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PROGRAM'S VICTORY LOOKS CERTAIN

Strike Looms on Eagle As Dismissals Continue

UP Ballots To Go Out Sept. 10-15

IEB Wire Service Commit- tee Calls for Unity

Secret ballots will be sent to United Press editorial employees over the whole of continental United States between Sept. 10 and 15. They will be sent by special delivery.

A conference between the management and the Guild at the Labor Board offices of the Second Region on Aug. 31 revealed that at least ten days would be required for the checking of addresses in order to make certain that every United Press man entitled to vote received his ballot.

The conferees agreed that three weeks would be allowed to elapse between the time of the mailing of the ballots and the deadline for their return posting. Ballots for the United Press employees west of the Mississippi River will be sent airmail.

The long-delayed election became a thing of fact last week when the National Labor Relations Board handed down a decision permitting ballots from bureau managers of one-man bureaus and excluding bureau managers of larger bureaus.

The Labor Board order also included the City News Bureau of Los Angeles, Inc., as a part of the proper

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ANG Names Seller As CIO Organizer

H. Richard Seller, president of the Seattle Guild and leader of the historic Post-Intelligencer strike, has been appointed a CIO organizer assigned to the ANG. He is now devoting full time to the Seattle Star strike.

Morgan Hull, Guild organizer for a year and a half, has been transferred to the CIO staff working with the Guild, under a revised arrangement by the IEB under which the Canadian organization campaign is being conducted by the Montreal and Toronto locals with ANG organizer funds.

Naming of Seller and Hull completed the list of ten nominees of the IEB whom Chairman John L. Lewis undertook to name and assign to the Guild's drive, following ANG's affiliation with the CIO.

Because organization drives in the two principal Canadian cities center about the campaigns for the reinstatement of two leaders fired for Guild activity, ANG Vice-President Harry R. Farmer in Toronto, and President R. A. C. Ballantyne in Montreal, the IEB decided that, instead of having a CIO organizer for Canada at present, it would appro-

(Continued on page 2)

Make Last Attempt To Settle Brooklyn Dispute Without Walkout

What may be the largest strike in Guild history drew a step nearer Thursday night when the Representative Assembly of the New York Guild authorized its executive committee to make "a final attempt" to conclude a satisfactory contract with the management of the Brooklyn Eagle. A special meeting of the assembly was set for Sept. 8 to act upon the committee's report.

The assembly was asked by I. Kaufman, chairman of the Eagle unit, to authorize the strike, which was voted by the unit a month before. A substitute motion offered by the New York executive committee, ordering the executive committee to seek one further conference with the Eagle management, was accepted by Kaufman and adopted unanimously. It declared the New York Guild anxious to exhaust all means of amicably ending the deadlock between the unit and the Eagle.

Firings Follow Conference

Negotiations for the contract have continued for five months. After the Guild unit made several concessions in bargaining for editorial employees, and agreement had been reached on several phases of the contract, the management brought to the discussion the question of commercial department members. The negotiators thereupon presented demands for the latter, chiefly the five-day, 40-hour week and severance pay. The shorter work-week for such employees was denied. The management then suggested a contract with editorial department members, containing a no-strike clause, to be used in the event of a stalemate in later negotiations for business office employees. This would prevent united action by the unit, and was flatly rejected by Guild negotiators.

Following the last conference be-

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REFERENDUM VOTES

Referendum returns including two-thirds of the expected vote gives the results below. "Yes" votes would rescind Convention's actions. The tabulation includes returns received too late to be included in the table on page 3.

	YES	NO
CIO Affiliation	1234	2711
Expansion of Jurisdiction . .	1510	2452
Wire Service Vice-President . .	1088	2752
Anti-Fascism in Spain	1939	1936
Independent Political Action .	1659	2209
WPA Support	1627	2254
Supreme Court Reform	1700	2155
Dues Suspension	1056	2726
Charter Revocation	1318	2384
Bargaining Program	1441	2327

CIO Cuts Star Circulation As Seattle Tampoons Dore

Whole Towns Drop Subscriptions at Once; Voting Returns Favor CIO 2 to 1

SEATTLE, Wash.—Cheered by early returns of the national referendum showing a big majority for convention decision, Star strikers this week were pressing a highly effective campaign on all fronts.

Although returns here were incomplete the convention has been upheld generally by two to one, the CIO question being carried by 38 to 14 and the jurisdiction proposition by 37 to 15.

All outlying districts from Bellingham to Gray Harbor and the Olympic peninsula were cancelling Star subscriptions, not individually or in blocks, but by towns, as CIO lumber and maritime workers mobilized behind the Guild. The Star's own figures record a drop of 28,000 since the walk-out. The Guild estimates at least 10,000 more can be added.

A ghost parade was held on Sept. 4 by the Washington Commonwealth Federation as Local 1 of "the future victims of Mayor Johnny Dore," Strike activities for the coming week

include nightly sound truck tours, an anti-Dore mass meeting on Thursday, a protest march on Dore's office by Seattle women on Friday, and a ball for the benefit of Guild strikers the following night. The Seattle unit will march with the longshoremen in the Labor Day Parade.

Brockton Resumes Pact Negotiations

BROCKTON, Mass.—Negotiations for a Guild contract with the Brockton Daily Enterprise were resumed last week after an interruption of several months.

Ed Allen, former Boston Guild president, and Fred Myers, International Representative of the ANG, spoke for the Guild.

Wage increases ranging from \$1 to \$6 a week were given to most members of the Enterprise staff during earlier negotiations. The Guild now seeks to establish wage minimums and other improvements in working conditions.

Vote Sustains St. Louis Acts Except on Fascism

With well over half of the expected votes counted in the ANG referendum, it appears certain that the membership has given decisive support to the 1937 ANG convention program. The crucial CIO and jurisdiction questions apparently are carrying by 2½ and nearly two to one, respectively. The results are still unofficial.

The only one of the ten questions on which the result was still in doubt was the Convention condemnation of fascist oppression of labor in Spain. Indorsement of the convention resolution on this point led by 120 votes, the incomplete tabulation being 1,891 to 1,771. The Convention was backed on other issues by margins ranging from 680 to 1,756 votes in the incomplete returns.

[Votes received at press time, including that of the Twin Cities, a leading opponent of the program, had the resolution on fascism trailing by a few votes.]

More than 3,700 ballots had been reported. It was estimated on the basis of complete returns from a number of cities that about 75 per cent of the 6,844 qualified voters cast ballots.

Final Count on Sept. 10

The final date for receipt of ballots at ANG headquarters will be Sept. 10, the official tabulation will take place that day in the presence of watchers for both sides. Arrangements are being made by the IEB. Complete returns had been reported by most of the large Guilds.

(Continued on page 3)

Lewis Makes Known Labor Press Plans

Plans for a national labor newspaper which will "tell the truth" were revealed by John L. Lewis, CIO chairman, in a speech to the convention of the United Automobile Workers of America August 27, in which he urged the delegates to get together for a drive to organize the plants of Henry Ford.

Labor in America is determined to become articulate, although it has nothing but its own strength to rely upon, Lewis declared. "Labor," he pointed out, now has little access to radio stations and does not own large chains of newspapers, its only publications are its own little trade organs.

Labor in America, he said, will not have its families depending for the news upon papers like the New York Herald Tribune and Chicago Tribune, which "continually assail the ears of their readers with . . . distortion and misstatement and exaggeration and denunciation of the logical aims of labor."

