World. It told the story in the human terms of a Pedro Torres or an Archie Price or of those countless others whose struggle for survival was more important to The Daily Peo-

ple's World than the social scandals surrounding some dizzy debutante.

It told the story in terms of the organizations of the unemployed and of the senior citizens. It told it in terms of the political battles waged at the polls, and in the legislative halls of Washington and Sacramento.

And there was no mistaking its sympathies in the battle.

Those other editors who today roar for

'HAM AND EGGS EVERYBODY!'

• anonymous marcher to Sacramento in the summer of 1939.

"teeth" in our foreign policy did not care whether Pedro Torres had teeth in his head with which to eat a steak. Nor did they care whether he had a job that paid enough money to enable him to buy the steak.

Those other papers mocked at the "crackpot economics" of the Ham and Eggs movement. But not at the "crackpot economics" that drove Archie Price to take his life with an eight-cent can of poison, so as to escape that

eerie economic twilight wherein a man was too old for a job and too young for a pension.

The struggle of The Daily People's World for survival became, somehow, inextricably linked with the ceaseless efforts of millions to survive. If the paper endured during those first years, in large measure it was due to the fact that it became known as the uncompromising fighter for social security, the daily champion of the aged, the jobless, the heavy laden.

Today, when the shadow of depression lengthens over the land, the "eat less" philosophy had made its reappearance. That slogan, so modestly pronounced by Senator Taft in Santa Cruz, is a throwback to the philosophy that reigned in the White House when Herbert Hoover occupied it. Whether Americans eat less, or eat more, or eat at all will be determined by the capacity of Americans to fight as they fought in the 1930's. In such a fight, The Daily People's World, on its ten-year record, is a dependable weapon. . . .

"... the last full measure of devotion ... "

A bit faded by time, there still hangs on the wall of the anteroom of The Daily People's World offices a pennant. It is a red pennant, with a rectangular white field in the center. On the white field are stars, 18 blue stars and one gold star. The gold star is a tangible reminder of Morris Smolan. But there are other reminders of "Morrie," as his co-workers knew him, and his name crops up frequently in conversation. He had left his stamp on the paper, and a fine stamp it is.

Private First Class Morris N. Smolan died on January 7, 1945 as a result of wounds sustained in the Battle of Germany. He was an infantryman, serving with the 104th (Timberwolf)! Division. Morrie had entered the Army in October, 1943, took his basic infantry training at Camp Roberts, Calif. He was 35 then, and for many years prior to his induction had been engaged in sedentary work. Infantry training was rugged, but Morrie took it. Winter warfare on the European continent was rugged, but Morrie took that, too. Only a Nazi bullet stopped him.

Morrie was one of those people who are so very much alive that it is difficult to conceive of them without the spark of life. He was warm and witty, a man of great enthusiasm and energy, always planning, driving, working, and, most remarkable, capable of infecting others with the same spirit.

He was born in Washington, D. C., raised

in Arizona, then came to San Diego where he became an upholsterer by trade and a pioneer in the union organization of the upholsterers there. It was in San Diego, while he was still busy in union organization, that he first became associated with The Daily People's World. He sold charter subscriptions to the paper before the first copy came off the press.

At the beginning of 1938 he was added to the paper's business staff, came to Los Angeles where he helped with advertising and circulation. Toward the end of that year he migrated to San Francisco, and from that time until his induction into the Army five years later was one of the paper's prime builders. As promotion director, then as circulation manager, financial and circulation campaign director, and finally as business manager, he poured all his boundless energy and enthusiasm into the job of making the paper grow.

From the battle for the paper's survival, he went on to another battle in which he met death. To Morrie, they were battles in the same war, and he fought in both with the same indomitable spirit.

Now, there is a gold star. But a far more tangible reminder of him is the roar of the press in the basement, the papers rolling off in neat folds, the hustle to get them into the hands of readers, and the constant effort to secure more readers of the message for which Morrie Smolan gave his life.

WELCOME MOONEY

N THE surface, the voice thrown out by the radio loudspeaker was casual. Yet, there was an undercurrent of genuine excitement, unlike the professional excitement simulated by radio announcers to render dull spectacles thrilling to the unseeing audience. It was something remarkable over the radio. Historic understatement!

"Yesterday," his voice had begun, "at San Quentin penitentiary a tailor with a mouth full of pins circled around Tom Mooney. The 56 year old labor leader stood rigid and motionless while the tailor surveyed him with critical eye, patted his shoulders, made testy little jerks at the sleeves, and occasionally stood back to study the whole effect.

"This was important business. If you didn't know what was going on, you might think this was the Supreme Creator putting the finishing touches on his masterpiece, Man.

"But no—this was just the occasion of Tom Mooney receiving the final fitting of his 'going out' suit of clothes.

"What occupied the mind of that prison tailor as he fashioned the garments of freedom for another man? Did he grasp the historical role his needle was playing? Did he realize that 22 years of working, planning, fighting, by the laboring millions of the earth was being realized in that suit of clothes?

"'Hold your arm out, Tom Mooney. Let's see how the sleeves are for length. We can take it in a little in the shoulders. Now let's see the pants. Just relax. That's right. Fine. Turn

around, Tom Mooney. Let's see how that collar sets. Just drop your arms and stand natural. That's good.'

"Perhaps that nameless tailor was lost in the spell of his craftsmanship. . . . "

The voice went on to recount the story of Tom Mooney, that was the story of a man, yet also the story of a symbol; that was the story of one who stood steadfast, yet also the story of millions who justified his faith. As the voice went on, propelled by the magnitude of the tale it was telling, the crust of casualness wore thin, the excitement seeped through until it burst on its ultimate note...

"For if labor can free Tom Mooney—labor can free itself."

That was the CIO radio broadcast in San Francisco on Friday, January 6, 1939. The script was written by the late Mike Quin, Daily People's World columnist who did not live to see his paper mark its tenth anniversary. The script in its entirety was printed in the January 8, 1939, edition of The Daily People's World, the only Sunday edition ever published by the paper.

That was a triumphant edition. Blazoned across the front page was the message, "WEL-COME MOONEY," in the largest type in the print shop, the sort of type that is bought and put away for a millennial occasion. For years afterward, on the rare occasions when it was used to record far less happy events. that type was known in the print shop as the "Mooney type."



