

The American Freeman Will Not Surrender! The American Freeman's militant editorial policy has at last struck home. The country's rich exploiters and grafters want to see The American Freeman suppressed. They have made their first attack. We are now forced to defend ourselves in a \$500,000 libel suit. Others may follow. New methods may be hatched in order to "get" The American Freeman. But we serve notice: No surrender, no compromise, no retreat. The American Freeman must remain as an organ of free opinion, honest journalism and fearless exposure. The American Freeman calls on its loyal readers to stand by it in this hour of need. Show that you want to see The American Freeman become a mighty weapon in the liberation war of humanity. Stand by your paper. Bring The American Freeman new readers. Get into action.

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A Hunger Loan of Five Billion Dollars Is the Proposal of The Freeman Editor in Speech Analyzing the Economic Crisis and Opening Strong Campaign for U. S. Senator

Address Delivered in Fort Scott, Kansas, by E. Haldeman-Julius

America is a rich country—for the rich. The poor are in a majority but are helpless. Their helplessness lies not in their natural situation but in their refusal to face clearly the character of their economic plight. United and understanding their interests, the workers could obtain social justice, economic security, the decent rights of human beings and all the comforts and conveniences of our modern civilization. It is first necessary not merely to recognize but to understand the situation of America today.

The workers have always been poor. Today they are poorer and millions of them are the objects of uncertain, insufficient charity. Able-bodied and industrious, they are not permitted to work. They are cast from industry. Shut against them are the gates of the factories they have built. Unheeded are their demands to create more wealth. They are told that they have created too much wealth.

The workers are poor and the middle classes are relatively poor and both classes are doomed, under capitalism, to a descending scale of poverty. After all, most members of the middle classes are no better than the servants of the few rich men who actually hold mastery under capitalism, even as the workers are slaves of the system.

Who Rules America?
One of capitalism's mouthpieces, James W. Gerard, declared some months ago that 59 men rule America. No member of the working class, no member of the middle class, no farmer, no scientist, no thinker, no artist, no lover or server of mankind was included in that list of fifty-nine rulers of America. Nor was any politician included in the list—not even the President of the United States. Politicians, from the President on down to the smallest judge and sheriff, are only the agents of the real ruling class. These real rulers are the men who own the great banking monopolies, the great coal and steel monopolies, the great oil and gas and electric monopolies, the great transportation monopolies, the great food and clothing monopolies. These men rule America because they own America.

Is their rule beneficial to the country? One fact is a sufficient answer to this question. Ten million American workers are unemployed—under the rule of these capitalist owners. These workers are shut out forcibly and cruelly from the means of living—under the rule of these men who have the means of living in the grasp of private ownership. This number of ten million does not include all of the workers who are only partly employed. No one knows certainly how many American workers are employed on a two-day or three-day or four-day schedule—half or less than half time—which is not enough to support them comfortably nor even decently. Henry Ford says that "times are good but the people don't realize it"—and he is laying off his workers by the thousands. He refuses to be responsible for the welfare of his workers, whom he has shut out of his factories, and so the city of Detroit pays \$22,000,000 a year in charity for Ford's employees. This is the enormous sum that has been spent during the past year in Detroit to keep the unemployed from downright starvation. Ford's plants are outside the city of Detroit, so not even indirectly by payment of taxes does he assist in caring for the unemployed. Large employers in Detroit as in other cities—as throughout America—also refuse to admit an obligation either to keep the workers employed or to protect them with unemployment insurance.

Present System Is Chaotic

We see today the most spectacular breakdown of boasted capitalist efficiency and, at the same time, the utter collapse of the fiction of capitalist responsibility. Capitalism is a system of appalling irresponsibility.

It throws the burden of its failure upon the workers. Profits first and nothing else second—that is the theory and practice of capitalism. The capitalists exhibit no sense of responsibility to society for the millions of workers they have thrown out of employment. The capitalists admit no responsibility to society for the important wealth-producing machines which they prevent from functioning. The capitalists recognize no responsibility to society for the natural resources of the country which they withhold from the fair and sensible use of the people. The capitalists who own America are proved to be inefficient because they have brought about a condition in which ten million workers are idle and impoverished; because they have deranged and to an alarming extent have stopped the nation's industry.