He emphasized labor's right to demand a proper participation and a proper distribution of the bounties of American industry and life.

Parts of Lewis' speech not generally printed appear on page 5 of this issue.

Yellow-Dog 'Petition' Flops in Toronto; High Pressure Fails to Get Signatures

TORONTO.—Publisher V. George McCullagh, of the Globe and Mail, is now in a position to gauge the comparative worth of yellow dogs in hand and bush.

Stung by labor protest against the discharge of ANG Vice President Harry R. Farmer, McCullagh saw fit to announce possession of a letter of fealty from the members of his editorial staff. The announcement was apparently a spur-of-the-moment inspiration, because, as far as the Globe and Mail staff knew there was no such letter.

Managing Editor E. George Smith immediately set about rectifying this oversight. He called in a selected group of editorial men and proposed a letter of loyalty to their "straight-shooting boss." To his pain and surprise they objected, although few, if any, were Guildsmen. Smith

summoned a second group, which took the same attitude. He tried a new tack. The next night he posted a letter on the bulletin board and in an informal talk invited signatures.

Signing the document, he said, would bring the signatories no benefit; refusing to sign would not jeopardize a man's job. The fealty letter hung on the bulletin board, white and forlorn, for several hours before two signatures were affixed. Smith's and another man, a former Guildsman. In two more days, the letter acquired eight other signers, many of them minor executives.

At this point Smith tried to stimulate the loyalty of one reporter by telling him he was through with his job unless he signed. The

Daily Clarion, ran a streamer: "Globe Forces 'Yellow Dog' on Its Staff" and proceeded to tell the whole story. The item did not omit to point out that that McCullagh is said to have instituted of his own free will, a minimum of \$25 for experienced reporters and \$35 for deskmen. And one of his reporters with ten year's service, is receiving 20 cents above the minimum—two cents for each year on the paper.

The Clarion story is only one of many to be published by Dominion labor papers concerning publisher attacks on the Guild. A factual outline of the circumstances surrounding the dismissal for union activity of Earner and R. A. C. Ballantyne, Montreal Guild president, is contained in the September issue of the Canadian Forum, a magazine. T. J. Harris, Guildsman, is the author.

PICKS AIDS IN 11 CITIES

IEB Calls on Local Leaders to Act as ANG Spokesmen

Inaugurating a policy of supplementing its force of international officers and full-time organizers by commissioning an unusual number of service and achievement in carrying out Guild aims in their own areas, the IEB has named eleven active Guild workers in a wide range of cities as representatives.

The policy continues and systematizes the practice of volunteer organization work by local leaders, a practice which has played a tremendous part in building up the Guild, particularly when the full-time organizing staff was almost negligible in size.

In the absence of an international officer or organizer, the volunteer representatives will be available to represent ANG policy and aims.

The appointees, whose acceptances have not yet been obtained, follow: Alexander Hieken, president, El Paso (Texas) Guild; John T. Moutoux, president, Knoxville; Zee Pelen, president, Tri-City (Albany, Schenectady and Troy, N. Y.); Lawrence Buttenweiser, treasurer, Toledo; Jack Weeks, president, Detroit; Roland Goodman, president, Michigan District; Harland Manchester, former president, Boston; Max Ways, vice-president, Philadelphia and Camden; Ben H. Pearce, treasurer, Washington; Milton Kaufman, executive secretary, New York; Carl Heasler, former vice-president, Chicago.

Post Parleys

Competence Clause Slows Pact

Guild negotiations with the New York Post were stalemated last week over a clause, demanded by the management, which makes it the sole judge of "competence and number of his employees."

A conference Monday at which Guild negotiators sought to hurdle this last obstacle to signing of a new contract was fruitless.

The clause follows:

"It is understood and agreed that the management shall be the sole judge of competence and number of his employees."

"But this does not preclude the right of any employee to appeal his dismissal where he has reason to believe that the cause is on grounds other than general competence or reduction of force."

The Post unit, at a meeting Wednesday, voted overwhelmingly to reject the clause and retain the clauses in the present contract. Negotiators reported to the unit that H. T. Baylor, editor, had promised to convey the Guild's position to J. David Stern, publisher. No word has been received of Stern's attitude.

All other points, with the exception of a minimum scale for tabulators, have been agreed upon. The dispute there arises from the fact that the Post management offered the World-Telegram scale for all but tabulators, offering them a top of \$35. The top for World-Telegram tabulators is \$40, although this figure applies only to those working on "big board" tables.

Montreal Guild News

Makes Bilingual Debut. The Montreal Guild News, first of its kind in Canada, has made its bilingual debut to Montreal Guildsmen. It will be issued weekly.

All news notes are carried in both English and French, one section of the bulletin being reserved for each language.

Candy Greeted Petition Signers; Then Kicks Bring Raises

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—This is the story of how "Oh Fudge!" became the temporary motto of most of the editorial staff of the South Bend Tribune; of how the staff left the Guild and of how publisher Fred A. Miller, ably assisted by sports editor Jack Leden, made Master Stuhman look like an amateur at heckling unions in a sweet way.

Just when the Tribune unit had prepared a contract proposal, about two weeks ago, sports editor Leden, who had been in the Guild, somehow wandered into Miller's office. Guild sentiment was a little low about that time. The AP of L. pressure for a split was especially strong, and in the midst of it, the local president, Howard A. Noble, had suddenly resigned his membership in the Guild, despite the assurances of powerful CIO support.

What Leden said to Miller and what Miller said to Leden in their visit shall not be the subject of speculation here. But very soon thereafter, Leden instigated the calling of a staff meeting and took a forcible part in it. He announced Miller's feelings had been hurt by Guild organization and that if the staff only would come to him as an unorganized group, great things would be done in the matter of raises. A petition was circulated, with Leden's signature as the first. Almost all of those present, 25 of them, signed. The document, bearing the endorsement of their withdrawal from the Guild, was presented to the boss.

C.I.O. BIG IN LOCAL AIDS BAY STATE POWER PLAN

Groundwork Is Laid At Conferences For Federation

BOSTON.—Representatives of seventeen unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, including the Guild, laid the groundwork in two conferences last week for organization of a Massachusetts CIO Federation of Labor and an immediate state convention.

CIO affiliates were suspended from the Massachusetts Federation of Labor early in August, three days before the date of the Federation's annual convention.

With Regional CIO Director Michael Widman presiding, representatives of the participating unions named a committee of 11 to canvass all CIO organizations for a consensus and to recommend to the union a specific plan of state-wide organization. David Boywick of Boston was named to represent the Guild on the committee.

Industrial Councils to take the place of the A. F. of L. central labor unions already have been organized in several large Massachusetts cities, including Lowell, Springfield and Worcester. Others will be formed as rapidly as organization details can be perfected.

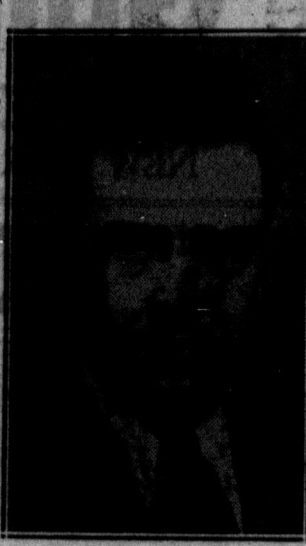
Membership of CIO unions in Massachusetts is almost double that of A. F. of L. affiliates.