'As an historic event was recorded in an historic edition. It was the only Sunday edition issued by the paper in its ten years of existence. Note the story (left hand side), "The 'World' Was There." It was. Photographers and reporters covered the story from the moment of Mooney's exit from San Quentin, through the

'pardon ceremony, and his reunion with two other veteran labor prisoners, Warren K. Billings and J. B. McNamara. Inside pages carried the history of the 22 year old battle to free Mooney, the expressions of joy from labor and progressive leaders the world over at his liberation.

That was a time for rejoicing. It was a time to remember, too. And the memories recalled on that day, memories of the long fight to free Tom Mooney, of rebuffs suffered, of reformed and swelling ranks, were expressed by Langston Hughes in his poem, "Remembered Forever Will Be The Name":

TOM MOONEY

TOM MOONEY

A man with the title of governor has spoken;
And you do not go free.
A man with the title of governor has spoken;
And the steel bars surround you,
And the prison walls wrap you about.
And you do not go free.
But the man with the title of governor
Does not know
That all over the earth today
The workers speak the name

TOM MOONEY

TOM MOONEY

And the sound vibrates in waves
From Africa to China,
India to Germany,
Russia to the Argentine,
Shaking the bars,
Shaking the walls,
Shaking the earth . . .

On that day, when the earth was shaken, The People's World was but one year old. This was its first taste of a truly historic victory. The name Tom Mooney had become a symbol of the power wielded by the kings of finance, a power that not only dictated the economic existence of millions, but could throw a man

behind prison bars for challenging the terms of that existence. The name Tom Mooney had become a slogan for all those the world over who believed that democracy was something more than the freedom of free enterprise to shut factories, fix prices and shoot strikers.

From its very inception the battle to free Tom Mooney was more than a battle to free one man. It became a battle for fundamental civil liberties, for if one man could be imprisoned for life through the arbitrary exercise of police and judiciary powers, faciliated by a war hysteria, then no man was safe. The People's World entered the arena during the final, triumphant stage of that battle. But the fight for the preservation of civil liberties did not end with Mooney's liberation. It went on. It goes on. The paper, drawing upon the wisdom and inspiration of the Mooney campaign, fights on.

Once again the makers of hysteria are at work. Once again, the atmosphere is being created in which another Mooney case can be born. Thus far, the powers that put Mooney behind the bars have not resorted to the same monstrous form of crude frame-up. They have become slicker. They have developed other means for intimidation and suppression. Instead of a crude hand-made frame-up, they now have a beltline mass production frameup that traps millions. They pass a Taft-Hartley Law. They decree a "loyalty purge" in the government.

They operate outside of the established judiciary through a kangaroo court like the House Un-American Committee. They drag out "technicalities," fine, handy little technicalities. A wrong name on a passport. One year in prison. Refusal to submit to the brow-beating of the un-American committee. One year in prison. And if not imprisonment, then a smear designed to blacklist a man from his trade or profession.

Later, perhaps, will come the frame-up of the Mooney type. Only on a more grandiose scale.

Something like the Reichstag fire frameup, perhaps, that the Nazis used to seize power in Germany. The stage is being set. The atmosphere is being created. A little hysteria. A little probing of the weak spots in the vigilance of the American people. A few convictions on "technicalities." A few "loyalty purges." A few more laws like the Taft-Hartley Act. Then, boom! You won't have the biblical alternative of answering yea, yea, or nay, nay. You'll answer yea, or else.

An alarming prospect? Yes, and that is why The Daily People's World raises the alarm. Alone among Pacific Coast dailies it speaks up against the most monstrous offensive ever mounted against civil liberties in America. Its own existence is rendered precarious by the bigots and monied misanthropes. To support it means to defend civil rights. and at the same time to sustain at least one daily newspaper, a voice that fights without compromise for the democratic heritage of the American people.





JOBS AND JIMCROW

I was a few days before Christmas, 1942, only about two weeks after the first anniversary of Pearl Harbor. There wasn't much of traditional Yule cheer abroad. Instead, a heavy feeling of gloom pervaded those December days of 1942. The miracle of Stalingrad had not yet been; the Japanese tide in the Pacific had been stemmed, but not turned. In Africa, the first excitement of the landings had subsided, and the hard, bitter, slogging business of protracted battle was in prospect. . . .

It was probable that no such thoughts flitted through the young man's mind as he walked into the offices of the San Francisco Municipal Railway. He had his own Problem, and while his Problem was related to those others, yet at this moment, as he walked through the door alone, it was intensely personal.

"Son," said the secretary, a kindly looking elderly man, "I've been secretary in this office for 27 years and I've only seen two other fellows like you come in here. . . . And they didn't stay long. . . . "

Fellows like you. . . . The words had a bit of a sting. But the young man had expected something like that. After all, his skin had been that deep, rich brown color since he was born 23 years before. Audley Cole did not suddenly encounter the problem of being a Negro. He had faced it before, in Pittsburgh, Pa., and now in California.

Sure, he had passed the civil service examination. He had passed the physical exam, too. By all the rules, he was qualified to hold the glorified job of a motorman on San Francisco's municipally operated streetcar system. But he had not passed one barrier, the taboo that had excluded Negroes from virtually all San Francisco industry with the exception of a few menial service trades and some of the water-

front crafts where militant unionism had cracked jimcrow.

Those others hadn't stayed long. . . . Audley Cole was determined to stick. And so, inauspiciously, one of the most important episodes in San Francisco history opened.

On the day before Christmas, Cole started operating a car on a big switch in the barn. Two days after Christmas, he went out on his first trial run on a C car, under the supervision of a Muni Railway instructor.

On New Year's Day, IT happened. When Cole reported for work, the instructing motorman to whom he was assigned, said, "Sorry, son, I'm not taking any students. . . ." So it went the next day and the next and the next. A reactionary clique in the Municipal Carmen's Union was determined to keep the jimcrow lid clamped on. One motorman who dared to take Cole out on his car was slugged from behind by "unidentified assailants."

For three months, the battle raged. The opening gun was fired by The Daily People's World in an editorial which said:

"This is a scandal for the whole labor movement, and other unions should speak up about it. This is a case of Hitlerism without the swastika label, but Hitlerism none the less, with all its racism ready to run riot against not only Negroes, but other groups. . . ."

It was, of course, the only daily newspaper that editorialized in this vein.

