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The American Freeman

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The Freeman Dares President Hoover to Explain Facts of His Career Before Entering White House

The American Freeman puts this issue directly to Herbert Hoover, President of the United States—can he, will he, dare he attempt to explain the scandalous facts about his past record? Can he remove or explain away the stains made upon his record in the years when he was scheming, not building, his way to a fortune and before he entered American politics to become, through public ignorance of his real character, America's Great Mistake?

We have published the facts about Hoover's past. We have been guided by official records. We have not been misled by mere hearsay. These are definite, damning things in the Hoover record which Hoover should explain if there is any explanation other than that which is so sensationally borne by the facts themselves. We want to be fair and so, again, we are asking President Hoover to explain his past. His silence will be the final proof that our accusations are overwhelmingly true.

The Chinese Swindle

1 Can President Hoover explain or justify his leading role in the Chinese mining fraud? This episode in Hoover's career, his introduction on a big and brazen scale to the mining game as a promoter rather than a bona fide engineer, is fully related in the files of the London Times of January, 1905. Court records show that Hoover, then at the beginning of his career, went to the front for the Bewick-Moreing Company, promoters of London, in a fraudulent scheme to grab valuable Chinese mining properties. It was Hoover who personally arranged and carried through a deal to take over these Chinese properties—a deal in which the London promoters swindled the Chinese representative, Chang Yen Mao—and when Chang Yen Mao was suspicious of the swindle, the properties were seized by forcible methods. Can or will or dare Herbert Hoover explain this Chinese mine swindle and his own prominent part in that swindle?

Mine Stock Racket

2 Will President Hoover kindly explain for us and for the American people his long and sinister record as a promoter of stock in mining companies which, time after time, lasted only for a few years—collected money from investors—and then were abandoned? We know that Hoover made an enormous fortune as a promoter of mining stock. The official mining record shows that a long list of companies which he promoted were failures—but failures, it seems, for the innocent investors and not for Hoover. We know that Hoover was never a Great Engineer but was on the contrary a Great—or a Brazen—Promoters of stock in mining companies. Hoover was engaged in the most tricky and audacious capitalistic game.

Can he or will he or dare he explain his record of selling worthless mining stock and, while thousands lost, making a fortune himself out of that game?

Hoover, Englishman

3 Can Herbert Hoover explain why he should be President of the United States, when for nearly twenty years, as the evidence indicates, he regarded England as his country and his headquarters were in London? The testimony in the English court was that Hoover told Chang to turn over the Chinese mines to his firm because his country could offer better protection; and that, upon Chang asking him what was his country, Hoover replied, "England." In 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915 Hoover was registered as an elector in London, England. It is not known that he exercised the privilege of voting—but he was officially registered as an elector, as a Londoner, as an Englishman. And when he came to America in 1917 Hoover registered himself as "Herbert Hoover, London, England." Can Hoover explain why he should not be regarded as an imperialistic Britisher instead of a democratic American?

Belgian Relief Legend

4 Can or will Herbert Hoover explain his true connection with the Belgian Relief Commission? We don't want the legend. We want the facts—or rather Hoover's explanation of the facts which we already have. We know it to be a fact that Hoover did not engage in a wonderful enterprise of charity for Belgium. His organization collected food and funds with which to buy food and then sold that food to the starving Belgians. It has been significantly described as "a huge chain store operation." Will Hoover explain precisely what part British propaganda interests played in the Belgian Relief Commission? in the idea for that commission and in the selection of Hoover as its head? Will Hoover please explain to us why selling food to the Belgians was advertised as charity for the Belgians?

Friend of Sugar Trust

5 Will Herbert Hoover have the decency to explain to the American people why and for what purpose he came to the United States in 1917 and, within a short time, appeared as food controller of this country? Did he come here as an agent of British propaganda? What other explanation can he offer for the fact that English sugar refiners were given the astounding privilege of determining—that is to say, restricting—the amount of sugar Americans could consume? We are sure the American people would like to hear Hoover's explanation of the fact that immense quantities of Cuban sugar, bought by this country under Hoover's authority, were left to rot on the Havana wharves; and the fact that the American

people were forced to stand in line long hours to buy sugar at high prices and in limited quantities, while sugar was shipped through this country to Canada and thence to England; and the fact that there was not a shortage but a waste of sugar; and the fact that the American Sugar Trust had the inside track with Hoover's food commission.

Betraying the Farmers

6 It would also be interesting, possibly, if Hoover were to explain why as food controller he was so much more generous to the great milling firms and speculators in fixing the price of flour than he was to the farmers in fixing the price of wheat. It was shown clearly in Senate testimony—and the confession was forced from Hoover himself—that the price of wheat was judged by the yearly average price before what was euphemistically called "stabilization" while the price of flour was judged by the highest price in a period of speculative prices. Flour was reduced in price from an abnormally high figure and wheat was raised in price from an average figure, with the result that there was a grossly unfair divergence between the price of flour and the price of wheat. Can Hoover now explain why he was so much more friendly in fixing the price of flour than in fixing the price of wheat? Such an explanation, if forthcoming, ought to fit in significantly with an explanation of his friendliness to the Sugar Trust.

Shady Political Career

7 Will Herbert Hoover, now the Republican President of the United States, explain why he was so uncertain, during his first years as an Englishman in America, what his political convictions and allegiance were? Did he have or has he now any genuine political convictions? At first, when having a fat powerful job under President Wilson, he seemed to think that he might be a Democrat. In 1920 he didn't know whether he should try for the presidential nomination as a Democrat or a Republican. Then he flopped into President Harding's cabinet—and sat in that cabinet through all the Fall-Daugherty graft, through all the scandals of oil and bootleg tribute—and kept silent and played the game. Will Hoover explain his shady political career in the United States? Will he explain why he sat in the Harding cabinet when, it would seem, an honest man could not have been comfortable in that cabinet, where the game of corruption was so brazenly played? Did Hoover, as a Great-Promoter, sympathize with the conduct of the Harding administration?

These are just a few very important questions which we invite President Hoover to answer. The American people would be keenly interested in his explanations of these striking features of his past—if Hoover feels that he can explain these facts in any different light, more favorable to himself. We put the question squarely up to Hoover himself: Will he or can he or dare he explain his past?

GOVERNOR ROLPH SHOULD CONSIDER MOONEY CASE

[The Mooney case has risen to greater proportions than those of a labor case. It is an issue of justice, having its origin indeed in the labor struggle but forcing itself upon all classes as a serious question of human rights. California will not hear the last of the Mooney case until Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are set free. Governor Rolph, who succeeds the cowardly Young as California's chief executive, has the opportunity to set Mooney free without further delay. Unfortunately, Billings' freedom must wait upon the unraveling of legal technicalities. An indication of the challenging nature of the Mooney case—so challenging that even some capitalist newspapers feel it necessary to reflect a growing public sentiment—is seen in the following editorial taken from the Los Angeles Examiner.]

Governor Rolph undoubtedly thinks of the Mooney case as the most important piece of unfinished business now before the State of California. Governor Rolph realizes that the good will of any human enterprise is its greatest asset. He knows that all over the world men and women of ability and standing are questioning the good will of the State of California, because they believe that the State of California has for nearly fifteen years kept an innocent man in prison.

Governor Rolph realizes, too, how vital it is that the rising generation should believe in justice, should believe in it as a reality, not as a formality; should believe in it as a living force, not as a mumbling hypocrisy.

Naturally, the Governor will have to make up his own mind. Those who know the forthrightness and sound common sense of James Rolph, Jr., however, believe that he can make up his mind without reading and rereading the reports of Mesopotamian archaeologists.

They believe that he can make up his mind without dodging about the corridors of the State building to hide from witnesses who have important testimony.

They believe that he can make up his mind without constructing a series of Chinese boxes out of various boards and commissions and courts, and then hiding in the innermost box.

Moreover, those who know Governor Rolph believe that if he DOES make up his mind, he will ACT.

In short, those who know Governor Rolph do not believe that he

will do as ex-Governor Young did—do nothing and do it learnedly, laboriously, gingerly.

In the art of statesmanship, there is no substitute for what John Morley himself a statesman of the first rank, once called:

"That leavening sincerity and free and cheerful boldness, which come of harmonious principles of faith and action, and without which men can never walk as confident lovers of justice and truth."

Fact-finding surveys can be held until all the facts wither and are blown into limbo by the winds of time. Courts can adjudicate and obfuscate. Commissions and super-commissions can industriously plow, harrow and drag the vast acreages of twined and twined.

But in the end, a MAN has to step forth from all that cumbersome mechanism and say:

"THE prisoner is innocent. SET HIM FREE!"

America has thrown away all the pomp and tyranny of kings. But it has, with a wise instinct for reality, preserved one good thing in the power of the old-time kings, the power to pardon, the power to intervene at the last hour when all other hope is fled, and see to it that REAL justice, not its formal and harmful shadow, shall be done.

Governor Rolph, therefore, has this power to prevent red tape from wasting red life blood in prison or on gallows. He has this magnificent age-old prerogative of sweeping aside all the accumulated trash of technicalities and superfluities, of speaking up as strong man for wronged man, and of thereby making community life once more plain and simple and decent as all Californians in their hearts would have it be.

Those who know Governor Rolph believe that he is capable of making this royal gesture of humanity and justice which the California commonwealth EXPECTS its Governors to make. They believe that he is considering the Mooney case, that he will make up his mind about it promptly, and that if he decides Mooney is innocent, he will promptly use the pardoning power and set the prisoner free.

DEATH is certain but life is also certain, so meanwhile let us work for the more useful and beautiful organization of life.

"A NEW HEAVEN and a new earth" no, no, a new earth or rather a new human society will be enough.

Mooney Defense May Win Now If Workers Assist

"We are at the crossroads in this case, and it is now or never that my freedom must be won!"

This statement is made by Tom Mooney, prisoner of injustice in California, as preparations are being made for a new hearing of his case before Governor James J. Rolph, Jr. Frank P. Walsh, nationally known liberal attorney and friend of labor, will submit the evidence in Mooney's behalf before Governor Rolph. Walsh has devoted himself unselfishly to the Mooney case. He will try once more, after three governors have proved unmovable, to obtain the justice for Mooney which the facts of the case plainly demand.

The most important means of liberation for Mooney is that a tremendous public sentiment should be organized for his liberation. As the frameup depends on secrecy, so Mooney depends on the widest publicity. And publicity, more and more of it, is what Tom Mooney and his friends want in this juncture. It is true that a number of capitalist papers have printed editorials favorable to Mooney—editorials which, however mild in tone, have reflected a nation-wide feeling that California has been the scene (and still is the scene) of a terrible injustice. An article in Harper's Magazine reviewed the frameup in the Mooney case, which was called in this article "the American Dreyfus Case."

The Mooney Defense Committee is seriously in need of a great deal more than this polite and unplanned, however welcome, publicity. There is important literature of the defense, notably the pamphlet, Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney, and a more recent pamphlet, The Case Against Tom Mooney, which should be given the most earnest and effective circulation at this critical time, when Mooney says, "Now or never my freedom must be won." If Mooney cannot win his freedom now, by strong defense publicity backing up his impending appeal to Governor Rolph, it will be another disheartening blow—and perhaps the last blow. It would be two more years before he should have another opportunity—provided Governor Rolph should fail of reelection—and, even then, circumstances would probably not be so favorable as they are right now.

Tom Mooney thus feels that it is

desperately necessary to ask immediate financial support from the American workers and all who love justice. His defense committee has been and is sadly handicapped from lack of funds. During this depression it has of course been more difficult than ever to keep the defense publicity going. It is necessary that sacrifices be made for the sake of winning justice in such a long-continued, grievous case.

The circulation of Mooney defense literature can be most effective precisely at this time; and for the circulation of this literature, the defense needs funds at once. All contributions and communications should be sent to Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, Calif.

IGNORANT minds are unhealthy minds, prey to all the diseases of prejudice and superstition that lurk in folly's train.

IN A COMMON SENSE view of theology, we observe that faith is likely to be regarded as a substitute for good works.

THE RADICAL is one who believes that the remedy for bad conditions is to abolish their causes.

MEN are fanatical about religion and morals because they understand least about them.

Telegraphs Order for May 30 Edition

Tom Burns, ex-secretary of the Socialist party in Oregon, liked the May 30 edition of The Freeman so well that he telegraphed an order for three hundred copies. This is the Hoover Exposure Edition, giving a strong review of the scandalous record of Herbert Hoover, before he was President, when he made a fortune in the role of a promoter of shady mining stock. It also tells all about Hoover's war activities, in Belgium and in America, which were different from the popular picture of wartime propaganda. We have printed thousands of extra copies of this May 30 edition and all orders will be filled promptly, in bundles of 50 or more, at the rate of 2c a copy.

A BURNING INDICTMENT OF HOOVER'S POLICY IN LATIN AND CENTRAL AMERICA

While President Hoover was commending the work of the Army on a Nicaraguan canal route survey and while this country was still hearing the praises of our marines' actions during the recent earthquake there, the tales of its survivors begin to leak out—tales of brutality and greed and unchecked rapacity and a reign of terror carried on by the same marines, representatives of our government, who are being lauded for "succoring" the Nicaraguans in time of distress.

Survivors and eye-witnesses returning to New York City bring stories of horrors perpetrated by the "sea dogs," of robbery by them in the midst of the quake, and of crimes upon civilian men, women and children by those wearing our government's uniform in a foreign country.

And, while Nicaragua's President, General Moncada—the tool of American banking interests and the representative of Hoover in persuading the United States to accept the yoke of the United States—was congratulating publicly our representative there for the work of the marines, those same marines were looting and sacking the towns already laid waste by nature.

While he was being snapped by movie cameras in the act of praising our disgusting role in this mess, the men he was praising were stealing and pillaging the already torn homes and attacking Nicaraguan citizens. This was done presumably to "preserve law and order"—an old Spanish custom which serves as the excuse for such tyrants as Pilsudski in the Ukraine, but does not belong in any civilized government such as the United States claims to have.

These facts, now known, have been suppressed by the press at large. It dares not print them, for it knows that it has already made a fool of itself by praising our marines while they were robbing, killing the islands with their just retributions which had just suffered an earthquake.

What Was the Real Cause of This?

It is America's policy in Central and Latin America to establish our marines there, "elect" our own tools at marine-guarded polls, grab the natural resources of the country for

our big business interests, and then quarter the "devil dogs" on the innocent citizens of these countries that they may be "pacified"—as the Polish tyranny has "pacified" the Ukraine with bayonet and fire.

The inevitable result is that the countries revolt. America has no right to quarter its marines in the private homes of Nicaraguans or to assume such a tyrannical lordship over the country by pure force of arms.

Sandino is but one manifestation of this growing revolt against the dictatorship of the United States in Central America. In Cuba, even Machado's policy of suppression and force cannot keep the people down. Cuba seethes with unrest, some of it directed at us, for Machado is, like Moncada, our tool. Its newspapers rebel and are suppressed and rebel again, and again, and its students and independents are sweeping the island with their just resentment.

But the Real Reason in Nicaragua?

It is to be found in President Hoover's suave commendation of the Army for the completion of the Nicaragua canal route plans, declaring such a waterway feasible.

Newspaper reports tell us that the Army engineers' report on the Nicaraguan canal will be ready for the next session of Congress. The report will "uphold the practicability of the Nicaraguan route and declare its future necessity in the light of expanding trade."

And "two canals would also have a great value from a military standpoint since it would be twice as difficult for an enemy to sever water communications in wartime."

So the Nicaraguan people are driven under the military heel of the United States because our government turns covetous eyes upon a new trade route (for itself, not for the Nicaraguans) and because we desire military advantage.

Who will finance, who will build, who will own the land of Nicaragua upon which this canal is to be built? American-Big Business.

Will Nicaragua control the canal? Is it likely—or will Moncada, America's tool there, turn it over to America?

Makes Joke of Kellogg Pact

If the Kellogg Pact has ruled that there shall be no war except after thorough arbitration, and if America has signed this and promised to abide by it, why is a Nicaraguan

canal necessary for military reasons? The answer is obvious.

We are forcing our military stranghold on a formerly friendly neighbor country in order to gain private business advantages by force and to grab military advantage for the next war!

Are the American people willing to stand for this attitude in a country founded (once, in the good old days) upon principles of liberty, freedom, non-intervention and democracy and self-government?

Are they going to accept the continued false praise and blame of a prejudiced press?

Are they going to allow Big Business to rule the government which should be theirs, and are they going to permit a mass-slaughter like the last war after all the protestations of peace?

Are they going to permit persons wearing the uniform of their country to besmirch it by looting and rapacity so that the money interests which loot them at home more quietly and unobtrusively can get a greater hold in a foreign country?

And are they going to pay for this?

You are paying for it with every cent of your taxes.

Are you going to permit it?