Worcester Post

Negotiations Near. Worcester, Mass.—Preparations for initiation of negotiations for a Guild contract with the Worcester Evening Post were launched last week. The local executive committee asked a negotiating committee chosen from members of the Boston Guild to request an appointment soon after Labor Day with the Post's publisher.

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New Pilot



DONALD M. SULLIVAN

Takes Helm

Donal Sullivan Heads Boston Guild

BOSTON.—Donal M. Sullivan has been unanimously elected president of the Boston Guild, to succeed Harland Manchester, who recently resigned from the staff of the Boston Herald and simultaneously from the presidency of the chapter.

Son of the late John A. Sullivan, of Boston, congressman, corporation counsel of city of Boston, and chairman of the Boston Finance Commission, Don Sullivan for two years has been a member of the Globe unit, pending election of a new officer to that post.

Former Harvard correspondent for the Boston Globe, Sullivan was graduated from Harvard College, A.B. cum laude, 1933, and this year acquired an LL.B. degree at Boston University Law School. He is a member of the Democratic City Committee of Boston, of the Massachusetts Society for Freedom in Teaching, and is permanent secretary of the Harvard College Class of 1933.

ANG Names Seller As CIO Organizer

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private the cost of one organizer to assist the Toronto and Montreal Guilds in their drives, matching funds raised locally up to \$50 a week in each city. In each case the dismissed Guild leader is the spearhead of the organization drive.

Nomination of Seller was made on recommendation of ANG Vice-President Watson on a visit to the Seattle strike scene. His appointment released Charles L. Irvine, CIO-Guild organizer on the West Coast, from active duty. Irvine is back in California.

mercy and other evil bodies, dominated by utility and industrial corporate interests, took no part in any of the hearings. Labor, however, won the support of the city administration under two different Mayors and of county authorities.

Martin presented a brief for the assembly and spoke for more than an hour at the Washington hearing. Other speakers included Senator O'Connor of Montana, Representative Lemke of North Dakota, John R. Page, Reclamation Commissioner, former Gov. Weaver of Nebraska, Dean Mickey of the Engineering School, University of Nebraska, and others.

I.N.S. UNITS IN PARLEY

Wire Service Being Linked With Drive On Hearst Chain

Additional power behind the bargaining drive on the Hearst chain has developed with the formation of plans to include the International News Service.

Organizing for the service will be coordinated with the general Hearst program bargaining as quickly as local Guilds with INS-Universal units can poll their members on proposals prepared by the New York INS-Universal unit in collaboration with Chicago.

A drive is being made to bring all Hearst wire service men into the Guild before the bargaining is undertaken.

The New York proposals call for a top minimum of \$100 weekly in New York, Chicago and Washington and a top minimum of \$90 elsewhere.

Mark Time

Washington Guild Wants Parley

WASHINGTON.—The Washington Guild still is engaged in collective bargaining with the Star, the Herald and the Times.

Mrs. Eleanor Patterson has leased the Herald and Times from William Randolph Hearst. She has agreed to meet the WNG negotiating committee upon her return from a vacation trip.

Negotiations with the Star have been delayed pending return of Newbold Noyes from vacation next month.

The WNG has signed contracts with Underwood & Underwood, Inc. of Washington, and with the Newspaper Information Service, Inc. a Scripps-Howard agency.

The former, a Guild shop contract, is the first signed by the local Guild with an independent photographic agency, while the latter is the first with a newspaper question and answer service.

Both contracts provide for a 5-day, 40-hour week, for time and a half for overtime, and for severance in demerit.

The NIS contract resulted in raises for the entire office staff of 19 members, consisting of research, editorial, and clerical workers and machine operators. Minimum salary scales range up to \$42.50 a week for research workers.

The Underwood & Underwood contract, applicable to two news photographers—Jack Wilson and Bill Roberts—provides for a minimum salary scale up to \$50 a week after four years' service.

Negotiations in both instances were carried on by Robert M. Buck, WNG president; Carlton Skinner, secretary, and Kenneth Crawford, New York Post.

Houston Signing

Meets Slight Hitch. HOUSTON, Tex.—A slight hitch developed this week in negotiations for a contract with the Scripps-Howard Press while the committee and Editor A. C. Bartlett ironed out minor changes in the agreement approved by both sides two weeks ago, which were suggested both by Roy Howard and the International Executive Board.

No points of importance remain to be settled, the last-minute changes being mostly of wording rather than meaning. Signing of the contract, the first in Houston and the seventeenth with Scripps-Howard, was expected momentarily.

THE VOTES BY GUILDS IN ANG REFERENDUM

GUILDS	CIO	Expansion	Wire Service	Anti-Fascism	Political Action	WPA	Supreme Court	Dues Suspension	Charter Revocation	Bargaining Code
Albany, Schenectady, Troy...	14	24	17	21	8	27	26	11	20	18
Akron, O.	4	37	26	15	6	33	16	25	17	23
Baltimore, Md.	8	28	6	30	3	33	12	24	11	24
Bay City, Mich.	0	7	0	7	0	7	0	7	3	4
Birmingham, Ala.	5	6	10	1	6	4	7	4	8	3
Boston, Mass.	15	38	14	40	14	38	24	28	23	30
Bridgeport, Conn.	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2
Chattanooga, Tenn.	0	34	1	34	0	35	11	25	7	29
Chicago, Ill.	48	125	56	117	30	137	87	86	62	108
Cincinnati, O.	9	43	17	34	10	38	27	25	22	28
Columbus, O.	28	18	35	11	26	18	33	12	33	13
Detroit, Mich.	34	69	48	55	40	61	64	39	52	51
Great Falls, Mont.	0	16	0	16	0	16	3	13	5	11
Harrisburg, Pa.	3	20	4	19	1	22	10	13	5	18
Indianapolis, Ind.	10	14	8	16	7	16	8	14	10	15
Knoxville, Tenn.	4	33	3	34	2	34	10	27	7	29
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	8	12	4	16	4	16	15	4	10	10
Los Angeles, Cal.	36	80	41	72	30	84	53	62	45	68
Lowell, Mass.	15	22	12	26	6	32	23	15	8	28
Memphis, Tenn.	48	23	49	22	49	20	57	15	65	8
Miami, Fla.	6	11	9	8	2	15	14	3	10	7
Milwaukee, Wis.	8	17	10	15	3	20	8	17	7	18
Newark, N. J.	20	65	19	66	13	71	28	56	24	60
New York, N. Y.	316	1085	381	1008	259	1134	569	786	447	920
Northern California	80	134	98	150	63	145	90	122	92	118
Passaic Valley, N. J.	0	9	0	9	0	9	1	8	2	7
Philadelphia-Camden	107	274	111	269	91	260	186	183	136	227
Reading, Pa.	4	16	12	8	3	14	8	12	11	9
Rochester, N. Y.	23	35	30	28	13	42	31	27	21	37
Roseland, Mass.	2	17	3	16	3	16	3	15	3	15
Salem, Mass.	9	43	10	40	6	45	13	38	13	39
St. Louis, Mo.	43	50	58	35	37	55	34	39	58	35
Springfield, Mass.	1	11	1	11	2	9	4	8	5	6
Springfield, O.	16	1	16	1	12	14	16	1	15	2
Stockton, Cal.	9	5	6	8	5	8	10	4	7	7
Toledo, O.	68	28	75	19	53	30	70	22	67	24
Toronto, Ont.	1	49	0	50	0	50	0	50	0	50
Washington, D. C.	65	127	143	51	129	56	144	48	147	45
Westchester Co., N. Y.	7	11	4	14	4	12	9	8	6	11
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	0	19	0	19	1	18	6	13	1	18
Totals	1074	2658	1337	2413	941	2697	1771	1891	1489	2169

* Nearly complete. † Early figure.