Practices, encrusted by prejudice and years of observance, do not crumble overnight. It was three months later, late in March, that The Daily People's World was able to report that The San Francisco Labor Council had unanimously adopted a resolution to inform its affiliated locals that jimcrow was contrary to AFL principles. . . .

Some six weeks after that, on May 15, a Page 1 boxed story in the paper related that Cole had been sworn into membership of what was then AFL Carmen's Division 518.

Even now it is difficult to gauge the full import of that victory. Hundreds of other Negro workers, women as well as men, followed that slight, handsome, smiling youth into the San Francisco streetcar service. Undoubtedly, the way was smoothed for thousands of others into other jobs in other industries. Another step forward had been taken in the long, tortuous battle to win full citizenship for Negro Americans, and thus redeem all American democracy.

Traditionally, in America, the Negro problem has been a fair test of the democratic pretensions of any individual, institution or group. There have always been those who deplored and regretted. Many have there been to counsel infinite patience. Others have sought to conceal their shame behind a veil of silence. Relatively few as yet have been the voices of those who would not compromise, who declared that freedom was indivisible, who had no patience for pious hypocrisy.

It is in the tradition of these latter voices that The Daily People's World has spoken, in the tradition of William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator and Frederick Douglass' Monthly Paper.

Thumb through the pages of The Daily People's World, from its first edition to the latest that has come off the press, and there unfolds a consistent story. A fight for jobs here. A battle for the right to live in a home, against the conspiracy of restrictive covenants. A fight for equality before the law here, against the abuses of police there. Virtually every facet of the monstrous system of jimcrow and Lynch Law has come under the stinging attack of the paper. And every movement to break the bonds of jimcrow has received its support.

There have been joyous stories, too, stories filled with the pride of achievement when some vicious practice was defeated, or when some Negro American, overcoming the long odds, came through to distinguish himself in some field of endeavor.

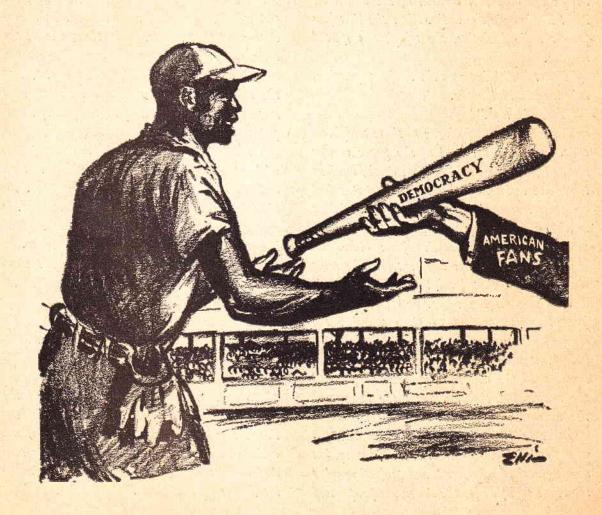
What of the present, and what of the future?

World War II has long since ended. And the export of democratic phrases and insolent instructions from Washington, telling one nation or another how to order their affairs to suit the Great White Father, has kept pace with the export of dollars, and has outstripped the export of food to hungry peoples.

A lynching in Georgia? Washington solves that by sending a note to Budapest, protesting the arrest of some fascist conspirator. Acts of violence against Negroes who dare to vote in Mississippi? Washington solves that by sending a note to Bucharest, protesting the conduct of elections in Romania. The home of a Negro

veteran burned down in California, Washington solves that, too, by interceding in behalf of some unreconstructed fascists masquerading as "displaced persons."

The Virginia gentleman soldier, George Marshall, and the Missouri politician, Harry Truman, have other fish to fry. Negro Americans, for whom the battle of democracy did not end on V-J Day, can seek no succor from Washington. They can only rely on their own strength, linked with that of others continuing the battle of democracy. In the engagements to come, there is one tried battler, The Daily People's World.





Like most Americans, the staff of The Daily People's World first learned of the attack on Pearl Harbor via the radio. After the first few frantic radio bulletins, the telephones started ringing.

"Is it true?" That was the anxious question, asked again and again.

"Yes, it's true."

There was a certain irony to these telephone calls. In reality, the staff of the paper was as isolated from the world at large as the anxious telephone callers. At that time, the paper had no press service. There were no news tickers in the office, clanging their bulletins, automatically typing out stories from Honolulu, Washington and other key centers. Like most Americans on that fateful Sunday, the staff had to rely on the radio, and from its disjointed newscasts had to piece together the story of events on that day.

Staff members who were off that Sunday scurried to the office as soon as they heard the news. And there, without the benefit of the newsgathering sources taken for granted on other daily papers, they did a remarkable job of not only piecing together the day's story, but digging up its background, and projecting what the event signified for the American people and

their future.

For the first five years of its existence, the paper had no standard news service. To appreciate what that means, look at any one of the commercial papers, spot all the stories credited to UP or AP or INS. The news agency and the syndicated photo service are the nervous system and bloodstream of contemporary news-paper publishing.

To attempt publication of a daily paper, without a press association or photo service, and with a limited staff and inadequate technical facilities, is a formidable undertaking. It requires a lot of hard work, a great deal of ingenuity, and perseverance. It's easy to be smart with unlimited resources at one's command. Without even the most elementary resources, it's another matter.

For the record, The Daily People's World was the only newspaper of its time in the United States that managed daily publication without either a daily press service, or a syndicated photo agency. It was not until 1943 that the paper finally secured the services of United Press. The energy hitherto expended through various means simply to collect bare facts of a day's events could now be better spent in the intelligent presentation of those facts.

LABOR'S CHAMPION

THE SCENE is Washington. A June day in 1947. The Senate had been in session for most of the night. During those long hours, four lone Senators have held the floor, talking against time, talking against the grim flint-set faces of their colleagues, talking against their own expert political knowledge that when the talking ended and the voting came they were licked.

Yet, they talked on, and while they talked, millions also spoke. The wires to Washington were jammed. New circuits had to be opened. Western Union rushed in reserves to handle the barrage of telegrams that descended on the White House, on the Senate, on national Democratic headquarters.

In the corridors of the Capitol and the office buildings linked with it by subterranean passages were weary men and women who had dashed across country in a motor caravan to get to Washington before zero hour. There were men and women from the industrial centers of the Eastern Seaboard, come to plead their case. They were the spokesmen for the thousands and millions that remained behind in the factories and mines, on docks and ships.

