

# Will the People Cry "Halt!" to Dangerous Policy of Government Extravagance?

The people of the United States are facing a crisis. Our national and state politicians are rapidly bankrupting the country. Do our capitalistic politicians realize that they are provoking a taxpayers' strike? Do they not see the handwriting on the wall? The people cannot continue to carry this appalling load for the support of a government that serves Wall Street instead of the people. Official corruption, extravagance and surrender to

plutocracy may force the people into drastic action. The politicians fear action more than words. Are they inviting the deluge? Are they going to continue their program of bleeding the people? Frankly, we see danger ahead—danger for the country and its people. The people want peace and prosperity; the politicians want graft and power. The politicians have gone too far, and the signs indicate that they plan to go farther. Will they bring

the Gandhi idea into American economic life? Will they force the people to say, "Not a penny of taxes until you get out and make room for all the people instead of for a small, exploiting, parasitic class"? These questions must be answered today. Tomorrow may be too late. The fact is that the government of the United States must be made really a people's government instead of a capitalist government, wasteful and oppressive.

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# Waste in Capitalistic Government Threatens Bankruptcy of Nation

## Indebtedness More Than Half of Nation's Total Wealth

### And Taxes Are Increasing, With the Heaviest Burden on Masses

Is the United States, bled by governmental waste and enormous financial tribute to banking and credit monopolies, heading toward bankruptcy?

This question does not seem fantastic in the light of the fact that the present indebtedness of the United States, the bonded indebtedness of corporations, real estate mortgages and individual indebtedness amount in the aggregate to more than \$152,000,000,000.

The value of all the property in the United States—public, private and corporate—is less than \$350,000,000,000.

This means that more than half of the total wealth in the United States is mortgaged and burdened with debt. All told, the nation owes more than half of what it is worth. This gigantic indebtedness—already alarming—will go higher, if national and state and local governments continue their present policies of extravagance, non-constructive spending of the taxpayers' money and mounting taxes to sustain political parasites in their jobs.

There is a great deal of complaint among citizens about the staggering cost of government, a complaint which is sharpened by the realization that the public services of government are scandalously unequal to the cost of government. If the taxpayers were getting real value for their money, if government were really efficient and worth its upkeep, the situation would be quite different.

As a matter of fact, the way for government to be useful and to pay for itself would be to engage in constructive activities to promote the prosperity of the people; and of course, if government were productive instead of so largely parasitic, this colossal indebtedness would not exist and the danger of national bankruptcy would not be so appallingly real. Government collects billions in taxes from the people, government wastes money on a reckless scale, and government is almost entirely non-productive.

Tax Bill Threatens to Bankrupt Nation  
This situation is becoming worse instead of better. There is no sign of relief unless and until the people themselves demand this relief.

The cost of government increased 300 percent in the fifteen-year period between 1913 and 1928. In 1918 the total amount of expenditures by the federal government and the states and their political subdivisions was \$2,919,000,000. Combined federal and state taxes for the year ending June 30, 1928, amounted to more than \$12,500,000,000. This was an increase of \$500,000,000 over the previous year. The tax burdens for 1930 and 1931 are still greater. For 1928 the total cost was \$105 per capita for the country, including all men, women and children.

This burden is growing beyond all the bounds of reason and this tax burden is unfairly distributed. The farmers and the home owners and the possessors of personal property, mostly in small amounts, pay most of the common tax; and the income tax is most heavy, in proportion to income, on the less prosperous individuals, while the millionaire class are taxed lightly in comparison with their colossal incomes which constitute a steady, heavy, ruinous drain upon the wealth of the country.

Personal and poll taxes hit every citizen, poor though he may be—and the poor man feels most cruelly the burden of the few dollars which the government takes from him. Moderate incomes and modest possessions are taxed at a higher rate by the government than are the fortunes of the very rich.

The workers of the country must also contribute indirectly to this excessive cost of government; their labor produces the wealth which goes—an increasingly large part of it—to the upkeep of government. Every citizen is directly or indirectly a taxpayer and is thus a sufferer from the wastefulness, the incompetence and the parasitism of

the federal, state and local governments.

**Taxpayers' Strike Not Impossible**  
The fact is that, in the upkeep of governmental methods that are wasteful and to a great extent restrictive of popular liberties, the common people carry the heaviest burden. They are paying more and more—the upward trend seeming endless—for the cost of government, yet government ignores the most vital problems concerning their welfare. Are we exaggerating when we point out the grave possibility of a taxpayers' strike, or a wave of popular protest against the wastefulness and favoritism of government, unless these conditions are corrected by extensive, thorough revisions of governmental methods and aims?

The intelligent, honest policy for the promotion of the national welfare and for the rescue of the country from its threatened bankruptcy is to make the rich bear a greater and just proportion of the tax burden and to use the resources of government for the good of the people instead of for the support of capitalism.

The government at present upholds a system of exploitation which enriches a few at the expense of the many. It costs billions to protect capitalism and thus the workers of the country pay for the machinery of their own enslavement.

**Present Deficit Is Gigantic**  
Heavily as the government taxes the people, the demand is for yet more money to operate this expensive mechanism of political rule. At the end of the fiscal year closing June 30, 1931, the federal government will have spent at least \$1,000,000,000 more than its total income.

For this year the government actually collected in taxes the vast sum of \$4,177,941,701. Every dollar of this sum has been spent and there remains a deficit of about a billion dollars. This deficit will be met by loans, on which interest must be paid to the financial masters, and this will boost taxes higher still.

Next year the situation will be worse, and the country's march toward bankruptcy will be accelerated—unless the people are aroused to demand an ending of the excesses and inequalities of government.

There needs to be a drastic revision downward of tax rates for the majority and a drastic revision upward of tax rates for the rich who are rapidly destroying the liberty and prosperity of the country for their own enrichment and aggrandizement. At the same time there must be a revision and redirection of governmental policy, in the form of economic organization for the common good.

Government is the Tool of the Rich  
Government today wastes the resources of the country. It should be reorganized to protect and promote these resources, not with the object of making profits for a few rich men, but with the purpose of making all of the people secure in

economic well-being. Instead of spending huge amounts for the enforcement of laws that are oppressive, instead of seeking to restrict the liberties of the people and protect capitalism in its exactions from the people, government must be made genuinely democratic and useful. This result will not be accomplished, however, unless there is a determined, organized movement of protest against the wanton waste and willful class favoritism of government.

**Militarism Adds to the Burden**  
The World War added enormously to the cost of government. America's participation in that war was not dictated by the slightest regard for the interests of the people. On the contrary, a few men were made rich in war profits, while the majority of the people were taxed for the support of that capitalistic military adventure. Thousands of American boys were killed that a few might profit.

On the financial side, the country is paying the war bills and there seems no end to this payment, especially when we consider the continuous great expense of preparing for future wars.

In 1916 the entire expenses of the federal government were approximately \$1,000,000,000. For the present fiscal year they will be about \$5,500,000,000. In addition to nearly 1,000,000 persons on the civil payroll of the federal government, there are 264,000 officers and enlisted men of the army, navy, marine corps and the coast guard; and more than 500,000 persons are receiving pensions from the government and compensation from the veterans' bureau.

Although President Hoover recently took it upon himself to deliver a self-righteous lecture before the convention of the International Chamber of Commerce, warning the other nations of the world that military and naval armaments are terribly expensive and are obstacles to prosperity, the important fact which Hoover did not mention is that the United States spends more for militarism than any other nation. In 1928-29 the United States spent \$772,984,000 in military and naval expenses.

This is doubly wasteful because, in addition to its immediate cost, it is a preparation for the supreme wastefulness of war.

Conspicuous waste runs through all the branches of government. For the present fiscal year the expenditures of state and local governments will run as high as \$8,000,000,000. The tremendous cost of government can be even more vividly realized by the fact that the total of federal and state governments demands more than fourteen percent of the earnings of all the people in the United States. That is not all; bonds are being issued in a constant stream by the states and their political subdivisions, thus mortgaging the future earnings of the citizens; this bonded indebtedness grows by hundreds of millions of dollars each year.

**These Figures Prove Bankruptcy Is Approaching**  
Not only are the federal and state and local governments going more deeply into debt, but the individual indebtedness of United States citizens is alarming.

On April 15, 1931, the United States bonded indebtedness amounted to \$16,000,000,000. The bonded indebtedness of the states, counties and their political subdivisions aggregated \$18,100,000,000. The corporations have a bonded indebtedness amounting to more than \$55,000,000,000. Real estate mortgages on homes and farms and real property amount to \$35,000,000,000. The indebtedness of individuals to banks, exclusive of mortgages, amounts to \$28,100,000,000. These five items aggregate \$152,700,000,000.

This stupendous sum bears interest amounting to between five and seven billion dollars annually. This does not include the billions of dollars represented by unrecorded debts and notes, book accounts of businesses and individuals.

We have reached the amazing condition of financial bedlam in which the obligations of the federal government, the states and their political subdivisions, the corporations and the people of the United States are more than one-half of

the total value of all property in the United States.

**Capitalists Are Inviting Disaster**  
In all seriousness, how can such a policy of endless, wasteful government costs culminate in anything but bankruptcy? It is not even so much a question whether the people will continue to bear this burden as a question whether they can continue to bear it. And the rich, while consulting their immediate self-interest, are committing economic suicide in thrusting the proportionately heaviest burden of taxation upon the backs of the common people, upon the workers and the middle classes.

It is not possible for a small rich class to continue indefinitely draining colossal profits from the country's wealth and leaving the major cost of government to be sustained by the common people. Capitalistic policy is as blind and self-destructive as the attitude of the nobility in the period leading to the French Revolution.

The capitalists and the financial masters proceed with the policy of taking all and thus plunging the country headlong toward the abyss of bankruptcy, but in such an event how could the capitalists escape the general catastrophe?

*If they persist in destroying the country they cannot avoid destroying themselves.*

The country's only hope is that the common people will unite intelligently to demand sane, far-reaching measures of social reconstruction. We must have a system of socially constructive and popular government instead of political waste and misrule.

Organization and decisive political action is needed to stop this orgy of waste and class rule before it brings ruin.

**Politicians Fear Action**  
The financial masters and the politicians will keep up the dangerous, destructive game so long as the common people tolerate patiently this waste of their resources and this threat to their security.

Action is what the politicians fear—and action is the right and the duty of the majority as a means of self-preservation from the crushing burden of enormously expensive, anti-social, class-prejudiced government.

The cost of government must be reduced; government expenditures should be devoted more to forms of social service that will be productive, that will promote the prosperity of the people instead of being a burden; and the rich must be made to pay a greater share of the cost of government, through increased income and inheritance taxes.

The secret of successful action lies in popular protest and organization. The people must unite to demand justice and sanity in government.

America's vast resources must be used in a scientific, social way for the well-planned promotion of the public welfare.

Gigantic payments of profits and interest to the rich should cease—as this policy means national ruin—and instead a collectivized system of production should be maintained at full activity, balanced by a collectivized system of fair distribution.

America is capable of supporting itself. But the common people cannot carry much longer the outrageous burden of supporting political parasites and economic exploiters, concentrating riches at the top and spreading poverty among the masses. This course leads to ruin.

Will the people see this truth and act before it is too late?

LET THE reader draw up a sort of balance-sheet, showing on one side the benefits of relief in God, and on the other the evils, the horrors, the atrocities, and the superstitions to which that belief has given rise.

Take a shot at Wall Street through the good old method of getting The Freeman some new readers.

IN ATTEMPTING to reconcile the old and the new, the emotions pull in one direction and the intellect in another.

Rally to the support of the Little Old Freeman.

UNDER Socialism, people would still be permitted to own their own homes, automobiles, guns, radios, etc.

## Ruinous Waste in Government--- the Facts in a Glance

Total indebtedness in the United States is \$152,000,000,000. Total value of property in the United States is \$350,000,000,000.

From 1913 to 1928 the cost of government in the United States increased 300 percent.

In 1913 the cost of government in the United States—federal, state and local—was \$2,219,000,000. In the fiscal year ending in June, 1928, the cost of government in the United States was \$12,500,000,000.

The total burden of taxation in the United States in 1928 was \$105 per capita for every man, woman and child in the country. The cost of government in the United States is so high that it demands 14 percent of the earnings of all the people in the United States.

In 1928-29 the United States government spent \$772,984,000 on the army and navy—the largest expenditure for militarism, made by any nation in the world.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931, the federal government of the United States collected taxes to the amount of \$4,177,941,701. The government spent this amount and approximately a billion dollars more—so that there is a deficit of about a billion dollars.