ARE YOU intellectually lonely? Many of our readers live in small towns. To such readers we want to give a word of advice. They usually write us that they have no one to talk to, that the average person in their town is not interested in serious ideas concerning politics, sociology or economics. True, but don't you realize that you can remedy this condition to a certain degree? Why not get twenty or thirty of your fellow-townsmen to subscribe for The Freeman? That ought to be very easy, because thousands of our subscribers are doing this right along. If you will get us a large club of subs we will work hard to fill the readers' mind with sound ideas and you will then find a real cure for your intellectual loneliness. The solution is a simple and easy one. Will you apply it? Try today to get us a club of at least four subscribers each.

Fred Warren, Fighting Editor, in Plan for Appeal to Reason

Militant Organ of Socialism May Be Edited by Warren and Published by E. Haldeman-Julius in Famous Girard Plant

Fred D. Warren may come back as the Fighting Editor of a reborn *Appeal to Reason*, published by the Haldeman-Julius Company in Girard, Kans. Warren and E. Haldeman-Julius have outlined a plan whereby the most celebrated and militant organ of Socialism can make its sensational reappearance in the national newspaper field. As set forth in a four-page broadside now being mailed from Girard, the Warren-Haldeman-Julius plan is as follows:

A new *Appeal Army* is to be organized, similar to the historic *Appeal Army*, with a minimum number of 10,000 pledged members which will be required before the *Appeal* can be certain of successful publication. These 10,000 worker-readers, who are asked to form the new *Appeal Army*, will send in their own individual yearly subscriptions at \$1 a year and will further pledge themselves to send in two yearly subscriptions a month, for a period of 12 months, at the special rate of 50c a subscription. The moment these 10,000 advance subscriptions and pledges are received in Girard, the *Appeal to Reason* will begin publication with Fred D. Warren, the famous Fighting Editor, once again directing the paper which, twenty years ago, he guided through a score of startling, sensational and successful battles of "pitiless publicity." Warren made use of "pitiless publicity" on an unparalleled scale in the *Appeal to Reason* before that phrase was ever coined.

Appeal Fought Great Battles

During Warren's fighting editorship the *Appeal to Reason* conducted a tremendous, triumphant agitation for the kidnapped labor leaders, Moyer and Haywood and Pettibone. In the midst of that tense struggle, Warren issued his daring \$1,000 reward for the kidnapping of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, a Republican politician then a fugitive in the state of Indiana and under indictment for murder in Kentucky. It was Warren's purpose to test whether the decision of the United States Supreme Court, holding that the kidnapping of the Colorado labor leaders was legal, would apply with fair equality to the kidnapping of or the proposal to kidnap a capitalist politician. The federal government brought an indictment against Warren, thus proving the Fighting Editor's contention that "there was one law for the workers and another for the capitalists."

After postponements for two years, Warren's case was tried. He was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for twelve months at hard labor and the payment of a \$1,500 fine. Warren appealed his case and redoubled the agitation, through the *Appeal to Reason*, against the hypocrisy and corruption and class prejudice of the federal courts. It was while he was defending himself in a vigorous struggle with the federal courts that Warren, carrying the war fearlessly into the enemy's country, ran in the *Appeal to Reason* a series of amazing articles in which the records of a number of leading federal judges were exposed. The *Appeal's* crusading journalism was so powerful that President Taft sent to Warren an unsolicited pardon.

In all of the mighty labor struggles of the first two decades of the twentieth century the *Appeal to Reason*, under the direction of the Fighting Editor, Fred D. Warren, aroused the most dramatic national interest with its regular weekly circulation of more than 600,000 and its mammoth special editions of one, two and three millions. In Colorado, in Pennsylvania, and in West Virginia labor wars of the most serious character were nationally reported and given a triumphant crusading significance through the columns of the *Appeal to Reason* and through the agitational work of the *Appeal Army* of thousands of active reader-workers. The *Appeal to Reason* was the greatest labor and Socialist newspaper ever published in the world. It was recognized by capitalists and workers alike as the supreme fighting organ of the working class. The

Appeal led in every important fight. Government officials feared it, yet were forced to respect its power. Warren was often engaged in battle with the postoffice department, over unfair rulings applied to the *Appeal*, but, rallying his *Appeal Army*, he won every battle. The *Appeal* was a great newspaper of exposure, fearless publicity, working class agitation and Socialist propaganda.

To Meet Modern Conditions

Now Warren and Haldeman-Julius are convinced that a reborn *Appeal to Reason* is needed in a modern crusade against capitalism as intensified in the vast collapse and crisis of Hooverism. In these economic and social conditions the American workers are ready, Warren and Haldeman-Julius believe, to consider earnestly the message of Socialism and to be aroused by that message in a militant movement under the leadership of the *Appeal to Reason*. As in former days, the *Appeal* would publish the full truth about conditions and would insist upon the Socialist remedy for these conditions. The record of Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, is an eloquent assurance that the reborn *Appeal to Reason* would be a paper of sensational revelations and militant crusading.

Warren is in excellent health, strong physically and keen mentally, and he is sure that he is good for twenty more years of fighting editorship. He is eager to help build up a new *Appeal to Reason* greater in circulation and thus more powerful in achievement than the old *Appeal to Reason*. The plan depends, naturally, upon the response of the workers. "I want the *Appeal* in the arena again," says Warren, "only if the workers want the *Appeal*." If 10,000 workers respond with advance subscriptions and pledges, Haldeman-Julius will publish and Warren will edit a new *Appeal to Reason*.

WHERE IS LABOR'S SHARE?

Famous Novelist Submits the Results of Some of His Economic Studies

BY THEODORE DREISER

American corporate business is so constructed that no matter what the contingency—either so-called prosperity or depression—billions of dollars exist for those who manage, execute and build, while the mere laborer exists or even less remains to those who do the work which makes any life whatsoever possible. It may be said that these combined organizations never failing in collecting most fruitfully for salaries, for bonuses and for stockholders, always fail in providing a decent living for those at the bottom.

That the underlying structure of corporate affairs places disproportionate profits in the hands of business owners is attested by the pathetic growth of millionaires together with the absolute no-betterment of the workers. Between 1914 and 1928 the number of millionaires increased from 7,000 to 30,000, 40,000. Millions! Millions! They are becoming as common as bags of popcorn. For this reason folks forget that every one of these money owners acquires it through inequitable and at times inhuman indifference to the state of those who so greatly and voicelessly in creating it. Thus except for excessive rates, how would Pennsylvania electric companies be earning as high as 69 percent on a depreciated book value, as was testified by a certified public accountant? Unless thousands of workers who like to smoke are charged so exorbitantly for "Luckies" and "Old Golds" that they must give over smoking or some of the necessities of life, how could the American Tobacco Company have made \$43,000,000 clear in 1930, an increase of 43 percent over its 1929 earnings? So many immense corporations and holding companies sail along on a cloud, depression or no depression, starvation or not.

Ominous Concentration

These corporations with their immense profits are strong to unite against the people. Even at this hour, behold the affluence of any holding company so united—Insull utilities, for example, with their many millions of shares of stock. Their interlocking companies control what percentage of stock in operating companies? After paying the full standard dividend, Insull Utility Investments had, at the end of 1930, an earned surplus of nearly \$10,000,000. This centralizing of the financial means of all business establishes a more than ominous—and even dangerous—executive concentration. Recently Floyd L. Carlisle, chairman of the board of the Niagara Hudson Power Corporation, was elected chairman of the board of the New York Edison Company. Does not this suggest a closer alliance than can be advantageous to the people? Having united against the masses in this country, these corporate

heads, obsessed with profiteering, reckon themselves so enormously much loftier and more important than those in any other form of activity whatsoever that these men have exalted their worth to be equivalent to a \$1,000,000 salary per year. These same men, however, compel 3,000 or 4,000 working people to live on exactly the same sum or less. And the greater businesses have many of these officers. Wall Street even now is beginning to believe that an executive is worth \$1,000,000 annually. Does any financier doubt this concerning George Washington Hill, president of American Tobacco, who increased the business of his firm some 40 percent in one year?

Over against the meager share of wealth and buying power given the workmen, mark here in a land of over not under production, the reward for certain other Big Business arrangements. Insurance, for instance, paid, in 1928, eighty of its high officials of ten of its companies salaries of \$4,390,000. Contrast that, if you will, with the \$225,000 annually received as salaries by the President of the United States and his ten Cabinet members. To show what proportion of the money paid to insurance companies by the people ever benefits the latter, I state that 30 cents on every dollar paid to the insurance concerns goes to salaries and stockholders, the while only 60 percent is ever distributed to policyholders.

Big Bonuses—Small Wages

Whether the laborer must lower his standard of life, meaning actually an underfed condition, or not, those in high corporate places take from all Americans these millions of dollars not only for salaries but also for bonuses. This barnacle concretion causes them to drain the companies of which they live. American Tobacco, which pays its president, as I have said, a straight salary of \$1,000,000 a year and which, in 1929, honored him with another \$1,000,000 as a tribute to his great services, in 1930, with the same salary still holding, gave him \$1,283,000 more, or 13,440 shares of stock at a reduction. In other words, this officer and others of the corporation received a discount of \$87 per share on stock selling at \$114. Another concern that pays limitless financial tribute to those who execute and command it is Bethlehem Steel. Charles M. Schwab, chairman of the corporation, invariably comes to the defense of his own bonus system, which has allotted some \$31,000,000 in the last few years to officers who, it is alleged, ever studiously concealed this from their interested but uninformed stockholders. He states that corporate creators do more efficient work under adequate compensation. But as to workers—well, you know how it is—wages should always be kept down, otherwise how these high salaries for a few, which, as I see it at least, have by now become preposterous?

None of these giants, whatever their legal or illegal services, is worth these immense rewards. Indeed, they more than others—but by no means deservedly so—are beneficiaries of a day and particularly a country which has gone money and manufacturing mad. It is almost like the tulip craze in Holland, when a single new color of tulip commanded an immense fortune. But they do not and cannot earn it, nor can they fairly or intelligently distribute it, individual knowledge of national and world conditions being what it is today. Worse, by paying these immense and asinine rewards to the few, and which no one of them can intelligently or decently dispose of, they are literally depriving thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers of a decent wage, saddling many, in short, quite all towns and cities, with overtaxation as well as high prices for everything manufactured or sold, from pickles to offices in overdecorated and overbuilt buildings. But to what end? Success, happiness for the country at large and of which they are a part? Or themselves only?

200 Firms Increase Dividends

The truth is, before the laborer's share reaches any adequate dimensions, there come not only those bonuses but the additional sums to stockholders. Thus, although Bethlehem Steel paid \$31,000,000 in bonuses, it had still enough last year before doing anything for the workmen to pay \$40,800,000 to common stockholders. And then, and only then, did the ordinary working man's wages begin. But with no room for any of the millions walking the streets and starving as workers. None. In fact in 1930, the most depressed period of the nation's economic life, 200 firms, while reducing the number of their employees, increased their dividends; 996 paid extra dividends and 982 paid stock dividends. In short, American dividends, under the present corporate system of capitalism, climb out of all proportion to the money actually invested. Stock gifts, always excessive in this growing country, I notice have recently been made even to the extent of doubling two and four, six and even ten times the corporate stock. This constitutes, of course, another source of profits to those who acquire it as a right in property rather than a right in wages.

Figures Are Juggled

Figures, however, are so manipulated as to hide these facts of wealth concentration. For instance, the National Industrial Conference Board shows the per capita income in 1929 as \$692. But notice, though, and that closely, if you please, this allows the portion of some 40,000 millionaires to laborers who, of course, do not receive it. Figures actually show that 80 percent of the American people live on pay less than the minimum decent wage. But bankers, advocating wage cuts, say that the cure for depression is lowering the worker's standard of living.

But is it? The latest Washington conference shows Mellon and others awake to the fact that discharging men and reducing wages spells disaster to all but the millionaires at present, and later to them also. But will any one hear of the five-hour day or the five-day week? Or that work and rated wages be guaranteed to all, and that all, without exception, be compelled to work? Or that private ownership and manipulation of immense public utilities and necessities cease, and that the men who can run these things for the government or all of us be drafted as soldiers are drafted—but for no more than reasonable wages so to do? Or can they be made to feel that no true fame is to be lost thereby—nor any honor, nor any real happiness?

Offers Socialism as the Remedy

There are already in existence old solutions, and new ones may certainly be devised. The brain of man has faced difficulties before and come through. It can face them again. Roosevelt said one sane thing, even though I doubt now his personal enthusiasm for the truth of it at the time, and that was that the time was coming when men or their governments would have to shackle cunning as they already had shackled greed. Well, at the time he said this I had never noted that greed had been shackled. And certainly both it and cunning are going strong at this hour. But the way to shackle both is to destroy the illusion that because a man is clever or strong or greedy he is entitled to bestir the world like a Colossus. He is not. He does not create the opportunities and the gifts he finds at birth, nor does he do so through life. They are of the world of which he is a part. He merely seizes on them and demands quite insane and even cruel rewards for so doing.

But that can be remedied. Take the opportunity for control of these immense utilities and privileges out of the hands of the few and give them to the people out of whose lives, minds, tastes and needs they take their rise. Quit driving and robbing the millions to make one or ten Midases. Stop the willing and the inheritance of wealth to any heir however precious and make all work in the fields in which they are suited to work. Wealth breeds idleness and idleness breeds crime, and certainly it is the very substance of injustice. Stop idleness. Make all live on a reasonable wage. With the general wealth thus created make the nation itself not only comfortable but beautiful. Give to every one, not a few, the fruits of a great land and its great opportunities, economically, scientifically and artistically studied and managed—for the mental and physical uplift of all.

At least let us try to do this. It may work for a time anyhow. And we will learn new things about ourselves, maybe. Stop making tyrants, wasters and fools and give us all a new trial and a new deal.

THE MOONEY CASE REVIVES Editorial in The Indianapolis Times. The Mooney case will not down. Next month Tom Mooney's volunteer counsel, Frank P. Walsh of New York, will go again to California, and there confer with the state's new Governor to urge a pardon hearing. A hearsay, labor's grim feature of Governor Rolph's inauguration parade—and upon which is placarded: "California Justice Is Dead"—is on its way eastward, advertising the shame of the Golden state to the cities en route.

The Wickersham subcommittee, in its forthcoming report on legal lawlessness, is including the Mooney-Billings trials among many instances of the law's anarchy. A play called "Precedent," based on the Mooney-Billings trials, is drawing crowds to the theater of the Provincetown players in New York, and soon will be put on the road to tell this amazing story.

And now the case is revived by one of America's old conservative magazines, *Harper's*, has for its leading article an expose of "Our American Dreyfus Case," by Lillian Symes, a California writer, thoroughly familiar with the facts and background. "That Mooney and Billings are being held in prison long after every shred of evidence against them has collapsed because of politics, prejudice and timidity has been the inescapable conclusion of every one who has made an impartial investigation of their cases," writes Miss Symes. "The Dreyfus case had its belated happy ending after twelve years. After fifteen years nothing short of a violent awakening of the state's moral sense of social indignation can save us from the disgrace of having these men die in prison, and from having some future generation shudder at California's callous indifference and stupidity."

It might be remarked that California may be indifferent, but hardly stupid. Soon its super-booster will realize that this nation-wide barrage is hurting their state more than droughts, earthquakes, floods or frosts. Governor "Sunny Jim" Rolph, who knows the difference between good and bad publicity, can halt these assaults on the state he leads and loves by freeing these martyrs.

SOMETIMES we think that censors are interested in suppressing literature which they don't like, and again we think that perhaps the censors regard as most evil the books which secretly they most enjoy.

WHEN A MAN emphasizes his belief, and when he imports into that belief the suggestion of a sacred quality, we suspect that he is paying little attention to facts.

AS CONDITIONS are, the individual worker cannot help being a wage slave—but he can have the intelligence and the manhood to protest against his slavery.

WORDS are used with such little discrimination that what one man damns as "immorality" another man may dream of as an ideal.

NOT DREAMING of the millennium, we prefer to work for definite improvements in human society.

SOCIAL systems come and go and "human nature" changes somewhat with every changing system.

"All the Truth All the Time"

The light of truth shone constantly in the famous Socialist message of the Little Old *Appeal to Reason*. The *Appeal* illuminated the dark places of American industrialism, and where its rays of exposure and protest were concentrated there was a wholesome, inspiring struggle for better things. Capitalism could do nothing in secrecy while the *Appeal* was on the job. It could not get away unchallenged with conspiracies and lies. The *Appeal* was a wonderful newspaper. It printed truth that the capitalist papers did not dare to print—that they carefully tried to suppress. The truth about the great labor wars was printed fearlessly in the *Appeal*. The truth about the corruption of the federal courts—their capitalistic crimes against the workers—was printed boldly in the *Appeal*. The truth about terrible conditions in the federal prisons was printed daringly by the *Appeal*. The truth about vile conditions of peonage in southern states was printed fully by the *Appeal*. The truth about "Barbarous Mexico" was printed completely in the *Appeal* when no other American newspaper or magazine dared to print that truth. When the *American Magazine* printed two articles about Mexico by John Kenneth Turner and then refused to print the other ten articles in a series of twelve—quit because it was frightened by the anger of capitalism at those articles—Fred Warren quickly arranged to print the articles in the *Appeal*. They were printed, every line of those historic articles about "Barbarous Mexico." The *Appeal* could not be frightened. It could not be bought. Under Fred D. Warren's fighting editorship the motto of the *Appeal* was "ALL THE TRUTH ALL THE TIME."