All this myriad of voices went unheeded. The Taft-Hartley bill became law.

In the first wave of anger that engulfed the labor movement from coast to coast, the men and women of labor pledged to work for the defeat of every Congressman who voted for



that infamous bill. It was an understandable and valid reaction.

But the passage of a bill through the Congress is a far more complex process than the teller's recording of the Ayes and Noes. The more unpopular the bill, the more contrary it is to the interests of the majority of the people, the more subtle and complex the process of its passage.

The Congress is like a fullback who is given the ball on the three-yard stripe and plunges across the goal line. The fullback reaps the glory of scoring the touchdown, just as the Congress reaped the infamy of passing the Taft-Hartley bill. But the ball had to be placed in scoring position first. It took a team to carry it down the field. It required the generalship of a quarterback, and a smart coach on the sidelines. And even the last plunge could not have been made without a line that battered the opposition aside, and opened the hole through which the fullback could plunge.

Let's visualize the passage of the Taft-Hart-ley bill in terms of a football game. The coach undoubtedly was the National Association of Manufacturers. The NAM propounded the Taft-Hartley principles long before they were written into a bill. The quarterback's role was played by the NAM lobbyists who, according to Senator Taft's own admission, called the plays on the final version of the bill. The line, which ran interference and blocked out the opposition, was the commercial press and the other mass media of propaganda.

In all the nation, there were fewer daily commercial papers than can be counted on the fingers of one hand that expressed opposition to the Taft-Hartley bill. On the contrary, the papers either hailed the bill as the greatest boon to mankind since the invention of the atomic bomb, or they assured their readers that it was not quite as bad as painted by evil labor propagandists.

There is no doubt at all that without the

virtually unanimous encouragement of the press, Congress would not have dared pass the Taft-Hartley bill. True, the individual Congressman received protests from the people back home, but he also knew that he had a billion-dollar propaganda machine to back him up, to set things right, to confuse the people.

All the tricks of the devious trade of journalism were invoked to secure the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law. The editorial writers and the special columnists dragged forth the clever arguments. The play and preference was given to stories designed to induce a public compliance with the measure. Worst yet, not in recent years was there such a wholesale and systematic suppression of news.

We made a check of the newspapers for the two weeks preceding the veto of the bill. The results were so astounding that we double-checked them to make sure. Astounding as they might seem, they were true, and here they are.

In the two weeks preceding June 20, 1947— The San Francisco Chronicle carried 43½ column inches of news reporting the vast protest movement against the Taft-Hartley Law.

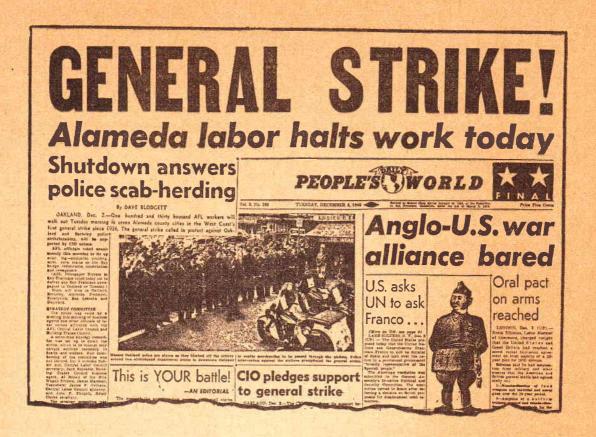
The Daily People's World carried 507/4 column inches of such news!

Read that again: 43½ column inches as against 507¼ column inches!

And this refers only to news of the protest movement, and does not include editorial comment, the expression of opinions in columns and the like.

You might not be a journalism student, and hence are timid about any definite judgment as to what constitutes news. But I assure you that by any standard of news, the fight of the labor movement against passage of the Taft-Hartley bill was news. Actually, it was far and away the most important single story on the domestic scene in the entire year of 1947.

When millions of working people speak up on one issue, it's news. When a group of workers in Los Angeles sets out for Washington on



a cross-country dash to lobby against the passage of a bill, it's news. When the close to 15-million-strong American labor movement plunges into a battle with the unanimity and energy that marked the Taft-Hartley fight, it's news.

Yet, The Chronicle, during the two weeks that this vast upsurge reached its apex, devoted just a little more than two newspaper columns to acquaint its readers with one of the most dramatic and significant stories of the year. Just two newspaper columns in two weeks! Why, that paper would have devoted more space in one day to a really juicy factional fight in any one of the major CIO unions in California.

The record of The Daily People's World in the battle against the Taft-Hartley Law, both before and after its passage, only serves to epitomize the contrast between it and the rest of the daily press in relation to labor. Since its first edition ten years ago, there has not been one major labor struggle in which The Daily People's World has been not only the most thorough and accurate reporter, but also an active combatant on labor's side.

That statement could be documented with enough volumes to fill a good-sized library, for labor has engaged in many battles during the past ten years, and a goodly portion of the more than 70 million words published by The Daily People's World in that time has been devoted to recording and supporting those battles.

As a result, scores of unions throughout the West, and thousands of individual union men and women have supported the paper through the years, giving of their funds and helping in circulation. Without this support, the paper could not have endured for ten days, let alone ten years. This support, in itself, constitutes a

tangible vote of confidence, an explanation of the seeming miracle of the paper's survival and growth.

In the days to come, it is necessary that the unions supporting the paper be counted in the hundreds, and the individual union men and women in the tens of thousands. This is necessary not only for the paper, but for the labor movement.

The whip lash of the Taft-Hartley Law is yet to be felt by the millions who work for a living. But even now every thinking worker should take stock, and seek the answer to the question: How was it possible for the labor movement to suffer such a defeat as it suffered in June, 1947?

It is not my province here to explore in full the answer to that question. Surely, the most obvious weakness of labor was its disunity. Also, it is apparent that the strategy and policy making of labor was deficient. Such fatal errors as permitting the divisive stratagem of redbaiting to sap the strength of the labor movement, and trying to make common cause with the employers in the sphere of foreign policy,

while opposing them on the Taft-Hartley issue will require further thought and consideration by every union man and woman.