It is the capitalistic policy of the government to meet this deficit by loans, which will place additional burdens on the common taxpayers, refusing the just course of increasing the income taxes on the rich.

## CENTRAL AMERICANS SEETHE WITH HATRED OF U. S. IMPERIALISM

BY LEO GRULIOW  
(Special to The American Freeman)

New York.—The *Reportorio Americano*, published in San Jose, Costa Rica, reveals the Central American attitude toward the United States and its policy of oppression and virtual dictatorship over Latin America.

In an article written by Persiles and dedicated to Don Elia Hazera, present Minister of Nicaragua in Costa Rica, the *Reportorio* declares that the disaster of the recent earthquake at Managua was nothing compared to the horrors which the Nicaraguans suffer at the hands of the Yankee invaders.

That the earthquake was only an incident after the demolition of Nicaragua by the military airplanes of the United States, is the contention of the *Reportorio*. It adds that after the earthquake thousands of eyes searched the sky through the clouds of dust for the "battle planes of Coolidge, Stimson and Hoover."

**Racks Up Freeman Article**  
The article corroborates the attitude reported in The Freeman recently in the report of what survivors of the Managua quake claimed U. S. marines had done.

Charging that for four years the United States has been systematically destroying the northern provinces of Nicaragua, the writer adds: "Launching bombs from the air, they have cruelly assassinated more peaceful Nicaraguans than were killed by the disaster of Managua. The survivors of Managua know now what their brothers of Central America have suffered; now they know how for four years the victims of the stupid North American imperialism have suffered."

The article continues that to the dead in the ruins of Managua must be added the many shot by the U. S. marines in the name of American citizens who are kept ignorant of these facts, and to the houses wrecked by the earthquake, those destroyed by the dynamite and firebombs of the marines. The writer charges that houses were dynamited and set fire to motion picture operators a chance to make films, and suggests that as a result of this many people perished in the ruins in a "most inhuman manner."

It is admitted that soldiers under Col. Dan I. Sultan used dynamite, but it is claimed that the T. N. T. was used only to "stop the progress of the fire."

**"A Face and a Lie"**  
"It is necessary to say these things," asserts the Costa Rica paper, "because the representatives of the press, controlled by the Yankees, wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to make the United States appear generous in lending aid and assistance. A face and a lie! The part played by the United States in the catastrophe of Managua was distinguished by the cruelty with which it heaped upon the sorrow of the earthquake more pain and sorrow and misery."

The writer is suspicious of the United States marines' agencies of relief and those of the U. S.-owned government of Moncada, but warns Costa Rica to set up its own commission to furnish aid and relief "direct to the real victims of the earthquake."

The article charges U. S. marines, bearing the insignia of this country and presumably representing it, with incendiarism and misappropriation of supplies sent to Nicaragua for re-

lief. The Freeman has already exposed this phase of U. S. governmental hypocrisy in telling its readers the real facts, known to their papers but suppressed, about the role of the marines in the quake.

**142 U. S. Boys Sacrificed**

And, looking at the picture from the other side, it is to be noted that 142 marines have lost their lives policing Nicaragua for American bankers and commercial investors since President Taft first ordered American armed forces to land there in 1912. In the past four years 29 marines have been killed. Senator King of Utah, who has been successful in his attempts to secure from the administration a statement of the financial cost of the various interventions in Nicaragua, estimates it at several million dollars annually to U. S. taxpayers. Why should American lives be lost, American blood spilt, American money spent in a foreign country, to crush its subjects and devastate it while we run the country through a "dummy" President our marines have elected?

Ask President Hoover. Ask your Congressman. Ask your local newspaper. And then ask American oil companies, mining companies and Wall Street banks which have large investments in Nicaragua.

## SENATOR LA FOLLETTE IS DEMANDING A SPECIAL CONGRESS SESSION

[The Freeman believes an extra session of Congress is imperative. President Hoover, true to his Wall Street colleagues, has taken the stand that Congress should not be given an opportunity to consider pressing economic questions. We urge our readers to write to President Hoover urging him to surrender to the wishes of public opinion. Below we print Senator La Follette's statement favoring the early reconvening of Congress.]

An extra session of Congress would afford opportunity now for the consideration of a program to stimulate economic recovery," Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, declared in a statement setting forth a suggested program incorporating six major points which he declared should be accomplished.

Senator La Follette's program would include unemployment relief, public works expansion, farm legislation, tariff adjustment, tax adjustment and establishment of an economic council for industrial stabilization.

His statement was issued in response to the President's announcement that he would not call an extra session, in the belief that to do so would hinder economic recovery.

**Urged by Senator Brookhart**  
An extra session was also urged by Senator Brookhart (Rep.), of Iowa, who declared that probably public opinion will influence the President to change his determination against such a move.

Senator La Follette's statement: "President Hoover bases his refusal to call an extra session of Congress on the grounds that 'we cannot hope to legislate ourselves out of a world economic depression; we can only work ourselves out.' This statement is a reiteration of the administration's policy to which he has adhered during 20 months of unprecedented economic disaster, namely, that we can only muddle through the depression.

"The continuation of this do-nothing policy condemns millions of our fellow citizens to privation, want, starvation even, and inevitably will

result in a lowered standard of living and the degradation of citizenship.

"It has not been contended that the Federal government can solve all the complex problems presented by the dissolution of the economic structure, but in a national crisis all agencies should be mobilized to stem the tide of disaster. An extra session of Congress would afford opportunity now for the consideration of a program to stimulate recovery.

**Could Do Several Things**  
"Under constructive leadership, an extra session would make it possible to accomplish the following:

"(1) Immediate assistance to the cities, counties and states in relieving distress of the unemployed and their dependents.

"(2) Adoption of a great public works program to provide a substantial amount of employment and to contribute toward the maintenance of wage standards. The necessity of such a program to stimulate recovery was recognized months ago by the President's Emergency Committee on Employment of which Col. Arthur Woods was chairman.

"(3) Enactment of legislation to enable agriculture to handle its surpluses through the stabilization fee or the export debenture, thus affording a measure of prosperity to the basic agricultural industry without which there cannot be permanent recovery.

"(4) Reduction of certain inordinately high duties in the Grundy Tariff Law to stimulate a revival of our export trade.

"(5) Increases in the income and inheritance tax rates to meet the deficit, provide funds for the government construction program and to enable it to assist in relieving national human suffering among our citizens.

"(6) Enactment of legislation to create a national economic council to assist in the stabilization of industry and agriculture.

**Have Waited 20 Months for Relief**

"We have waited 20 months for some unforeseen miracle to bring the country out of disaster. The policy of drifting has failed. The time has come when the action on all fronts to arrest the continual slide towards further depression and bring about recovery upon a sound basis."

"The President announces he does not intend to call an extra session," Senator Brookhart said. "The pressure probably will be much stronger by Oct. 1 and he may change his mind. He is reasoning that we always have heretofore got out of depressions by hard work and close economy and without government assistance but he will find this depression different from all previous ones."

"This depression brought on by special favors which the law gives to railroads, to banks, to protected industries and to corporate combinations. None of the evils will be removed by sitting around all summer and fall and doing nothing. They can only be removed by legislation. "The depression has existed as to agriculture since 1920 and so long as agriculture is down, there will be no recovery in other lines of business in this country."

## TO THE CAPITALIST MASTERS OF INDUSTRY

BY A READER

You have had undisputed control and direction of the industrial and the political machinery of this country for many decades. You have brought it into the throes of discontent, poverty, unemployment, unsold surpluses of products and merchandise, failures, bankruptcies, stock, bond and property deflations until business institutions and industries are threatened with dissolution.

This is the charge that is laid upon your desk. You have so far utterly failed morally, ethically and industrially in the management under your charge. Now bring order and solvency out of chaos.

Your profits, your property and your surpluses are at stake. The people have no longer much to lose. They have lost theirs. Now it is you who have it at stake. You have become the owners of the country's wealth. The system's hoodoo worshippers are losing faith in the potency of your charms. Now demonstrate your potent magical charms. Call your national conference. Do it without delay. Call your Schwabs, your Guggenheims, your Fords, your Rockefellers, your Morgans and your big industrial and financial leaders. You are the directors now of all the nation's wealth. Unless you act, from now on you are losing, for you are the only ones who have anything left to lose.

KEEP the Bible out of the schools.

## HOOVER'S TALK OF SAVING IS PROPAGANDA FOR 1932 CAMPAIGN

It is more than a coincidence that President Hoover begins talking about economy in government as he approaches the 1932 presidential campaign. His talk is for political effect. His Secretary of the Treasury was forced to report a billion-dollar deficit and with a campaign close upon him, Hoover had to do something or say something. Experience has shown that it is more characteristic of the man to say something. And as on other occasions, what he now says is vague. He spends a week-end at his camp in Rapidan, Va., and then he reports casually, "I've decided to save \$53,000,000 in the postoffice department." Another week-end produces the smooth assurance, "I will save \$17,000,000 in the interior department."

Newspapers favorable to Hoover comment upon these promises as if they were already actual performances. But these savings have not been made. Hoover has merely said they will be made. He has given no definite indication as to the nature of the economies promised. Such general statements are not convincing.

It is doubtless the belief of Hoover and his political advisers that if enough publicity can be given to mere talk about economy, Hoover will get credit with the country for having economized. Politicians always have believed and still believe that talk without action is an easy means of public deception. We must admit, too, that they have had good reason for this belief.

Under the burden of hard times, the people will not be so ready to think favorably of Hooverism. The trouble is that many will denounce and oppose Hoover without understanding the fundamental character of Hooverism; they will make the mistake of fighting an individual instead of a system, with the man recognized as merely the representative of the system.

If Hoover should actually save \$70,000,000—and concerning that promise we are thoroughly skeptical—he would still be saving only seven percent of the nation's billion-dollar deficit. But this deficit is already an unchangeable fact. The money has been spent and the government has been compelled to borrow. Hoover's vague economy talk concerns the next year, and during this next year the deficit, according to the estimate of Senator Couzens, will amount to a couple of billion dollars. If Senator Couzens' prediction is correct, Hoover's promised saving of \$70,000,000 would account for only three and a half percent of a two-billion-dollar deficit.

We have no faith whatever in Hoover's assurances of economy. There is a great deal of political patronage that could be removed from the federal bill of expenses—but we are not so childishly naive as to expect that Hoover will interfere with Republican politics for the sake of government economy. If he really tries to save, it will be on government services that are useful to the people; he will cut down on real services before he will cut down on political jobs and favors. He may save by making government less useful to the people, but he will not save by making government less remunerative to the politicians.

We repeat that in our opinion the economy talk is only for campaign propaganda. If not, why does Hoover remain silent about the definite ways and means of economy which he pretends to have in mind? He is too vague to be convincing. And we know that Hoover's one dominating thought now is not good government nor the popular welfare but his own political fortune in the 1932 campaign. He is wondering and worrying about reelection and all his words and actions are calculated with the aim of getting votes.

### ANGEL, SPEAK AGAIN!

Of all queer places to find a copy of The Freeman—in a pew in a Mormon tabernacle. But, after all, that's not so surprising. The Freeman goes everywhere. Its effect is wide, sometimes overwhelming and then again subtle and quiet. It blasts from without and bores from within. Its influence is felt in centers of holiness as well as in the unholy quarters where free-thinkers live or meet. Workers read it—and so do capitalists, but if the latter agree with our ideas they keep that agreement secret. Agnostics read The Freeman—and so do preachers, often admitting to themselves the truth they will not admit to others—and, again, church members read The Freeman, which is apt to be hard on the preachers, losing them customers for their superstition mills.

And now about the Mormon tabernacle. A believing follower of the shades of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, worshipping under the aegis of the Mormon faith and fables out in Utah, snied a copy of The Freeman shamelessly flaunting itself in the pew. He read it and he said, "Thank God!" He said again, "Thank God," in a letter to The Freeman editor. "I can easily see," he wrote, "that you are not a believer of the disillusionsed belief of the Protestants, Catholics, and Judaism. Thank God!"

The spelling is peculiar to our Mormon correspondent, but we are not going to make it the subject of solenetic criticism. We really must thank the man for affording us a moment's gentle amusement. He has the idea that being an agnostic and debunker, Mr. Haldeman-Julius is ripe for conversion to Mormonism. He is sure that Mormonism is the "one true faith." He is convinced that Mr. Haldeman-Julius could be a power for good in spreading the wonderful gospel of Mormonism. Pondering thinking to hasten this glad day, he sends along several Mormon pamphlets and the Book of Mormon, alleged to have been re-

vealed miraculously to Joseph Smith by an angel.