Note: "Yes" votes would rescind the Convention's Acts.

PROGRAM LEADS IN POLL

Ahead on All Issues Except Fascism

(Continued from page 1)

including New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Northern California, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Toledo. Major centers still to be heard from were Cleveland, Pittsburgh, the Twin Cities and Seattle. A preliminary report from Seattle indicated about a 2-to-1 vote for the program.

While only seven of the sixteen Guilds that supported the referendum move had reported their votes, most of those that had not reported were numerically small. Returns had been received from Washington, Columbus, Memphis and Toledo, of this group.

Of some 38 Guilds reporting, 30 backed the Convention on all or most of the points in the referendum, according to incomplete returns, while only eight had a majority who disapproved. Fifteen Guilds supported the Convention on every measure; only three dissented on all points.

Many Guilds for Program. Among the large Guilds that voted heavily in favor of the entire Convention program were Boston, (incomplete), Los Angeles, Newark, New York, Northern California and Toronto. Chicago and Philadelphia voted strongly with the Convention except on Spain, the margin against the Spanish resolution in those cities being one and three votes, respectively, with Philadelphia returning not quite complete. Columbus, Memphis and Toledo were the principal dissenters, with Washington supporting the Convention only on CIO affiliation.

New York went for CIO and extension of jurisdiction by the majority of Guildsmen in the bargaining program and handling of organization problems carried out by convention delegates. The Guild's success and hostile acts of the publishers were believed to have been decisive factors in the result.

FLASHES

Latest Poll Returns Reach Headquarters

(Continued from page 1)

Referendum results from the Twin Cities: CIO—Yes 135, No 18; Expansion—Yes 137, No 15; Wire Service Vice President—Yes 126, No 26; Anti-Fascism—Yes 127, No 26; Political Action—Yes 124, No 18; WPA—Yes 123, No 18; Supreme Court—Yes 121, No 26; Charter Revocation—Yes 123, No 16; Bargaining Code—Yes 134, No 14.

Bellingham, Wash. Complete referendum results from Bellingham, Wash. follow: CIO—Yes 1, No 6; Expansion—Yes 2, No 7; Wire Service Vice President—Yes 2, No 7; Anti-Fascism—Yes 5, No 4; Political Action—Yes 4, No 5; WPA—Yes 5, No 4; Supreme Court—Yes 4, No 6; Dues Suspension—Yes 4, No 6; Charter Revocation—Yes 5, No 4; Bargaining Code—Yes 5, No 4.

San Antonio, Texas. Incomplete returns from San Antonio, Tex., on the referendum: CIO—Yes 1, No 8; Expansion—Yes 8, No 1; Wire Service Vice President—Yes 3, No 6; Anti-Fascism—Yes 8, No 1; Political Action—Yes 5, No 4; WPA—Yes 5, No 4; Supreme Court—Yes 3, No 6; Dues Suspension—Yes 3, No 6; Charter Revocation—Yes 3, No 6; Bargaining Code—Yes 2, No 7.

BUFFALO

Incomplete returns from Buffalo on the referendum follow: CIO—Yes 21, No 21; Expansion—Yes 26, No 16; Wire Service Vice President—Yes 14, No 22; Anti-Fascism—Yes 28, No 14; Political Action—Yes 37, No 12; WPA—Yes 24, No 20; Supreme Court—Yes 24, No 17; Dues Suspension—Yes 13, No 26; Charter Revocation—Yes 18, No 19; Bargaining Code—Yes 17, No 21.

UNIT IN PEACE DRIVE

Eagle Strike Hinges on Publisher

(Continued from page 1)

editorial staff and a majority of the commercial department employees. If the strike is voted it will involve approximately 300 men and women.

Ballots Going Out In Poll of 'UP Men

(Continued from page 1)

An intensive campaign to roll up an overwhelming Guild vote in the election was begun this week by both the International Executive Board Wire Service Committee and the United Press National Committee.

The IEB Wire Service Committee issued a statement to impress upon the United Press employees the necessity for solidarity among themselves. The statement said in part: "Collective bargaining experience has shown that the substance obtained in contracts is little or much in exact proportion to the unity and militancy displayed by the membership."

"In other words, the most clever bargaining committee possible is helpless if there is spilt in the ranks. Any bargaining committee can win for you real economic gains if you are solidly behind it."

"The management will seek to save as much money as it can. The Guild will seek to divert a greater share of the profits to the Unemployed. That is the Guild's purpose. Therefore, it behooves you to lend to this action more than a mere favorable vote."

"Moreover, it costs money to operate the Guild. It is a mutual movement. If you are accepting the economic gains the Guild will make for you without paying dues to the Guild, you are letting your fellow workers pay a bill to which you should contribute your share."

Closed Shop Major Weapon in Labor Defense

Must Be Used to Fight "Ruthless Robbery" of 'American Plan,' Says Labor Veteran; Calls Bargaining Farcial Without It

By MARK STARR,
Educational Director, International Ladies
Garment Workers Union

BACK IN 1870, Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, made his notorious and often quoted distaste against free schools and printing, "for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged them . . ." If that old meadow had been allowed to host things there would have been no printing at all, let alone newspaper publishers.

Then in 1776 the political royalists, led by George III, just hatched the organizing efforts of the thirteen colonies and their coercion of the British loyalists. And now the newspaper publishers denounce in unmeasured terms this newfangled newspapermen's Guild and "the tyranny" of the closed shop. They have become the self-appointed defenders of a "free press," although they continue their usual sale of advertising space for their chief objective, profit. Even Governor Berkeley would not wish to make newspapermen into such robots as we see now, the ideal of some newspaper proprietors.

When the worker hears the "tyranny of the closed shop" denounced, he begins to wonder what words really mean. It is just like talking about the tyranny of regular meals and the imposition of a decent place to which to sleep and the cruel enforcement of good work conditions.

For many years American big business, with unlimited resources, used strong arm methods to make the "open shop" dominant in American industry. They euphemistically called it the "American Plan" and they ruthlessly robbed the American worker of his right to belong to a union.

Now the right of collective bargaining has become the law of the land. The obvious necessity for the individual worker to join with his fellows to secure some semblance of equality in dealing with million-dollar corporations has been recognized. It is now illegal for the employer to use his spies, gunmen and thugs to stop the workers from setting up a union. He cannot any more put over the trickery and sham of a company union. The worker now has the right to secure representation through an organization of his own choosing for the elemental right of collective bargaining. From the terroristic operation of the "open shop," the employers have now turned to denouncing the "closed shop."

An Historic Struggle

The closed shop in the United States dates back to 1794, when the early shoemakers' association tried to secure it. They won by following the example of the old-time guilds and the continued practice of the professional associations of the doctors and lawyers, who do not permit non-members to practice. In the garment trades the Boston workers tried to secure the closed shop in 1807 as an essential step to build up their union. It was an issue in the famous uprising of the vest makers in 1809, when it was enforced upon a majority of the clothing shops in New York City. Again in 1910 the cloak makers struck for ten weeks, but at that time were only able to get the "preferential shop."

During the war the unions generally were able to secure the closed shop. When the war ended the employers attacked the principle in all industries. As the labor unions recovered and increased their strength they tried anew to secure this protection.