Beyond all this, however, there is the manifest fact that the techniques of labor for winning public opinion to its cause, and informing its own membership of the real issues at stake in public debate, are pitifully inadequate when compared to the techniques of the employers to achieve a contrary purpose.

Think of it. On the Pacific Coast, the employers had scores of daily papers, reaching millions of readers, to back them in the Taft-Hartley fight. The labor movement had one lone daily paper on its side, and that paper reached only some thousands of readers.

With the Taft-Hartley Law on the statute books, the fight ahead is far more difficult. Without a more powerful daily voice like The Daily People's World, it is not very likely that the labor movement will erase a law the passage of which it could not prevent.

The survival and growth of The People's World is linked with the survival of the labor movement, as it has been for the past ten years.



Mussolini

Chamberlain

Daladier

Hitler

Four men and one umbrella.

WAR AND PEACE

OF THE past ten years, six (September, 1939 to September, 1945) have been consumed by war. The 20 months preceding Hitler's march into Poland witnessed the world being dragged to catastrophe past such milestones as "non-intervention" in Spain and "appeasement" at Munich. The little more than two years since V-J Day have witnessed the titanic striving of the peoples to heal the wounds and ravages of war, to find the path to peace. The overwhelming fact of the past decade was War. The paramount struggle of the day is the struggle to avert a repetition of that calamity.

In the very first editions of The Daily People's World there were portents of the tragedy to come. A news item of the desperate battle waged by the Loyalists at Teruel on the Aragon front in Spain. Another news item of the war then in progress in China. Before the first year was out, the paper was to record and interpret the Pact of Munich. That was the crowning shame of the year. At Munich the die was cast. Because of the infamy committed by the men at Munich, children were to die under the bombs in London and Leningrad, in Warsaw and Belgrade, and all those other cities and towns and villages where death struck with equal finality.

Munich was the culmination of an era. It was an historic climax. It was the test of a newspaper, of its astuteness, its integrity, its sense of responsibility for not only mirroring history, but affecting its course in the interests of the people.

Look at the headlines of those days. On the very day that Neville Chamberlain, Adolph Hitler, Edouard Daladier and Benito Mussolini gathered at Munich, The San Francisco Chronicle (Sept. 29, 1938) carried the headline:

POWERS HALT NAZI MARCH! PEACE MEET STARTS TODAY

The Daily People's World headline on that day read:

SPAIN, CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON AUCTION BLOCK IN MUNICH!

Or, consider the preceding days: 'The Chronicle (and it wasn't the worst by far in this respect) headlined (Sept. 27, 1938):

BRITAIN WILL FIGHT IF CZECHS
ARE ATTACKED, HITLER WARNED

The Daily People's World headlined (Sept. 28):

CHAMBERLAIN PLANS NEW RETREAT

Slick, smart Time magazine summarized the "Significance" of Munich as follows:

"If the crisis proved anything with finality, it proved that modern communication and enlightenment of the peoples reduce the chances of an outbreak of war. . . . And while all men of good will deplored the dismemberment . . . and were saddened for the painful uprooting . . . realists took heart. . . "

(Time did not lend the credence of emphasis to Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov's warning to the League of Nations nine days before Munich that Britain and France "had avoided a problematic war with Nazi Germany for a certain large-scale war in the future." The Daily People's World did.)

David Lawrence, the syndicated columnist, was delighted by Munich, recommended that President Roosevelt adapt the tactic of appease ment to domestic politics.



"The Hitler program of force and threats of force... has been restrained by the calmer and more intelligent use of reasoning power by the French and British...", he wrote in his column of October 2, 1938.

"President Roosevelt, like Prime Minister Chamberlain, has the greatest opportunity of his career."

Less sure, and therefore less wrong, but far more pathetic was Royce Brier, amateur philosopher and professional pundit of The San Francisco Chronicle. He cried for the wisdom of historic hindsight, and that being beyond attainment, he withdrew to Olympian heights to meditate upon the rationality of man.

"If in this corner of the editorial room it could be 1948 for a few hours the wisdom paraded here would flabbergast you," he wrote on September 30, 1938.

"You would be told what was right and what was wrong about the Munich Pact. It would be compared with Locarno and Versailles, and there would be some swell irony, spearing all the European rascals of 1938, and rewarding the noble and the farseeing, if any...."

But, Brier went on to lament, alas, it was 1938, and not 1948, even in his corner of the editorial room. You couldn't really tell about Munich, he sighed. But he mustered the daring to offer the following conclusion:

"Czechoslovakia is a sop thrown to destiny (not to Hitler, but to destiny—A.R.), and unless man evinces more rationality than he has yet evinced, the question who won at Munich will lie unanswered for a time. . . ."

The ten years for which Brier pleaded have come and gone, and it is doubtful whether he could write anything about Munich even now with a brillance that would flabbergast anybody. In 1938 Brier could not understand the logic of Munich. He has learned wisdom in the intervening years. In 1948, he expounds the logic of Munich. That logic has contemporary

aliases, the bi-partisan foreign policy, or the Truman Doctrine, or the Marshall Plan. But it's the same logic, making common cause with reaction and fascism under the guise of fighting the "red menace."

The Daily People's World caught the thread of history. On the very day that Brier withdrew into contemplation of such imponderables as time and rationality, on the day the Munich Pact was consummated, the paper carried an editorial on its front page, titled "Godesberg to Munich—Path to New Betrayal." The tenor of that editorial may be judged from its concluding appeal:

"More than ever, the organizations and individuals of the West Coast must demand that peace be maintained with NO SURRENDER TO HITLER! That the Munich treachery be repudiated as not in harmony with world peace and the American people's interests and desires! That an embargo be laid against the aggressors, Germany, Italy and Japan!"

Not as suave as Brier's column, that editorial. A bit crude in its excessive use of exclamation points. If it was shrill, its shrillness stemmed from the consciousness that it was a lone weak voice seeking to be heard above the chorus of complacency, of extolling Munich, of lulling people so that they were unaware of the peril the Munich conspiracy bore for all mankind. If only that voice were heard and heeded. . . .

It would be pleasant to consign Munich to history and view it with the dilletante wisdom for which Brier yearned. But the spirit of Munich, adapted for time and circumstance, thrives once more. The same deceptions, the same fool's hopes rate the biggest type in the daily newspaper plants, the most hysterical overtones of the radio commentators.