But Mr. Haldeman-Julius declares that he could be convinced, if at all, only by a personal interview with the angel. He wouldn't take Joe Smith's word—no, sires: He wouldn't believe a follower of Joe Smith who believes what he has read about what Joe Smith said about what the angel told him. Thomas Paine long ago put the matter neatly in a nutshell when he said that revelation, to be authentic and credible, must be direct—that it cannot be transmitted by a third person. The angel or nothing, is Mr. Haldeman-Julius' demand as proof of Mormonism.

And we are all glad of his decision. For it would be a pity if, incredibly, E. H. J. should become weak-minded all of a sudden and, after shooting religious bunk full of holes, patch up one very badly riddled specimen of religious bunk and call it holy. By all the pagan myths, we swear that such a thing will not happen.

## ARE POPE AND MUSSOLINI NEARING FINAL BREAK IN ITALY?

The recent attacks upon Catholics in Italy reflect a situation which has not been intelligently explained in the American capitalist press. Our capitalist press is friendly both to the Pope and to Mussolini, so it prefers to ignore or to slur over the embarrassing truth. This truth is that the Pope and Mussolini have always been hostile at bottom, neither trusting nor respecting the other, both trying to advance schemes of power that necessarily conflict.

The mob outbreaks in Italy, animated by an anti-Catholic feeling, are of course unauthorized on the surface; but it is evident, judging from the inadequate conduct of the Fascist police, that efforts to repress the mobs are of a character with the pretense of law and order in our own southern states when a mob outbreak occurs.

### Mussolini in Open Attack

Since we wrote the following editorial, Mussolini has ordered the dissolution of the Catholic Action Societies throughout Italy, so that the outbreaks which were at first unofficial on the surface are now backed by the dictatorial power of Mussolini. In a clash between Pope and Dictator, we wish for the defeat of both and the victory of the Italian people through the formation of a free government, superior to both Catholic and Fascist influences.

Negro lynching is in process. The police make a show of order but they accomplish little. Yet Mussolini, who is supreme dictator in Italy, could end these riots at a word.

He could end them, that is to say, unless they reflect a Fascist sentiment which is too strong for even Mussolini to suppress and which is indeed the situation. Mussolini and most of his followers, certainly his agents, are at heart anti-clerical and anti-Catholic. They were foes of the Church before the Fascist triumph and they have not been very successful in concealing this antipathy since the beginning of the Mussolini adventure.

The Pope and Mussolini represent two powerful factions that cannot be reconciled. True, Mussolini endeavored to reconcile Fascism with the Catholic Church in 1929, when he paid the Pope \$40,000,000 as alleged compensation for the Vatican states (which the Vatican never legitimately possessed) and promised to bring Italian law into harmony with Catholic canon law. The latter agreement, Mussolini has not been fully to keep. He wanted to win the friendship of the Pope so that the Fascist government would have added moral support in seeking future loans abroad; on the other hand, Mussolini could not carry his followers all the way with him in these overtures to Catholicism; and, again, Mussolini's theory that Fascism must be the supreme power conflicts with the Pope's theory and ambition that Catholicism must be the supreme power in education, in morals and in religion.

The Pope has taken what he could get from Mussolini; Mussolini cynically has sought to win favor and political support from the Pope; and all the while neither has the slightest real confidence in the other. They have been essentially enemies in a superficial state of truce, marked by underlying currents of hostility and occasional sharp skirmishes in the open. The Pope has reprimanded Mussolini in open letters and Mussolini has brusquely called down the Pope for his presumption.

Now come the riots, which, however unofficial they may seem, are seriously explicable only in the light of this political and intellectual antagonism between Fascists and Catholics.

It is clear that no good can come to Italy from the continued rule of Fascism nor from the triumph of Catholicism. A Catholic-dominated government in Italy would be certainly as bad as and probably worse than the Fascist government; while the record of Fascism in brutalizing and bankrupting Italy is only too tragically known. The wretched conditions in Spain under the recently expired monarchy of Alfonso revealed the fate of a country under the domination of Catholicism. Those who wish well for Italy and for civilized government will hope that the conflict between Fascism and Catholicism ends in the downfall of both and in the victory of a new Italian republic soundly established on the principles of political and religious liberty.

Some old timers have not been heard from lately. We need their support if The Freeman's circulation is to progress.

## What Is Socialism? In Reply to a Freeman Reader

Beatrice M. Holden, a Freeman reader in Connecticut, is not clear as to what Socialism means and therefore she does the intelligent thing. She writes to The Freeman asking for an explanation. Her letter follows:

Your advance notice on the Appeal to Reason arrived today. Until your books and literature came to our Mr. Holden's and my own attention, about eighteen months ago, we thought we were Christians. That is, we had been brought up to be and drifted along with the church, not very enthusiastically, it is admitted, and with many secret misgivings. I know now that being an agnostic is a much more clear-thinking, definite step than being a church member for most people. They are brought up to be church members, they have to think and rid themselves of lots of ideas before they can definitely and with their mind decide to work with us. Now it occurs to us that we may also be Socialists, but don't know it. Will you kindly tell me what a Socialist is? Not in any flowery language, but entirely debunked, just what does he stand for?

For instance, if being a Socialist means that if I owned a factory and means scheme so that each man who honestly wants to work shall be provided with a job, if it means a fair scale of wages so that each man shall be able to live decently, then I'm for it. Will you take time off long enough to write a little article saying exactly what this socialism is? Also, don't you think it would be a good idea to let us know—young people who don't remember the old Appeal, who never even heard of it in what the Appeal was, how and why it was founded, and why it was discontinued?

Maybe we want that paper and will welcome it as enthusiastically as we now do The Freeman. Help us to know.

We are glad to define Socialism simply in a sentence: It means the social ownership of wealth that is essentially social in its nature. And of course this sentence, like so many attempts at brevity, needs to be amplified by way of illustration.

Socialism does not mean the social or public ownership of homes, automobiles, clothing, furniture nor any articles of personal wealth that are personally used. It does not mean the social ownership of the products of wealth but—a very different thing—it means the social ownership of the means of wealth production.

Demand a Collective System. Socialists point out that industrial development has reached the stage of vast monopolies, where corporations that are privately owned and controlled are the dictators of the nation's life. The tools of wealth production are no longer simple and individual. The worker cannot function as individual owner and producer. He must work in a large factory, with thousands of other workers, using machines which are owned by an employer, individual or corporate.

The great industries of the country are obviously public in their functions yet they are privately owned—and this the Socialist condemns as an injustice. Socialism holds that production and distribution of the necessities of life should be carried on by a collective system; that we should all have an equal right and interest in these great necessary industries, similar to the right we now have in the public streets and in the postoffice system and in street railways and light and power services (where the latter are municipally owned).

The obvious, immediate method of collectivization would of course be government ownership; some industries could be owned by the federal government, others by state governments, still others by local governments—the nature and extent of the business would determine its jurisdictional ownership, but that ownership would always be public instead of private.

It is also the demand of Socialism that the workers in these industries—and Socialism holds that all must be workers with hand or brain—shall be rewarded fully for the value of their labor. By the value of each worker's labor we mean the share of energy and intelligence that he contributes to production or distribution; that share will naturally be a share of what remains after the full costs of machinery and raw material have been paid and after a reserve has been set aside as social capital in future production.

The central point of Socialism is that no one would be rewarded merely for owning things. Ownership is not a useful function. It is not productive but entirely parasitic. Actual, intelligent management is quite another matter. It is recognized by the Socialist that managerial brains in social industry must be fairly rewarded.

The great fortunes today are not derived from management but from ownership; sometimes both the privilege of ownership and the function of management contribute to a fortune—but ownership accounts for the major part of the fortune. It will naturally be left for experts to determine, under socialized industry, what are the different values of varying hand and brain functions, of common labor and skilled labor and managerial direction; the essential point is that in estimating these values a new and social standard will be employed; namely, usefulness in contributing to the work of society rather than the mere privilege of ownership.

Socialism would abolish private

profits. Its rewards would be based upon labor, whether physical or mental. Its principle of production would be use instead of profit. As machinery increased the productivity of labor, the result under Socialism would be shorter hours with the workers enjoying the same opportunities of consumption; and as the workers would be given the full value of their labor there would consequently be, throughout society, a full and continuous consumption of goods; thus the anomalous crisis of over-production would be forgotten along with other evils of capitalism.

### Socialism Means Economic Security

Economic common sense teaches us that if there is fair distribution there can be no such thing as over-production. "Over-production" under capitalism simply means that the workers have not received the full value of their labor—they have been exploited by the capitalist owners in the shape of profits—and a surplus of goods is piled up which the capitalists cannot personally use and which, beyond a certain point, they are temporarily unable to sell. This surplus is disposed of in foreign markets—but with highly developed capitalist industries all over the world, the foreign markets are disappearing; the capitalists in each nation face the same problem of a surplus.

Wars have also been a traditional mode of consuming a surplus—the mode of destruction—but the difficulty is that the social and industrial structure is also very destructively affected by war, so that nothing of the stark tragedy and inhumanity of this slaughter on a horrible, vast scale.

Undoubtedly Mrs. Holden will agree that the extremes of wealth and poverty and the intermediate gradations of narrow subsistence, minimum comfort, moderate welfare and fortunate prosperity are not to be explained by actual differences in the earning power or the labor value of individuals. Great riches, we repeat, are piled up as the privilege of ownership. No man ever earned a million dollars by working—not even by the most skilled and brilliant and rare kind of work. The only way any man can get a million dollars is by owning something and compelling other people to pay him a tax for his ownership. Profit is the huge, unescapable tax imposed by capitalism on labor. This tax is unescapable so long as the industries are privately owned. The only way of escape is through the socialization of industry.

If Mrs. Holden makes the objection that there will be mistakes and imperfections and abuses in organizing a Socialist society, we grant her point instantly and reply that these are problems which man's intelligence must solve; and we add that they are minor problems compared with the actual, overwhelming injustices, inequalities and inefficiencies which prevail under capitalism.

Perfection will not come in one miraculous bound under Socialism. Socialism itself will come gradually, although the world needs it today. We shall not have Socialism until the people realize the need of Socialism; and that realization cannot come too quickly. For the present let us conclude our remarks on Socialism by saying that this program of socialization offers the only real hope of social justice, security, peace and the progress of civilization. Socialism will mean the triumph of the principle of cooperation and only through cooperation—the fullest social cooperation—can humanity move forward.

### Socialism and the Appeal

Concerning the Appeal to Reason, we refer Mrs. Holden and any others who may wish information about the Appeal to our four-page special announcement. In that broadside the character and history of the Appeal were explained and the main features of its work were retold. A free copy of this Appeal broadside will be sent to any reader upon request.

We will add briefly in this place that the Appeal was a Socialist paper, championing the principles that we have just outlined; that it published original investigations, exposing the abuses of capitalism, the injustices done to the workers and the corrupt practices of politicians; that in many big labor struggles—all the labor struggles of its time—it printed news about those struggles which the capitalist papers would not print. The Appeal failed because of the black reaction during and after the World War, when for some years Socialist propaganda could find no audience and Americans in particular exhibited a bitter resentment or a cynical indifference toward discussions of social reform.

### THE POPE'S REMINDER

In Vatican City the Pope splutters. His holy temper has been most righteously lost. And all because the new Spanish republic has issued a proclamation of religious freedom. He protests against the abolition of the privileged place which the Catholic church held in Spain under the monarchy. His technical objection is that religious freedom will violate the concordat between the Spanish government and the Vatican; but that was an understanding between the exiled Alfonso and the Pope; with a new government comes a new deal, as rightly it should.

We wonder how American Catholics will explain—or try to explain away—this latest outburst from the Pope. It is a direct contradiction of all that these American Catholics have been saying about the consistency of Catholicism with religious liberty. The world, head of the Catholic Church himself declares,

plainly that Catholic doctrine and policy are based upon religious intolerance. Catholicism, says the Pope, must be the state religion, absolutely supreme. That is real Catholic doctrine, to be applied wherever the Catholic church has sufficient power.

Having lost his power in Spain, the Pope can only protest. But when Alfonso was on the throne and Catholicism was the Spanish state religion, other religions were permitted only an obscure, inferior place in Spain. Protestant churches were forbidden on the principal streets. They had to be located in quiet, out-of-the-way corners—holes in the wall, as it were—with doors opening on little-used side streets or alleys. Atheists, we suppose, had to meet even more secretly; probably they were classed as wicked conspirators and rebels.

It is well that the Pope again reminds the world that Catholicism is inveterately hostile to liberty.