Why the Closed Shop

Why does a successful union try to secure first the preferential union shop and then the closed shop, in which only union workers may be employed? In making any collective agreement all the workers are covered. The cost of making that agreement should be a collective responsibility. If a worker enjoys the benefits of a trade union agreement, he is a cheap skate if he will not pay his fractional cost of securing those benefits. Scarier than hen's teeth is the non-unionist who refuses to take the pay increase, the shorter work day, etc., secured by the agreement. A shop should be closed against the chiseling and meanness of the exceptional individual who is anxious to take all the benefits but not to pay the modest union dues.

Employer Objections

Why do the employers oppose the closed shop and its alleged tyranny? Subcon-

What "Closed" and "Guild" Shops Mean

CLOSED SHOP: All employees must belong to the union; new employees must be obtained through the union.

GUILD SHOP: All employees must join the Guild; new employees may be chosen by the publisher at will (a concession to the freedom of the press.)

cloudly at least they cling to their hope of weakening and possibly excluding the union. The publisher, like every other employer, wants to be able to hire and fire without interference, just as George III wanted to tax and discharge without good cause be allowed. Otherwise all the union activists, one by one, will be given the gate. As August Claassen notes in "What Organized Labor Wants":

The boss says that the worker is no good, too slow, too old, too fresh or too quarrelsome. Very often, the union knows that these are phony reasons. The fact may be that this worker is a good mechanic but he is too alert, too aggressive, too militant in guarding his own interests and those of other workers. If you let the boss fire him then the boss undermines the power of the union. And when he gets away with that he destroys all the terms of the agreement."

A shop, like the Union in the days of Lincoln, cannot remain half slave and half free.

If the union does not confine employment to union members, the employer can very easily replace his staff by non-union mem-

bers and the whole problem of organizing the shop has to be solved again. Potential members are intimidated and weak members will resign to curry favor with the boss. They can be played off against each other. As a matter of self-protection, the union must insist that the employer can only hire union members.

Despite the widespread allegations to the contrary, no union insists that the employer must retain bad and inefficient workers. No union will defend the member who gets drunk on the job or who quarrels with the foreman or his fellow workers on the job. In many industries the union gives the employer the chance to try out the workers supplied by it. The employer can send back any worker who does not come up to fair efficiency standards. The intensity and quality of work in the garment trades, where the closed shop operates, demonstrates that the latter does not mean inefficiency.

Job Control

Apart from the cost of winning the agreement, cost of its enforcement can only be met if every person benefitting from it pays his share. What should we think of the guy who sat in chapel and benefited from the sermons of the person and yet never put a nickel into the collection plate—who sent his kids to all the Sunday school picnics and yet never bought a ticket? We should class him with the wretch who would steal the pennies from the blind man's can.

Collective bargaining is farcical and incomplete without the closed shop. The best agreement remains a mere scrap of paper without job control. This can only be secured by 100 per cent trade union membership in each shop. The union will establish minimum rates of pay and maximum hours enjoyed and paid for by all.

Democracy

Sometimes the point is raised that an individual should have the right to abstain from union membership because he does not agree with the policy and tactics of the union to which he belongs. However, civilized life would be impossible if every indi-

Aim of the Closed Shop

"Once a collective agreement is entered into between an employer and the union, it naturally covers all workers in that particular craft, trade or industry, whether they are members of the union or not. But if a worker can get the benefit of its struggles and successes without belonging to the union, why, then, should he join it, pay dues, attend meetings, undergo sacrifices?"

"Furthermore, an employer may very easily drive the union out of his shop altogether by systematically hiring non-union workers and exercising a little pressure to 'discourage' those who have not yet joined from doing so. Every union must strive, therefore, to have all workers in the shop belong to it, if only as a matter of self-protection.

"The closed shop is primarily aimed not to force non-union workers into the union but rather to prevent employers from undermining the position of the union in the shops by systematically eliminating union members."—From "Principles of Unionism," issued by Educational Department of the United Auto Workers.

vidual could decide whether or not he would pay taxes. He may not admire the way in which the streets are cleaned or the garbage collected. In national politics he may object to the huge sums spent on battleships. However, he is not exonerated from taxes on that account. He can criticize and comment on all the destructive denunciations that the mass newspapers of this country could write or print.

Every known form of opposition was enlisted, but that gun-fire of opposition and criticism, far from discouraging the men in the automobile industry, served but to intensify the fire of their determination to become free men and at last we stand here today in this magnificent hall, labor and the world know that the automobile workers are free, and they will remain free.

LEWIS SEES VITAL ROLE FOR UNIONS

Better Economic Conditions for All Is Aim

From an Address
By JOHN L. LEWIS

At the United Automobile Workers' Convention in Milwaukee on August 27

A year and a few months ago the automobile workers had a convention, and they were but a small and hardy band, numbering some 25,000 or 30,000 organized employees in this great industry. Today the convention of the United Automobile Workers of America assembled in Milwaukee represents some 400,000 organized workers, organized in one great union, and marching with the other militant mass of American workmen under the far-flung banner of the CIO; a change, if you please, a change that spells progress, a change that translates itself into greater privilege and higher living standards, not alone for you men who do the work of the industry, but for your families, for your neighbors, for the community in which you live, for the great mass of workers in other industries, and for the people of the United States as a whole. You have done that thing.

The Committee for Industrial Organization joined with the workers of the automobile industry and challenged the power of the corporations in that industry, when we jointly enunciated the right to organize and the right to collective bargaining in accordance with the statutes made and provided and enacted by the Congress of the United States.

We encountered resistance, resistance from the corporations, in every known way, harassment by injunctions, harassment by armed guards, harassment by city-controlled public officers, by corporation-controlled city officers, and by city police.

The efforts resulted in great industrial stoppage in the plants of the General Motors, an industrial conflict which attracted the attention of the entire nation; and there was poured upon the heads of your union, upon the officers and membership of the CIO, all the harsh criticism, all the adverse comment, all of the destructive denunciations that the mass newspapers of this country could write or print.

Every known form of opposition was enlisted, but that gun-fire of opposition and criticism, far from discouraging the men in the automobile industry, served but to intensify the fire of their determination to become free men and at last we stand here today in this magnificent hall, labor and the world know that the automobile workers are free, and they will remain free.

Prime Importance of Union

Freedom is an elusive thing, freedom must be fought for; we must fight to maintain and preserve freedom. And so it is in the automobile industry today. You must fight, first, to establish your union. You have established your union, some 400,000 strong, and you must now fight to preserve your union.

There is no other instrumentality in our modern life that will serve to do for you the things that your union will do, to protect you in your employment from the petty tyrannies of management, to establish a rational relationship between the workers and management, to give to the workers that degree of participation in the increased efficiency of industry that every trend of modern thought requires, to shorten your working hours, to increase your wages, to abolish the speed-up systems and those conditions of employment detrimental to the safety of persons and the well-being of health. There is no other instrumentality that will do that thing for you men except your union.

The Committee for Industrial Organization has no quarrel with the American Federation of Labor as such. It is quite content that the unions in that organization continue to serve their membership in any manner that is satisfactory to that membership. The Committee for Industrial Organization did not start out to undertake to recognize the organized workers in this country. It started out to organize the unorganized, and that is what it is doing with such tremendous success.

The Committee for Industrial Organization is organizing our mass production industries and we are building up here in America a great economic movement destined to carry on and enroll millions more



"A BETTER COUNTRY FOR EVERY AMERICAN"
John L. Lewis and President Martin at the UAW Convention

of American working men who will use their economic strength and who will use their political strength to make this a better country for every American, whatever may be his station.