Menace of Wage Cuts

Corporations Ask That Workers Buy Their Jobs by Working for Less

Wage-cutting looms as so serious a threat that William Green, the very conservative and in some respects reactionary president of the American Federation of Labor, has been moved to utter a warning on this point. Green declares that "labor would be fully justified in resisting attempts to reduce wages even to the extent of striking." That statement, coming from Green, is very significant. He is not the kind of man to create an unnecessary alarm; rather he naturally prefers to cultivate the illusion of harmony between capital and labor; he has been friendly to President Hoover and has not been among the "possessors" who have displayed an active dissatisfaction with conditions under Hooverism. There has been a good deal of quiet cutting of wages among unorganized workers and salaried employees, but that has not excited Green. Now that he fears wage reductions on a large scale for organized labor, Green wakes up and says that strikes may follow.

Already 1,600 employees of the Empire Steel Corporation in Mansfield, Ohio, are on strike against a 15 percent cut in wages. A later offer of a 10 percent cut was also rejected.

In West Virginia 1,500 miners are on strike against wage reductions. All miners in the Scott's Run field are closed by the strike.

Street car men in St. Louis, Mo., are threatening to strike against a 10 percent wage cut which the company has declared it will put into effect. City authorities are trying to arrange a compromise.

The reduced buying power of the workers, which is the result of the exploitation of the workers, is thus to be still further reduced by wage cuts. This adds another notch of capitalist folly to a situation in which 8,000,000 workers are denied work and wages altogether and millions more are working only part time.

It is a limited view which regards capitalists as good business men. Good business in their inevitable leads to bad business. They exploit the workers on a tremendous scale, through a period of so-called prosperity, and then, with a surplus that they cannot dispose of—goods which the workers have produced but cannot buy—a severe depression follows with capitalist industry disorganized and the workers desperate.

Whether one regards this as good business depends, of course, upon where one is placed in the economic picture. A few beneficiaries of the profit system, heads of great corporations and the favored inner stockholders of such corporations, have enjoyed big salaries and dividends during this depression. None of the rulers of capitalism has suffered in this crisis.

This condition, however, cannot be viewed as good business for the country. We venture to say also that it is, in a long view, bad business for capitalism; its cumulative result must be to undermine the capitalist system by revealing, in a glaring light, its inefficiency from a national or collective standpoint. The workers may be slow to learn and slow to resent, but it is incredible that they will go on forever submitting in a slavish spirit to a system that not only exploits them ruthlessly when they are employed but in current periods of depression throws



The Notion of God
The notion of God (of God, at any rate, as a personal being) has not only ceased to grow, but is even ceasing to live.—Aldous Huxley, in "The Adelphi," April, 1931.

Freeman Army

THRILLED BY APPEAL TO REASON NEWS

Seeing a brief news item in the capitalist press announcing the proposed revival of the *Appeal to Reason*, Hal R. Vose, Shawnee, Okla., sat down at once and wrote an enthusiastic letter to the Haldeman-Julius Publications, from which we quote: "Appeal to Reason Again! The press of the world says, 'Good!'—and says a few millions of people who realize that NOW is the time to publish it. God knows, if we have not had enough of this Capitalism Nightmare by this time we never will. More power to you!" We are sending him a copy of our four-page broadside explaining the *Appeal to Reason* plan.

S. M. Love, Tex., sends in a club of four subs at the 25c rate.

Albert R. Detato, Mass., sends in a club of four 25-week subs.

A club of 10 ten-week names is sent in by H. S. Sylvester, Mont. Thanks for a club of four 25-week subs from E. W. Dungan, Ohio.

W. H. Weber, Minn., comes in strong with a list of 30 ten-week names.

E. L. Alexander, Ohio, sends in a club of 10 names at the 10c rate.

Durant Pywell, Calif., sends in a dollar for four 25-week sub cards.

J. A. Summerour, Calif., endorses our work with a club of four 25-week subs.

C. H. Hall, Fla., also likes the 25-week sub idea and sends in a club of four.

F. W. Long, Ind., sends in a list of 10 ten-week names. The rest is up to us.

Adolph Wall, N. D., sends in five Freeman subs at the rate of 25 weeks—25 cents.

A. M. Tuttle, Wis., is another Army worker who sends in a list of 10 ten-week names.

A. W. Olson, Chicago, helps the work of enlightenment with a club of 10 ten-week subs.

G. De Young, N. J., sends in a list of 10 ten-week names—new prospects for propaganda.

C. Barclay Ward, Fla., introduces ten new names to The Freeman policies, at the 10c rate.

Frank L. Berling, Wash., orders a bundle of 50 of the Hoover Scandal Special Edition, at 2c a copy.

Lewis Frick, Wis., orders a bundle of the May 30 edition of The Freeman, dated May 9.

J. Collins, Canada, sends a dollar to help in Marcell Haldeman-Julius' Washington-New York City investigation.

P. Scanlan, Chicago, orders 50 copies of the May 30 edition of The Freeman, exposing President Hoover's record before he became President.

Elmer Strom, Calif., sends in three names of 25-week readers and tells us to select a fourth name from our books lists to make it a club of four.

F. A. Johnson, Kans., orders 250 copies of the May 30 edition of The Freeman, telling the facts about President Hoover, the Great Promoter.

F. J. Love, Idaho, helps our propaganda plans by sending in a list of 11 names who are to receive The Freeman for 10 weeks each at the 10c rate.

Anthony J. Sandusky, Pa., sends a club of four 25-week subs. He wants to set back govt. Washington and New York City for The Freeman readers.

Richard Fritzsche, Calif., sends \$1 for \$1.10 worth of H.-J. trade coupons, which helps our publishing program of the world's best reading for the workers.

Paul M. Marriott, Md., assists in our publishing plans by sending \$5.50 for H.-J. trade coupons. He gets, with the 10 percent bonus, \$6.05 worth of coupons.

S. T. Swartz, Va., wants The Freeman to grow bigger and stronger, so he sends in five names who are to receive The Freeman 25 weeks at the 25c rate.

Fred T. Perry sends in a bundle order for the issue of The Freeman containing Marcell Haldeman-Julius' excellent article on Margaret Sanger and birth control.

John Narverund, Minn., sends \$2 for trade coupons. He wants to see the Haldeman-Julius publishing program continue. He gets a ten percent bonus, which means \$2.20 worth of coupons.

Now, listen to this—we swear it's true! Rev. Geo. J. Schork, N. J., sends in a list of 10 ten-week names and every one of them is also prefixed with a Rev. We guarantee that these ten preachers will find us interesting.

Olaf Frenstad, Wis., reminds us of his loyal support by sending in a list of 10 ten-week names.

Many of our new readers at once become enthusiastic members of the Freeman Army. Thus Mrs. Thelma Hall, Minn., sends in a list of 10 ten-week names with this comment: "I am a new reader of your paper and it's great."

N. H. Lytle, S. C., is a new Freeman reader and, right away, an earnest member of the Freeman Army. He writes: "A friend sent me a copy of your paper the other day and I am sending you a club of seven. I was only thirty minutes getting them." This club of seven 25-week subs includes Reader Lytle's own sub. It is very encouraging thus to get new readers and workers for The Freeman.

A Freeman reader employed in the State Department in Washington, D. C., writes: "Please send me another bundle of your brand of dynamite dated May 30. The copy just received is raising hell in the Hoover-Stimson State Department and has cooled the week-end in that branch of Hooverism."

The issue of May 30 is that containing the exposure of Herbert Hoover's record under the heading, "Herbert Hoover, America's Great Mistake!"

F. A. Johnson, Kans., is one of the most energetic Freeman Army workers. He sent in two orders, 250 copies each, for The Freeman edition of May 30 exposing President Hoover's record. He also sent in an order for 250 copies of The Freeman of May 23, containing Marcell Haldeman-Julius' article on Margaret Sanger and birth control. It is this kind of steady, devoted work for enlightenment that breaks down the barriers of reaction and superstition.

THE GREATEST attack upon injustice is made by showing the majority of men and women that their true common interests are on the side of justice.

THE INCENTIVE of private profit for a few means the crushing of incentive for the masses.

The Pope Speaks--the Pope Has Nothing to Say

The climax of absurdity is reached by Pope Pius XI in his message to the world's workers, spoken over the radio from Vatican City. It is the talk of a man who doesn't in the least understand the age he is living in. And the present Pope confesses this fact, impliedly, by declaring that his message is a confirmation of the economic message given to the world by Pope Leo XIII forty years ago. After forty years, he can say nothing better than his "holy" predecessor said nearly a half century ago.

It is amusing to be told by Pope Pius that "even working men" have the right "to form associations for mutual aid and for the legitimate defense of their common interests." Even Pope Leo XIII was very belated in recognizing labor unions as an unescapable factor in modern industrial society. Forty years ago it was clear that working class organization on the industrial field had advanced far and based itself so strongly that it could not be stopped. In the first half of the nineteenth century, when labor unions were fighting desperately to establish themselves and were outlawed even in "liberal" England, the Popes said nothing in their favor. It is even more ridiculous for Pope Pius, in 1931, to say that labor unions are quite all right. He is of course characteristically vague as to what may be regarded as "legitimate defense" of the interests of labor.

Nor is it anything new nor modern nor revolutionary in a papal message to say that the Catholic church defends the rights of private property. This is a defense of capitalism, at a time when the most serious problem of the world is how to get rid of capitalism and substitute a system of collectivism that will guarantee social justice. But the Pope doesn't think the world needs to go forward. He talks of going backward. "It is absolutely necessary," he says, "to reconstruct the whole economic system by bringing it back to the requirements of social justice so as to ensure more equitable distribution of the united proceeds of capital and labor."

What period of "social justice" would the Pope have us go back to? Would he have us return to the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the masses were dumb peasants held in the relentless grip of feudal servitude? Would he have us go back to the conditions one hundred years ago, when the workers toiled fourteen and sixteen hours a day for a wage of a few dollars a week and lived in the most miserable poverty? There is no just social system in the historic period of human society, to which we could return as the Pope suggests.

Besides, the Pope's conception of social justice needs better defining. He says that some are far too rich and many are far too poor—but that is a statement which is not news and the real point is, *what is to be done about it?* If the Pope doesn't realize that the system of private property in the means of production is exactly the cause of this excessive wealth at one end of the scale and this extreme poverty among the masses—and apparently he does not understand this—then he is grossly unfit to discuss the interests of the working class.

This latest address by the Pope reveals, what we already well knew, that he has nothing whatever to say on the subject of social justice. If he wants to hold our interest, he should begin by declaring that it would be a great aid to social justice to bring about the abolition—through enlightenment and voluntary rejection among the masses—of that mighty parasitic organization, the Roman Catholic church.

SOCIALISM AND CULTURE

BY UPTON SINGLAI

First Installment.

What will be the effect of the social revolution upon culture? How will culture thrive in a Socialist society? In order to answer these questions, we must ask how culture thrives in a capitalist society, and what has been the effect of the class struggle upon the arts.

Let me explain at the outset what I mean by "the arts": not merely painting, sculpture and decoration, but all devices by which men represent life imaginatively—poetry, music, drama, fiction, moving pictures, or any other means which can take you out of your own life and make you think you are living the lives of others. Art is a representation of life, transformed by the imagination, and conveying to you something new about life, some higher realization of it, some fresh understanding or clearer vision.

The common idea of art is that it seeks to reproduce life exactly—as a painting, let us say, of a fish, which is so "lifelike" that you cannot tell it from the real thing. But that is a low kind of art. If that were all that artists tried to do, the camera would pretty nearly put him out of business, and a color camera would do the job completely.

But life is a constantly expanding and growing thing. It is always producing something new, and its processes and purposes are full of endless mysteries. We have a sense of awe in its presence; a sense of duty toward it which we do not in the least understand; a sense of delight when we succeed in doing the things which some inner urge is forever causing us to attempt. And there is no limit to these feelings. No matter how intensely we have felt them, there is always a possibility of feeling them still more intensely. The high function of art is to increase these feelings, to lead these new explorations into the powers of our being.

Art is a means of exploring life, and it is a means of experimenting with life. Every living creature wants to find as much pleasure as it can, and avoid as much pain. Everything new is dangerous. How can we find out whether it is just dangerous enough to be delightful, or more dangerous, so that it will destroy us? The answer is that we can try it out by means of our imagination, and form an idea what it will do to us, without actually letting it happen.

Today's Controversy on Sex

Let us take a concrete case. Human beings have made the discovery of what is called birth-control. Bernard Shaw calls it "the most revolutionary discovery of the nineteenth century." It makes possible that human beings should have an entirely new attitude toward sex, to live an entirely different sex life. But immediately the question arises—what will this do to the individual, and what will it do to society? This controversy is raging all over the civilized world today. You know the phrases, "free love," "companionate marriage," "easy divorce," "sex license," "revolt of youth." Millions of human beings are thinking about these questions, arguing about them.

They are trying experiments. They are trying very many in reality,

but they are trying a great many more in their imaginations. Thousands of novels are written and published, dealing with the sex problem, and millions of copies of these novels are distributed; and every time a human being reads one of these novels, he or she is trying an experiment in his imagination. He is letting that particular theory, or idea, or view of life, work in his personality, and seeing what it will do to him; whether it makes him more happy or less happy, more wise or more foolish, and so on. He is testing the new way of life by the ethical standards he already holds; and whether he accepts the new way or rejects it, he will be, in his moral and emotional being, a different person because of the imaginative experience which he has undergone.

I do not mean to say by this that the modern novelist sits down and says: "Go to, I will write a novel in favor of this kind of free love, or opposing that kind of free love." The novelist may have no conscious moral purpose whatever. He may be writing because his wife has told him that they need a new automobile, and he wants to earn the price. But if he has any sense of life at all, any power of feeling or thinking, he puts into his book the way he calls a "realist," and may do his best to conceal himself and keep about the good or the evil which he portrays; but, nevertheless, he is revealing himself to you in every line, and is doing what he can to make you such a person as he is.

Each Battles for His Ideas

He is doing it by the very choice of what he writes about. He has in his mind vast numbers of memories; he chooses between a thousand possible themes, a million episodes. He says to you, "I think that night clubs are fascinating, brilliant, and exciting." He says, "I think that fashionable ladies who have apartments on Park Avenue, and dress in elegant dinner gowns, and drink bootleg liquor with easy grace, are beautiful and elegant." Or he says, "I think that the humble man who toils and earns his living as honestly as he can is the really interesting member of society, the person worth portraying." I could easily name to you novelists who say each of these things; and each novelist is carrying on a battle for his ideas—whether consciously or unconsciously. Each is seeking for editors and publishers who will agree with his point of view; and then for readers who, by purchasing his books, will make it possible for him to live and go on writing.

I have published the statement that all art is propaganda; and this statement has caused much irritation to some critics. I hope you will now understand what I mean: every artist has his point of view, his conception of dignity, beauty and charm, and he is trying to convey that to other persons. If he did not consider the other persons worth trying to influence, then certainly he would not take the very great trouble of trying to produce art works. He would be content with his own vision in his own soul, and not seek to communicate it to his fellow men.

A Plea for Mutual Aid

I do not know how far back it was that the living creatures which

were destined to evolve into human beings learned the advantages of co-operating. If you are interested in this problem of biology, you should read the book by Peter Kropotkin, "Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution." Kropotkin shows how cooperative life begins with the birds and the insects, and he shows that creatures which live in societies, and practice helping one another, become infinitely more numerous, and therefore more successful, than the creatures which stay by themselves and "look out for number one."

When our ancestors were swinging by their tails in the tree-tops, they helped one another to keep guard against the saber-tooth tiger, or against any other enemy which threatened them. They shared their food, and they shared their knowledge. Out of all these common experiences grew the herd feelings and impulses. Sympathy, we call it now—which means "together-feeling," and this "together-feeling" is the basis of art.

What happens to any one of us may happen to all. Also when we are about to do something, it is better that the others should understand what we are doing, so that they may have a "together-feeling" with us, and may help us in case of need; or at any rate, not fall upon us and destroy us, because of our blindness in daring to do something which was never done before, and which therefore arouses the terrors of the unknown. As the human spirit evolves, and as consciousness widens, the monkey in the tree-top chattering to the other monkeys becomes a Schiller composing an "Ode to Joy," or a Beethoven making it into a "Ninth Symphony." "Be embraced, ye millions! A kiss to the whole world!"

In other words, the purpose of art is to communicate our sense of the joy of life and the wonder of life to our fellows—as many of them as we can possibly reach: to let them know how we feel, with a generous hope that they will feel it also, and thus life will come to grow. It is a development and sublimation of all the different group emotions—tribal sentiment, which becomes patriotism or love of country, and then humanitarianism or love of all mankind. It is parental feeling, the desire to protect our own helpless offspring, broadened out into a desire to foster all the children of the generations yet unborn, and to give them the happiness and knowledge and understanding which blesses our own lives. It is the love we feel for our own partner in the sexual embrace, widened into sympathy with all the loving couples of the world. You may translate your sense of duty into reverence for God, or you may keep it for what Swinburne calls "the holy spirit of man"; but in either case you are willing to make tremendous efforts of both body and mind in order to convey to your fellow beings that heightened and glorified sense of the importance of life and its preciousness, and the right which it has to grow, unhindered by oppressors or destroyers.