## TWO PROMINENT FIGURES ENDORSE PLAN OF THE APPEAL TO REASON

Upton Sinclair welcomes the proposed Appeal to Reason, as follows:

Just line to tell you of my gratification to read in the papers that you are going to revive the Appeal to Reason. Count on me to help in every way possible. Send me any announcements you are making. And here's good luck to you and Fred D. Warren.

Clarence Senior, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of America, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., writes:

I was delighted to learn that you were going to start the publication of the Appeal to Reason, with Fred D. Warren as the editor. I can certainly see a great field of usefulness for it and am sure that there will be a large circulation within a few months.

We have received hundreds of letters conveying similar good wishes. For the present, everything depends on the manner in which readers respond to the announcements mailed out two weeks ago. We must obtain 10,000 pledges from individuals who will promise to send us \$1 each month for 12 months, thus putting two yearly subscriptions on the Appeal list each month. The Appeal subscriptions will be accepted at the club rate of 50 cents per year in clubs of four or more.

Have you subscribed yet? If not, send \$1 (\$1.50 Canada and foreign) and instruct us to put your name on the subscription list for a year. By sending in a club of at least four subs you may put on your own name at the 50c club rate. We hope to hear from all prospective readers in the near future.

### "FELLOWS WITH RIFLES"

Oswald Garrison Villard in The Nation quotes the late American general, Tasker H. Bliss, as having said to him at the 1919 peace conference in Paris: "Don't let anybody fool you about the causes of this war. It came just because there were too many fellows running around Europe with rifles in their hands."

That epigram contains enough truth to be deceptive. Granted that heavily armed nations will fight—that militarism makes peace impossible—what causes the nations to equip these vast armies and navies? The fellows running around with rifles in their hands are not doing so merely because, as individuals, they have a natural craving to play with rifles. They are not carrying rifles on their own individual initiative. They were ordered and they are still ordered by capitalist governments to carry rifles.

These capitalist governments maintain gigantic armaments for the purpose of backing up their greedy aims in the economic strife among nations. Armaments are the vicious effect of a cause that lies deeper. They are the symbols of the perpetually warlike system of capitalist world trade.

It is true that there will be no peace until the nations absolutely disarm. But along with disarmament, and making disarmament possible, there must be a reorganization of the world in the interest of cooperation and social justice. War and capitalism, the one springing out of the other, form a sinister alliance of social disaster.

### THE WILL O' THE WISP

Editorial in The New Leader, London, April 24, 1931.

Nothing could more clearly expose the futility of the policy of "disarmament by agreement" than the new disagreement that has arisen over the precise terms of the Naval Agreement between France, Italy, and Britain.

France, evidently reacting to her panic over the proposed Austro-German Customs Union, has discovered a technical quibble by which she presents a case for tearing up the original agreement.

If she presses her present demand for an unchallengeable superiority over Italy, she will not merely destroy the Three-Party Agreement, but probably the London Naval Treaty as well, and blow the Disarmament Conference, convened for next year, sky-high.

Mr. Henderson's hard and unrelenting efforts, which he has conducted with great skill over the last fifteen months, are in danger of being brought to nothing. These jugglings with figures in the pursuit of a phantom parity will get us nowhere. If Britain really wants disarmament she must risk setting the actual example.

### Kills Rail Ownership Measure

Madison, Wis.—A resolution of George Tews, Socialist of Milwaukee, asking government ownership of railroads, has been killed by the Wisconsin assembly.

WHEN a preacher says there will always be religion, he really means there will always be fools.

### Appreciates Our Work

Editor, The American Freeman: I greatly appreciate the work you have done, and are still doing in breaking the idols. I find the Blue Books invaluable in my work. I have some hundreds of them. I am an old man of 73, and I have been idly breaking for some 50 years.—W. L. Sinton, Calif.

## Lynching in America

BY THEODORE DREISER

The Negro as well as the white, before the law, should be treated with understanding and liberality. Through no fault of their own, a century or two ago, some of them were drafted as slaves by the white powers and yet that, instead of evoking sympathy, has produced belittlement and hatred.

Because Negroes are not, at present, a dominating race, some unthinking members of the white race manifest prejudices toward them and their conduct. And, finally, the prejudice-makers have grown to include even the more intelligent leaders who do not stop to analyze the standards and ideas under which they themselves were brought up. Hence, not only laws unduly severe concerning the human relations of Negroes have been made, but these laws in the eyes of the unified Southern population have become so near perfection, itself, that the people almost justify mob-rule to enforce them.

In the present case, two ignorant white girls, prostitutes, so it is said, and dressed in overalls, hopped a freight gondola for their home town. A crowd of white boys were in the car, and they all laughed and joked with the girls who were said to be prostitutes. Nineteen Negroes—these did not include the nine arrested—came along. (Evidence of number of Negroes questioned, but not supported.) The Negroes, and white boys all but the nine Negroes fell or were thrown off. The white boys, saying that Negroes were on the train with white girls, wired authorities to stop the train.

### The Girls Were Not Raped

Anyone who understands the psychology of the Southern people, reads that the news of Negroes alone with white girls is enough to make rape a fact! The train was stopped and two groups of armed deputies captured the nine Negro boys and the two girls. The boys were widely separated on three different parts of the train. The women denied that the Negroes had committed rape. This crime in Alabama means electrocution. That in itself is to me a horrible travesty on natural conduct.

And these girls, upon capture, presented no signs of assault and violence. Until they were taken to Scottsboro, which was excited with the reported rape and to sheriffs insisting rape had been committed, the girls remained quiet and made no charges. Finally, they were forced to undergo examinations showed no bruises or evidence of viciousness.

A conviction in this case was rushed through in three days, and all eight boys (the ninth boy, a minister, was sentenced to die in the electric chair. The state's defense of these chaps, being hurried, was not handled as carefully as more time would have permitted. The other boys as witnesses were lacking. The evidence of two girls really convicted them. Evidence of the character of these two girls, who were alleged to be prostitutes, was not allowed at the trial. According to Southern law, apparently, the boys were much more to blame than the girls, whatever the provocation.

### Hysteria Surrounds Trial

Finally, at the time of the trial, feeling reached such tenseness that the Governor sent troops. On the day of it, the hysteria was so great that 10,000 people swarmed about the courthouse. When the death sentence was entered against these youngsters, the crowd, hooting and yelling, celebrated the "victory" while a brass band played.

Now to me the whole Southern attitude toward the Negro has become a national disgrace. It is so unreasonable and so intensely unfair. There would begin to consider the case of the Negro from the day of his enforced entry into this country—the feeling evoked against him by the Civil War. Yet this is a valuable race with, as I see it, a great future. At this moment, though, the Southern papers are insisting that this particularly dubious case is one for mob-rule. Yet such violence as surrounded the entire trial is in violation of the 14th Amendment, guaranteeing due process of law.

A motion has now been made for retrial. For one thing, one of the Negroes convicted is, according to medical testimony, incapable of sexual intercourse. If that motion is denied, then an appeal can be made to the Federal Court—a proper appeal. Personally, I feel strongly that by transferring the case to escape the violence of Southern feeling, a more clear-headed view of the data may be presented. These eight boys must at least have a just trial even though they are oppressed by a law unduly severe and emotionally enforced at this time in Alabama.

Study the Negroes' past in America first, and then judge. The Bundle Brigade is doing better work than at any time in the history of The Freeman. We ought to have 10,000 members in the Bundle Brigade. You can join by ordering a bundle of at least 50 copies at 2c each.

THE OFF-EXPRESSED fear that a Socialist system of production would destroy personal ambition and deprive the individual of an incentive to put forth his best efforts, is based on a confusion between the crude communism which preaches community of goods and equality of reward, and Socialism which is entirely different.

The Freeman Army needs new recruits. Will you join us by getting a new club of subs?

### Here Is Freeman Reader

Who Sends in Most Bundle Orders.

Again comes F. A. Johnson, Fort Scott, Kans., with an order for a bundle of 250 copies of The Freeman—this time for the issue of June 6, containing the questions for President Hoover and jammed full of other good material. Reader Johnson is our best bundle worker. He has established a record and now we find ourselves looking each week for that familiar, encouraging bundle order. It is a test—when the bundle order comes as per schedule we know that we have published another good paper. Of course we are not too modest. Really, we always know we have issued a good paper. But Reader Johnson's 250 bundle order helps to confirm our own conviction. And let us point out—Reader Johnson will agree with us—that this best bundle worker has no monopoly on the 250 order. How many other members of The Freeman Army will equal or beat this record? Try it!

## GIGANTIC ARMY AIR SHOW MARKS WAR POLICY OF HOOVERISM

The gigantic demonstrations by the United States military air forces above Chicago and New York City give the lie to Hoover's canting references to peace and his campaign talk of governmental economy. A fleet of 650 planes, manned by 1,400 aviators, representing a total equipment cost of \$20,000,000, engaged in what the capitalist press proudly called "the greatest air maneuvers ever held in peace time."

And while Hoover, in preparation for the 1932 campaign, is making a grandstand play of lopping off a few millions of dollars in the expenses of the federal government, let it be known that this "sham battle" in the air cost \$3,000,000. Of course this is small compared with the cost when our air fleet engages in a real war, which is being prepared by the capitalistic nations with deadly celerity and magnitude.

That the world is heading toward another terrible war is the opinion of all who think seriously about the future. What other conclusion can be drawn from the vast armaments, greater than in 1914, which are maintained lavishly by the leading nations of the world? More thought is being given to the technique of war today than in 1914. The world's military cost is larger today than in 1914. Economic war among the leading nations is more intense and bitter today than in 1914.

Is America's record better than the record of other nations? The Hoover tariff was one of the most vicious declarations of economic war ever made by any nation. America leads all nations in military expenditures. And now the Hoover administration spends \$300,000,000 a year on the military armaments, a demonstration of America's military strength in the air which is a sinister reminder that America is preparing for war and not for peace.

Who must pay for this \$300,000,000 air demonstration? Who but the common people? Who will be the victims in the next terrible war that is so clearly a threat of the not far distant future? Who but the common people? As the horrors of the world war of 1914-18 exceeded frightfully the horrors of previous wars, so will the awful waste and slaughter of the next war be yet more horrible. In the next war there will be little or no distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Whole populations will suffer the full terrors of a world struggle. Air raids, worse than any that were experienced in the first world war, will be a regular ghastly feature of the second world war that is impending. Poison gas will be used on an enormous scale. The world will be laid waste and civilized values will be forgotten in an orgy of madness.

Crowds who a few days ago, in Chicago and New York City, enjoyed the army air maneuvers in a holiday spirit will in a few years know the terrors of war in a fatal earnest—if the nations, including America, persist in their insane militarism.

A great menace such as a second world war can be averted only by great and serious action. There must be international economic cooperation (based upon a system of economic cooperation and justice in each nation) and there must be international disarmament. These changes, radically affecting the very bases of our present society, must be made if the most terrible war in all history is to be prevented.

Peace and real civilization are synonymous terms—certainly one depends upon the other—and as we do not now have a sane, peaceful civilization it is obvious that we have no security of peace in the future. On the contrary, the politicians controlling the destinies of the world signify by their tactics—as, for example, by this Hoover military air show—that they are spending and planning and preparing horrors for another monstrous world war.

### RELIGION IS SUPERSTITION.

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# In the World of Books

Weekly Reviews and Other Literary

Ruminations

Isaac Goldberg

**ALSO MISADVENTURES**  
Adventures in Genius. By Will Durant. With 10 full-page illustrations. New York: Simon & Schuster.

The newest addition to the widening shelf of works by Will Durant is a handsome octavo volume of 426 pages, tastefully bound in light green, with gold stamping and black rules. It is a pleasant book to handle and very easy on the eye. No doubt, you will see all the clubsters carrying it under their arms this summer at beach and mountain resort.

In a book by Dr. Durant one is always sure to encounter a felicitous style and an air of excitement about ideas. This is not always an undiluted advantage, as I have more than once pointed out in the case of Ludwig Lewisohn's later writings. I must confess at once to a distinct feeling of disappointment to a distinct feeling of disappointment to a distinct feeling of disappointment.

To begin with, the title is a misnomer. The superficial chapters on The Ten Greatest Thinkers and The Ten Greatest Poets deal, beyond a doubt, with geniuses; so, too, the essay on One Hundred Best Books for an Education touches many a world-leader of thought. But surely these are not adventures. They are the most summary suggestion; Durant, in fact, calls them Adventures in Suggestion. Unless I am very much mistaken, through the early chapters of the volume there are evidences of hesitancy and uncertainty on the author's part. He is dubious about his standards and seeks to cajole his reader. He uses, indeed, the approach not of the philosopher but of the congenial lecturer.