A BIG SENSATION
The news that E. Haldeman-Julius would run for United States Senator created a big sensation in Kansas. This sensation was intensified by the public controversy between The Freeman editor and Vice-President Curtis. Thus we know that the people of Kansas are curious about The Freeman editor's ideas and are in the right mood to give considerable and careful attention to the messages contained in this Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition. This is an ideal opportunity for us to go straight to the people of Kansas with our counsels of economic common sense and justice. Help us make the fullest use of this opportunity by using the blank on page 2 of this issue, concentrating on the use of Method No. 3.

industries; because in a nation of great wealth by nature and of great wealth by the mechanical inventiveness of man they have made poverty the most striking and shameful fact of the national life.

Poverty is one striking fact of capitalism's failure—poverty for the vast majority of its citizens.

Wealth Is Concentrated
Amazing wealth is another striking, extreme fact—wealth concentrated into the hands of a few whose only or principal claim to usefulness is the fact that they hold the unjust title of ownership over industries which they are incapable of running.

It is not only that the capitalists individually are incapable. Their system of capitalism, of private ownership of the collective means of wealth, is simply a scheme for the exploitation of the people which can have no other result than the impoverishment of the people.

The greatest intellect in the world could not make capitalism a success for the masses. He might raise wages and lower profits; but that would be attacking the fundamental principle of capitalism. When he had raised wages to their just level—that is, the equivalent of each worker's value as a producer of wealth—and when he had destroyed the last dollar of profit for mere owning, he would have abandoned capitalism. In other words, we have the paradox that capitalism can succeed only by committing suicide. Only good that capitalism can do for mankind is to make way for a better system. America must be a rich country—for all the workers. All must be workers, with hand or brain. All must contribute to the labor of society and each must be rewarded, not according to a paper title of ownership, but according to his actual value as a worker. None must own privately what all depend on for their very life. All must own collectively the things which are collectively used and which are vital to the collective life.

The capitalists are inefficient and

A Summary of the Main Points in the Fort Scott Address by E. Haldeman-Julius

America is in the grip of the worst economic crisis in its history. Ten million workers are unemployed. The farmers, who produce the nation's bread, are bankrupt. Banks have failed and continue to fail by the hundreds. The decline of trade means that the nation's machinery of distribution is gravely impaired in its functioning, while for millions of the masses, denied the means of labor and robbed of buying power, this machinery has entirely ceased to function.

Yet the nation has powerful machines and great factories, capable of supplying the comforts and even the reasonable luxuries of life for all. America has immense natural resources. The raw materials and the mechanical facilities of prosperity are present in abundance—and labor is willing to produce but is not permitted to do so. Why, then, is our country suffering such senseless distress when it has every natural and artificial, every inherent and every invented, means of prosperity?

America suffers from lack of necessities, in the midst of a plenty of commodities and all the articles of wealth, because the system of private ownership of industry for private profit is bound, by its very nature, periodically to paralyze the machinery of distribution. The workers are exploited, which is to say that their wages are not equal to the wealth they produce. Capitalists, privately owning industry, grab the greater share of the workers' wealth in the form of profits. This creates what is called a "surplus," which the workers cannot buy and which the capitalists, with markets artificially glutted through unfair and unscientific methods of distribution, are unable to sell.

What is called "over-production" is in reality a forced under-consumption, resulting from the fact that capitalists owning the great instruments of wealth production and distribution levy a huge tribute upon the workers which steadily destroys their buying power. This leads inevitably to a concentration of wealth, with the rich growing richer and the poor becoming poorer. It is this alarming and monstrous condition which cripples America today. A few rich owners of America have incomes running into the millions, own the industries and control the credit of the nation, while the masses—who do the nation's work and then are kicked out into the street because they

have "produced too much"—are impoverished, desperate and painfully wondering what is the meaning of this economic insanity.

The meaning is that prosperity cannot exist when a few rich and powerful individuals, tyrannically controlling huge corporations, own the nation's means of wealth (its factories, mines, mills, railroads, water power, banks and markets) and manipulate these industries for their private profit rather than for the nation's welfare. The only remedy is that these large, modern, collective industries must be collectively owned and made to serve the people, year in and year out, in a permanent, socialized system of industrial democracy.