Art Is Not for Snobs

It should be plain from all this that art, as I conceive it, is a generous and humane and noble thing. And you will understand that I fight with all vehemence against any concept of art which limits or betrays it. Exactly as I hate a bigot or tyrant who says to the individual, "You are not permitted to live for your own happiness and the highest development of your own faculties," so I hate also the critic, or the art-theorist, who says or implies that art is a thing reserved for some small group of privileged and highly cultured persons, and that great works of art are those which cannot be understood and enjoyed by the ordinary human being. I hate all those cliques and schools of fancy artists who take art as a means of enhancing their own self-importance, and produce art works which only a few can understand, and which therefore serve as a test of one's right of admission to a little group of art snobs.

Also I hate those theorists who tell us that the purpose of art is merely the representation of reality; overlooking the fact that life is a process of creation, just as art is a process of creation; and that we are the creators both of art and of life, and that we can make new life by the process of making new pictures of life in art-works. I do not mean merely that the artist, by the work he produces, can exercise a concrete effect upon human society—as when the "Marseillaise" helped to overthrow the French monarchy, or when "The Jungle" helped to clean up the Chicago stockyards. I mean that great artists create a human character who never existed in the world before, and that millions and hundreds of millions of human beings fall in love with that character, and proceed to imitate it, and therefore make new forms of reality which never existed in the world until they were born in the imagination of the great artist. So Shakespeare helped to make the ruling-class Englishman, and made him more generous and open-minded than the predatory brute he would otherwise have been. So Cervantes helped to make the modern Spaniard less a victim of the idiocies of superstition; and Moliere helped to make the modern Frenchman with a sense of laughter and a sense of reality.

The Theory of the Class Struggle

So far in the history of mankind there have always been masters and servants. We have today an enormously complex society, governed by a privileged class, who can look back through history and study the development of this ruling group. We can see how at one time or another new elements in the society gained wealth and power, forcing themselves to the front and taking control. We Socialists have a very definite theory of what we call the "class struggle," and we claim that our theory is scientifically based upon an analysis of economic forces. We have examined the ruling classes of all the various epochs of history,

and pointed out what was the basis of their wealth and dominance, and what part they played in shaping human culture.

Every class in power has always sought, and will always seek, to perpetuate its power. Its defense will be not merely by means of steel and gunpowder, but by destroying the bodies of its enemies, and of its revolting subjects; it will seek, inevitably, the much easier method of overcoming the minds of its enemies and subjects, and persuading them that its rule is for the best, and that objection to its rule is treason to the state and blasphemy against the gods. It will set up a whole paraphernalia of ideals: piety, patriotism, loyalty, love of home, and so on.

Capitalism Uses Art as a Weapon

It will not merely deal in arguments and overt propaganda which everyone can recognize as such; it will be subtle, and will use the infinitely more powerful weapons of art. It will portray itself, the ruling class, in idealistic and glorified figures, as heroes and heroines; it will surround these figures with glamour, it will put about their heads the halos of saints, or on top of their heads the crowns of kings. It will set men of imagination at this task, and pay them high rewards, and they will become the great creative artists of their own time, and when they are dead they will be "classics," and all school boys and girls will be taught to revere them. But not all the power of genius will thus be for sale to the ruling class. There will be some men of imagination born among the oppressed classes, and these will suffer and writhe under the wrongs done them; they will break out in rebellion, and they will become the writers, the poets, the painters, the sculptors and musicians of revolt. The products of their art will not be welcomed and acclaimed by the ruling classes. On the contrary, every effort will be made to repress and destroy them. They will find no recognition and support, and the great mass of them will perish in their youth, or be starved into submission, and their names will never become known to posterity. A few of the more stubborn will survive, however, and so we shall have a rebel art, increasing in volume and effectiveness as the protest against class domination gains in power all over the world.

I have a book, "Mammonart," in which I have made a detailed study of this class struggle in art. I look upon the class struggle as something universal throughout history, something all-pervasive and not to be escaped. Whether you know it or not, you are either a beneficiary of class privilege or one of its victims, and you cannot produce art, or consume art, you cannot enjoy it or praise it, without taking part in the class struggle. You may be a sentimental soul who likes to read pretty love stories, and to take no part in the harsh realities of the modern world; but when you buy a magazine full of the simple love stories that you like, you are contributing your money to help create the agencies for keeping the workers' minds off their trouble, and thereby riveting the chains of wage slavery more tightly upon them.

Or perhaps you are a teacher of Greek and Latin. You teach school boys to love the ancient classics, and you think that is a noble and humane occupation; and removes you from the clash and clamor of this ugly modern world. You quite fail to realize that the Greek world was once the modern world, and just as full of clash and clamor as ours, and seemed just as ugly to the sensitive spirits of that time. The only way you can really understand the Greek classics is to relate them to the class struggle now going on in our world—which are as real and living to us as the affairs of the Greeks were to those who produced their works of art. There is nothing in the way of vulgarity, crime or confusion in present-day America which cannot be duplicated in classical Greece; and if we fail to realize this we cannot understand either Greek art or our own.

[Concluded next week.]

PLEASE NOTE!

Every reader of The American Freeman will get a copy of the special four-page announcement telling of the plan to revive the Appeal to Reason. Readers who wish extra copies of this announcement for circulation among their friends, neighbors and fellow workers may obtain these extra copies by addressing their requests to Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas.

Mother Shipton's Prophecy

[These lines were first published in England in 1485, before the discovery of America, and before any of the discoveries and inventions mentioned therein. All the events predicted have come to pass except that in the last few lines:]

Carriages without horses shall go. And accidents fill the world with woe. Around the world thoughts shall fly in the twinkling of an eye. Waters shall yet more wonders do. Now strange, yet shall be true. The world upside down shall be. And gold be found at root of tree. Through hills man shall ride. And no horse nor ass be at his side. Under water man shall walk. Shall ride, shall sleep, shall talk. In the air men shall be seen. In white, in black, in green. From in the water shall float As easy as a wooden boat. Gold shall be found 'mid stone. In a land that's new unknown. Fire and water shall wonders do. England shall at last admit a Jew. And this world to an end shall come. In eighteen hundred and eighty-one. This last paragraph we must deny. But do not think she meant to lie.

Culture inspires men with the spirit of freedom and teaches them how to use freedom.

NARROW moralists concentrate their indulgence on the vice of bigotry.

A SOCIALIST MUNICIPAL PROGRAM FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRIME

BY HON. DANIEL W. HOAN.

Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee.

The municipal program for the prevention of crime outlined herein is in actual operation in the city and county of Milwaukee. It is, therefore, based upon practice, not theory. The efficacy of this program is evidenced by the fact that Milwaukee has the lowest crime record, according to available statistics, of any large city in the world, and I believe relatively of the smaller cities as well. This program has been in effect only since 1910, but with steady noticeable improvements each year. One year, when every other city had an increase in burglary insurance rates of from 20 to 100 percent, Milwaukee was the only large city that received an actual reduction amounting to 20 percent, and today we have the lowest burglary insurance rates in the country. For a number of years we have had the lowest homicide record of any large city and the lowest automobile theft insurance rates. It is safe for women and children to traverse our streets.

I shall submit this program with necessary explanations accompanied by notes under six headings as follows:

A Summer and Winter Program of Wholesome Outdoor and Indoor Recreation Under Public Control.

Note: Eighty percent of arrests made in the United States in 1928 were made for misdemeanors committed in the leisure hours of the offender. Seventy-one percent of these offenders were under 21 years of age. It has long been known that the construction of a modern playground with proper supervision in congested areas has reduced juvenile offenses nearly 80 percent. Likewise, it has been determined that most juvenile offenses come from congested areas with insufficient recreational facilities.

Recreation, however, should not be confined to public playgrounds but should consist of a comprehensive program covering both summer and winter sports under competent supervision. Our summer recreational program includes the best supervised outdoor play in the country. Our parks and playgrounds furnish the following recreation:

Band concerts, zoo, horse racing, children's play facilities, wading pools, baseball diamonds, football fields, open-air dancing in the parks, golf, tennis, restricted areas for picnic parties, etc. Our bathing beaches are unsurpassed for swimming.

Winter sports include ice skating, tobogganing, ski-jumping, hockey.

We also have the only large Auditorium in this country that is self-supporting which houses innumerable civic events of a recreational nature.

Under the heading of winter recreation our social winter work comes into prominence. It is the best organized in this country. Our school houses are open evenings under efficient directors. Here will be found the most extensive program for recreation and education in this country.

Our civic demonstrations are comprehensive and popular. On the Fourth of July all our public parks have an all-day program. These parks are located in congested areas and thousands of our citizens take part in the direction of a State Fourth Commission, which formulates and executes a program designed primarily for the benefit of the children. Similar celebrations are held around municipal and community Christmas trees on Christmas eve and during the Christmas holidays. Likewise a great festival is held almost every summer on our lake shore, where either pageants, boat racing or fire works furnished at small cost provide clean recreation. It may be said of these civic celebrations that they tend very greatly to create and maintain a fine community spirit. These, together with our civic clubs and parent-teachers' associations, bring our citizenship together, resulting in the building of a fine, wholesome, clean community spirit.

Development of a School Program so as to Interest Every Child.

Note: We have established three pre-vocational schools. These are institutions which absorb children marked as dull in the regular schools. Upon entering such an institution, where a combination of industrial, educational and recreational methods are employed, these children become enthusiastic scholars and develop into high type citizens. Without such guidance many of these children would become a problem for our juvenile court authorities.

Our vocational schools, which are the largest and best equipped in the world, furnish practical and industrial education to all boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 16, and one day a week for those between 16 and 18 who are obliged to work. At this school boys that might otherwise become discouraged are not only given an opportunity to review their school work but are given a taste of schooling in various lines which increases their earning capacity and directs their education along paths of the greatest usefulness to themselves. In addition to this we also conduct night schools under our social center division for adults as well as minors. Here mothers can learn something of millinery, domestic science and many other branches of practical knowledge.

Finally, the University of Wisconsin has a well established university extension division, which enrolls thousands of students in our city who otherwise would be unable to attend college.

All of these institutions furnish an opportunity for every minor or adult to become a useful citizen when he might otherwise become discouraged and easily led to commit crime.

Employment. Since crime is committed mostly in idle hours, it is essential that employment be furnished to all who seek it.

We have established a joint city,

county, state and federal employment bureau. This institution holds out a helping hand at a time when most needed and helps to build that confidence in government and respect for authority which are needed to prevent the state of mind likely to drive needy persons to crime.

Improved Housing.

Note: Poor housing is not only a menace to health but a breeding place for crime. Children reared in an unwholesome environment are not likely to develop into good citizens.

Milwaukee has no slums. Most of our families live in their own homes. Dilapidated and insanitary dwellings are ordered torn down as rapidly as they are found to be uninhabitable. During the past three years we have razed 1,000 such structures in various parts of the city, and this work is steadily progressing. Several years ago we worked out a cooperative home-owning plan, by means of which 105 individual homes were constructed on large lots and with ample play space in the center of the plat, at a saving of \$1,500 apiece.

Police Administration.

Note: It is more profitable for the police officer to be honest and efficient than to be dishonest and inefficient.

We have accomplished this by a number of steps:

a. By adoption of the best pension system in America.

b. By a system under which every man's record is carefully kept and is used for purposes of demotion and discharge as well as for promotion.

c. A daily bulletin for members of the department. This bulletin calls attention to all characters wanted or property stolen, so that every member of the department is well informed as to what is wanted. These bulletins are kept in a loose-leaf booklet manual which the sergeants check up from time to time to see that they are kept up to date by the patrolmen.

d. Courtesy of patrolmen. The members of the department are educated to the idea that their first duty is to treat every citizen courteously. This not only secures respect for them but also the confidence necessary to the best work in the prevention and detection of crime.

Speedy Hearings and Judgment.

Note: There should be the greatest cooperation between the police department and the courts.

Our probation officials are appointed by and are officers of the court. The probation system should be used in so far as possible both for minors and adults for first offenses. Repeaters should be given a speedy trial and effective punishment. Nowhere do hardened criminals get speedier justice than in the city of Milwaukee. The jury system must also be honest. The plan in use by the jury commissioners of Milwaukee county insures fair and impartial juries.

Wasteful and Expensive Government.

Note: Of prime importance is honesty in municipal government. To illustrate, let us assume that the bootlegging or criminal element, usually one and the same crowd, are paying tribute to police officers and officials. Under such circumstances the criminal plies his trade with the belief, at least, that he is immune from arrest; in fact, he often is immune. The honest man fears an expose and let the crooks off.

I recall that in the spring of 1921, I made a personal investigation of police matters in Milwaukee with the result that four higher-ups in the police department, rather than face charges, resigned. Three or four others, guilty of less serious offenses, but otherwise efficient men, were given another chance to straighten up. All have done so. The effect was marvelous. Screen burglars, who were making a farce of police protection, disappeared as if by magic. The crime wave that swept most all large American cities, failed to materialize here. We have not had a crime wave at all.

How can a mayor or chief of police clean up their departments if they themselves have blemishes on their records? How can they insist on cleanliness in police or other official circles unless he is backed by a political organization that itself demands clean government? A government, once it allows itself to come under corrupt influences, like a dope fiend, sinks lower and lower in the strata of environment.

Honest municipal government, which is responsive to the public welfare, will unite with and be responsive to the honest needs of the clean elements of the community. By the same token, it will hold itself aloof from persons of criminal tendencies.

Likewise must a distinction be drawn between honest and dishonest labor leaders. It is a known fact that some labor leaders are grafters, particularly in the building trades. This element is always found in alliance with old-line political activities. It seeks jobs or graft from municipal authorities. Demands for graft from employers are the next step. Obstreperous employers are brought to time by violent means. The big jobs are sought after in open warfare. Innumerable crimes and even murder result. In our city the honest element of the unions which seeks benefits only for the membership is supported in its lawful aims. Crookedness would be sure to be followed by exposure. The entire trades union movement is highly pleased with the good order resulting.

I could furnish dozens of examples of how an honest policy in our police and sheriff's departments has eliminated every vestige of violence or crime during labor disputes, even in such large conflicts as a railroad strike. There was no other city so free from violence as Milwaukee. The department must prove to both sides that it is impartial and will enforce the law without favor to either employer or employees. Our chief of police or sheriff, as the case may be, usually confers immediately with both sides in a labor dispute and informs them of their legal rights and duties and that unlawful

acts will be firmly dealt with. This must be borne in mind, however, that private detective agencies engaged in industrial work are barred from operating here. They can only flourish where there is strife and consequently they seek to incite trouble. Government must be respected in the humblest and highest cities. Not only must it be honest, it must serve the needs of all in a kindly and considerate manner.

Milwaukee's success in the prevention of crime is possible in any community which is willing to carry out the practical program outlined herein. It is cheaper in the long run to provide public playgrounds, social centers, vocational schools, etc., than to build more courts and jails. The old adage still holds true that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

CAPITALISM COMBATS "ECONOMIC SUICIDE"

Worker Cannot Buy with Lowered Wages, Labor Bureau Reports—Gets Less for Dollar

The common contention that hard times, such as the world is now suffering, allow the worker and farmer to "get more for his dollar" is dealt a severe blow by the current issue of facts for workers, the monthly research publication of the Labor Bureau, Inc.

"For the great majority, the gain from the falling prices is more than counterbalanced by widespread part-time employment and reductions in wage scales," it says. For "the comparatively few workers who are fortunate enough to be fully employed at their old rates," real wages are rising because of the lower living cost, but this number is insignificant in proportion to the number which suffers from wage-cuts, speed-up and the necessity of part-time employment.

"Revised figures for February, 1931, show a total of 231 wage reductions, as against only eight gains," the publication said. "January cuts amounted to 341 in all, but there were 72 advances. More reductions in wage scales went into effect in the first two months of 1931 than there were gains in the entire twelve months of 1930. The sporadic attempts of the administration seem to be ineffectual in preventing a weakening of the wage level, in spite of all warnings that reduction in wages inevitably means loss of purchasing power."

While the Hoover administration has tied the hands of the A. F. of L. by persuading President William Green to reject strikes during the depression period, the bosses and economic masters are cutting wages right and left, and the result is that the worker cannot buy with their lower wages. The masters of the capitalist system have also sworn to reject wage-cuts, but time and again they have violated their pledge to Hoover, and he has done nothing to hold them to it.

Without the money to buy, the worker paralyzes the economic system. In turn, Big Business fires him when his inability to buy slows up orders, thus deepening the economic crisis. This is going on throughout the world, and it is recognized by many that the only way out is either higher wages (which Big Business is too selfish, by its very motive of private profits, to grant)—or a great change in the economic and social system.