The adventures turn out, upon examination, to be rather a magazine miscellany—an omnium gathrum. This is not in itself, of course, reprehensible. It is pleasant to have the journalism of a Durant so well preserved. But it begins to appear that such a factitious assemblage of papers may affect the writer's conscience. He yields on more than one occasion to phrase-making. I don't know how other readers will feel about it, but to me it is regrettable that a scholar of Durant's standing, and especially in view of his preceding books, should have condoned in himself the sterile, if well-phrased, originality of the first two chapters.

I was almost amazed to read the criterion that Durant set up for himself in his choice of the world's leading thinkers. Deliberately he bases that criterion not upon the intrinsic value of the thought, but upon the suffrage it has won in terms of numbers. He would be the first to deny that an idea accepted by fifty people was ten times as valid as an idea accepted by five. Yet he lists his thinkers on the basis of the greatest acceptance by the greatest multitude. I protest that this in itself is bad thinking. It is the enthronement of quantity over quality. It is a surrender to the worst element in democracy. One is not surprised, therefore, to find Durant omitting Nietzsche and, with pious apologies, listing a nonentity in the world of thought as Thomas Aquinas.

That Durant himself wearied of so fallacious a standard becomes evident when he approaches the ten greatest poets. Here he frankly surrenders to a catalogue of his favorites, and much to our relief, abandons his specious impassivity. If one is to yield not only in the realm of thought but in the realm of art to a mere counting of heads, one has given up the very essence of both art and thought. Between these there is no real antagonism; indeed, a wise life achieves an integration of the scientific and the emotional. The standard adopted for one should be valid for the other; the very fact that Durant shifted criteria is a confession.

I wonder whether the author of "The Story of Philosophy" has not, as a journalist, sometimes too much succumbed to popularizing and "humanizing." This book surely contains a warning. When he comes to contemporary philosophy he is much more solid. The chapters on Spengler and Keyserling are thorough and even exciting. So, for that matter, are those on Flaubert and Anatole France. (How Durant managed to insinuate John Cowper Powys into their company is beyond me.)

The book is riddled out with discussions of "Patience," "India and China," and with papers on "Behaviorism and Philosophy." "Twelve World Dates," "Is Modern Education a Failure?" and "A Letter to the Mayor." This is disparate matter of varying interest and varying outcome. The heart of the book undoubtedly is in its philosophical and literary portions.

Perhaps much of my dissatisfaction with the book is sourced in its *ad hoc* character. God forgive Durant if he is falling into a sentimentalism of congeniality. God forgive him, too, for beginning one of his chapters with the phrase, "If I were rich I would have many books." And here I have been charming myself with the spectacle of a young philosopher, one of whose books alone in five years has sold over half a million copies!

However, let us regard this as being simply a strange interlude between "Mansions of Philosophy" and the forthcoming first volume of what will probably be Durant's *magnum opus*, "The Story of Civilization."

WE STAND CORRECTED

From Miriam Allen De Ford, all the way from San Francisco, we

receive a delicate missive informing us that to Haldeman-Julius fans she really is something more than Maynard Shipley's wife. I should say she is. She has written constantly for The Debunker and other H-J publications. In addition, she has done a baker's dozen of Little Blue Books.

Her own choice of title for "Love's Children," by the way—the book of bastards that I mentioned the other day—was "Brood of Folly." That comes, as she was kind enough to add, from Milton's "Il Penseroso." Anyway, it's a good book, as I have already said.

A CUSTARD PIE FROM CHARLIE

The cause of peace receives support from the ancient courts of kings, as in the ancient courts of kings, common sense flowed often from the lips of the jester, so of late have we been treated to an exhibition of cosmic jesting from the lips of the world's funniest man. If you or I, after a trip through Europe, had ventured the opinion—as we often have—that war is crazy and that patriotism is a species of insanity, we should, in times of war, have been clapped into prison or sent to the front line trenches. In times of peace we should have been hooted at or regarded as crazy.

When Charlie Chaplin, however, spurning a command performance in England, lets loose the vials of his wrath, the world listens, wags its head, but reprints every word. The effect, from the standpoint of propaganda, is that of a dozen peace commissions. "Patriotism is the greatest insanity the world has ever suffered," I have been all over Europe in the last few months. Patriotism is rampant everywhere and the result is going to be another war. . . . I hope they send the old men to the front the next time, for it is the old men who are the real criminals in Europe today.

We have always suspected that there was a brain behind those historic custard pies of the pre-talkie era. Now we know it.

## ONLY TWENTY-THREE VOTES CAST FOR FREE SPEECH IN PENNA HOUSE

Harrisburg, Pa.—Moving to dismiss the House elections committee from consideration of his bill No. 955 which would compel local authorities in the state to grant permits for meetings on certain public property to all political parties without discrimination, Darlington Hoopes, Socialist Representative, has put the members of the Pennsylvania House of record 23 for to 113 against free speech.

Gagged by House rules which were used to prevent Hoopes from explaining the bill which he sought to bring before the legislature, the Socialist leader was again halted by the Speaker when he attempted to tell members of the event of last fall's campaign which he would have cited as justification of such legislation as was contained in his bill.

Calls for Free Speech Stand

Forbidden to express himself freely even on the floor of the governing body of which he is a member, Representative Hoopes challenged members to vote on his motion as a sign of their belief or disbelief in the principles of free speech and rights of minority groups to express their views unmolested in what is supposed to be a democracy.

"If you vote aye on this motion you vote for free speech, if you vote no you vote against free speech and against the kind of government that seeks to guarantee its citizens such fundamental rights," Hoopes declared, closing his remarks. The roll revealed 23 ayes to 113 "noes." Regaining the floor again after some maneuvering, Hoopes obstinately took up his denunciation of police tyranny that resulted last year in James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Governor, being arrested on Pittsburgh City Hall steps where forty-eight hours before his old-party Republican opponent had spoken at length with police cordons blocking off traffic on the city's main thoroughfare that the now-governor might not be interrupted.

Pinchot at that time quite pointedly refused to make any statement and when the Hoopes bill to prevent recurrence of this injustice came before the House elections committee, whose chairman is the Pinchot floor leader in the present session, that committee unanimously voted to kill it.

Hoopes also alluded to his own arrest in Allentown during the same political struggle.

The Socialist Bill  
The bill on which the Socialist members sought a vote provided that local government officials, county, city, borough, and township should be required to issue permits for public political meetings on steps and adjacent sidewalks of publicly owned buildings.

Provision was made against the monopoly of such privileges by one group and the result of the passage of the bill would be the creation of a free forum in every organized community endowed with concrete privileges to the use of the public places instead of the empty constitutional rights clearly set forth on paper but regarded by local officials, under the domination of a local ruling class oligarchy, about as much as the traditional "scrap of paper" usually has been.

THE CATHOLICS worship an infallible Pope; the Protestants worship an infallible book. Both are misled.

Let us all agree to disagree agreeably!

It is never wise to stifle the doubt.

MAKE THE present enjoyable by your attitude.

Do not be afraid to live by ideals you find inspiring.

The Freeman depends on you readers for its support. All we ask is a little time and effort in getting us more readers in your community.

RELIGION is badly in need of examination in the light of reason and knowledge.

IT IS MORE than cursing and scolding which are needed now. We must take thought and act.

THE CLAIM of Christianity, or Islam, or Hinduism, or Judaism to supremacy over education is treason.

If each Freeman reader would get busy and send us a club of subs—oh, boy, wouldn't we have a paper with some power in this country?

CONTRARY to men's opinion of them, women are not dreamers, but doers. Men are the dreamers, the visionaries.

NO ONE, since the time of Bayle, has seriously controverted his argument that a society of Atheists may be as moral as a society of believers.

A MAN may be a good citizen in every sense of the word that is, in a secular sense, measurable, without ever having heard of Christianity at all.

THE TRUE concept, the pivot round which the doctrine to evolution revolves, is that the Present is the child of the Past and the parent of the Future.

NO ONE will seriously argue that the history of the Christian churches is not the history of organized and continuous outrage upon the conscience of mankind.

The Freeman is getting better every week—so say our readers. Many are showing their approval by getting The Freeman clubs of subs. Will you do your share?

IF THERE is one outstanding feature in the "Christian" literature of the first generation of the 20th century it is the continuous withdrawal of theologians of all grades from the central doctrine of their creed.

CATHOLICS make it their business to interfere with the State. It is not a case of a mere society with its own old rules. No, it is a militant church out to force its views on to the rest of the community. We must resist it!

IN ROMAN CATHOLIC countries, persons are being fined and imprisoned for not bending the knee when the host passes, even on the public street. That's something pleasant to look forward to when America gets "converted."

THE CHURCH fears with transcending apprehension a free and candid examination of its origins, for its feet are not even of clay, nor its pedestal of sand—they are of dead air. It is a vast erection floating on a fog of illusion.

It is easy to get ten or more of your friends and neighbors to take The Freeman. Why not try for a club of subs today?

OUR EDUCATORS' hands are tied. Science is not taught according to the knowledge gained by the instructor. The wishes of a bigoted but well-organized minority must be obeyed. Every week teachers are dismissed or reprimanded for straying from the straight (?) and certainly narrow path.

THE PRESS of the world has made quite a fuss over the action of the present "modern" and "scientific" Pope, because he has installed a telephone system in the Vatican. After the world has been using phones for more than half a century, the Pope wakes up, trails along—and gets praised for his "scientific" spirit.

NATURE'S ways are discriminative; she calls aloud for self-reliance, for courage, for alertness. Her key-note is progress. As a corollary, the less fit, the indolent, the parasitic, must tend toward elimination. Some may take a back seat for a longer or shorter period; others disappear at an early stage, with meager success for the propagation of their kind.

SIMPLE as is the Socialist program, it means a great change in our industrial life and social relations. It advocates a new order. Therefore, it is bound to be condemned by those who benefit by things as they are, and misunderstood by the multitude of common people who get their ideas from capitalist newspapers, corporate lawyers, and parasitic preachers.

Put four names on The Freeman's subscription list at only 25c each, each good for 25 weeks.

THE THEORY is that God is a being perfect in every respect; but does our knowledge enable us to assert with any confidence that this being takes any part in human affairs? Remember that if he is infinite he cannot well have a physical form. If no physical form, how are we to credit this "unknown quantity" with human ideas and feelings? Does it help us if we consult the records of his dealings with human beings, which records are said to be the only genuine ones in existence? As a fact, the belief in their truth and accuracy is now given up by the majority of competent scholars. We are in reality forgetting Jehovah.

## ADVERTISING EXPERT LIKES APPEAL BROADSIDE

We pick the following from a letter written by Fred D. Warren: It might interest you to know that the vice president of one of the largest advertising companies in the United States, and intensely anti-Socialist, after reading your announcement of the Appeal to Reason, said it was one of the best pieces of advertising matter that had come to his attention in recent years. Also he said he expected to do his bit in the way of getting subscriptions!

We consider our Appeal broadside "good advertising," because it was a simple, clear and sincere announcement. Its sincerity put it over. Readers recognize intellectual honesty when they come upon it. By the way, have you read the announcement of the proposed Appeal to Reason? We have thousands of extra copies of this four-page broadside and will be glad to send you one or more copies free of charge. A post card will do.

## GEORGE BERNARD SHAW ON JOURNALISM

"I am a journalist and nothing else all the time," declared Mr. George Bernard Shaw, proposing the toast of "The profession of journalism," at a luncheon in London of the Institute of Journalists, which Mr. Shaw joined at the age of 73.

"The question 'may arise,' said Mr. Shaw, 'is journalism a profession, or is it the last refuge of the young person who is hopelessly illiterate and hopelessly inaccurate? I want to impress the last word upon you, because I have sometimes come across young gentlemen who are constitutionally incapable of getting two figures right, or giving a reasonable description of anything they have seen. I have had to tell them they had better become a journalist, because journalism is the only profession in which inaccuracy does not matter.'

"That puts on all of us who are journalists an extremely heavy responsibility. The law allows us an extraordinary latitude. On the one hand we can say what we like, no matter how mischievous it may prove, on a very large scale, but at the same time if we mention that some notorious rascal is a notorious rascal we have to pay heavy damages.

"The whole situation is one which puts a very great strain on the character of the people who pursue it, and it is open to question whether or not we should pursue some efforts to make it a more difficult profession for people without qualifications to enter.

The Press Could Have Stopped World War

"We have had a war which was an extremely foolish one, and which had the very curious effect of doing a number of extremely important things which were the very last things the people who made it intended to do. The press might have prevented that war. The press did not. The Kaiser might have prevented that war. The Kaiser did not.