The "economic individualism" advocated by President Hoover is unscientific and anti-social in principle and is in fact overshadowed by a system of vast economic monopoly from which the American people can find no escape save through public ownership. The real question is: Shall the monopolies own the people or shall the people own the monopolies? Compromises and shiftings will only confuse, complicate and make matters worse. The final, necessary settlement of this basic question which underlies the main problems of modern life:

As an immediate measure of relief from an economic system, which can be remedied permanently only by its abolition through a system of socialization, The Freeman editor advocates a federal Hunger Loan of five billion dollars—a loan for peace instead of war, for saving life instead of destroying life—which is to be used for prompt help to the unemployed and the part-time employed. He advocates a special session of Congress for this purpose and for the establishment of a federal system of unemployment insurance, with the government's part of such a fund to be obtained by higher taxation of enormously rich incomes; a vast system of public works to be financed in the same practical and just manner; and the provision that the Hunger Loan, when repaid on easy terms by the workers as they are re-employed, be added to such unemployment insurance and public works funds.

These are only the major and key points in Mr. Haldeman-Julius' Fort Scott address. Read the entire address and get others to read this full, vital, uncompromising analysis of the situation in America today.

Under-Consumption Is a Crime
The truth is that the workers have produced too much wealth for the capitalist owners of industry. The workers are the victims not of a recklessly excessive creation of wealth—not of over-production—but of deliberate exploitation on a vast and ruthless scale, which overlooks no contrivance for robbing the worker of the product of his labor and claiming it as a profit for the capitalist. There is a pretentious flow of apologetic and artful phrases, such as "technological unemployment" and "the business cycle" and "supply and demand" and so on—but the plain truth is that the workers are suffering not because they have produced too much but because they have not been permitted to consume enough.

The great social evil—it is really the great social crime—in America and in every other capitalist country is under-consumption. The workers produce enough—but they don't get it. They produce enough—but they are forced to give the greater share of what they produce to the capitalists for the privilege of being permitted to produce at all in the privately owned industries.

It is ironically incorrect to say that the capitalists pay the workers wages. The fact is that the workers pay the capitalists profits. The workers have paid the capitalists so extravagantly, so prodigiously, so disastrously that the workers have nothing left. The country is suffering from this over-payment of profits to the capitalists.

America has been led to an unnatural exhaustion, it has been shocked to an unnatural paralysis, by the brazen and insane extortions of private ownership.

The Few Are Rich, the Many Poor
Plain words for plain conditions! It is an insane system which piles riches in a narrow space at the top of society and spreads poverty throughout the broad, common levels of society. It is an insane and a criminal system in which a few count their millions and the majority count their pennies and dimes

and quarters. It is an utterly crazy system in which private greed is protected by law, upheld by custom, encouraged by traditions and blessed by a millionaire President of the United States in its operation of making the masses poor, idle, worried, desperate. There is no gleam of sanity in a system which converts a naturally rich country into a monstrous, unnatural poorhouse for the majority.

America is rich not only naturally; but it is also rich in machinery. Science has given into the hands of mankind the mechanical means of productive power sufficient for all the needs of mankind and for all the new needs that mankind may invent. But now there is something wrong with that statement. You know what it is as well as I know. Science has not given these marvelous productive facilities into the hands of mankind, but into the hands of a few capitalists.

These powerful and wonderful machines are privately owned. This means that they are controlled, not for the purpose of adding to the common welfare, but for the purpose of bringing profits to the private owners. At a nod from the capitalists the machines stand still. Society, which depends on their prosperity and its very existence on these machines, has no voice in deciding whether they shall move or be idle. The capitalist is owner, boss, exploiter and—as we see only too clearly today—the destroyer of social peace and prosperity.

Why are the machines standing idle today? The reason is so obvious, so simple, even so crude that the bright purveyors of economic opinions for the capitalist press do not see it—or do not wish to see it. These machines are controlled by the private profit motive. It is not intended, under the present system, that they shall serve social ends. They do so only incidentally and imperfectly. The supreme, dominating, never-forgotten objective is the accumulation of profits for the private owners. These machines have been subverted from their natural

function of use to an unnatural function of profits.

Profits are the larger share of the workers' product which the capitalists hold back from them as payment for owning. The result is mathematical and inexorable.