Pointing out the lower earning power of the worker, the publication says:

"Average per capita earnings were 9 percent lower in March, 1931, than in March, 1930, in spite of the fact that there had been monthly gains of 6 percent from January to February, and 1 percent from February to March."

Falling stock quotations as a result of reduced profits and cuts in dividends furnished a good deal of the impetus for wage cuts, according to the report.

"Stockholders did not care what happened to wages so long as their dividends were coming regularly," the report adds. "But now that this is no longer the case, many of them are eager to recoup their fortunes at the expense of the wage earners."

Thus the capitalist does not "take the risk," as students in almost all American schools are taught, but he shifts them onto the backs of the worker as soon as he is hit, by firing, wage cuts and the speed-up.

CAPITALIST economists lament that the buying power of the workers is too low. Well, what could they expect? The workers' wages are not enough to buy what they have produced with their labor. Exploited workers are, inevitably, workers with an insufficient buying power.

WHEN HOOVER says that there ought not to be wage cuts in American industries, that is his way of denying the fact that there are wage cuts. The workers, who feel the pinch, know better.

EIGHT MILLION workers tramping the streets, jobless and hungry, and hopeless, will agree that "economic individualism" is hard on the feet and the stomach.

THE MAN who dares not enjoy life is apt to cast the aspersions of immorality upon the man who has both the good sense and the courage to enjoy life.

GRAFT by one name or another is the rule, not the exception, under capitalism.

Dresses 10¢—Mens Shirts 35¢

Millinery 25¢, Rayon Underwear 32¢, Overalls 67¢, Chiffon Hosiery 17¢. Underties 5¢, Socks 10¢. Agents Make Big Profits. Big Bargain Catalog Free. CLIFFORD-CROSBY 400. Dept. 138, 420 W. Superior, Chicago.

A Lesson in Capitalist Statesmanship

"Business intends that the responsibility for shrinking employment, for suspended earnings, for problems and distress entering so many homes shall be laid at the door of those who are thoughtlessly or recklessly leading themselves to destructive panaceas," he declared.

Bare and bow your head, gentle reader, for the he referred to here is no less a personage than Julius H. Barnes himself, the august chairman of the board of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; and he was speaking at a dinner which closed the chamber's annual meeting at Atlantic City a few days ago. This oracular utterance from the appointed spokesman of Big Business must have been awfully impressive to those highly-privileged persons who heard it; for Mr. Louis Stark, who reported the oracles words for the New York Times of May 2, started off by saying that a "magna charta" for American business was enunciated by Julius Barnes.

The following quotations from the oracles words are taken in fear and trembling from the New York Times report.

He was speaking on "America's Responsibility and Opportunity."

Those Poor, Barbarous Russians!

Naturally, however, the oracle was worried over the condition of the poor Russians, for it seems that he began his historic speech by contrasting the living standards of Americans and Russians. Coleman, think of it, ladies and gentlemen, the standard of living of Mr. Barnes and his audience, when compared with that of muskies and peasants of Russia—well, say anybody in Russia—must look pretty good. Men of the Barnes bunch probably do spend more for champagne and cigars than Stalin's salary amounts to, which fact, of course, greatly helps the working classes. Even when Russia shall have completed the five-year plan, she will "still be at the foot of all nations with which fifty years ago" she was upon an equal footing. He could see no "security" whatever in the Russian system but does see it in "maintaining those conditions which invite and encourage the free play of individual resourcefulness."

Get that? The "Russian system" is struggling along with about 160,000,000 people; but we hear not a word about unemployment coming out of Russia; on the contrary she is calling for workers. We hear nothing of bread lines, food riots, or even business depression. But Russia is not making millionaires out of investors and speculators—or of anybody else, for that matter! The prime concern of the "Russian system" is, obviously, the welfare of the workers; she doesn't seem to be "inviting and encouraging the free play of individual resourcefulness," as that great economic virtue is understood and practiced in this country where 7 or 8 millions of men are vainly seeking employment, where bread lines are long and growing longer, where soup kitchens are multiplying and the soup is getting thinner, where "food riots" are half-told and half-suppressed by the newspapers, and where the "manufacture" of millionaires is the "highest" and "noblest" industry.

More Capitalistic Bank

Then the great Julius H. Barnes "turned," according to the Times report, to consideration of American problems. Here Barnes maintained that the danger in this country was that "emotionalism which will not patiently study and analyze the vast influences at play and may resort under short-sighted leadership to the paralyzing injection of government into the free play of unfettered effort."

(You'd better stop here, "gentle reader," and rest a moment!)

Yea, that's the danger. The American worker, stupid as he is, may lose patience with these "vast influences at play" with his destiny and "may resort under short-sighted leadership, to the paralyzing injection of government into the free play of unfettered effort."

Old Barnes is uneasy, you see. He fears that the American worker, under the stress of emotionalism, may run amuck; that is to say, may cease to accept the philosophy of capitalism, in all its implications, and take to flitting with the radicals—the terrible, dread radicals. Mr. Barnes believes, with all his heart, in the "free play of unfettered effort!"

An Old Reactionary Theory

Barnes is here making a rhetorical plea for the old 19th century doctrine of *laissez faire*, which, realistically interpreted, means, let the marauding capitalists alone, let them work their predatory wills to the limit, let "unfettered effort" have "free play"—except, of course, that striking proletarians must be taught their places, even when such teaching must be emphasized by "target practice" by the police and the constabulary.

Here we reach that part of the oracles discourse with which this article began. It is worth repeating for emphasis alone.

Business intends that the responsibility for shrinking employment, for suspended earnings, for problems and distress entering so many homes shall be laid at the door of those who thoughtlessly or recklessly lead themselves to destructive panaceas.

Clearly, then, folk who are dissatisfied with present conditions should be made to shut up! Uh-huh.

But listen to the oracle:

It was not lack of business leadership, but political violation of the world by the simultaneous collapse of governmental injection into sugar and coffee and silk and rubber and nitrates and wheat and cotton. It was not business judgment, but political violation of the world by the buying power of great Oriental countries by the dumping of India's reserves of silver as a commodity upon a world that

for 2,000 years had looked upon it as something stable standard of value. It was not business judgment but political violation that today segregates 150,000,000 people behind the frontiers of Russian autocracy, suppressing the natural aspirations and ambitious energy of vast populations, confiscating the products of their labor without price to pour them upon the markets of the world in destructive competition with free labor.

Another Barnes Joke

The products of Russian labor are being "confiscated, without price, and poured upon the markets of the world in destructive competition with free labor!" Well, we believe that's the funniest falsehood we've ever seen in print. Barnes' audience must have enjoyed it immensely. Barnes just can't bear to see the products of labor confiscated! Har! har! har!

But Barnes doesn't stop with telling us what's the matter. He proposes eleven reforms, though, according to his diagnosis, one should be sufficient. The whole national calamity—"shrinking employment," "suspended earnings," "problems and distress entering so many homes"—he charges squarely up to "those who thoughtlessly and recklessly lead themselves to destructive panaceas."

In other words, all our national ills are chargeable, not to any real economic ills but to the remedies which have been proposed! The plain moral, of course, is that everybody, except duly authorized spokesmen of Big Business, should keep his mouth shut.

Barnes' Eleven "Remedies"

Here are the eleven remedies Dr. Barnes prescribes:

1. Lift the legislative restriction which prevents great life insurance companies from entering the field of unemployment relief through private contract, just as they have done in protection against almost every other form of human distress.

2. In other words, put a stop to all this nonsense of government unemployment insurance and let that "business" go to private profit.

3. Revise the capital gains provision as recommended by President Hoover and Secretary Mellon before it can prove again a potent force in an orgy of inflation leading to ultimate collapse.

4. Confirm America's entry into the Court of International Justice as recommended by President Hoover in the interest of international good-will and good faith.

5. Reconsider the forty-year-old regulatory legislation and administrative barriers for destructive competition destroys further agencies of employment and earnings, and especially as to conserving natural resources.

6. Reframe our banking laws in the light of recent experience so that agricultural communities particularly shall have reestablished, strong sources of credit.

7. Reconsider the regulatory provisions affecting American railroads, especially as to facilitating power consolidations into strong systems and the relative burden laid on competitive transportation.

8. Establish tariff schedules on economic principles, facilitating international trade, with only due protection to our higher wage scales and living standards.

9. The Smoot-Hawley Tariff, the highest in American history, has almost paralyzed our international trade, having cut it practically in half already. And this infamous act is the outstanding achievement, so far, of the Hoover administration. It was passed, of course, at the instigation of Big Business, just as all other tariff swindles have been.

10. Apply all reasonable policies of economy to public finance, and thus control tax burdens which threaten to stifle industry and discourage individuals.

11. Barnes shouldn't be "discouraged." Secretary Mellon seems to be taking care of the tax-payers for whom he speaks. Mellon regularly refunds hundreds of millions of dollars of income taxes to the big pilferers of the upper brackets, and despite threats of impeachment, gets away with that game.

12. Dispose of the outgrown war investment at Muscle Shoals and cease the agitation for public operation before further discouraging private enterprise.

13. By all means let Senator Norris be squelched before he "further discourages private enterprise." So delicately timorous, so modest and bashful, you know, so easily discouraged!

14. Definitely sustain the American tradition that government money, and government authority

15. Each Congress has two sessions. Its first, the long session, beginning thirteen months after its members are elected, is followed by one beginning one month after its successors are elected. This "lame duck" session, whom it has rejected at the polls to continue making its laws, may be quaint and curious in the manner of a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, but its effects are somewhat like its causes. And its causes were the facts that in the days when the Constitution was framed the news of election of new members could not travel fast enough to Washington, nor could ballots and reports be sent quickly enough, or the new members arrive soon enough, for the second session of Congress—by coach-and-four!

16. As early as 1840 a resolution to do away with this absurdity was presented, and from that time to this there have been repeated attempts to substitute common sense for custom and tradition. Four times resolution to dispense with the "lame ducks" have passed the Senate, but not the House.

17. In the short session of Congress just closed, there were some hundred members who had either been defeated or did not care to continue in their office. Meanwhile one hundred new members had been chosen by their constituents, and were at home and will be there, unless a special session is called, until December.

18. Not Representative of the People

Thus the Congress was not and could not have been representative of the already expressed wishes of the people, and a large proportion of its members were not vitally interested any longer in work, which, so far as they were concerned, would be over in a few weeks.

19. The "lame duck" session exhibited its inherent anomaly beyond question in the last session. The resolution to dispense with it passed the House.

20. This bill provided that the newly elected Congress convene the second day of January after its election and that Inauguration Day be January 15, thus giving time, if ever the election were thrown into the House for the President to be chosen before the date set for taking office.

21. Although this passed the House, it was amended to still limit the session to three months. There was no time before adjournment for discussion in the Senate on this bill, so that it again failed of passage, and we are in for another three months of delay and scramble, from December 5, 1932, to March 4, 1933, and no doubt, when the amendment does pass both houses, for several more such sessions before it is ratified.

22. The Scandal of "Filibusters"

The second "practical joke" of Congressional procedure is the "filibuster." This has not even quaintness nor tradition to excuse its common use. It is not embodied in the Constitution. It was not, apparently, thought of by the Framers. It is simply one of the less elegant footnotes in the Senate's book of etiquette.

23. When little girls dispute, there are three methods open to one child faced by two opponents: to yield gracefully, to go home "mad," or to yell—and if the minority of one has a good bellow and can stick it out, she can "talk down" her opponents.

24. Congress, apparently, has taken a page from the "filibuster" of little girls. "Talking them down" is a favorite and respectable procedure (as Congressional respectability goes).

25. On one occasion a gentleman in that august body saw that he would be easily beaten if a vote were taken on a measure he opposed. He announced that he would proceed to read the whole of Byron's works

aloud unless he could have his way, and his Congressional playmates simply gave in. Perhaps they didn't appreciate Byron.

Worthy Measures Are Yelled Down

Several measures were ready for a vote in this year's overcrowded session: the copyright bill, "baby bill" (some newspapers feared to mention it as the "maternity bill"); and the immigration restriction bill.

None of these were party measures. There was almost unanimous support of the first two, and public opinion backed both. Little opposition was evidenced, and the second measure was almost a necessity in view of the fact that the law which it superseded had run out.

The vote was ready. A gentleman from Massachusetts opened with an address of an hour and a half. A gentleman from Vermont and then one from Connecticut and one from Maryland followed. Once a Senator gets the floor he may hold it as long as his breath holds out unless he transgresses a minor rule or regulation. They did.

They spoke on economic distress, Muscle Shoals, a Minnesota judge, questions interesting and important, but at the time not before the Senate.

The triumphant performance of this little piece came from the gentleman from Oklahoma. He declared that if his resolution for the investigation of the oil industry (not then before the Senate) were not passed, neither composers, authors, mothers nor immigrants would have anything!

He began on midnight Tuesday and spoke until ten minutes past one, when the Senators thought they would rather sleep in bed.

He was ready at nine o'clock the next morning and stopped only when the hour for the close of the Seventy-first Congress had struck.

He had won.

Not through adverse votes, but through a footnote in the Congressional book of etiquette and an obdurate small group of Congressmen, had the earnest labor of hundreds who had striven for years gone for naught. They must begin again with the next Congress.

The Senate and the politics may think the filibuster smart politics. But what does the public think of this Congressional procedure?

CATHOLIC RACKETEERS HAVE SIMPLE SOLUTION FOR AUTO ACCIDENTS

The Roman Catholic Church has found a way to prevent automobile accidents which is simplicity itself and for which a waiting world should be extremely grateful. According to newspaper accounts this modern miracle is accomplished by blessing the potentially offending vehicle at a ceremony held for the express purpose. These rites may be briefly described as follows:

On the designated day, and at the appointed hour, those automobiles, which are to be blessed thereafter by the Holy Ghost, are formed in a single line and driven past the officiating priest, who is all dressed up like a circus horse and, who, the mumbles his incantations as the naughty, sinful Devil-Wagons move slowly by. Thus the machines are purged of all their diabolical intentions, such as climbing telephone poles, knocking down innocent bystanders or flying at each other's throats with premeditated murder in their hearts.

Think of it! For over thirty years these satanic monsters have played havoc with human life until we had almost come to believe that they were going to get the upper hand and annihilate the race. But now we have them on the hip, as Bill Shakespeare would say, and we shall feed the ancient grudge we bear them. Never again will the crash of broken windshield glass mingle with the muffled hum of two giant iron tanks ramming each other at high speed. Never again will the lives of pedestrians be menaced by the drunken driven, the moron at the wheel or the speed maniac. No more will the engineer of the Limited worry about meeting the fool at the crossing. Just make it the duty of our traffic officers to enforce the blessing of every motor vehicle and we have nothing further to fear from that source.

Last year in the United States these wicked automobiles killed 32,000 people and injured 90,000 others, all of which could have been prevented by merely blessing these Jugenauts before they were placed in use. Then they would engage in a career of wanton slaughter, the very thought of which makes us shudder every time we try to cross the street.

It seems to us that the really scientific way for the Catholic Church to do this job is to put a priest at the end of each production line in the Ford plants and for them to sprinkle some holy water on each car as it leaves the assembly. That would bring Catholicism to a Mass Production basis.

There is only one fly in the ointment and that is the serious increase in unemployment which this plan would bring about. The insurance companies would have to charge a great many of their employees; the hospitals would have to reduce their staffs; the doctors and undertakers would lose money. Even the ambulance chaser would be idle. The Catholic Church has waited for a quarter of a century; it can afford to wait until this business depression is over.

It is true that we have no respect for Herbert Hoover as a man—he is without charm of character, nobility of mind, generosity of nature or sympathy of social vision—but, after all, our chief interest in attacking the capitalist, anti-social principles which are represented by Herbert Hoover.

CHARACTERISTIC of his capitalist psychology is President Hoover's statement that an intelligent system of unemployment insurance would be a "dole." He favors instead the hazardous, humiliating form of "dole" known as charity.

In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary Ramblings
Isaac Goldberg

What Hasn't Been Lost Cannot Be Found

The Lost Tribes a Myth. By Allen H. Godbey, Ph.D. Professor of Old Testament in Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. Duke University Press, \$3.00.

This is in more respects than one, a monumental work. In the first place, it runs to 802 pages, not including countless photographs and other illustrations. Its bibliography alone takes up more than forty octavo pages. It is indexed and cross-indexed. In short, a model piece of research that must have taken years to conduct to a successful conclusion.

I do not pretend to be competent to pass judgment upon the chief thesis of the book, although from what I have read, I am inclined to believe that the professor has made out an overwhelming case. To be frank, I am amazed first of all, at the organized industry that was necessary to write what amounts to an encyclopedia rather than a book upon the subject.

Professor Godbey, after an introductory chapter devoted to the theory of the lost tribes, launches upon a multiplicity of discussions. Are the Hebrews Israelites? Are the Jews a race? What is the real status of the Yemen Jews and the Falashas, of the Berber, Moorish and Negro Jews—of the Khazars, Scythians and Tartars, and the black Jews of India? But this is only a beginning.