"The reason is the British press, like other presses, is far too much dominated by the ideas which dominated the Kaiser. He was badly brought up, and we have been badly brought up. We nearly ruined civilization between us. All we can say is we disgraced ourselves. The church disgraced itself. All the professions and Parliament disgraced themselves.

What is the greatest service that journalism has to render to the public with its mind. Most people have either made minds or no minds at all, and what is in their heads is exactly what the papers put into them.

"The difficulty is the question of the time lag. Take my own case. I am a journalist and nothing else all the time. I am not one of those men of letters who devote their lives to saying things beautifully without any particular regard as to what they are saying. What I have got to do is to tell people things about life and about themselves. There I stop. I am a journalist.

"The difficulty for the journalist as for every one is the time lag. I have had rather a rough time because nature constituted me so that what I have said happens. I perceive it has happened. Most people take about twenty years to realize it. Imagine me trying to get my living as a journalist and being always twenty years ahead of the newspapers. We are suffering because the public have a terrible time lag. The great duty of journalists is to abolish it, and to make people understand that the world is continually changing, and it is no use trading on ideas obsolete before they were born.

Journalists Need to Learn About Russia

"At the present time the press is time-lagging very badly in many ways. Take the Russian revolution. The press has not yet recognized that that revolution has taken place. We have not found out yet that the Russian Soviet has come to stay. In consequence we have thrown away one of the most magnificent commercial chances we ever can hope to see in our lifetime.

Do not start a time lag about the Customs Union between Austria and Germany. They are bound to unite. Every person who has not got a bad time lag must have recognized at once that they have done it, and that we have got to accept it.

"I urge all of you not to write about these subjects like an old-fashioned governor in a very old-fashioned cathedral town. If you do, the time lag will beat you, and you will lose your power over the public mind. A great deal of that power is already passing to the wireless. The moral of it all is that we have got to abolish time lag. We have got to face the future, and stop dreaming about the past."

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH insists on birth control (celibacy) among its priests in order to have some control over their property when they die. The Church fights birth control among its dupes so that it may have more little Catholics manufactured and thereby make possible the control of additional wealth while they live.

## Freeman Army

"I am thankful that Fred D. Warren has been spared and that he still has the courage and strength to again take up the burden," writes R. N. Moorehead, Calif., as he sends in \$2 for two years of the Appeal to Reason. "The Socialists' movement should be stimulated and encouraged by this announcement. I began reading the Appeal when it was fighting to save the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone."

C. H. Foster, N. Y., sends \$1 for a year of the Appeal to Reason and another dollar for us to use in putting our own good names on the Appeal sub list.

R. E. Paul, Pa., remits \$2, which we expect for a year of the Appeal to Reason for himself and for mailing 50 copies of the first issue of the Appeal to good names in our possession.

"Surely this is the most thrilling and glorious news I've heard in a long time—the prospect of getting our old-time fighting editor back on the Appeal to Reason, our own beloved Fred D. Warren," writes Kate A. Gardner, Mo. "I am anxious to do my bit by enclosing herewith \$1 to put my name on the list for what will again be the greatest fighting Socialist paper in the west and the promise to work for subs whenever and as much as my health will permit. I was a subscriber of the Appeal to Reason almost from its start. I have all faith and hope in the success of the great and happy Appeal. All hail to our old beloved hero, the fighting editor of the Appeal to Reason! I am always for the scientific settlement of social economics, which will give us Socialism."

Harry Kritzer, N. Y., sends us this three-word message: "Lots of luck." And he backs up his good wish with \$2 and pays for a club of four Appeal to Reason subs.

Wm. C. Prescott, Neb., sends us \$1 and instructs us to use it in mailing copies of the proposed Appeal to Reason to fifty names he lists with his letter. "This new Appeal to Reason is just what we want to start the 1932 national campaign against Hoover and capitalism and their nefarious doings. I will soon send for some sub cards for the Appeal to Reason."

"We are coming, Father Warren, 50,000 strong," writes Charles Anderson, Calif., as he sends \$1 for a year of the Appeal to Reason and signs the pledge.

P. Brackett, Calif., is an earnest supporter of The Freeman who just can't be stopped. He sends us this order: "Enclosed is \$5 to be applied at your discretion. Am too old to get around to hunt up subscribers and your lists no doubt contain more interested specimens of humanity than they appear to be around here." This is a good bit for other readers who are not able to do personal, direct work but who wish to help the cause of social justice.

C. L. Shuman, W. Va., was very pleased with our Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30 and he ordered 50 copies. We have extra copies of that edition, so don't hesitate to send in your orders and let your fellow workers know the truth about Hoover's shady past.

It's a funny world. An Iowa professional man was handed a copy of the May 30 edition of The Freeman. He liked the exposure of Hoover's past. He sent us a dollar and a list of fifty names whom he wished to be added to the sub list of that edition. But he didn't subscribe to The Freeman and he specially asked us not to mention his name. If he'd read The Freeman regularly, he'd discover that every issue is interesting and important. Still, thank him, though anonymously, and we are glad to have a successful blow we strike at Hooverism.

A club of Freeman subs is the best weapon with which to hit Hooverism. Here's a real worker for enlightenment and social justice—J. W. Johnson, Ariz., sends \$5 for 24 books by Joseph McCabe and \$1 for another year's subscription to The Freeman. And that's not all; he adds \$5 to be used in sending The Freeman to good names in our possession. This is the kind of loyal support that strengthens and inspires our crusading endeavors.

Chas. Nelson, N. Y., sends a dollar to be used according to Method No. 3. This means that extra copies of The Freeman will be used where they will do the most good. It is this propaganda spirit which makes The Freeman strong.

If you don't feel able personally to go out and round up subscribers for The Freeman, just send us a dollar or two dollars or five dollars—or any amount—and tell us to put new names on the sub list. We have the names of Little Blue Book buyers and they, like all others, will benefit by reading The Freeman.

Fred Johnson, N. Dak., sends a dollar and instructs us to send The Freeman to a friend in Minnesota. The test is whether you like The Freeman well enough that you want others to read it. Ed Koeppe, Neb., was very much impressed by our Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30 and so he sat down right away and ordered 50 copies that he will circulate himself in his community.

J. A. Lundquist, Minn., sends \$1.25 and a list of five names who are to get The Freeman for 25 weeks. This is building up a club of circulation which gives a paper power for enlightenment.

W. L. Burns, Jr., Miss., tries the 10 weeks for 10 cents method of adding 10 names to The Freeman list. We don't care how strongly we shock 'em—just so we make 'em think.

J. O. Quian, N. Dak., helps the lib-erating work along with a club of 10 names, each 10 weeks for 10 cents. They'll know that The Freeman is very much alive!

Arthur Higgins, Mass., comes along with a club of ten 10-week subs—and we'll do our best to enlighten these ten new readers about economic conditions in America.

The best way to increase the circulation of The Freeman is to get subscriptions from your neighbors, friends, acquaintances and fellow workers. But if you do not wish to use this method of helping, then don't hesitate to send us the money and ask us to select names from our back lists. The great idea is to employ

every possible method of getting The Freeman to more readers.

B. C. Amos, Washington, D. C., sends us \$1.75 and a list of seven names who are to get The Freeman for 25 weeks. Our compliments to Reader Amos and The Freeman Army has just begun to fight!

Anthony Vasil, Mass., wants to see The Freeman increased to six pages. He encourages this growth of the workers' paper by sending us a paid list of 26 names, each 10 weeks for 10 cents.

Another list of ten 10-week names comes from Anthony Kew, Mich., and we know that he is doing these ten new readers a special favor by introducing them to this great fighting paper.

David Fryer, N. Dak., likes The Freeman and wants to see it grow and he assists in a practical way by sending us a list of ten 10-week names.

Warren Larsen, Utah, sends us a list of ten 10-week names. We are glad to hear from Utah and we hope Utah will be glad to hear from us.

We have a million names of Little Blue Book buyers. Help us put these million names on The Freeman list.

James Razicka, Chicago, comes in with a list of ten 10-week names, which the Chicago needs to build its list—But doesn't all of America need it?

The Freeman is the people's paper and its sole support comes from the people.

Wm. Healey, Mich., sends a dollar for 50 copies of the Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30, saying: "I want to put some of my friends about our good Hoover."

Albert R. Detato, Mass., is again heard from, sending a dollar for four 25-week subs and the names of the four persons whom he wishes to enlighten to enlighten our messages.

Carrie Scott, Wis., sends in a list of ten 10-week names. The more the better. A big audience encourages us.

And here comes Florida. A. J. McCain, of that state, helps ten of his fellow citizens to a better understanding of things by sending them The Freeman for 10 weeks at 10 cents each.

President Hoover doesn't want The Freeman. He's afraid of its circulation plans and propaganda. That's the more reason why you should want The Freeman to succeed.

H. M. Paulson, Minn., believes that the greatest need of the people is to understand the causes of Hooverism, so he sends in a list of ten 10-week names.

Reinhold Zaller, Calif., sends a dollar for two names and asks us to select the other two. That's cooperation.

Eugene Medsker, Ill., believes in telling it to 'em—and here he comes with a list of ten 10-week names.

A wider circulation of The Freeman means a wider understanding, not simply of the conditions of Hooverism, but of the causes of Hooverism.

Dr. J. G. Radabaugh, Ore., shows Washington's success in its circulation plans and propaganda. That's the more reason why you should want The Freeman to succeed.

A club of Freeman subs hits the mark every time.

Maude Owen, Wash., keeps up the good work by coming along with a list of ten 10-week names. We'll give them straight talk.

O. C. Vollum, Calif., sends a dollar for four Freeman sub cards. If all our readers will do this and keep on doing it, the Freeman sub list will go up and up and up—until it strikes the million mark!

The Freeman is leading the fight against Hooverism. Help it with a club of subs.

Fred Sommer, Wash., sends a dollar to help The Freeman in its plan of sending Margaret Haldeman-Julius to Washington and New York City for original articles about Hooverism, Wall Street, the Power Trust, the farm problem, and Soviet Russia.

The Freeman dares to print the truth. We ask our readers to help circulate The Freeman.

W. S. Tappany, Pa., is loyally in our work and has perfect confidence in our propaganda methods. He sends a dollar for us to use as we see fit in advancing the cause of the Freeman.

Chas. A. Salmina, Calif., sends \$1 for a bundle of 50 copies of the Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30. The facts in that edition should be known all over the United States.

Why do we want more circulation for The Freeman? Because we can let more people know the facts about Hooverism.

"I have never in my life been able to sell anything, but have paid for many subs, including these four. I am sending you for the Appeal to Reason," writes Frank Eberhardt, Ill. "I am one of the old Appeal readers. I wish the Appeal every success for the future in its fight for human rights."

Fred A. Luknow, Ill., sends \$1 for his subscription to the Appeal to Reason, and adds: "I am glad that Comrade Fred D. Warren is still alive and has the old-time punch. Allow me a tear for the 'Our Gene' and J. A. Wayland to help in the crusade to help smash our 100 percent pirates. Will send in a club of subs as soon as I can get them."

C. H. Allen, Los Angeles, sends \$1 for a year of the Appeal to Reason and says: "I am delighted to learn that the Appeal to Reason was so revived. The announcement was so unexpected that it brought tears. I hope tens of thousands of men and women will also be overjoyed upon hearing of the noble work you are contemplating. I began taking the Appeal to Reason in 1906 and was a supporter till the end of its useful days."

Every new reader of The Freeman should become a Freeman Army worker and get new readers—make it an endless chain of popular propaganda!

"I enclose \$1 for a year's subscription to the revived Appeal to Reason," writes G. R. Freeman, Colo. "I am so glad you are going to reestablish the old Appeal to Reason. I predict your project will go over with a bang. I believe the conditions are ripe for a counter attack on the rotten fortress of capitalism. I am past 76. So many of the members of the old Appeal Army are too old for such campaigning. But we can encourage you and help you with a little money now and then. Well, here is wishing you all the success that can come to a faithful servant of the working class."

James F. Falls, Jr., Los Angeles, subscribes for the Appeal to Reason and writes: "I want to see the Appeal to Reason born again with Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, in charge. I don't want to be a member of the Appeal Army, helping to make a splendid success of the reborn Appeal to Reason."

## "AMERICA'S WAY OUT" AND THE CRITICS

BY NORMAN THOMAS

What I have to say on this subject is neither by way of wounded feelings nor apology. America's Way Out has been very kindly treated by both critics and the public. It contains so much that is controversial that I expect—even invite—discussion. There are, however, three types of comment which seem to me more or less to miss the whole point and purpose of my book and therefore likely to start off discussion on the wrong foot.