If the workers receive only forty percent of the value of their labor in wages, they can consume only forty percent of what they produce. I name this even figure for convenience and it is not merely a fanciful guess of mine. A recent survey by the National Bureau of Economic Research disclosed the fact that, during the heyday of Coolidge prosperity, the workers' share of the national income was only 3.6 percent in 1924 and only 38.1 percent in 1928. That is less than forty percent; and even this does not indicate the extent of the average worker's exploitation, because the survey I am quoting includes in its percentage all who work for wages or salaries, so that the incomes of high-salaried business managers and executives go to swell the average. The majority of the workers get less than the average.

Let us say, then, that the worker receives forty percent of what he

from this depression as we have from others.

Capitalism Creates Depressions
The President did not have the wit to perceive that his statement, far from being a defense of himself or his administration or the depression or anything, was in reality a pungent and fundamental criticism of capitalism. It was simply a reminder that the capitalist system creates depressions; and then the capitalists blame the workers by talking about "over-production."

I am not so sure that we will come out of this depression—not fully out of it. Capitalism today does not entirely dominate the world, as it has in past depressions. It is no longer the most prosperous and powerful system in the world. Russia, with her plan of socialization, is a competitor. The Russian economic system is undoubtedly the greatest contemporary challenge to capitalism.

But if we do come out of this depression, we can be sure that, according to the inexorable working of capitalist economics, we will scarcely have recovered from this crisis before we shall be suffering from the blows of another, similar crisis.

Besides, the normal unemployment—imagined such a phrase, yet it literally describes the fact—under capitalism affects several million workers. Never does capitalism fully employ the workers. And its reward for them when they are employed is exploitation, reducing the great mass of the common workers to a level of mere animal existence.

There is nothing more hypocritical than the talk we so often hear about the "American standard of living." What is this American standard? Is it Andy Mellon's standard or the standard of a West Virginia miner who works for three dollars a day? Is it the standard of Hoover, with his ten million dollars, or the standard of a man who is out of a job and is not even able to show ten cents for all his years of exploited toil for the capitalist owners of industry?

A System of Exploitation and Waste
The average wage of the workers in America is about a thousand dollars a year. Many workers receive less than that. Skilled workers, when they are employed, receive fairly good wages; but skilled workers are the minority. The greater part of labor is unskilled and this is more and more true as machine developments make skill less important and make the worker merely the tender of a machine.

The whole problem of social justice revolves around the question of how the mass of common, unskilled, yet hard and worthy labor is to be treated.

As I say, the average wage of the worker in America is about a thousand dollars a year—yet Stuart Chase, a very able student of statistics and economic facts and figures, has just estimated that America's wealth, if fairly distributed, would give every family an income of \$5,000 a year, even with industry working on the basis of a six-hour day and five-day week. But that ideal condition could exist only under a socialized system. It cannot exist under the regime of private ownership and private profits.

Here is another fact that is vastly significant. A group of capitalistic engineers, efficiency experts, studied the methods and volume of industrial production under capitalism and, in a report called *Waste in Industry*, they declare that private ownership uses only fifty percent of the productive capacity of the nation's industries. Even when the economic pace is normal—normal, that is, for capitalism—even when there is no depression, the capitalists of America only half run the industries.

Most of this waste under capitalism is due to the conflicts of private greed, to duplication of products for commercial reasons, to the cumbersome and exploitive methods of exchange, to the production of useless articles which have a trade appeal but not a genuine economic value, and, with it all, a vast amount of sheer bad management.

Rich Grab the Nation's Wealth

It is the worker who suffers from this waste and bad management of capitalism. One thing the capitalist notoriously manages well and that is the grabbing of profits. The

concentration of wealth in America furnishes the sharp, complete proof of the exploitive nature of capitalism. We can see this wealth concentration reflected clearly in the income tax figures—official government figures compiled by Andy Mellon's clerks.

Thus we know that one-fourth of the income taxes is paid by one-hundredth of the income taxpayers. In 1929—the first depression year—504 men in America had each an income of one million dollars for that year. Thirty-six men in 1929 had each an income of \$5,000,000 for the year. These are figures of the income, not of total fortunes. The total fortunes run staggeringly into the billions.

There were twenty-six men with five million dollar incomes in 1928. These twenty-six rich exploiters had a combined income equal to the combined income of 230,000 smaller income taxpayers. In 1928 the millionaire class (that is, all those having an income of \$50,000 a year or more) had in their hands 26.02 percent of the nation's wealth. That was their proportion of taxable wealth—but they have immense wealth that is untaxed and Andy Mellon is out there to see that it stays untaxed. Andy is the watchdog of the treasury but he is more significantly the watchdog of the rich men's pocket-books. That includes his own pocket-book, for Andy is one of the rich rulers of America.