Just at about the time the Munich Pact was hatched, slick Time magazine (Oct. 10, 1938) recalled that—

"Away back before the 1922 March on Rome, Editor Benito Mussolini used to tell his journalistic colleagues in Milan that Europe could find enduring peace only by coming under the responsible dominance of the great powers of the West."

This dream of a Western European bloc dominating Europe, nurtured by Mussolini way back before 1922, was also cherished by every reactionary and fascist since the Russian Revolution of 1917. In 1938 this dream was called the Munich Pact. In 1948 it has another name—the Marshall Plan. The essence, creation of a Europe under the dominance of the great powers of the West, is the same. A detail has been changed. Instead of Germany dominating the dominant powers, the United States will.

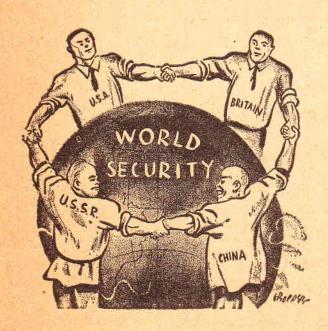
Another element that helped make Munich was the widely advertised belief that the Soviet Union was a pushover, that the easiest solution to the problems of the capitalist world was to be found at the expense of the Soviet people. Charles A. Lindbergh assured the world that

S. 12

Soviet planes could not take off. There was no dearth of military experts to point out that all the Soviet generals had been shot, that Soviet soldiers were stumblebums, that Soviet industry and transport were a hopeless mess that would collapse under the first shock of modern war.

Today the same fool's hope has been resurrected. A "Mr. X," identified publicly as George Kennan, so-called policy planner of the State Department, advises the American people to base foreign policy on the premise of Soviet weakness. George Earle, the Ambassador who sold King Boris of Bulgaria on the virtues of Western Civilization in the form of a pinball machine, advises us to drop just one atomic bomb on Moscow. These gentlemen should look through the newspaper files of June-July, 1941, to see how foolish other "experts" appear in the light of history.

On June 22, 1941, the Soviet Union was attacked by Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union did



This wartime cartoon is by William Gropper, nationally renowned artist. Many critics consider Gropper the best political cartoonist in the country today. Few will dispute that he is

superior to any cartoonist drawing for a Pacific Coast paper. His cartoons appear exclusively on the Pacific Coast in The Daily People's World.

not collapse. What collapsed was the endless and dreary propaganda of Soviet weakness which had been spread for more than two decades, and now is being revived again.

Martin Dies, daddy of the House Un-American Committee, and by virtue of his position a great authority on communism and Soviet Russia (he was paid well for articles and lectures on those subjects), confidently predicted: "In my judgment, Hitler will be in control of Russia within 30 days."

Time magazine (July 7) was positively ecstatic, "Adolph Hitler's army is as light on its feet as a ballerina... The sluggish, massive Red Army ... would probably be demolished before it retreated enough hundreds of miles to tire out the attackers."

Life magazine (July 29)' speculated: "The only remaining doubts were how much of an army the Russians would still have east of Moscow and how long they would be able to fight there."

Los Angeles Times man Warren B. Francis (June 24) wrote: "Germany may be able to bring about a Russian collapse in a month, but must accomplish it in about three months at the outside."

Hearstman Paul Mallon (June 25), with the confidential air of a race track tout who whispers in your ear a sure thing in the third race, wrote from Washington: "Get set for unfavorable news out of Russia in the next six weeks. The current advices of official authorities express doubts that the Reds will last beyond September 15..."

The list of such quotations is almost endless. From General George C. Marshall down to the lowliest editor of the humblest rural weekly, it was the same story. Soviet Russia was doomed. That was beyond dispute. You could, however, make up a pool on the date of its collapse, and if you drew a date beyond three months, you might as well throw your ticket away.

On the day the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union, The Daily People's World carried a simple headline:

"HITLER DOOMED"

Who has been proven right by history? This is not a carping question, posed in an I-told-you-so spirit.

It is a deadly serious, a pertinent question, for a proper estimate of the Soviet Union is indispensible for any intelligent understanding of world affairs, or any constructive approach to foreign policy.

The American commercial press, without exception, did not make a "small" mistake in June, 1941. It was guilty of a grotesque, monstrous historic blunder. Were it possessed of even a shred of integrity, it would have engaged in some soul-searching to discover the blind spots of prejudice, the deceptions of wishfullfillment that caused it to miss the mark by so wide a margin. Instead, after a momentary shock, it reverted to the same old groove, and today parades the same blind prejudice as the expertness of wisdom.

It is true that some of the press lords are possessed of a paranoiac fear of Bolshevism. But it is hardly worth the expenditure of millions of lives, American as well as Russian, to allay such fears. It is true that some press lords have more immediate aims in mind than the destruction of the Soviet Union, and in the pursuit of those aims find it useful to shout about the "menace of communism," just as Hitler did. But these men are playing on a short margin in the stock market of war.

The virtually total irresponsibility of the American press in relation to the most critical issue of war or peace is on par with the most notorious examples of decadence among the ruling classes of bygone centuries, arrogant in their conceit and power, ready to drag all mankind along with them to their own doom.

And the tendency of this irresponsibility is

to grow, rather than to diminish. In an afterus-the-deluge spirit, the press lords care not how many lives it will take to redeem some inflammatory editorial, or how many to sustain the lie in the fabricated story of an instructed correspondent in Eastern Europe.

Even the suggestion that peace might be perferable to war, that friendship with the peoples of Eastern Europe is preferable to hostility is greeted with scorn and denounced as treason.

In such an atmosphere, the maintenance and

expansion of one voice of sanity, one paper that values the life of one American youth above a dozen Standard Oil wells in Saudi Arabia, is not a luxury, but a life-and-death necessity.

A growing number of people will find in The Daily People's World just such a voice. If the paper has been able to survive all these years, it is in large measure because thousands have identified it with the struggle for peace, have seen in it the surest guide through the maze and deliberately created confusion of world affairs. . . .



PROFILE OF A NEWSPAPER

A NEWSPAPER is what appears in its columns. It records its own history. Aside from that, there are some vital statistics. And people. The people are important. It is their thought and energy that is imprinted each day on virgin newsprint in even symmetrical columns.