At every step, Professor Godbey is heavily documented. Nothing is left to say-so. Nor is the discussion such that the value of the book is limited only to those with theological interests. Students of ethnology, of history, of literature, will find a veritable radiation of by-paths leading to side issues of fascinating import. There is a little gold mine for philologists and investigators into folk-lore. The array of pictures at the end is a course in itself.

There can be no doubt that Jewish history, as a result of this opus, will have to be revalued and rewritten. "The Lost Tribes a Myth" not only cannot be ignored; it must be taken into account hereafter by all who write not only on the theological aspects of the Jew but on almost any other phase of this mysterious ethnographic entity. The wealth of references and quotations makes the work additionally valuable. Only the fact that it was published by a University Press at a high price can account for its insufficient circulation among laymen. Specialists of all persuasions have seized it in a manner that should recompense the author, partially at least, for the years of dedication involved.

The Five-Year Plan

New Russia's Primer. By M. Ilin. Translated by the Russian by George S. Counts and Nucia P. Large. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. \$1.75.

Here, at last, seems to come something new under the literary sun. This book was written to initiate Russian youth into the intricacies and aspirations of the Five-Year Plan. Ilin is not a literary man. He is an engineer. He uses a style that is as clear as the lines of an expert draftsman; as indeed, why shouldn't he, since this is the blue print of the Soviet future?

His thought, like his writing, is swift, graphic, and at times, nothing less than fascinating. He can make the figures talk. He can make the laboratory as magical and exciting as a playhouse. With the utmost ease he instills in his readers—old as well as young—an active optimism. Not altogether without warrant he uses our own country, quoting such of our writers as Stuart Chase, as the evil contrast to the hopes of new Russia.

He shows up, sometimes with humorous parables, the tremendous criminal waste under which our slowly crumbling capitalist system makes us stagger. His book, in a word, is not only for Russian youth; it is for the adults of every other nation. It will be called propaganda. What of it? If it is true, it is true. If it is a lie, I should be very happy to watch the spectacle of our magnates trying to deny the facts and figures, not of Ilin, but of Mr. Stuart Chase.

This primer suggests a new way to deal with economics, that fascinating pursuit which was once called "The Dismal Science." If economics ever was a dismal science, the fault—as in the case of mathematics—lies not with the subject matter and not with the pupils so much as with the teachers. Let them read—let all read who write to convey information—this "New Russia's Primer" to learn how to break down man's natural resistance against acquiring knowledge.

It is a hopeful sign that this book is one of the current works selected by the Book of the Month Club. But then, with the Saturday Evening Post running a series of articles by Leon Trotsky, and the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* featuring Russian fiction, we may expect anything, even justice.

Briefer Mention

Libertarians will rejoice in the appearance of "The Dreyfus Affair," by Jacques Kayser (Covici-Friede, \$5). Jacques is the nephew of Alfred Dreyfus and has written his book with the advantage of secret documents from the archives of France. That the famous—rather, infamous—scandal is still hot in the hearts of Frenchmen was shown the other day when a play based upon it caused riots in a theater of Paris.

It was the Dreyfus Affair that introduced Tiger Clemenceau to politics; it was the same international event that was responsible for the exile of Zola; it even tore Anatole France from his esthetic seclusion and sent him on to the street corners to exhortate on militarism. The literature on this subject is vast; I know one collector who has shelves and shelves of matter devoted to it. We are fortunate to have in this account a thorough and authentic summary of the defamation and the vindication of Alfred Dreyfus.

We have had so many books lately on the various aspects of sex that the subject begins to pall—especially when it is written up in a semi-hysterical, proclamative style, of which even some of our better thinkers do not always keep free. Geoffrey May's "Social Control of Sex Expression" is a welcome exception in the field. For once, a jacket description speaks the truth, for, as George A. Dorsey wrote, this is "a first class and much needed book."

May's approach is historical, and is well-documented. He begins with primitive peoples and passes through the ancient Hebrews, the early Christians, the Anglo-Saxons, pre-revolutionary America, down to our own time. He appends a full bibliography. Too many students of sex rely upon their intuitional objections to the current morality. This is well enough as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. A historical understanding enables us to take our proper position in the perspective of attitudes. May's work provides just such a perspective. I recommend it heartily. (William Morrow & Co. \$3.)

Mr. V. B. Rhodenizer has written a compact "Handbook of Canadian Literature" which is published by the Ottawa, Canada, by The Graphic Publishers, Ltd. The pretty monograph gives not only the regular bibliographical and historical data but includes a statement of esthetic principles and the application of them to the works under discussion. The book should appeal to all whose literary interests cross—as they always should cross—the boundaries of their own countries.

SOVIET RUSSIA FIGHTS ABORTION

By W. LEBJEDEWA

[The author, an official of the Soviet Research Institute, discusses the causes of abortion, and shows how it is decreasing and the birth rate is increasing under Russia's policy of birth control, instruction and the legalization of abortion for social reasons.]

The Russian government has instituted a complete program for the protection of mothers and children; two of the chief items in this program are the organization of maternal care—both medical and social, and the fight against abortion.

Long before the expectant mother reaches the confinement hospital, she is cared for by one of the government advisory clinics. These clinics do more than look after the pregnant woman, and might well be called "Advisory Boards for Women," since their work includes the health protection of women from the beginning of adolescence to the climacteric. This health service comprises:

1. Advice to the expectant mother.
2. Diagnosis of pregnancy, and issuance of certificate of legal vacation with pay during pregnancy, two months before and two months after confinement.
3. Treatment of tubercular and syphilitic pregnant women to safeguard the coming child.
4. Mothercraft schools.
5. Advice regarding the prevention of conception, as a means of fighting abortion.
6. Marriage problems—instruction and adjustment.
7. Sex education of school children.

This program is already in operation in the larger cities, and is being rapidly extended to the smaller and rural districts.

It may seem strange that we take a decided stand on the question of abortion in connection with the care of mothers and children; we feel, however, that we are approaching a solution of the problem, and our results are being watched by the countries of Western Europe.

It is a matter of general knowledge that the last quarter century has been characterized by a pronounced decline in the birth rate.

Birth Rate Per 1,000 Population

	1900-4	1927
England	18.4	16.7
Norway	28.9	17.4
Sweden	26.2	16.1
Germany	34.7	18.3
France	21.4	18.1
Italy	32.6	26.4
Hungary	35.4	26.4
Czechoslovakia	35.5	23.4
Russia	47.2	44.0

It will be seen that in comparison to prewar Russia, the decline in the birth rate in Soviet Russia has been extraordinarily small. The Soviet birth rate at present is high, the normal increase in population amounting to about three and one-half million per year.

Abortion has always been the most common measure of keeping down the birth rate, for the causes of birth decline and abortion increase are closely related: the increased employment of women in industry, serious housing shortage, unemployment, the desire of women to take part in the social and political life of the country, the decline of infant mortality, which regulates in a "normal" but unfortunate way, the size of the family. In view of these causes, it is not surprising that attempts to control abortion by prohibitive legislation have never been successful. Statistics show that in Western Europe, despite repressive legislation, the increase in abortion during the last decade is greater, proportionately, than in Soviet Russia. Repressive legislation seems to have no deterrent effect on women who decide to procure abortion, but it has a detrimental effect on their health. It is no secret that the well-to-do classes in Western Europe, by paying the price, can have abortions performed by excellent physicians, but that the poor classes have

to bear the burden of repressive legislation and suffer at the hands of quacks. The maternal mortality rate from septic poisoning after confinement and abortion combined, in 1,000 cases in the following table speaks well for our point of view regarding restrictive legislation on abortion:

	1922	1923	1924
Leningrad	3.92	3.55	2.75
Berlin	13.00	14.00	11.00

How can the problem of abortion be solved? Abortions are a total loss, both to the individual and to the state. Centuries of repression have not been able to reduce their number, and the figures increase year after year. The legal complications surrounding the woman who wishes an abortion, and the physician who takes care of her, force the entire proceedings underground, into the hands of ignorant quacks. Bearing these facts in mind, Soviet Russia passed a law in 1920, permitting abortions in hospitals, for social indications, and prohibiting any but licensed physicians from performing abortions. By "social indications" is meant a large number of children in the family, or lack of adequate means to provide for the coming child. The permit for the hospital is issued by a committee consisting of a doctor and two women deputies. Such a committee works in connection with every advisory clinic. The results look promising; witness, for example, the comparative figures from Leningrad and Berlin given above. It must be confessed that we have not succeeded in eliminating secret abortions, but we have every reason to believe that we shall do so with time and patience. The number of abortions outside of hospitals is decreasing, and will decrease faster as we enlarge our hospital facilities and provide better education for women.

How does this policy of legalized abortion affect the birth rate and general morality? The figures cited above show clearly that our birth rate is increasing, in spite of (perhaps because of) our attitude toward abortion. Our average normal increase exceeds by three and a half times the normal population increase in Western Europe. In five years the population of Soviet Russia will have increased by 17,500,000. As regards morality, such matters can with difficulty be expressed in figures. The current stories of very young girls resorting to abortion since it has been legalized are false. Statistics show that in Moscow and Leningrad only 7.3 percent of abortions were performed on women under twenty years of age.

Let us remember, however, that even an abortion performed in a hospital under the best circumstances is not without its bad effect, both physical and psychic. Many maternity clinics, among them the clinical department of our state research institute, are investigating the after-effects of abortion. The fight against abortion holds an important place in our educational program. Every lecture or forum dealing with the hygiene of women stresses the harm resulting from abortion. It would, however, be naive to expect too much from educational propaganda. The most effective method of fighting abortion is to develop better means of preventing undesired pregnancies. In our instructions for workers in the advisory clinics, we direct them to devote one or two sessions each week to giving advice on the prevention of conception.

WARNS OF COLLAPSE OF PRISON SYSTEM

BY LEO GRULIOW

(Special to the American Freeman.)

New York.—There will be no abatement of crime in America until there is a thorough nation-wide reorganization of our prison system. This is the conclusion of Ogen H. Hammond, chairman of the National Prison Emergency Committee, in a statement made public here.

Present evils in the handling of prisoners will break down the prison system in this country if they are permitted to continue, Mr. Hammond says.

"When that time comes, our legal, social and economic structure will disappear," his statement declared.

"Old and inadequate prisons are holding thousands, but how long they can hold them is questionable. At the present rate of crime increase in this country, honest judges are facing a day when they may no longer be able to commit men guilty of felonies to penal institutions, because overcrowding of prisons will not be able to receive them." Mr. Hammond said that in some states, because of overcrowded prisons, men who should not be at large are out on probation.

"We have come to believe that 'rackets' are necessary and we accept them as part of our Twentieth Century development," he said.

Idleness, lack of proper attention, overcrowding, failure to segregate hardened criminals and first offenders, lack of proper sanitation and facilities, and in some prisons faulty treatment by officials were blamed for the danger which, he said, menaces us.

No mention, however, was made of the "contracting" of prison labor to private employers, who pay the State, which pays the prisoner only a minimum sum for his work, while graft is rife among officials for this trade. Mr. Hammond "forgot" President Hoover's recent decree that no employees of the Federal Government, whether regular raises are coming to them or not, should receive any raises in salary.

SPECULATION in the stock market was only a symptom of the widespread system of exploitation and parasitism which is responsible for the sufferings of the American people. The basic trouble of American industry is that the workers do not get what they produce.

As a Great Promoter—not a Great Engineer—Herbert Hoover has always been interested in promoting the fortune of Herbert Hoover.

Extraordinary Announcement!

Fred D. Warren, Fighting Editor, Sees in Grave Crisis of Today the Need for Reviving Militant *Appeal to Reason*

Will 10,000 Workers Join in This Campaign to Bring Back at Once the Great Socialist Little Old Appeal? Read Every Word of This Important, Vital Statement ?

Thousands of Socialist workers who fought memorable battles for social justice under the banner of the historic *Appeal to Reason* will be thrilled at the news that Fred D. Warren, the fighting editor of the old *Appeal*, is eager to revive that crusading newspaper of uncompromising Socialism—eager to lead again the workers of America in daring and victorious propaganda—eager to challenge the capitalistic system, in these critical days of Hooverism, with the weapons that made him the most successful Socialist editor of the twentieth century. Hooverism—which is capitalism at its worst—has aroused Warren to plans that are glorious reminders of his celebrated achievements with the *Appeal to Reason* in former days, which still burn brightly in the memories of many thousands throughout the country. Great things were done by Warren with the *Appeal to Reason*. He is confident and he is capable of even greater things with a revived *Appeal to Reason*—if he can be assured of the loyal cooperation which was given to the old *Appeal* by its army of active, working readers.

In Warren's opinion the logical headquarters for the reborn *Appeal to Reason* is in Girard, the famous scene of the old *Appeal's* unique and fearless journalism. He thought at once of the great Haldeman-Julius publishing plant in Girard. This plant is thoroughly equipped to publish the new *Appeal to Reason*. It is located in the home of the historic old *Appeal*. On the Haldeman-Julius book lists are the names of thousands of the old *Appeal* workers and other thousands, grown to manhood and womanhood since the days of Warren and the *Appeal*, who will be thrilled to enlist in the fighting ranks of this new struggle for social justice. So, naturally, E. Haldeman-Julius turned to Warren with his plan for coming back into the arena with the fighting *Appeal to Reason*.

The other day Fred D. Warren and E. Haldeman-Julius discussed this plan in an all-day conference in a Kansas City hotel room. They talked of possibilities, of ways and means, and throughout their discussion they came again and again to the question:

Do the Workers of America Want the *Appeal to Reason*?

Can a new *Appeal* Army be organized on the scale and with the strong enthusiasm of the old *Appeal* Army?

How many workers will pledge themselves definitely to the revival of the *Appeal to Reason* as the great fighting national organ of Socialism?

Both practical men, Warren and Haldeman-Julius realize that while they may plan and plan well, they are absolutely dependent upon the rank and file for the success of any plan. In a word, it would be useless to republish the *Appeal to Reason* unless there are a sufficient number of workers who really want the *Appeal to Reason* and who will put forth their strongest efforts to make the *Appeal to Reason* a success.

The situation may be put simply as follows: Fred D. Warren is asking the American workers whether they want the *Appeal to Reason*. He is placing the decision with them. Warren is zealous to be in the old fight; and he is in the best fighting shape—in excellent health, mentally fresh and keen, aroused by the conditions of Hooverism, more than ever profoundly convinced of the need for Socialism and a great Socialist fighting paper such as the *Appeal to Reason* was and such as the *Appeal to Reason* can be again. But Warren cannot by a mere wave of his hand—he cannot by the mere wish—bring back the *Appeal to Reason*. An idea succeeds only when it is needed and wanted. Warren's plan for reviving the *Appeal* is perfectly sound if—but only if—enough workers are really interested in this plan. That real interest must be shown, of course, in deeds more than in words.

Based upon his experience with the old *Appeal to Reason*, Warren's plan for the revival of the *Appeal* includes two necessary features, upon which the success of this plan absolutely depends: 1. A large and active circulation—thousands of readers (Continued in last column of this page)

Help the *Appeal to Reason* Spread the Light of Socialism!



A Message from Fred D. Warren

E. Haldeman-Julius, Girard, Kansas

We have talked and planned. The workers must act. We can do nothing without their support; but with their active cooperation we can again achieve mighty deeds. The triumphs of the old APPEAL TO REASON were won by the incessant activities of the rank and file who made up the magnificent APPEAL Army. That same spirit, brought to life again under the loved familiar banner, can win the same victories for social justice. The APPEAL will be born again the moment the APPEAL Army is born again. I do not know whether there are 10,000 workers who will step into the front ranks and form a new APPEAL Army. I do know that without such an Army the idea of a new APPEAL TO REASON is only a dream. I want to see the APPEAL in the arena again only if the workers want the APPEAL.

My plan calls for an active, strong, fighting paper. The new APPEAL TO REASON should be able to protest so loudly and effectively against Hooverism that its messages will be of great and immediate national significance. Like the old APPEAL, it should stimulate the working class of America to the highest thoughts and efforts in their own behalf and it should make itself respected and feared as a strong, earnest, worthy foe of the capitalistic masters of industry and government. The APPEAL TO REASON must really be a powerful national organ of Socialism, with the full support of the workers. Only with this working class support can it be made effective.

I feel that the APPEAL TO REASON was never needed so badly as it is needed now. Hooverism has brought out cruelly all of the evils and stupidities of capitalism. There must be hundreds of thousands of Americans who are ready to listen with close attention to the lessons of Socialism. What they lack is a constructive program. They know that something is wrong—very much wrong—but they do not know how to explain it clearly to themselves. They are apathetic and desperate in their suffering—their suffering in the dark.

My hope is that the APPEAL TO REASON can be born again, with an enthusiastic APPEAL Army, and carry the light of Socialism (which means social justice) to the workers who are feeling the severest penalties of Hooverism and capitalism. Never, in the most militant days of the old APPEAL, have I been so strongly aroused by the economic crimes of capitalism; never have I been more convinced of the truth and justice of Socialism; never have I felt so powerfully the urge to get into fighting action. This is the greatest opportunity for Socialism. And the times need nothing less than the spirit and methods and practical organization of the APPEAL TO REASON.