Some people say to me, what will labor do when it organizes and attains this great strength? What guarantee can you give, Mr. Lewis, that that strength will not be used unwisely?

I can't give any guarantee. No one else, can give any guarantee, but I have been taught to believe in our system and theory of government, and I believe in our theory, in our form of government.

It is based upon the proposition that all men are created free and equal and that there shall be an equality of opportunity for all men, and that the people thereof shall have the right of free assembly and the right to meet and the right to elect and select their own representatives by a majority vote to legislate for them, and to select other officers to execute that legislation.

That is the theory of our government and that is the theory of our labor movement that we have the right to organize, we have the right to exchange our views in our own forums, we have the right to crystallize our opinions in the adoption of resolutions bearing not alone upon the matters of everyday concern to every man in the industry, but bearing on and dealing with every broad question of social, economic or political import that affects Americans and will affect posterity.

Faith in Labor Movement

I have to believe that the people of this country next year and the years following will exercise reasoning intelligence and sagacity and wisdom and tolerance in the selection of their representatives to represent them in the legislative halls.

I must believe in the common good sense of the average man, and critics of the labor movement must likewise believe that if the workers of this country are permitted to organize and that their right to exist as organizations is established and recognized, the common good sense and native intelligence of the labor movement will cause the men and women of labor to react in the same way, and with the same intelligence in dealing with their problems as the great American electorate acts.

Any man who does not believe that does not believe in our form of government. He belongs in that class of which the President spoke the other day in his Vir-

ginia address, when he said they belonged to a type of citizen who does not believe inherently in majority rule.

Labor is on the march. Why shouldn't labor be on the march? Who ruined this country in 1899? Who brought about the panic? Who made the economic depression that threw millions out of work and destroyed the assets and thwarted the hope of untold millions more? Who was responsible for that mismanagement or lack of management?

It wasn't labor, because labor had no part in the government of this country. Labor was not even organized and could not express itself except to a limited degree.

Labor Blameless for Blunders

Labor was not responsible. And had labor been more responsible, had labor had something to do with government and industry, is it possible within the limits of the imagination of any of my auditors that labor could have made any more devastating or destructive blunder or mistake than was made by those who were in power?

You know America is wonderfully blessed. It has great resources and natural bounties, and has an industrial machine capable of fabricating and producing far more than the people of this country require.

It is not a question of foodstuffs being available, because the foodstuffs are here, so much so that a policy of restriction on the production of foodstuffs was followed at a time when millions and millions of Americans were suffering from not enough to eat.

It is a question of the arrangement of internal economy in America's economic and social life where there can be a reasonable participation in those bounties and the fruits of genius on the part of all America.

Do you know of anything that is going to get you that participation or buy you that protection except your union?

Let me say to those men and to the managers of industrial finance in America and to America's statesmen, if you please, that if the only thing they have to offer to the American working people is a continuous cycle of devastating and tragic depression, that takes the very soul out of men, then I say that they may rely that labor here in America will not stand that condition, that labor in America will organize to prevent it.

There is need for organization of workers.

Tremendous Gains In Past Year Reviewed

There is work to be done. Time is a factor. Labor must become conscious of its strength and labor must put its own internal house in order and undertake to use its strength and use its energy and use its time and its money not in contentions and bickerings in its own councils, but against the common adversaries of labor—those corporate representatives who deny the right of labor to organize, those representatives of special interest represented by some of our newspapers and public officials who rail against and criticize the efforts of labor to establish organization.

You know labor has nothing but its own strength; labor doesn't own the radio stations throughout America that disseminate propaganda and calumniation. Labor does not own these great strings of newspapers and publications throughout this country. Labor has no publications except its own small trade organs, although I might just stop, in passing, long enough to say that when this work of organization gets a little further down the road, then I am going to suggest to the American labor movement that we organize and publish here in America a great national newspaper that will tell the truth.

Condemns Dailies for Bias

Labor in America is determined to become articulate and labor in America will not have its families and its dependents rely upon newspapers like the New York Herald Tribune, the Chicago Tribune, and a great number of others that I could name, who continually assail the ears of their readers with a drum fire of distortion and misstatement and exaggeration and denunciation of the logical aims of labor.

Labor wants nothing that is not virtuous. The ideals of labor are not discreditable because they are the ideals and the motivations that spring from the heart of every man who desires to improve his own condition, to elevate the social status of the men and women of labor and of the country as a whole.

We hold that we have the right to demand a proper participation and a proper distribution of the natural and artificial bounties of American industry and American life.

As far as your officers are concerned, I know of them personally. Do you know what they have done? Why, a few months ago you had 25,000 members or 30,000, and those officers went out and they brought the membership up to 400,000. What do you want out of officers? What does anybody want an officer to do except to administer the affairs of the union honestly, and go out and increase the strength of the union?

They have done that thing once, twice, thrice, ten-fold and more. I think they are deserving of commendation.

As far as I am concerned, I am for the officers of the United Automobile Workers because I think that they have crowned themselves and your union with glory in the degree of their achievement.

Time Means Changes in Policy

Speaking just as a member of the family, I understand that you have not proceeded as far with the work of your convention as you might under another set of circumstances, that there is division on the committee reports and division of different matters. Let me urge you not to take too seriously every point of procedure or decision in your convention.

You know as the years roll by you are going to have a lot of succeeding conventions and every time you come back to your convention you will consider each paragraph of your constitution and each resolution that is introduced from your membership, and in this great forum of debate you will from time to time adopt such policies and make such changes as your judgment may indicate.

For that reason do not expect to do a perfect job now. It can't be done, no matter what you do or how long you stay here. You will not have a perfect constitution when you emerge from this convention, because you will wish to refine that constitution in the light of your experience as the years go by.

THE FREE PRESS

Vote Tally Dampens Its Interest Times Can't Say 'Guild Shop'

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Twin Cities Board's Advice on Voting

Editor, the GUILD REPORTER:
-Members elsewhere will probably be interested in the line taken by the Twin Cities executive board in opposing the St. Louis Convention actions. The following letter, complete except for the details about the mechanics of voting, accompanied the distribution of ballots.

MINNEAPOLIS MEMBER.

Bellotti will be counted in Rome. At Dyckman Hotel, Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. interested Guild members may attend.

The Executive Board recommends, for the adoption of the Convention, that the vote "YES" on all 10 questions be taken, and that an affirmative vote is a vote against the action of the Convention in each case. Questions 1 and 2 deal with CIO affiliation.

No. 3 is not so vital, but in abolishing the office of vice service vice-president the Convention is abolishing the office of president, which, in effect, provides for a dictatorship without regard to diversities of interest.

No. 4, 5, 6 and 7 refer to resolutions adopted by the Convention, on subjects we regard as outside the province of the Guild.

No. 8, 9 and 10 we regard as encroachments on the autonomy of local Guilds.

While some of these questions are not of first-rate importance, the Board believes that, regardless of their merits, the vote should be taken, and that members protesting a protest against high-handed methods of the International officers.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Bargaining Questions

Too Detailed Demands for Minimum Pay May Result in Creating Fixed Scales

Question: About Guild affairs, especially bargaining, and the answers sent by AWP headquarters are printed in this department, disguised when necessary.

QUESTION: A copy of our proposed contract is enclosed. Will you let us have your comments on it? We are particularly interested in minimum wages provides a rather elaborate scale in the different classifications, thereafter setting up a \$1-a-week increase in the minimum. This raises a basic question involving our whole approach to salaries.