Step into The Daily People's World office any morning at 9:15 and you will see the people gathered about an arc-shaped desk. There is an informal air about the gathering so that it might take you a few minutes to realize that a meeting is in progress. One of the staff members has a copy of that morning's Daily People's World spread before him, and perhaps another paper or two. He is leading the morning critique.

Each morning the entire editorial staff gathers, critically appraises its collective product, compares it, when need arises, to other dailies. The critique ranges from a disagreement with the selection of a story for the main play to a detection of typographical errors. The content of headlines and the handling of stories are critically examined. Points on make-up are made. It is not a leisurely meeting, for the day's work waits and some people are standing, while others sit on the edge of desks waiting to get at it.

After a 15-minute period of criticism, the discussion turns to the day's work; first, the news breaks that may be anticipated, their coverage and any special handling or elaboration that might be required, then the editorials, their subject and content.

There are no sacred cows at such meetings. There is a freedom of give and take, the underlying motif being the improvement of the paper, and the maximum use of the people and talents available.

This morning meeting is symptomatic of the difference between the inner organization of The Daily People's World staff and the hierarchal structure which other newspapers borrow from industrial life, with big bosses, little bosses, and straw bosses.

As you look at the group gathered about the arc-shaped desk, each marked by the diversities that distinguish one human being from another, you might ask: what brings these people together? The answer is: conviction. That is the primary distinction between this staff and the staff of a commercial daily. Those who work for The Daily People's World share the paper's faith. Here there is no barter of integrity for money. There might be error, but not dishonesty; mistakes, perhaps, but not bad faith.

The people gathered about the desk are young, most of them in their early thirties. They came to the paper with varied experience and backgrounds. Of the 20 editorial staff members in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland, 10 had extensive newspaper training before they came to The Daily People's World. The other 10 received their daily newspaper training on the paper, having as background either publicity work in the labor movement, school journalism, or merely aptitude or inclination. Of the 10 trained personnel, there are four whose total previous experience was with the commercial press, three who served their apprenticeship on other labor papers, and three whose experiences combines a mixture of both.

Seven of the staff members are veterans of the Army or Navy, four served with the Merchant Marine during World War II.

If your mind's image of a newspaper is derived from "Front Page" or the score of travesties on that play that have appeared on the screen, The Daily People's World office will seem tame. There are no eccentric drunks or colorful cynics on the premises. No one regards life as a circus, with the function of the newspaper being to act as barker for the freaks in the sideshows. The prevailing attitude is one of social responsibility. There is a preoccupation with the consequences of what appears in the paper, its effect upon the labor and progressive movement. And this preoccupation is not confined solely to the editors, but to all who help fashion and create the paper.

How the staff functions in practice can be illustrated in a typical instance, the railroad strike in May, 1946, the strike broken by President Truman's threat to use the armed forces against the workers. Here was a big event, with many facets and complexities. The problem that immediately posed itself before the staff was how the paper could help the railroad workers win. The solution of the problem depended upon the highest type of journalism, the clear-

est presentation of the facts in the case and the issues involved.

The activity of the staff developed along four major lines:

- Reporters were sent out to interview the strikers. After all, conservative workmen like engineers and trainmen do not strike unless they have serious long-standing grievances. In all such instances, the rank and file of the workers are best able to express their own grievances, explain to people at large why they strike.
- From the paper's bureau in Washington there had come a comprehensive story on the financial status of the railroads, the enormous profits they had taken in during the war, and the rate increases they were demanding.
- Over the United Press ticker flowed the news of the most recent developments in the strike on a national scale, the extent of the shutdown, the action threatened by the President and the hysterical anti-labor outbursts in the Congress. This material had to be collated, edited, with subtle expressions of anti-labor bias deleted.
- An editorial was carefully thought out, its central aim being to evoke the widest support for the strikers in the labor movement and among the people generally.

The result was a synchronized picture of the strike, presenting the antagonists, the workers on the bricks versus the fattened railroad corporations, the issues, and the significance of the strike to all workers, to the masses of people generally. The avowed partisanship of the paper, its sympathy with the workers, did not serve to distort or obscure the story. On the contrary, its sympathies made it incumbent upon the paper to present the clearest and most accurate picture of what was happening, and what was at stake.

That was not sheer coincidence. A paper

whose interests are identified with the masses of people must serve the truth, for the masses of people can intelligently shape history only through a knowledge of the historic truths of their day.

The vital statistics also shed light on what makes the paper what it is. The year 1946, the last year for which total figures are available at this writing, afforded the following picture of the paper's income:

Subscriptions	\$112,521.61
Bundle orders	17,216.73
Advertising	40,312.59
Miscellaneous	2,510.88
Fund drive	114,971.44

These figures break down as follows: Only 14 percent of the income was derived from advertisers. The largest single source of income was circulation (subscriptions plus bundle orders) which provided 45 percent of the total. The other large item consisted of donations from individual readers and supporting organizations, accounting for 40 percent of the total.

These figures are contrary to all other daily newspaper financial accounts. The ordinary commercial newspaper derives its major income from advertising. In those instances where the advertising revenue is not sufficient to make the paper break even, the difference is made up by a subsidy from a millionaire publisher.

The Daily People's World has one thing in common with those other papers. It, too, is unable to sustain itself through income derived

from circulation alone. There the similarity ends. The Daily People's World is subsidized by the small contributions from thousands of ordinary people, and by donations from labor unions, Communist party clubs and other progressive organizations.

An increase in the paper's circulation income would permit a welcome decrease in the sums that must be raised in its annual sustaining fund drive. But the basic principle of financial support would remain the same. The support would still be derived from readers and what friends they could influence. Conversely, the paper's responsibility is to its readers, working people, primarily, and farmers, some small businessmen, professionals and intellectuals.

Some years ago Harold L. Ickes, then Secretary of the Interior, in his book, "America's House of Lords," discussed the evils of monopoly ownership of the press and possible correctives for those evils.

"One possibility," he wrote, "is to have a press that would be supported by readers and subscribers, instead of by advertisers. Such a press would consist of nickel or dime newspapers and would, of course, express the point of view, the wishes and the interests of the readers instead of those of Big Business.

"I am not sure, however, that the American people are psychologically prepared as yet for such an alternative."

Ten years of The Daily People's World is a refutation of Mr. Ickes' skepticism. It is a great milestone in the striving of the people for a free press on their road to real freedom.