Say to the old comrades and members of the old APPEAL Army—and to the younger workers who should join the ranks of a new APPEAL Army—that we can achieve even more stirring deeds than in the days of the old APPEAL, great and glorious as those days and those deeds were. Organization and agitation are unending methods. They succeeded in the brilliant zenith of the APPEAL's crusading history. They can succeed as fully and as effectively today. All that is needed is the united action of thousands of Socialist workers, under the banner of a fighting propaganda paper, under the banner of a fighting APPEAL TO REASON. An APPEAL Army of 10,000 loyal workers can revive the APPEAL TO REASON and make SOCIALISM VERSUS CAPITALISM THE GREAT ISSUE OF 1932!

Are there 10,000 active Socialist workers who care enough about social justice—who care enough about bringing the message of Socialism to the American working class—that they will send in their subscriptions and pledges for the successful launching of the new APPEAL TO REASON? Instead of supporting the capitalist press, will these workers support a fighting, fearless, Socialist paper, fully resolved to publish the truth about conditions and to spread the realization of this truth among millions? Give me the support of 10,000 workers, definitely pledged to the plan outlined, and I will make the APPEAL TO REASON the most exciting and challenging paper in America and I will get results in effective propaganda for social justice.

Yours for Socialism as the only remedy for Hooverism,

Fred D. Warren

—getting the messages of this new *Appeal to Reason*. 2. An army of enthusiastic working readers who will pledge themselves to build up quickly this large and effective list of readers. Upon this army—upon the group of readers who will pledge themselves to get more readers—will depend the fate of Warren's plan for a new and greater *Appeal to Reason*. It is well known that the old *Appeal to Reason* was so brilliantly successful because it had an army of sub-getters who were tireless in extending the circulation of that wonderful Socialist paper. With Fred D. Warren's fighting editorship and with an army of loyal reader-workers, the *Appeal to Reason* can make history again as it made history twenty years ago.

Warren is ready. He is eager. He is full of hopes and plans for great Socialist journalism. Is there an *Appeal* Army ready to join him in this crusading challenge to Hooverism, restoring life to the Socialist movement and shaking the American working class into thought and action with a new *Appeal to Reason*, powerful and fearless in all its oldtime effectiveness?

It is the careful analysis of Warren that a successful *Appeal to Reason* must have, before it can be started, an army of 10,000 reader-workers who will send in their advance subscriptions to the new *Appeal to Reason* at \$1 for a year's subscription and who will, in addition, pledge themselves to obtain two new subscriptions each month for a period of one year, at the special propaganda rate of 50 cents a year in clubs of four. If you wish to see the *Appeal to Reason* once more in the fighting arena of Socialist journalism, Fred D. Warren asks you to do two things: 1. Send in \$1 for a year's advance subscription to the new *Appeal to Reason*. 2. Pledge yourself to send in two new subscriptions a month—at the rate of 50 cents a year—for a period of twelve months.

When these 10,000 subscriptions and pledges have been received by the Haldeman-Julius Company, Girard, Kansas, Fred D. Warren will begin the editorship of the new *Appeal to Reason*. The paper will be published by the Haldeman-Julius Company but it will be personally and completely under the editorial management of Fred D. Warren. It will be Warren's *Appeal to Reason* in its fighting policy, in its message of Socialism, in its propaganda spirit for working class justice.

Plan for the *Appeal to Reason* Rests With You Readers!

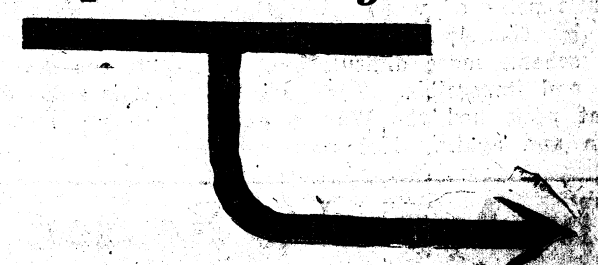
Warren's proposition is clear, definite and practical. If it succeeds—if the 10,000 reader-workers, with their subscriptions and pledges, come forward—the success of the new *Appeal to Reason* is certain. If the 10,000 reader-workers cannot be interested in the plan, then the plan fails and those who have sent in their subscriptions and pledges will not lose a dollar, for refunds will be given. This *Appeal to Reason* fund will be held in trust and guaranteed by the Haldeman-Julius Company.

Strongly as he feels the need of reviving the *Appeal to Reason*, Warren realizes with all the practical good sense which marked him as a successful Socialist editor that his plan cannot succeed, nor even have the hope of success, without the prompt and loyal support of the workers. The decision rests with the rank and file. YOU who read this announcement must decide whether YOU wish to see Fred D. Warren return as the fighting editor of the *Appeal to Reason*. YOU WILL WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE BLANKS WHICH APPEAR ON PAGE 4.

Appeal to Reason

Girard, Kansas

Get Your Friends and Neighbors Who Believe in Social Justice to Read this Epoch-Making Plan!



Fred D. Warren Is in Great Fighting Spirit! Are You Ready to Join Him in a Socialist Crusade?

Appeal to Reason

In Battle After Battle, Warren Proved His Daring and Genius as the Fighting Editor

In 1899 Fred D. Warren was running a small Socialist paper—the *Bates County Critic*—in Rich Hill, Mo. Its pungent style attracted J. A. Wayland; also a booklet which Warren had published—sketches and illustrations under the title of *Socialist Cartoons and Comments*. Wayland invited Warren to visit him and the *Appeal* plant in Girard; he wanted Warren on the *Appeal*. Not able immediately to accept the proposal of a change, Warren returned to his little Missouri paper for about a year; then in the spring of 1900 he came to the *Appeal*, at first as foreman of the composing room, with the additional job of writing quite a bit of copy for the paper; shortly he became sub-editor and in 1901 he was managing editor. In 1901-02, when Warren was managing editor, the *Appeal* resisted successfully the efforts of the postmaster general to cripple its circulation by imposing a higher postage rate on bundle orders. The propaganda mission of the *Appeal* was at stake. Wayland and Warren would not submit. They inspired the *Appeal* Army to engage in a remarkable campaign of protest. The regular circulation of the *Appeal* was increased, as it always was in answer to special attacks by the authorities.

Warren's Fearless Methods

After that first big struggle with the postoffice department, Warren returned to Rich Hill, Mo., and started *The Coming Nation*. In a short time it was a flourishing, virile paper of 30,000 circulation. Again Warren was persuaded to join the *Appeal* staff, coming back in 1904 as managing editor. From that time onward Warren was actively the head of the *Appeal*. His conduct of the Moyer-Haywood fight and his famous kidnapping offer won him quickly the name of the Fighting Editor. Throughout his editorship of the *Appeal* to Reason he fully justified that name. The *Appeal* was constantly in the thick of important struggles.

Himself attacked by the federal courts for his brilliant method of proving that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor—that kidnapping of labor leaders was legal while the proposal of kidnapping a capitalist politician was illegal—Warren steadily denounced the capitalistic bias of the federal judiciary. Threat of prison did not subdue his natural fighting qualities. He declared again and again that while the government might jail him it could not jail Socialism—it could not jail the truth. It was not, of course, Warren as a man that the authorities wanted to punish and put out of the way. They aimed at Warren as editor of the *Appeal*. That militant paper, extending ever more daringly its lines of agitation, struck fear and rage into the hearts of the capitalistic rulers. Despotism government officials, dishonest judges, scheming politicians, brutal industrial masters knew that they could not make a single false move without being denounced by the *Appeal*. They were exposed to the full, relentless light of a national publicity. The *Appeal* was the strongest antagonist of capitalism. Fred Warren, as the Fighting Editor of the *Appeal*, was the object of capitalist persecution and plotting.

A Fight to the Finish

Yet the government, angrily wishing to strike at Warren, was reluctant to press a case which it knew was weak. What hurt was that the weakness and dishonesty of the case against Warren had been made nationally notorious by the publicity in the *Appeal*. If Warren could have been put away quietly—that would have been ideal, from the government's point of view. Agitation, led by the *Appeal* Army, made the scheme more difficult and in the end impossible. The government postponed the Warren case time and again. Not until two

years after the original indictment was the case tried in federal court in Fort Scott, Kans. A jury of twelve Republicans convicted Warren, who promptly appealed his case. That appeal was heard a year later in federal court in St. Paul, Minn. The conviction was upheld.

Meanwhile the protests were so vigorous—the *Appeal* Army in all parts of the country waged such a gallant and tireless crusade—that Taft was glad enough to extend an unsolicited pardon to Warren. After photographing that historic document for publication in the *Appeal*, Warren returned it because it did not bear the printers' union label. He pasted on it a notice reading, "Demand the Label on All Your Printing!" and sent it by special, registered delivery back to President Taft. Along with the unsolicited pardon, Warren's fine was reduced from \$1,500 to \$100—and Warren refused to pay the fine excepting in the form of *Appeal* sub cards. Needless to say, the government never collected the fine.

Defending Free Speech

It was while the appeal of his own case was still pending that Warren began in the *Appeal* the celebrated series of articles exposing the federal judges. A number of leading federal judges—Grosscup, Sloan, ("Private Car") Lurton, Philips, Hanford, Hook—received, each in his turn, the concentrated fire of the big *Appeal* publicity guns. Warren's brilliant fighting propaganda compelled the retirement of three federal judges—Grosscup, Hanford and Philips—and prevented the elevation of Hook to the Supreme Court of the United States. In one notable issue the *Appeal* exposed the "Tampico Fishing Excursion," when a gang of federal judges were the private-car guests of the Santa Fe and other railroads on a tarpon-fishing trip to Tampico, Mexico—that excursion being followed significantly by the settlement of many important suits in favor of the railroad corporations.

Warren exposed the political

corruption and, where that was necessary, the personal viciousness and gross unfitness of capitalistic agents such as the federal judges; but he saw that the main point—the class character of the courts—was given the right emphasis in the columns of the *Appeal*. Individual judges and particular cases might serve to dramatize the issue, but the chief principle to be driven home was that the courts were servants of the corporations and enemies of the rights and liberties of the people.

"Every one of the judges who sits on the federal bench," declared the *Appeal*, "has been appointed through the influence of corporate wealth. Nearly all of them have been in the service of the trusts and corporations as lawyers and have been placed on the bench for no other reason than that they could render their masters more efficient service in that capacity." Again the *Appeal* exclaimed, with thrilling finality of utterance: "We are face to face with a crisis and we have got to fight unless we are willing to see the last vestige of our rights taken from us. The *Appeal* will be guilty of no such cowardice. As an organ of the working class and an exponent of international Socialism, it has a duty to perform; and in its present fight against judicial despots, backed by their capitalist masters, that duty is to preserve free speech."

A Score of Battle Fronts

That was the characteristic, courageous tone of the *Appeal* to Reason under the direction of Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor. There was no surrender. Capitalism and all its agents and deeds received the *Appeal*'s incessant, spirited attacks along a score of exciting and nationally celebrated battle fronts. Warren often said that the only way he knew how to edit a Socialist paper was to fight and fight hard and fight unceasingly. And with the *Appeal* Army back of him, Warren never hesitated to undertake the most difficult and dangerous fight. Agitation and organization

—therein lay the secret, of which Warren was master.

The *Appeal* led the publicity in all of the great labor struggles of its time. In Nevada, in Colorado, in West Virginia, in Michigan, in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey (the Paterson mill strike), in Massachusetts (the Lawrence mill strike)—wherever the workers were engaged in fighting for their industrial rights and their very life indeed, the *Appeal* threw its mighty resources on the side of justice. A score of strikes were made into great national issues chiefly by the propaganda efforts of the *Appeal* to Reason—by Warren's fighting editorship—by the *Appeal* Army's never-ending, day-and-night, organized campaign to keep the *Appeal* circulation up to the highest mark and thus spread far and wide the messages of social justice and of protest against the outrages of capitalism. The *Appeal* was all action. In battle after battle Warren proved his daring and genius as the Fighting Editor.

SOUTHERN PEONAGE EXPOSED

Back in 1904 the Appeal Began to Expose Conditions of Southern Wage Slaves

The *Appeal* to Reason was the first paper in the United States to expose on a nation-wide scale of fearless publicity the terrible conditions of slavery that existed in the southern states. In 1904 a series of amazing articles—true in every line—were published under the general heading, "The Cruellest Form of Slavery, Peonage in America." In 1906 the campaign of exposure was followed up with the following articles: "Hell in Florida," "White Men Made Slaves," "Prosecutions for Peonage," "Miners and Slaves." In 1907 other articles appeared in the *Appeal*, as follows: "Governor Dawson of West Virginia Tells of Horrible Murders in the Slave Camps of the South," "Flagler's Slaves," "Southern Slaves," "Florida Prisoners in Isolated Lumber and Turpentine Camps Slave Under Merciless Overseers." Continuing, the *Appeal* published "Back to Slavery," "Southern Peons," "The Lash in America," "Capturing Slaves in Our 'Free' America."

The *Appeal* proved that slavery, as bad as that which oppressed the Negroes in the days before the Civil War, was brutally practiced in southern lumber and turpentine camps, in prison mines and in chain gangs. These articles, wrote George Allan England in *The Story of the Appeal*, "contain perfectly incredible stories of barbarities practiced on the poor and helpless, men for the most part recruited from cities, on false promises of decent work and good pay; lured into remote forests, plantations and swamps; herded together, black and white, in foul pens; fed on carrion, worked like beasts, kept in debt by the 'truck-store' method; guarded by armed sentries, and—often for attempting escape—often trailed with bloodhounds, unmercifully blackjacked or knouted, even shot down and left to rot where they had fallen. In some cases, the actual sale of human beings, for cash, was proved. All these conditions the *Appeal* laid bare, after long and costly researches, during which the lives of the investigators were more than once in jeopardy."

No wonder the workers of America—the workers of the *Appeal* Army—looked to the *Appeal* as their greatest paper and to Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, as the fearless champion of truth and justice!

FREE SPEECH FIGHTS

When the *Appeal* to Reason, under Fred D. Warren's fighting editorship, fully aroused the anger and the uneasy concern of the authorities in Washington, there was a significant succession of efforts to cripple the *Appeal*'s work or to exclude it altogether from the mails. Repeated efforts were made to limit severely the *Appeal*'s mailing of bundle orders and propaganda subscriptions, for non-subscribers, paid for by members of the *Appeal* Army. Obviously all such rulings were directed at the life of the *Appeal*. It was well known that the *Appeal* was a propaganda journal of Socialism and that its aim was to carry the message of Socialism to new readers. In addition to its growing list of direct subscrip-

tions, ordered personally by the subscribers, the *Appeal* was sent to many names of non-Socialists as a result of the active work of the *Appeal* Army. Through this method many new converts to Socialism were made. It was legitimate propaganda. It was essential in the crusading plans of such a paper as the *Appeal*.

Rallying the *Appeal* Army on every such occasion, Warren fought to maintain the rights of the *Appeal* and, more broadly, the rights of free speech for all publications which might excite the disapproval of the ruling class. Consistently Warren kept the *Appeal* going—and going stronger—through all these attacks and tribulations. No paper was ever subjected to such malicious and prolonged and repeated attacks; and no paper could have survived them more gloriously than did the *Appeal* under Warren's fighting editorship. But, as Warren always pointed out, it was the *Appeal* Army that made victory possible in each case.

One of the memorable achievements of the *Appeal* Army was the defeat of the Penrose Bill, proposed in Congress in 1908, which read as follows: "That section 3893 of the Revised Statutes be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding: 'And when any issue of any periodical has been declared non-mailable by the Postoffice Department, the periodical may be excluded from second-class mail privileges at the discretion of the postmaster general.'" This infamous bill was designed to kill the *Appeal*, which the capitalist papers were calling "a journalistic outlaw." The threat and the danger was plain. Warren turned to the *Appeal* Army with the slogan: "Kill the Penrose Bill!" Agitation of a quick and decisive nature was again triumphant. The Penrose Bill, which would have destroyed the basic freedom of the press, was pro-

posed in the early days of 1908. It was not long before the *Appeal* announced another victory:

EXTRA! PENROSE BILL KILLED!

Washington, March 10.—Penrose bill adversely reported to Senate and killed March 6th. Members of Senate and House deluged with demands from every state in the union that this bill be killed. Nothing like it has ever occurred in the history of Congress since the founding of the republic. It is a striking illustration of the power yet possessed by the people when they are once aroused!

Had it not been for the work of Warren and the *Appeal*, backed by the *Appeal* Army, perhaps radical journalism would not today be possible in America. The Fighting Editor fought the battles of all editors and all readers who believe in a free press.