ANSWER: We have always felt that we would not seek to establish wage scales as is the practice with many unions embracing large classifications of men doing identical work. We wanted to establish minimums on a case-by-case basis, commensurate with standards of living, and minimum requirements of ability to fill certain jobs. Above that, we wanted to encourage more money for men who's standards

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We have felt that minimums should be rather simple, and in fairly broad terms, and that the employer should be attempting to negotiate for individual jobs. Your plan with its elaborate male and provision for substantial minimums, however, contains two dangers, one, that such an elaborate set of minimums might be too complex to administer, and second, that it might carry the implication that an annual increase of \$1 a week was adequate. We have a feeling that the minimums you set up to the three-year level of experience, on the theory that after three years at his line of work, a reporter should be competent to act as a full-fledged reporter, or say, photographer. Often we have been told that the minimums for the first experience term up to five years, but that is, not desirable, and may well be made a matter of concession to something we accept as a good practice.

Simple Minimums Preferred

in most of our contracts, particularly for our

better ones—meaning those are generally co-
bigger benefits were ob- than in the North

the great majority—classified as "unemployed." For in-lunch together, and for the afternoon, sports writers, photographers, society reporters, editors, society editors, desk men and women, and sometimes we may slip into the extent of the sub-editors and desk men to the extent of the photographers. There is considerable to this, because it pre-empted from arising before the individuals, leaving on the basis of his own work, and not letting the in the position of making the individuals are not based in evidence.

ence, while it may seem work of society editors and desk men, it is easier than that of other individuals. The distinction is, a

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N is doubtful, also, that the publishers rate the basis of the same years' experience.

Raising Up Standards

Despite Bargaining for respect to minimum wages and a 40-hour week, the union does not injure the collective position of another local newspaper. This is quite broad ground for local unions.

However, in the light of the fact, it would definitely call for a reduction of the \$1 or \$2-a-week wage for local news men. As to the national union, its proposals naturally are so high as to create serious obstacles. However, a union that has a newspaper as a reporter is nothing unorthodox. Minimums of \$40 a week are now in effect in several cities.

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Considerably lower
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by Congress. The question is not a new one for the NLRB. In *Hillbush*, the company (N. J.), decided in May, 1937, it ordered men reinstated after the highest court in New Jersey had sustained an injunction against the company. The men were put back to work, and correctly so, according to existing legal principles.

The NLRB has ruled otherwise in the *Electric* case. If the court would have defied Congress, the U. S. Supreme Court, and the will of the people. This the Times would not do. Its editorial is spared for those whose policies or ethics it dislikes—law or no law.

Perhaps the best commentary on the Times' interpretation of the NLRB's ruling is the editorial found in the Herald Tribune editorial (Sept. 2) commenting on this decision. It said, "So, apparently, the NLRB was wrong in its present *Hillbush* case, and wrong in its

money.

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RISE AND FALL OF THAT PHRASE

"Freedom of the Press," Professor Lee Shows, Gained Sway Under Vastly Different Conditions, Respect for It Is Vanishing

By ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

Associate Professor of Journalism, Kansas University
(From the chapter, "Freedom of the Press: Services of a Catch Phrase" in "Studies in the Science of Society," Edited by George Peter Murdock and Published by the Yale University Press, 1937.)

"To debate about freedom of the press," asserts Malcolm W. Bingay, editorial director of the *Detroit Free Press*, "is to debate as to whether sunshine is of value to mankind, as to whether sound health is better than sickness, as to whether sound truth shall reign or error prevail." Thus a leading editor, as quoted in the official organ of the principal professional body of American editors (*Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*, March 30, 1936) suggests the extent to which certain newspapermen make their pet catch phrase, and the protean doctrine it labels, an object of "pathos." This sentimental glamour that envelops the cherished notions of peoples, classes, and groups, and that shields such theories from criticism, represents at once the most useful and the most discouraging aspect of Freedom of the Press. Pathos serves well those with a vested interest protected by such a principle of faith; it discourages many from studying objectively and comprehensively the societal roles of such a dogma.

Pathos gathered for more than three centuries about the doctrine of Freedom of the Press, clung for a century or so, and then began to crack.

When, about 1440-50, one or more inventors found a way to substitute individual types cast in metal for such primitive printing surfaces as hand-engraved wood blocks, they injected a new and disturbing factor into western society. This invention of typography, frequently called "the invention of printing," furnished an easy means of disseminating novel ideas, but those in authority soon took steps to cope with this threat to doctrines that sanctioned their special privileges. The matter issuing from the new presses must not be immoral. Pope Alexander VI, in a bull of 1501, condemned unlicensed printing. Censorship by governmental officials appeared in Germany in 1529 and shortly thereafter in France and England. The struggle of the rising business leaders and of the popular political spokesmen to obtain a measure of governmental power, however, soon focused around the control of this and other means of influencing popular opinions. These leaders capitalized upon changes in the mores and crystallized sentiment that eventually supplanted religious and monarchical control of the press with democratic and financial control.

Before new leaders could get very far, new catchwords had to root themselves in the minds of the masses, to ingrain themselves in the mores. These labels could then function as premises with which to justify modifications in social policy. In place of The Faith, Divine Right, etc., there gradually appeared such expressions as Natural Rights, Progress, Freedom of Conscience, Liberty, Equality, and Freedom of the Press. Meaning many things, but nothing specifically, these phrases spread as symbols of solutions for any and all maladjustments.

From a survey of the general status of the catch phrase during the last decades of the eighteenth century, of the major changes that have swept the industry during the succeeding century and a half, and of the present services of the slogan, some estimate may be made of the relation of Freedom of the Press to the industry's adaptations and of the vicissitudes of the pathos shielding it and the industry.

In the struggle of American colonial leaders against British domination, the insurgent printing presses had a key function in the widespread dissemination of propaganda. Samuel Adams, an outstanding agitator of the Revolution, established the eighteenth century equivalent of George Creel's World War Committee on Public Information in order to combat British domination of opinion-forming agencies. Adams, with such associates as John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, and Joseph Warren, had encouraged Benjamin Edes and John Gill to take over, in 1755, *The Boston Gazette*, or *Country Journal*, a weekly. With this organ as a nucleus, Adams had, by 1772, "organized the Committee of Correspondence in more than eighty towns, and no town was without its copy of the *Gazette*." To distribute this journal and special handwritten bulletins, Adams and rebel leaders in other towns undermined the loyalty of British post riders and eventually set up a competing system. In the case of the Boston Tea Party of December 16, 1773, for example, "couriers galloped with all the four winds to spread the news, Paul Revere reaching Philadelphia shortly before Christmas."

This struggle for a "free" or pro-Whig press represented the culmination of an agitation along similar lines which had been growing for more than forty years and in which the famous Freedom-of-the-Press trial of John Peter Zenger in 1735 and the Stamp Act of 1765 had played significant parts. The emphasis upon and reiteration of these two incidents by colonial printers during succeeding years aided materially in associating the catch phrase of the printers with the aims of the revolutionists. As David Ramsay, an early patriot historian, asserted: "It was fortunate for the liberties of America, that News-papers were the subject of a heavy stamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themselves on the side of liberty, nor are they less remarkable for attention to the profits of their profession. A stamp duty, which openly invaded the first, and threatened a great diminution of the last, provoked their united zealous opposition." The early association of the counting room with the enthusiasm of the publishers for Freedom of the Press, here touched upon by Ramsay, excites no amazement in the candid observer. The rationalizations of newspapermen, however, necessitate the assertion of its existence. Ramsay's generalizations respecting the affiliations

of newspapers "when uninfluenced by government" were based, of course, on eighteenth century experience, which differed considerably from that of the twentieth century.