In 1928 the total income increase in America over 1927 was ten percent; it amounted to \$2,680,000,000. And the millionaire class—one percent of the income taxpayers—grabbed more than two billion dollars of that increase. Between 1921 and 1928 the total income rose by \$5,649,000,000—that was the increase in those eight years. In 1921 the millionaire one percent of taxpayers had a combined income of \$2,574,000,000; while in 1928 this millionaire one percent—which numbered 20,000 fewer individuals—had a combined income of \$6,309,000,000. You can see what this means, by way of illustrating the concentration of wealth, when it is explained that more than three-fifths of the increased income, from 1921 to 1928, was grabbed by the one percent millionaire class.

Capitalism Means Bankruptcy Let me give another illustration that vividly reveals the contrast between wealth and poverty in capitalist America. Thirty-six men in 1929 pocketed incomes of \$5,000,000 each. The average wage of the American worker is a thousand dollars a year. Thirty-six workers would have to put in five thousand years of hard toil in order to obtain as much wealth as those thirty-six rich exploiters grabbed in a single year.

That is concentration of wealth, with the rich growing richer and the poor becoming poorer. Yet some people naively wonder why, just as naively, look forward to a return of prosperity. There has never been true prosperity under capitalism. Prosperity, in any wide human sense of the word, is obviously impossible under a system which concentrates extravagant wealth at the top and spreads poverty throughout the vast common ranks of society.

Far from providing prosperity, capitalism means bankruptcy for the nation as a whole. This is not merely a figure of speech. There are concrete figures to justify the statement that capitalism means social bankruptcy. The total value of all property in the United States is \$550,000,000,000—and almost half of this total, or \$120,000,000,000, is burdened with debt and mortgage. The United States government had a billion dollar deficit for the year 1930. The waste and indebtedness, the terrific expense of a system which is an economic failure, grows worse. In 1913 the cost of government in the United States—federal, state and local—was \$2,219,000,000. In 1928 this had grown to the amazing total of \$12,500,000,000. The cost of capitalist government—of a government which refuses to be responsible for the welfare of its citizens—absorbs 14 percent of the earnings of all the people in the United States.

And in the fiscal year ending July, 1929, the United States government spent almost a billion dollars—to be exact, \$772,984,000—on the army and navy.

The Scandal of Bank Failures Capitalism is destructive. It must inevitably destroy itself—but meanwhile it destroys men's lives, their hopes, their social good. We cannot wait for capitalism to destroy itself by the nature of its unsound operations. We cannot afford to wait. We must make secure the lives and hopes and social good of men by asserting our intelligence, by organizing ourselves politically against capitalism, by pushing forward with deliberate human constructiveness the building of a system which will be founded on the principles of economic justice.

We do not have justice—we do not have security—we do not have integrity under capitalism because the system is operated not for social welfare but for private greed. The lack of security under capitalism is illustrated by the appalling number of bank failures. That is just one feature of capitalistic insecurity, and not the worst, but it is instructive and ominous.

In the past ten years there have been more than 7,000 bank failures in the United States. In 1930 there were 1,118 bank failures in this country—including suspensions, the total was 1,345. The money—chiefly the loss of the small depositors—involved in the bank crashes of the past ten years is the enormous sum of two and a half billion dollars.

Small banks and large banks—and big chains of banks—have smashed, destroying the savings of the people. These failures have been due to bad management, to the economic crises of capitalism (which indicate the unsoundness of the system) and to financial trickery and dishonesty among unscrupulous bankers.

The Bank of the United States,

200 million dollar loss; and its failure was due to crooked manipulations with the many subsidiary organizations—holding companies and the like—which were owned by the bank under other names. Business which the bank could not legally transact as a bank—unsafe and speculative and dishonest business—was done by the bank through the medium of these disguised and fraudulent companies.