That struggle involved enormous burdens and sacrifices. Only a few months after the defeat of the Penrose Bill, a new postmaster general sent the following instruction to all postmasters in the United States: "You are directed hereafter to exclude from the mails not only publications and articles of the character heretofore forbidden by that section [Section 3893 of the Revised Statutes] to be carried, but in addition all matter tending to incite arson, murder or assassination, the depositing, conveying or delivering of which is prohibited by the section as now amended." This ruling was in effect an invitation to postmasters to exercise the most vicious arbitrary tactics; and the *Appeal* swiftly was subjected to interference and persecution that, petty in its nature, was in its total amount a grave problem. Individual postmasters used their own despotic "judgment" about delivering copies of the *Appeal*. The *Appeal* offices were swamped with complaints from readers who had been denied their papers. False stories were circulated about the suspension of the *Appeal* and it was rumored

YOU MUST DECIDE!

The Army of worker-readers made the *Appeal* to Reason grandly successful in its great days of unforgettable agitation and propaganda. The success of a revived *Appeal* to Reason, under the fighting editorship of Fred D. Warren, can be assured only by the organization of another *Appeal* Army. After much thought, and taking lessons from his valuable experience as editor of the old *Appeal*, Warren reached the conclusion that an Army of 10,000 is essential to a successful republication of the *Appeal*. "There is no use in starting," he says, "without an Army of at least 10,000 workers." In its strongest period the *Appeal* had an Army of 80,000 workers who were tirelessly getting subs for the paper. The conditions under which Warren is willing to bring back the *Appeal* are as follows:

An *Appeal* Army of 10,000 workers must send in their advance subscriptions at \$1 for a year. In addition, each member of this Army of 10,000 must pledge himself to send in TWO subscriptions each month for a period of TWELVE MONTHS, at the rate of 50c a year in clubs of four or more. Each Army worker is to send in \$1 now for his own subscription and is to guarantee that he will send in \$1 each month for two subs at 50c each—until he has sent in a total of 24 subs at this special rate. You can pay for these subs yourself each month or you can begin the Army propaganda right away and persuade others to contribute 50c for a year's subscription to the new *Appeal* to Reason.

This is Warren's plan. YOU must decide!

that the *Appeal* would be finally barred from the mails by the government.

The *Appeal* suffered immediate losses but Warren led the Army into action again. In every great battle for the rights of a free press, Warren and the *Appeal* and the *Appeal* Army won by simply refusing to give up the fight.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED
Telegram
Day Letter
Night Message
Night Letter

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired. OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM.

WESTERN-UNION
TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Just as we are ready to go to press with this announcement, E. Haldeman-Julius receives the following telegram from Fred D. Warren:

I have just come from a conference with Clarence Senior, National Secretary of the Socialist Party of America, at the national headquarters here in Chicago. He was all enthusiasm when I explained to him fully our plan to revive the *Appeal* to Reason. Not only does he endorse our plan and feel the highest hopes of its fulfillment, but he volunteered to give us the names of 20,000 active Socialist party members and workers throughout the United States. These are of course the names of workers devoted to Socialism. I am sure that they will gladly respond to the plan for organizing a new *Appeal* Army and throwing the forces of a newly invigorated *Appeal* to Reason into the modern crusade for social justice. Comrade Senior saw at once the immense possibilities of our plan. He is familiar with the magnificent work of the old *Appeal* and he agrees with us that this is the ideal and urgent moment for bringing back the *Appeal*, stronger than ever, into the arena of agitation for Socialism. We have the cordial cooperation of Comrade Senior and not only will we be in touch immediately with the thousands of Socialists and radicals who may not yet know but soon will know that they are Socialists---on the Haldeman-Julius book lists---but we will also reach the 20,000 most militant workers of the Socialist movement with our direct message about the *Appeal* plan. We have the right idea and we are making the right start---all we need is the prompt and vigorous response of 10,000 workers in a new *Appeal* Army. Will you see that the readers of the first announcement are told about this enthusiasm and this hearty promise of cooperation which the mention of the *Appeal* has instantly aroused?

FRED D. WARREN.

The Appeal to Reason Was Feared by Capitalists and Loved by Workers---Let Its Spirit Flame High Again!

The Success or Failure of Our Great Plan to Revive the Little Old Appeal Depends on Your Immediate Generous Use of the Order Blanks on This Page!

It is a great plan that Fred D. Warren and E. Haldeman-Julius have agreed on, but they are powerless to carry out this plan unless 10,000 earnest workers show their full cooperation by signing the blanks on this page. The two blanks which are absolutely essential to the plan are the single yearly subscription blank and the PLEDGE BLANK. The *Appeal to Reason* cannot be revived unless and until 10,000 workers send in \$1 each for a year's subscription in advance and in addition sign the PLEDGE BLANK guaranteeing to send in TWO yearly subscriptions a month for a period of twelve months, at the special rate of 50 cents a year. And if 10,000 workers do this—subscribe for themselves and pledge two subscriptions a month for twelve months—the *Appeal to Reason* will positively be started with Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, personally in charge.

The other two blanks will help to indicate the enthusiasm of the reborn *Appeal Army*. You can send in a club of four yearly subscriptions at the special rate of 50 cents each—\$2 in all—and you can include your own yearly subscription in this club of four. If you use that club-of-four blank and the PLEDGE BLANK it will not be necessary for you to use the single subscription blank. The use of either the club-of-four blank or the single subscription blank and the PLEDGE BLANK will enroll you as a member of the *Appeal Army*; and the moment that the 10,000th worker joins this *Appeal Army*, that moment will the *Appeal to Reason* be in the fight as the uncompromising champion of social justice. We are ready when you are ready. You—the rank and file who must compose the *Appeal Army*—will decide the issue.

A Strong Appeal Needs Strong Army

We are sure that everyone who joins this *Appeal Army* will be eager, in addition to the subscription and the PLEDGE, to help in getting a record-breaking circulation for the first issue of the revived *Appeal to Reason*, which will be known as the "Welcome to Warren!" Special Edition. That will be a wonderful moment, a thrillingly historic moment, when the first issue of the new *Appeal to Reason* is printed with "WELCOME TO WARREN!" as its slogan—a slogan full of inspiring memories and equally inspiring prophecies of militant struggles yet to come. Fred D. Warren will be back in the arena, running the Little Old *Appeal*, in the celebrated social-revolutionary headquarters at Girard. That will mean stirring days of Socialist propaganda! That will put new hope into the hearts of the workers! That will add new life to the movement of militant protest in America! These things will come true IF—AND ONLY IF—10,000 loyal workers form an *Appeal Army*, with their 10,000 subscriptions and 10,000 PLEDGES.

Action is the plain and practical need. It is obvious that this action must come from the workers, from the rank and file upon whose support a fighting working-class paper will depend. Editors cannot make a great paper. Not even the most important issues can make a great paper. These are of vital and fundamental importance, but first and last the secret of success is in the enthusiastic work of an *Appeal Army*. The strength of a paper lies in the number and energy of its loyal worker-readers. By "worker-readers" we do not mean simply that the *Appeal to Reason* will naturally find most of its readers among the working class. We mean readers who will at the same time be tireless workers for the success and greater circulation of the *Appeal*. We mean readers who will constitute a fighting Army, always in the front lines of agitation spreading copies of the *Appeal* and getting new subs for the *Appeal*.

We are not theorizing. We are not imagining how this plan might be realized. We are guided by experience. Fred Warren knows that the power of the *Appeal to Reason* in its great days was obtained from its immense and militant circulation. He knows that the old *Appeal* was effective, as no other political newspaper has been effective, precisely because of the work of its loyal Army of sub-getters. The capitalists were afraid of the *Appeal* because they knew the wonderful support it had among the rank and file. Government officials hated the *Appeal* yet respected the power of the *Appeal*.

Club-of-Four Sub Blank for the Appeal to Reason at Bargain Rate of 50c Each

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

I am eager to hasten the rebirth of the *Appeal to Reason* with Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, in charge. I am enclosing \$2 for a club of four yearly subscriptions, at the rate of 50 cents a year. (Note: The sender's own sub for a year may be included in this list at the 50-cent rate.)

Name Address
City State
Name Address
City State
Name Address
City State
Name Address
City State
Name of Sender Address
City State

Note: If you do not want to send us your own names and addresses you may send us the money and we will be glad to put our own good names on the *Appeal to Reason* subscription list. In that case make an X mark here

This Is Vital Feature of Appeal Plan!

Your use of the PLEDGE BLANK is the vital feature of the plan to come back strong with the *Appeal to Reason*. It is upon the signing of 10,000 of these PLEDGE BLANKS that Warren counts for the strength and success of the revived *Appeal*. The signing of this PLEDGE BLANK will prove fully that you want the *Appeal* and that you are enrolling yourself as a determined, loyal member of the *Appeal Army*. This will prove to Fred Warren that there is a certainty of the *Appeal* doing effective work in a big way—and that is the only kind of work in which Warren is interested. He is a Fighting Editor and this means that he must have back of him a FIGHTING ARMY, not merely of subscribers but of readers who will pledge themselves and earnestly carry out their pledge to get more readers. It is necessary that the *Appeal* should get a definite number of readers within a year; and whether this can be done—whether there is an Army ready to throw its full support back of the new *Appeal to Reason*—will be revealed by the extent to which you workers use this PLEDGE BLANK. Remember, not only 10,000 paid-up yearly subscriptions but also 10,000 of these PLEDGE BLANKS must be received before the *Appeal to Reason* can be a fighting reality again with Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, in charge. Read the PLEDGE carefully. Think what it will mean to have 10,000 of these PLEDGES signed and mailed to Girard, with this *Appeal Army* of 10,000 immediately on the job, each of them sending in two yearly subscriptions a month, at the special rate of 50c a year! It will mean the *Appeal to Reason*, alive and strong and hopeful! It will mean the return of Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, to crusades that will again make flaming history! Sign the PLEDGE BLANK at once and become a member of the glorious *Appeal Army*!

and knew that any despotic action they might take would instantly arouse the fighting spirit of the *Appeal Army*. They knew that the *Appeal* had a tremendous audience and therefore a tremendous influence. The *Appeal* didn't confine itself to talk. It acted. It led the Army into action in great battle after great battle—and the result was a series of splendid victories.

A Fighting Paper for American Workers

If Fred D. Warren assumes editorial charge of a revived *Appeal to Reason*, he wants it to be a really important, powerful newspaper as the old *Appeal* was. He realizes that it must have the powerful character of the old *Appeal* or it will not have the effectiveness that would justify its publication. Fred D. Warren is a Fighting Editor and this means that he wants to edit a strong, fighting paper that WILL DO BIG THINGS IN A BIG WAY. We are sure that the workers will appreciate the importance of having such a strong *Appeal*. They too want a paper that is gloriously in the fight and that is accomplishing plans of far-reaching propaganda. They will be intensely interested in such a paper and they will be thrilled to count themselves vital factors in the success of such a paper.

The workers of America need the *Appeal to Reason* now, in this crisis of capitalism, as they never needed it before. Undoubtedly a strong *Appeal* can carry its message to hundreds of thousands of workers, who will read it with serious interest. But that cannot be done unless there is first an *Appeal Army* of active readers who will pledge their efforts to furnish the *Appeal* with their steady cooperation. If the Army is once organized—10,000 strong as a beginning—the *Appeal* will be assured of a glorious success. The Army will be getting new readers for the paper and it will be the kind of paper that the workers of America will be glad to read and cannot help reading. Fred Warren will be true to his traditions as the Fighting Editor. He will at once make the *Appeal to Reason* the leading Socialist organ of America and the most challenging political newspaper in the world.

There is not the slightest doubt in Warren's mind as to what can be done with the *Appeal* if 10,000 workers will form a new *Appeal Army* and thus start the paper off with a powerful circulation. Given that start, Warren is sure that he can add persistently to the circulation and strength of the

Order Blank for Special "Welcome to Warren!" Edition of Appeal

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

I want to help start the revived *Appeal to Reason* off with a smashing record, in its first issue to be known as the "Welcome to Warren!" Special Edition. I understand that this edition will be printed the moment the 10,000 subscriptions and pledges are received. I am using the method marked below.

Method No. 1. Send me a bundle of copies of the "Welcome to Warren!" Special Edition of the *Appeal to Reason*, at 2c per copy, minimum order 50 copies, for which I am enclosing \$.....

Method No. 2. Send copies of the "Welcome to Warren!" Special Edition of the *Appeal to Reason* to the enclosed names and addresses, minimum order 50 copies, for which I am enclosing \$....., which pays for the papers and the mailing at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$....., which is to pay for your mailing copies of the "Welcome to Warren!" Special Edition of the *Appeal to Reason* to good names in your possession, minimum order 50 copies, said copies being paid for at the rate of 2c a copy.

Name Address
City State

Pledge for Members of the Appeal Army

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

I want to be a member of the *Appeal Army*, helping to make a splendid success of the reborn *Appeal to Reason* under the leadership of Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor. I hereby pledge myself to send two yearly subscriptions for the *Appeal* each month, for a period of twelve months, at the special rate of 50 cents a yearly sub. (I am sending my own subscription for a year on a separate blank.)

Name
Address
City State

Appeal. With an Army of 10,000 he promises to make the *Appeal* great as it was in its greatest days. He wants and needs a solid beginning. That is the important climax of this four-page announcement, the one thing that spells success or failure for the plan of a revived *Appeal to Reason*.

This page, with its order blanks, will be the key to success or failure. An immediate and generous use of the order blanks—primarily and necessarily the subscription blank (either the single sub blank or the club-of-four sub blank) and the PLEDGE BLANK—will mean that the workers want the *Appeal*. It will mean the return of Fred D. Warren as the Fighting Editor of the *Appeal*. 10,000 workers—is that a big Army to expect in a nation of 120,000,000 people? Is it too much to expect an Army of 10,000 workers who will pledge their most loyal and enthusiastic cooperation for the cause of social justice? Is it an impossible plan to rally 10,000 workers into an *Appeal Army*, pledged to circulate far and wide the greatest Socialist paper in America? We do not believe that this is too much or that it is impossible. But we will not know until we hear from you workers. If 10,000 workers respond to this plan, then we will know that the *Appeal to Reason* is WANTED by the workers as badly as it is NEEDED by the workers.

And obviously—you can see this as plainly as we can—unless the workers want the *Appeal* it is idle to think of starting the *Appeal*. The *Appeal* can succeed only with the support of the workers. It is a certainty that the capitalists do not want it, will not welcome it, will not encourage nor support it in the slightest degree. On the contrary, the capitalists and their political lackeys will dread the revival of the *Appeal to Reason* and they will hope that this *Appeal Army* of 10,000 cannot be organized. Shall the *Appeal* be reborn as a fighting Socialist paper? If you want to give the capitalistic answer, then you will ignore the order blanks on this page. But if you want to give the working class answer, you will sign the subscription blank (single or club-of-four) and the PLEDGE BLANK. You will say: "Bring back the *Appeal*! Welcome to Warren!"

Warren is waiting for your answer. He is completely ready in mind, in body and in daring plans for agitation—ready to plunge into action as the Fighting Editor of the *Appeal to Reason* the moment 10,000 loyal worker-readers give the word. He was never in more virile, confident mood; never in finer shape physically; never so keen for the crusading activities of Socialism. With his Socialist knowledge and his *Appeal* experience, Warren clearly understands the situation which confronts the American working class in this critical hour. He is familiar with exactly the kind of agitation and propaganda that is needed to meet the evils of Hooverism—the evils of capitalism at its tragic worst. He has his plans carefully made. He knows just what he will do with the revived *Appeal to Reason*. It is only necessary—and it is VITALLY NECESSARY—that he have the assurance of active support from a loyal *Appeal Army* of 10,000 worker-readers.

Can you hesitate a moment to pledge your cooperation in this great plan? It is the most splendid opportunity of the century for Socialist crusading! The time is ripe for united Socialist action! Conditions demand the strong, fearless campaigning of a reborn and revitalized *Appeal to Reason*! Under the terrific impacts of Hooverism the American workers are in a mood to listen to intelligent analysis of conditions and to ponder the Socialist remedy. Our field is immense, our possibilities are infinite, our triumphant action is certain—IF THE 10,000 READER-WORKERS WILL QUICKLY FORM A GALLANT APPEAL ARMY!

Read thoughtfully every word of this announcement. Study the plan which Warren has outlined for the revival of the *Appeal*. You will see that it is a fair, candid, practical plan. It is obviously the only plan which will make possible the rebirth of the Little Old *Appeal*. Think of the glorious history of the *Appeal*—and join in this movement to make *Appeal* history again! Remember, this plan is certain of success if you respond by the immediate and generous use of the order blanks on this page. If 10,000 reader-workers will send in their yearly subscriptions at \$1 a year (or send in a club-of-four at 50c a year) and, in addition, sign the PLEDGE BLANK guaranteeing to send in TWO yearly subs each month for a period of twelve months, at the special rate of 50c a sub—if 10,000 will do this and in so doing form themselves into a solid *Appeal Army*, the future of the *Appeal to Reason* will be written in glorious work for Socialism under the leadership of the Fighting Editor!

Single \$1 Subscription Blank for the Appeal to Reason

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas

I want to see the *Appeal to Reason* born again with Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, in charge. I am rushing in my subscription for one year of the *Appeal* and am enclosing \$1 for the same. (\$1.50 Canada and foreign.)

Name
Address
City State