The newspapers used by the pre-Revolutionary propagandists in their contest for popular support were, and remained until well after the Revolution, financially weak sidelines of printing establishments, frequently made possible through the funds and written contributions of groups of patrons and through governmental subsidies.

The decade within which the federal organic law was drafted, the 1780's, witnessed a marked expansion in the number of newspapers and the beginnings of daily newspaper publication. Nevertheless, according to a very generous estimate based upon statements of printers, the total weekly product in 1789 was only 76,438 copies, an average of about 600 copies an issue.

At the time, then, that the party of Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson was successfully agitating the inclusion of a bill of rights in our organic law, the connotations of the catch phrase, Freedom of the Press, largely reflected the character of the struggle and the sort of newspaper described above. The papers were relatively small, easy to start, and sufficiently numerous to represent conflicting points of view. They had not, as yet, developed such devices for minimizing competition as monopolistic news-gathering and feature franchises. Fearing that American Tories in control of the government would prove as autocratic as their British predecessors, Jefferson placed his faith in Freedom of Discussion and Freedom of the Press, assured by The Law. As late as 1799 he wrote: "Our citizens may be deceived for a while & have been deceived; but as long as the presses can be protected, we may trust to them for light." Jefferson had, by 1787, few illusions about the ability of The People to maintain, without the benefit of a relatively unchangeable law, the Rights for which the Revolution had ostensibly been fought. "What a cruel reflection," he wrote that year in his *Travels in France*, "that a rich country cannot long be a free one." His illusions regarding Freedom of the Press did not weaken until he had experienced as President the manner in which newspapermen treated a political leader. He wrote in 1807: "It is a melancholy truth, that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits, than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle."

Technological changes, paralleling economic and social adjustments, rapidly raised the cost of chips in the newspaper "game." The relatively monopolistic nature of daily newspaper properties is indicated by the fact that, in 1936, the 1,560 evening papers of general circulation were located in about 1,430 cities; the 1,950 morning and evening dailies of this sort, in 1,457 cities.

The story of the manner in which daily newspaper properties have been stabilized is long and complicated. It includes the development of monopolistic cooperative and other news-gathering memberships and franchises, of monopolistic feature rights, of efficient newspaper distributing organizations with which a newcomer can compete only with the greatest difficulty, of advertising rates which yield no profit to new and even established small papers, of advertising contracts that effectively exclude or at least hamper "outsiders" and new papers, and of buying arrangements available only to those able to purchase huge quantities of supplies.

As the legal and practical definitions of Freedom and the practical meaning of the Press became thus modified, the battered old catch phrase continued to perform services for which the publishers sought to preserve it. They could still demonstrate that the Principle is sound; the critics, however, looked askance at the Practice.

President Roosevelt, in 1934, alluded to some of its more striking uses in his executive order making effective the NRA Daily Newspaper Code: "The freedom guaranteed by the Constitution is freedom of expression and that will be scrupulously respected—but it is not freedom to work children, or to do business in a fire trap or violate the laws against obscenity, libel and lewdness." The *New York Herald Tribune* called this "government by insult." But the *Milwaukee Journal*—with an eye on the facts and on the changing terms of political and economic expediency—had another way of looking at the "memorable battle and glorious victory" of the publishers in their struggle over the NRA code. On the occasion of the passage of a "victory" resolution by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the *Journal* warned editorially: "The Society has not placed the press of America in an enviable light by trying to bolster the farcical behavior of a few Tory-minded publishers. In fact, the whole shameful affair may have done the press incalculable harm." The *St. Louis Star-Times* claimed that the "newspapers of the United States have done more, by their organized activities through the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the NRA Code Authority, to destroy their influence with the American people than all their enemies combined."

The position of the publishers in the Presidential campaign of 1936, their rationalizations of their stand, and the consequent popular reactions to their defeat parallel these aspects of the NRA controversy.

Following the election, the pro-Roosevelt press led in a denunciation of the role played by the majority of the daily newspapers in the campaign.

To still such cries, the defeated publishers turned to a trusty explanation. Freedom of the Press, explained the Norfolk-Virginian Pilot, does not imply that "the press is true to its constitutional mission when its opinions coincide

The Guild Reporter

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with the election returns, but false to it when they don't." To accept such a doctrine, it maintained, would call for "an abdication of editorial independence and acceptance in its place of an obligation (1) to ascertain, by some occult means, what candidates and policies have captured the imagination and allegiance of the voting majority of a nation of 130,000,000 people of diversified interests, and (2) to ally itself with the divined popular judgment whether its own judgment corresponds with it or not." A press reflecting such popular fancies, it continued, cannot be called "free" in any rational definition of the term, but enslaved and indentured—dangerous to the public interest as often as beneficial." Shades of Thomas Jefferson!—considering that, originally, the populace had adopted Freedom of the Press as a catch phrase to assure itself of the kind of newspapers it wanted.

The Virginian-Pilot's explanation, and similar ones published by many other papers, convinced chiefly those who wanted a prop for their self-righteousness. To others, its strong resemblance to the justification of licensing and censorship by kings and bishops in the eighteenth century rendered it suspect.

Less ballyhooed examples of the services of Freedom of the Press crop up continually. The doctrine has frequently been invoked by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the Associated Press, and individual publishers to protect a vast array of other special privileges. When the industry was confronted, in 1936, with an increasing number of employee-relations cases in the editorial field, Elisha Hanson, general counsel for the Publishers' Association, officially advised: "Publishers from now on should flatly refuse to have anything to do with the National Labor Relations Board, other than to notify it, it is without power under the Constitution to interfere with their business... Specifically the issue is whether Congress, in the light of the prohibition against the abridgment of the freedom of the press... has power to circumvent that Amendment by vesting a legislative agency with authority to control the operations of the press, when Congress itself cannot exercise that power." In reply, *The Guild Reporter* as the official organ of the American Newspaper Guild in an editorial headed "Hanson, Anarchist," asserted: "All concern for the general welfare, all respect for the right of Congress to establish public policies which it deems to be essential for the country, have been abandoned in this document."

As for the Guild itself, the board of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association officially advised its members in 1936 that "the ultimate and final responsibility for the publication of a newspaper rests on those who own or manage the publication," and that therefore "publishers should carefully weigh any steps which they take that in any manner might restrict them in the proper exercise of their function of gathering and disseminating information, either in the form of news or editorial comment." In other words, it warned against any contract with the Guild.

These applications of the doctrine of Freedom of the Press, representing, in the main, efforts on the part of publishers to protect their status as arbiters of editorial policy, recall the conclusion of Sumner and Keller with regard to the societal expediency of permitting "all the interests, locally felt and locally defended," to "have their chance within the arena." Persons and movements advocating variations in established economic and political practices must assault doctrines rendered inflexible by the sanction of the mores, by absolutistic legal interpretations, and by the force exerted by those with vested interests in maintaining them.

Perhaps, despite the rapid technological, economic, and social adjustments in modern civilization, the kind of press freedom now covered in practice by Freedom of the Press as a doctrine will endure. The facts cited and others referred to, however, suggest that the pathos surrounding this doctrine is cracking, and that its new adjustment, now formulating, will not meet with the full approval of the interests who have come to control most daily newspapers.