The first sort of comment which seems to me wholly erroneous was best typified by Lewis Gannett's review in the *Herald Tribune*. He purports to find in my book no great divergence from the views of various intelligent captains of industry and politics—Dwight Morrow, Owen D. Young, or even Al Smith. If so, Mr. Gannett must have had a complete knowledge of the opinions of these gentlemen, concealed carefully by them from the world, and even from themselves. I advocate the social acquisition of all natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution in one generation under an arrangement by which all outstanding securities with which they may be bought shall be amortized. I advocate a tax reaching 1

# Mellon, in Arrogant Defense of Rich, Opposes "Class Tax"

## Admits Rich Grab Most, But Says They Pay Too Much

The national radio address on May 24 by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon can be summed up briefly and bluntly as follows: "Extend taxes on the smaller incomes but for God's sake don't raise taxes on the higher incomes." It is true that Mellon did not specifically advise this policy. He implied it, however, in words that were unmistakable. We know that Mellon's policy all along has been to protect the rich from high taxation. He characterizes this as a class tax. Of course it is. It is a tax on those who can best afford to pay. What is any tax but a class tax on those who have the money? It would be useless to tax those who have nothing. Capitalism has already taxed them into a condition of poverty.

It is brutally possible for the government to extend taxes on smaller incomes, to reduce income tax exemptions, and to grab from the common people what little they have. The government could make the struggle harder for millions who are struggling for a bare existence. And Mellon's radio message indicates his belief that this taxation of the poor, with continued favoritism toward the rich, would constitute "a well-balanced system."

### Mellon Would Tax Small Incomes

We must admit that Mellon's language was very gentle and euphemistic. He is reported as saying that "our income tax base is too narrow." What this means in plain

language is that more of the common people should be taxed and that small incomes now tax-exempt should be forcibly reduced by taxation. This is the main point suggested if not demanded by Mellon; and it is accompanied by the statement that the rich are unfairly taxed.

Showing what an economic authority he is, Mellon stressed the fact that "some 380,000 individuals pay about 97 percent of the total amount received from individual income taxes." His conclusion is that this means unfair taxation of the rich. Our conclusion is that this proves the rich are grabbing an unfair proportion of the country's wealth. There are 2,500,000 citizens in the United States who pay individual income taxes. Ninety-seven percent of these taxes are paid by 380,000 individuals. These are Mellon's own figures. They are official figures. They prove the concentration of wealth in America and the unfairness of not taxing this great wealth, but of the acquisition of this wealth.

### Mellon Defends His Class

This position of a few very rich men in the nation's income tax rating shows that they are absorbing enormously the greater share of the national wealth. Yet Mellon says that the tax upon these rich men is a class tax and he implies—plainly means—that it is an unfair tax. The fact that Mellon himself is among these 380,000 rich-

est men will probably be accepted as a sufficient explanation of his point of view. But is Mellon really an opponent of class taxation?

Let us see. There are two main suggestions for a revision of income taxes. One suggestion is that lower incomes shall be taxed not more but perhaps less, while taxes shall be increased on the excessively higher incomes. This proposal is made by those who are interested in economic justice and who wish by this method of taxation to correct at least partially the serious condition of concentrated wealth in America. Secretary Mellon is very hostile to this measure. He implies a very strong belief that taxes should be made more extensive and heavy upon the common people—upon the poorer class who are least able to pay. Thus we see that Mellon, far from being opposed to class taxation, is apparently in favor of an increased taxation upon the poor class while objecting to an increased taxation upon the rich class.

And with typical arrogance or stupidity Mellon cites, as an argument against higher taxation of the rich, the fact that the rich have most of the money in the country.

### Financial Agent of the Rich

The federal government has a deficit of a billion dollars and Senator Couzens predicts that by July 1, 1932, the deficit will be two billions. It is admitted generally that this situation is grave and demands government economy or higher taxation. No one takes seriously the talk of economy. It is significant that Hoover, giving out the story that he has plans for saving a few millions out of a billion-dollar deficit, neglects to explain how he will make this comparatively small saving. Such talk at this time has

all the appearance of mere campaign propaganda. Senator Couzens evidently places no faith in the Hoover ballyhoo of economy, as he looks forward to a two billion-dollar deficit in 1932. Thus it seems that higher taxation is the big problem.

It is further evident from Mellon's radio address that he is expecting a higher tax program. Borrowing to meet the deficit is, he says, "only a temporary expedient." And he adds that the deficit is a "matter of grave concern." What, then, is Mellon's concern in this critical situation? His one idea is to protect the very rich from higher taxation. He hints instead that the problem can be solved by wider taxation upon the common people. He prefers that the government should pick the pockets of the common people that are nearly empty instead of drawing from the huge financial reserves of the rich.

This is the position taken by the man who has been called "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton." The greatness may be denied although the comparison may stand. Hamilton was at heart a monarchist and decidedly not a believer in the theory that the new country of America should belong to the moneyed class. Mellon also is a financial agent of the rich. He believes that the moneyed class should rule America and that this class should not bear its just share of the burdens of government. He believes that it is right for the rich to take millions in profits and escape with light taxation.

### Favoritism to Great Fortunes

In speaking about class taxation and the grave problem of the deficit, Mellon omitted to mention one in-

teresting fact. On incomes over \$100,000 there is no graduated rise in the rate of taxation. The 504 men who had incomes of \$100,000 each in 1929 paid no higher tax rate than the men who had incomes of \$100,000. The 36 men who had incomes of \$500,000 each in 1929 paid no higher tax rate than the men who had incomes of \$100,000. Between a \$100,000 yearly income and a \$500,000 yearly income there is a wide range of amazingly rich incomes on which the tax rate is constant.

This means that the government does not tax these incomes in accordance with their size. Favoritism is shown in the policy of taxation on these larger incomes. This is not class taxation but class favoritism in keeping the tax rate relatively low upon the highest incomes. Under the present federal tax policy the ordinary tax is 1 1/2 percent on incomes up to and including \$7,500. The tax is raised to 3 percent on incomes ranging from \$8,000 to \$11,500, inclusive; to 5 percent on incomes ranging from \$12,000 to \$50,000, or any greater amount.

There is a surtax rate of 1 percent on incomes ranging from \$10,500 to \$14,000; of 2 percent for incomes of \$16,000; there is a 1 percent increase for each \$2,000 additional up to and including a \$28,000 income; then an increase of 4 percent for each additional \$4,000 up to and including a \$64,000 income; an income of \$70,000 has another 1 percent addition in the surtax; there is a rise of 1 percent in the surtax from \$70,000 to \$80,000; and from \$80,000 to \$100,000 there is another 1 percent rise, making incomes of \$100,000 a year pay an ordinary tax of 5 percent and a surtax of 20 percent.

The graduated, rising tax ends at the \$100,000 mark. All incomes above that figure, whether they are \$200,000 or \$300,000 or \$500,000 or \$1,000,000 or \$3,000,000 or \$5,000,000, pay only the same rates of 5 percent ordinary tax and 20 percent surtax.

The surtax is paid on the difference between an income of \$10,000 and such higher income as the individual may have. Thus an individual having an income of \$40,000 pays a tax of 5 percent on his full income of \$48,000 and a surtax of 12 percent on \$38,000.

### Tax Gigantic Fortunes 100 Percent!

The inheritance tax is only 20 percent on all estates over \$100,000. Obviously the government is relieving higher incomes of millions of dollars in taxation which justly they should bear. Why should incomes of more than \$100,000 and up to \$5,000,000 and even more than \$5,000,000 pay only a 5 percent ordinary tax and a 20 percent surtax? Why shouldn't all incomes over \$100,000 pay a straight 50 percent tax? or a 75 percent tax? or even a 100 percent tax? Is any man's labor of hand or brain aside from his exploiter's privilege as an owner worth more than \$100,000 a year? Is it worth that much? Would it really be a hardship for a rich man to confine himself to an income of \$100,000 a year?

It cannot be objected that this would interfere with the soundness of the capital structure of industry, for we are here considering the individual incomes of the rich workers of industry. On the contrary, it is clear that industry would be in a far sounder position if it did not have to pay such huge incomes to the individual owners.

The government could meet its

deficit and have a surplus if it would increase drastically the taxation on incomes of more than \$100,000, increase the inheritance tax (now only 20 percent on estates of more than \$100,000 and none on smaller estates), and increase the corporation tax, which is now only 12 percent. But this is opposed by Mellon, who calls it a class tax. He believes in letting the rich keep their criminally vast fortunes, in taxing them lightly and making up the government deficit by increasing taxation on the incomes of the common people. This is the clear and undisputed interpretation of Mellon's radio address.

Protecting the rich has been Mellon's policy throughout his two terms and now his third term as Secretary of the Treasury. Had Mellon lived just before the French Revolution he would have opposed taxing the nobility and favored "broadening the base" of taxation by squeezing more out of the already crushed and desperate peasants and middle classes. But probably Mellon is not very familiar with history. His theory of statesmanship is only temporary and short-sighted, being founded on the maxim that the rich should get all they can and keep it as long as they can.

It is Mellon's job as Secretary of the Treasury to protect the rich. This is not his supposed job—it is not his constitutional job—it is his real job. This is also President Hoover's job. Nor are they merely political agents of the rich. They are that and more. They are both rich men. They are serving their own interests, which are profoundly opposed to the interests of the common people of America.

## THE CHURCH IS A MENACE TO THE NEGROES

BY CLARENCE DARROW

The Negroes as a class are the most religious people in America. They are never too poor to raise money to build a new church, and however the white people may feel about wages and race segregation, they are always ready to contribute to a Negro church. I have attended their services on New Year's Eve and other occasions and noted their religious fervor often reaching hysteria. Like most revivals, no word of reason or fact or philosophy is heard. The occasion is a religious orgy. Expressions such as,



"Praise the Lord," "Glory Hallelujah" and the like are shouted at the tops of their voices. These words are seldom connected with any comprehensible sentence. If they have no meaning, they at least stir the auditors to an emotion not unlike any other revelry. It is not idle curiosity that draws me to one of these orgies. For many years I have held the opinion that the Negroes are a long-suffering people, and in spite of my own views on religious questions I cannot deny a feeling of satisfaction that for a time they seem to forget their disabilities and troubles. I know that this self-hypnotism is like any other narcotic, dangerous when taken in too large doses. I know that, after the excitement, depression must come and that the net result is injurious and brings more pain than pleasure.

### The Negro Needs Less Religion

I would be the last one to interfere with their religious orgies, and I am inclined to believe that for some of the revelers the few hours of forgetfulness are worth the price. But I am interested in the Negro as a "race" or a "people," and cannot avoid the conclusion that their slow and painful struggle for greater opportunities would be made easier if they were less religious. The development of any people is greater in proportion to their dependence on reason, and an ability to face the facts, however hard the facts may be.

Assuming that there is a God, what reason has the Negro to praise him? Is God his friend? If so, why has he made the Negroes the hewers of wood and drawers of water through all the long and dreary past? And why is it that even today men and women of courage and intellect are forced to degradation and humiliation because of the color or fancied color of their skin? God could change it all in the twinkling of an eye. In fact, it was only by his will that this suffering was ever forced upon the black man.

I can understand the causes that made the Negro religious. During his long servitude in bondage he was taught religion. He was closely watched to prevent the growth of any organization that might by chance teach him independence. There was only one place where he and his kind could meet, and this

was the church. The masters knew that he could learn no sedition there. Together with other ideas he was industriously taught the text: "Servants, obey your master." The church needed no supervision. It was supported by the whites. Its influence was safe and good. The colored man learned to sing and pray. He was taught his place, and he learned it well. Even after the Civil War, when his legal freedom was assured, the Negro had no place in the leading churches. There were white churches and colored churches, and there could be no common communion even in the worship of God. The white people helped the Negro build his churches, and even his Y. M. C. A.'s, but these were "Jim-Crow" churches and "Jim-Crow" Y. M. C. A.'s, although both worshipped the same God and read the same book. It is not possible that the whites would exclude them on earth but would associate with them in Heaven. Those who believe in excluding them from white churches and white Y. M. C. A.'s will of course expect them to keep their place in Heaven and expect God to treat them no better there. Those Negroes who go to Heaven will go to a "Jim-Crow" Heaven, and of course the whites will take the choice of places in the hereafter as they do now. If there is a God he must know and approve of all this. It is perfectly plain that if there is a God, and he holds man and his destiny in the hollow of his hand, then this God is white. No God would ever conceive that this God was black. What can the Negro expect of a white God who has already countenanced and approved of his place of servitude through the ages? Will he do any better or differently in Heaven than he has upon the Earth?