You've probably experienced it. A warm affection for an inanimate object, a machine. Psychiatrists have some fancy word for it. That's how it was when The Daily People's World began to roll off a new (second hand) rotary press on July 1, 1944.

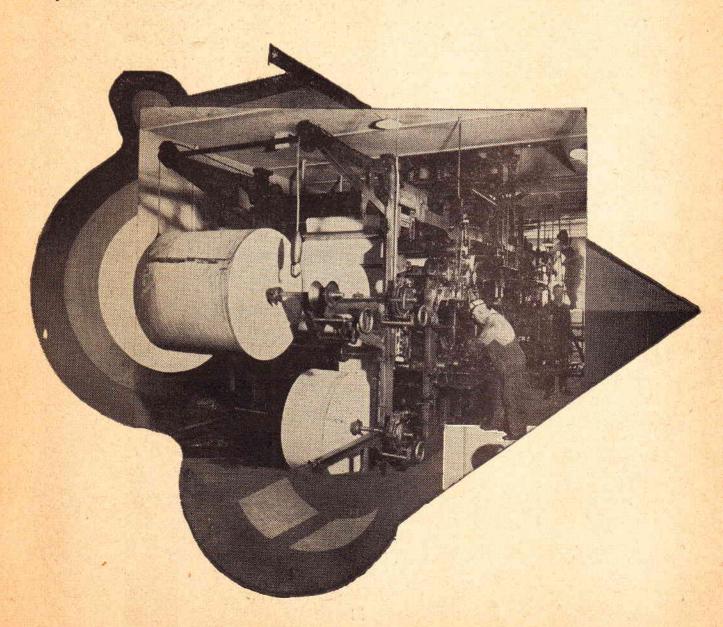
The battered old flatbed press had painfully emitted 3000 papers an hour, limited each paper to a maximum of eight pages. The new rotary press was geared to print 20,000 an hour, 333 every minute! The paper now could be 16 standard pages with color. The new press allowed for replates, permitting separate

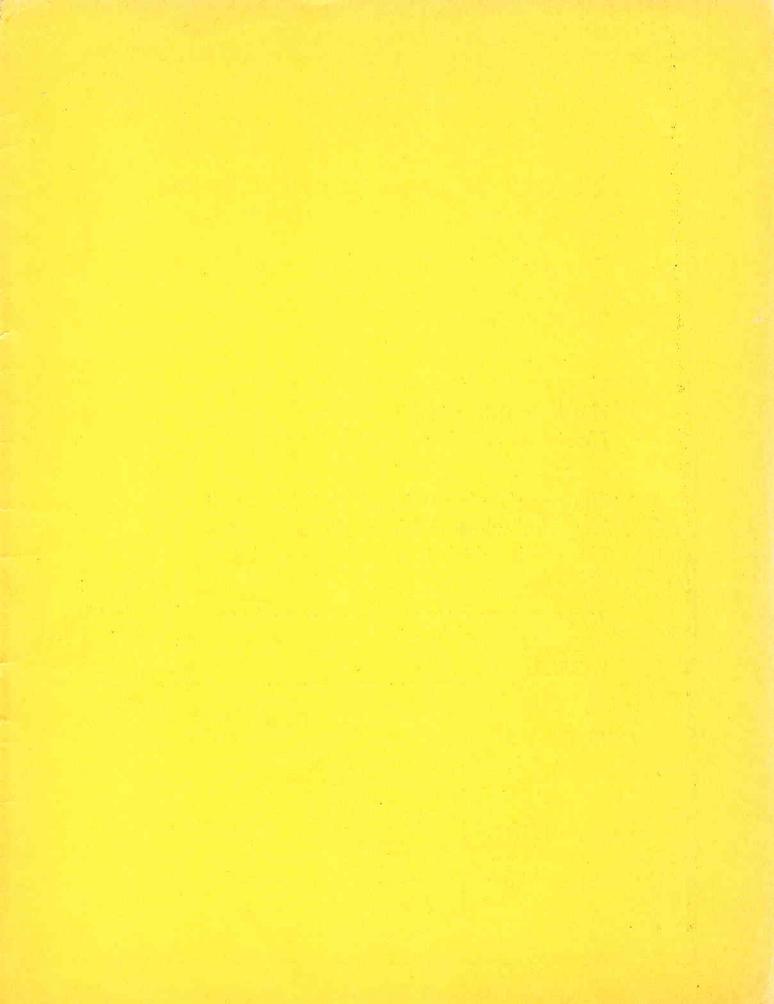
editions for Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Death and disintegration hovered over the old press. The new one had the breath of youth.

With the new press came a new plant, five times as spacious as the old. The mechanical and material requisites for growth and expansion were there. The cost was \$50,000. It was worth it.

Now, at least, technical limitations and physical restrictions no longer could be a curb on the paper's growth.





You've finished '10 YEARS' THE STORY OF A PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER

YOU'VE READ-

How workers built a daily paper to fight back!
The roster of the courageous first few!
The obstacles that had to be overcome!

YOU'VE SEEN-

The People's World record in the struggle!
The hate it has inspired in reactionaries!
The impetus it has given labor's battle!

YOU KNOW -

The people's forces in which it is rooted! The who, what and how of its ticking! The goals which it steadfastly seeks!

ACT NOW!!

JOIN THE THOUSANDS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO FIGHT FOR A PROGRESSIVE WORLD.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY

-only daily labor paper on the West Coast!

g	b		×		S	ķ.		Ş.	×	S.	9	5	ij,													0							i.			۰	
å	ğ		1	4	0	3	1		Ŋ	Į,	1	8	J			2	4	¥	7	7	ĸ,			ĸ.	*	Ŧ	×		r	¥	ĕ	g,	7	n	η	r	6
ğ	Ø	8	2	ø	W	88	83	ø	8	88	ø	S	2	ä	ú	4	and and	٨,			é.	œÓ.	8	۵.	8	w	8	200	b		w	é	M	M	W	ð,	è

590 Folsom St., San Francisco 5 206 South Spring St., Los Angeles 12 1723 Webster St., Oakland 12

DAILY SUBSCRIPTION RATES

1 year \$12.00 | 6 months \$6.50 Amount 1.50 enclosed \$

WEEKEND EDITION RATES

1 year \$2.50 | 6 months \$1.50

Name (Please print)

City