The Leaders Do Not Lead

In this month of June, 1931—within one week's time—thirty Chicago banks failed. Their deposits were more than 60 million dollars. Capitalistic banking is dangerous and anti-social. The private bankers manipulate the people's money—they exploit the people's money—and finally they lose the money. There is no hope in capitalistic banking because it is designed, like the entire machinery of the system from its smallest to its largest units, for the promotion of greed and trickery and exploitation. And as with industry, with banking the only escape from the destructive profit motive is by the clear way of the social motive; social ownership; social control; social service for social ends.

This is the disastrous situation in America today—ten million workers unemployed, industry working at half or less than half of its capacity (its capacity if there were planned production), a rich country in which

THE CAMPAIGN OPENS

The campaign of E. Haldeman-Julius for United States Senator from Kansas opens with this special edition, which contains as its leading feature the address delivered by The Freeman editor at Fort Scott, Kans., setting forth in plain language the economic crisis of America and stating the principles and the program which will meet fully this grave condition. Help us circulate this special edition, with its material so timely and important, by making immediate use of the blank on page 2 of this issue.

there is scandalous poverty among the masses, amazing and alarming concentration of wealth, the rich richer and the poor poorer, an ominous drift toward bankruptcy—or a steady plunge toward bankruptcy—moving failure of private banks, moving what can truthfully be described as a collapse of capitalism. Faced with this situation, what are the leaders of the nation doing? They are not leading. They want the people to stand unmoved under these tragic burdens. They have not a gleam of honest or sound economic counsel to offer. They have the brazenness to defend this system. They advise the people to have hope in a hopeless system and to have patience with a ruinous, intolerable system.

The leaders of industry—the capitalist owners—are plainly letting industry shift for itself. They are simply refusing to function. They are leaving the workers to starvation. They utter the old lies and fallacies of "over-production," "supply and demand," "the business cycle," "business readjustment," and so on—none of which gross evasions of the truth can hide the colossal failure of the system of private ownership.

The System Has Failed

A system whose leaders talk thus calmly of "readjustment" involving tremendous human misery, "readjustment" which means starvation for the workers, "readjustment" which means unemployment and concentration of wealth and endless bank failures—such a system plainly requires, not "readjustment," but complete abolition. All of the defenses, apologies and explanations can never get away from the central fact that the system has failed. Do we not see this failure with stark clearness in the unemployment, the bread lines, the bankruptcy of the farmers, the paralysis of trade, the idleness of machines and, on top of this, the refusal of our industrial and political rulers to face any plan or prospect of relief from the miseries of this failure?

Our industrial rulers do nothing. Our political rulers, who are the agents of the industrial rulers, do nothing. In a deliberate statement of his so-called policy, at Indianapolis, President Hoover had nothing better to say than that we would sometime recover from this depression (without saying when) and that somehow we would have prosperity again (without saying how) and that meanwhile the people must suffer and be patient and have confidence in the system that has brought ruin to them, confidence in the so-called leaders who have led them into the ditch.

Hoover's Indianapolis speech was simply an admission of a crash and a cautious admission that he has no plan for saving American industry. The President repeats that his policy is one of doing nothing. His policy is more than that—it is a policy of opposing all constructive suggestions that something be done. He has opposed and still opposes any real, large-scale plan of government relief. He says that "American traditions" will not permit the government to be used for the benefit of the people. He is opposed to the government having any economic policy but that of letting the capitalists rule and ruin in an unbridled regime of "economic individualism."

Fallacy of "Economic Individualism" The "economic individualism" which Hoover defends is in reality a system of rule by monopolistic corporations. It is the domination of our economic life (or what now has more the aspect of economic death) by a few men, using the great industries of the nation for their private greed. It is the exclusion of the majority of the people from participation in the control of industry, from economic justice, from security of livelihood.

Hoover's so-called "economic individualism" is a formula for the defense of a system that is unscientific, destructive, anti-social and inherently organized for failure rather than

for small factories, of true individualism, of small employers and a wide margin of opportunity for the worker to rise above his class.

This is the day of vast industrial organizations, of huge factories, of collective aggregations of wealth and the machinery of wealth production. Our economic life is necessarily social in its form; and this calls logically for a social program of ownership.

The country cannot be prosperous with the machinery, which is too large to be owned by many individuals, which is essentially concentrated in large factories and large industrial organizations, in private control. This leads to the situation we face today, when the private owners refuse the people an opportunity of using this machinery and producing the means of life for themselves.