### Spends Too Much on the Church

Every observer of the Negro knows that he spends too much of his meager income on the church. In our big cities they are trying to imitate the whites. Not only have some of the organizations succeeded in building elaborate churches, but I am informed, they have "paid" choirs. While tens of thousands are standing in bread lines, the contributions to extravagant churches go on. It is not easy for an outsider to see how any luxury or extravagance is needed for the worship of God.

The Negroes need almost everything that modern civilization demands. They have but one medical school in all the South. They are almost without hospitals. They have reached the point where they cannot much longer rely upon the aid of the whites. They have already come to be competitors of the whites in industry, and even in the professions, literature and art. They must soon go "on their own." Their future progress needs education, opportunity, intelligence and, above all, courage. The Negro, like the rest, must look out for this world. Before he robs himself to increase the extravagance of the church, he should ask the simple question: What has his God and the church done for him?

IN THE confused state of law and action relating to Sunday observance today the richer classes enjoy a large measure of freedom; they have their golf and tennis, their cars, their week-ends by the sea or in the country. The poorer members of the community, however, find Sunday a day of boredom and prohibitions.

WE FEEL THAT the interests, physical, intellectual, and moral, of our fellow men and women would be better served if they were enabled to play games and attend theaters, lectures and concerts, museums and art galleries, on the one day in the week which they have available for recreation.

FORGETFULNESS of the unseen is not at all unnatural, or blameable. It is for the churches to supply reasons for positive belief.

### NEW CONDITIONS demand new ideas.

## Tom Burns, Prominent Oregon Socialist, for the Appeal

The announcement that E. Haldeman-Julius would revive the *Appeal to Reason* with Fred D. Warren, the Fighting Editor, in charge was a thrilling news flash to Tom Burns, formerly State Secretary of the Socialist party in Oregon. He at once telegraphed to Mr. Haldeman-Julius as follows: "Congratulations and Fred Warren on rebirth of *Appeal to Reason*. With you to a cinder."

Right-o! We'll see that the cinders fly in the right direction. Tom Burns is one of the best workers in The Freeman Army.

## BUNK: 1931 MODELS

BY L. M. BIRKHEAD

Our boast is that we have a scientific civilization. But is it as free from superstition, fears and hokum as the so-called ages of faith?

I am of the opinion that while our fears and superstitions are less cruel and more refined and our hokum more subtle, yet there exists the widespread credulity and gullibility as in the eras of religious conviction.

"The will to believe" is still strong. Occultism and pseudo-science, modified and brought up to date, are as powerful as ever.

The vast majority of people are still expecting to defeat the laws of nature and of life by magic—"Master Words of Magical Virtue." They do not count on science and effort but they anticipate that by means of astrology, graphology, palmistry, numerology, physiognomy, crystal gazing, tea leaves, or some other form of magic they will be able to overcome the law of cause and effect.

A recent report states that the American people are paying \$125,000,000 annually to 250,000 fortune-tellers of one sort or another.

The literature which I receive about occultism and fortune-telling amazes me. That human beings are credulous enough to accept blindly the promises of this literature is more amazing still.

### "Science's Greatest Discovery"

Here, for instance, is a post card inviting me to two lectures by a gentleman who advertises himself as "The Human Radio." He admits that he has made "science's greatest discovery." He promises to teach his listeners "how you can tune in on your own conditions, and how you can determine some of the causes of your Baldness, Constipation, Pycrosis, Nervousness, etc." He also warns in his notice of the lectures that "the human eye is one of the most sensitive receiving stations we possess, and it reveals four distinct types of men, women and children." He warns that "brown-eyed people should not eat the same as blue-eyed or grey-eyed individuals." Also that "type No. 2 should not use lemons or grape-fruit and type No. 4 must not drink anything hot."

Recently I have been bombarded with literature offering me "the amazing secrets of life" for six dollars. And if I take advantage of the offer within a certain number of days I will not only receive the "amazing secrets of life" but also a "Tuffy Waffle Iron" or a copy of "How to Demonstrate Prosperity." The radio has made us familiar with the claims of graphologists, numerologists, astrologists, and other "bunk-shooters," as Carl Sandburg characterizes them.

### The Bunk of Numerology

I have heard the numerologist on the radio talking about the magic power of numbers. To be successful it is necessary to have the right number of letters in one's name.

The name vibrations and numbers must correspond. Recently, I received an urgent invitation to hear a numerologist lecture. One of his lecture subjects was "What Lucky People Do About Their Numbers," and he promised an actual demonstration of "how to count yourself into prosperity." I have, for a long time, heard that 7 and 11 were lucky numbers. The numerologists have added 3, 5, 12 and many other numbers to the lucky list.

Graphology, the "science" of estimating character or determining personality by studying handwriting, has also become a radio feature.

Graphologists claim to be able to infer disposition, aptitudes, and intelligence from the manner in which one forms one's letters and arranges one's writing on the page. Handwriting reveals thoughtfulness or the lack of it, ideals, temper, courage, self-reliance, emotions and all other human qualities. Some graphologists claim that it is possible to know more of the character of Shakespeare from his signature than from a study of all of his plays.

But of all the forms of bunkum the most popular radio feature is astrology. Evangeline Adams has made it familiar to the remotest sections of the country by her national broadcasts.

Evangeline Adams' Shameless Racket. Astrology aims to "determine the character, as well as the careers of men, to predict their liability to disease and its issues, and to forecast the destiny of men." According to "Astrology: Your Place in the Sun," a recent book by Miss Adams, astrology "is the science of the effects of Solar Currents on the living things of our earth, especially on human life."

Miss Adams gives advice to her constituents about all manner of things—to surgeons on which day to operate, to everybody on which days to buy stocks and bonds, to young people on which days to marry.

Astrology had its origin in the days when the universe was a small affair and when it was possible to think of the stars as concerned in human welfare. Our earth was the center of the small universe and man was the major concern of this universe.

With a universe extended into infinity it is not easy to think of the whole of space in human terms. Moreover, it is quite difficult now to locate the constellations. Some of them are as much as 100,000 light years away from us. When one considers that light travels at the rate of 186,000 miles per second one perceives the tremendous distances in space. The astrologer may calculate that the constellation by which he is judging the location of Mars is Saturn, where it seems to be. A scientific astronomer knows that the constellation may be million of miles away from where it seems to be. Or it might possibly have disappeared 1,000 years ago.

A perusal of astrological literature is enlightening and disillusioning. I purchased an Evangeline Adams horoscope at the ten-cent store. I read that among the reasons Miss Adams gives for knowing "How I Can Do These Things" is the following statement: "King Solomon, the world's wisest ruler, ordered his affairs by the counsel of an astrologer." Miss Adams also cautions her readers, "Don't leave any place depressed." At least, she will never forecast any unpleasant news for you.

Not long ago, a furrier and an ice-cream manufacturer, born at the same time, received identical business forecasts.

Granted that we are influenced by "the Solar Current," what scientific evidence have we as to the nature of that influence? None, absolutely none. Astrology comes from a day when the poet could sing

Thus some who have the stars surveyed  
Are ignorantly led  
To think those glorious lamps were  
To light Tom Fool to bed.

Granted that one's handwriting does reveal something of one's char-

acter, what does it reveal? That is a matter about which graphologists are still quarreling.

### Why Are People Gullible?

Why do people in such large numbers still "fall for such pure bunkum"? That is a difficult question to answer. I can, however, give some hints.

For one thing, I believe that pseudo-science has a much more powerful appeal for the mass of the people than science. Pseudo-science doesn't need to observe the caution of science, it can promise everything in the name of science and in semi-scientific language.

Also logic has a weak hold upon the human mind. As Jastrow puts it, logicity is not a natural human quality, it is an acquired characteristic. Credulity is more common. We easily believe what we hope for earnestly.

Usually we fall for only one form of bunk. Thus we have no opportunity to make a comparative study of the claims and promises of the various swindling schemes. All of these forms of hokum make similar claims and make essentially the same promises—each one asserting that it alone is the source of light and wisdom.

The average person believes that there is some simple way to an understanding of human character. But as a matter of fact, human character is so elusive and complex a thing that with the help of all the sciences—biology, chemistry, physics, psychology, sociology and economics—we have not been able to fathom it.

What our civilization needs is a thorough intellectual purging. Nonsense and hokum stand in the way of a resolute facing of the facts of life and the problems confronting civilization. The question is: Are human beings able to face life realistically? Or do they need the assistance of bunkum and hokum?

## THE WORKERS NEED THE APPEAL

Editor, The American Freeman:

It was with a thrill that I saw and read of the plan to bring back to life the *Appeal to Reason*. I am a young member and a recruit in the ranks only since 1928, but everywhere I have been propagandizing, the question has been repeatedly asked, "What has become of the *Appeal*?" I have not only seen the need for this propaganda paper, but have longed to have the chance to get behind one of the old *Appeal* type.

The workers of America are ready for the *Appeal*, whether they know that they want it or not! Certainly the Socialists—at least those who favor militancy in the movement—are more than ready. It is just what we need RIGHT NOW! I hope for immediate success in launching it.

We here in Virginia have established a vigorous, though still small, organization, with four locals and about 300 members—which is practically as large as we ever were before the war. I believe that we will grow very rapidly in the next year or so, and that we can secure thousands of subs for the *Appeal*.

I want to be counted a Soldier in the Army of Emancipation, and am going to not only join, but will endeavor to get other volunteers—Yours for the Revolution, David G. George, State Secretary Socialist Party of Virginia, Box 893, Richmond, Va.

### THE MAN FROM MARS

From The Los Angeles Record. "So you've got depression, eh?" said the gentleman from Mars. "How come?"

The Worlder shrugged his shoulders. "Plenty depression," he admitted, guiltily.

"Short on food or something?" asked the Martian.

"Nope. Too much food, in fact."

"Can't get help, I suppose?"

"Yup, all kinds o' help."

"Hm, world must be all finished;

no work to do?" "Finished, heck! Hardly started yet."

The Martian scratched his head. Then he brightened: "Ha! I know—you must lack money!"

"Nope! World's bursting with money."

"You mean to tell me," said the visitor from the Beyond, "that you have plenty of money, plenty of food, plenty of labor, plenty of brains, a lot of work at world-construction to do, and yet you've got depression?"

"That's so," said the Martian, "but I've always lived among sane people—and I guess I'll beat it the heck outta here. You sound like a bunch o' rummies to me. I wonder you take the trouble to live."

So he caught the first Interstellar Limited back home.

LET US suppose that an "Infidel" desires to accept Christianity. How can he know what "acceptance" legitimately implies? Is it merely a question of accepting certain dogmas? If so, what are the necessary dogmas? Is it, in addition, a question of joining some Church in which the Christian tradition and the Christian way of salvation are embodied? If so, which one of the Christian churches fulfills these conditions? Must one go the whole way to Rome? Or is it sufficient to go only part of the way to the Episcopal church? Or the short way to Unitarianism? On none of these questions is there even an approximation to agreement among men who call themselves Christians.

We are working hard to make The Freeman more effective each week. Won't you show your approval by sending in a club of subs?

WE SEE in Christian theology and ceremonial many ideas and practices born not of logic nor of fact, but of the typical striving of primitive peoples in part to explain a world they do not understand, and, in part also, to propitiate superior natural forces of whose power they are afraid.

AN "INFIDEL" is a person who does not accept the truth of the Christian revelation. What reasons are there, of an adequate kind, which suggest for a moment that an "Infidel" is any way a less desirable member of society than one who has faith?

THE "INFIDEL" is compelled to the rejection of Christian dogma on grounds derived from the comparative study of religions and the evidence of comparative anthropology.

Concerning the case of a communist, referred to by Governor La Follette, we have no information. A copy of that enclosure was not given out for publication.

WE RESENT the anthropomorphism of Christianity, its attempt to make God in the image of man. The more a purified theology seeks to strip it of its anthropomorphic trappings, the less does it remain essentially Christian, the more it becomes a merely philosophic system the authority of which depends upon the adequacy it can prove for the logic it embodies.

## To the New Readers---

If you belong to the millionaire class, we don't expect you to like The Freeman. But if you are an ordinary American citizen—one of the millions who feel the injustice of this system and wonder what it's all about—then The Freeman is decidedly the kind of paper you want. Our policy is to publish the solid, important truth about economic conditions. We expose the fraud and hypocrisy of capitalistic politicians. We tell our readers what conditions really are in the United States and we explain these conditions. Become a regular reader of The Freeman and you will be keenly on the lookout for each week's issue. The subscription price of The Freeman is only \$1 a year (\$1.50 in Canada and other foreign countries). Use the order blank below and join the growing list of Freeman readers.

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The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas.

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