Nothing but stark tragedy and failure can come from a situation in which a vast country, with a huge and complex economic organization, is at the mercy of a handful of private owners. It is precisely as unjust and disastrous to let private capitalists own the machinery for producing the needs of life as it would be to let them own the air and clap a meter on every man's mouth and nose.

And yet this is the system which our political witch doctors—Hoover, Mellon, Curtis and such incompetents—defend with their incantations and their stale mummery of politics and party tricks. Vice-President Curtis has been feeling out the political situation in Kansas. He has been talking—to old settlers' picnics and lodges and commercial clubs—but he has had absolutely nothing to say about the great problems confronting the nation.

Curtis Ignores Real Issues There has been not a word from Curtis about the economic condition of the country, save for a feeble echo of Hoover's empty, lying optimism. This man is Vice-President of the United States, next to the head of the government, yet he might as well be dumb for all the might he has to make for all the crisis in American history. A reactionary politician, utterly devoid of economic intelligence, entirely incompetent to grasp America's problems, quite evidently without any real interest in the welfare of the people—such is Charles Curtis, Vice-President of the United States and now, seeing Hoover's fated failure in the 1932 campaign, nosing out the possibility of getting back as United States Senator from Kansas.

Curtis says nothing important because he has nothing important to say. If he does have any ideas about America's problems, let him give expression to them. If he has anything vital or intelligent or honest to say, let him speak. I ask nothing better than to have the fullest and straightest discussion of economic crisis in America. Will Curtis join in this full and straight discussion? Will he agree to a series of debates in Kansas on the urgent issues that mean economic life or economic death to the people? I challenge Curtis to such a program of important debates on large public questions, on definite public questions, on vital public questions. I dare Charles Curtis to meet me fairly in the open forum, before the voters of Kansas, and defend the economic policies of the Hoover administration. I dare him to defend the system of "economic individualism" which his administration and his party represents.

I will tell Mr. Curtis in advance what my program is. It is to provide for the economic rescue and rehabilitation of the American people. I have suggested it all through this address.

A Full Social Program The motive of social service must be made supreme, instead of the motive of private profits. The nation's industries must be owned and controlled by the government, representing the interests of the people; they must be run for use and not for profit; production must be continuous and consumption also—that is to say, the workers should be permitted to enjoy the wealth they create.

There is no valid reason why American industry should be idle for a day, unless the workers want to take a holiday and enjoy a leisure of abundance instead of starvation. Industry can and should function continuously and securely—but it will never so function while it is owned and controlled by capitalist corporations.

I have explained why it is impossible for private ownership to keep industry steadily and efficiently in operation. Exploitation, the impoverishment of the workers, the destruction of the greatest market through the destruction of the buying power of the workers, the fraudulent surplus—the surplus which the capitalists cannot personally use and which they prevent the workers from using, the inevitable closing of the currents of trade by the profit motive, the paralysis of industry—these are inevitable features of capitalism which are directly in conflict with the interests of the nation.

The basic principle upon which my program rests is the socialization of industries. Public ownership in the public interest—that is what I demand. The country cannot be safe while its economic life is in private hands. It cannot be safe when capitalists have the power to kick ten million workers out of industry and send them on the streets to beg for handouts. I say that the people must assume control and ownership of the industries upon which they depend for the means of life. Industry is necessarily collective in form; it must also be collective in its ownership, in its responsibility, in its secure and planned functioning.

The political features of the Russian system of government, which are the heritage of a different culture, a different political structure, a different set of vital circumstances from those we have in America—these features of Russian political

with our democratic rights and methods in this country, should not blind us to the soundness of Russia's economic policy.

Russia's Economic Lesson

It is a policy of state-owned industry, where there is no unemployment and where the nation's industrial policies are planned year by year and even five years ahead. Russia has her difficulties. She was all but broken by the war; she suffered a violent revolution, made necessary by the autocracy of Czarism; she suffered famine and blockade; and the Soviet government took over a country which was still in the Middle Ages of social life, which had no large industrial development, which was not modern.

The big task of the Soviet leaders is to build up a modern industrial society in Russia. They are doing that with definite and immense success. Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, says that the Russian five-year plan will certainly be a

SPECIAL PROPAGANDA

We have an opportunity in this Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition to win an immediate audience in the state of Kansas for The Freeman's constructive, social-minded policies. Although these issues are national, and although The Freeman editor as United States Senator would represent the best interests of the nation as well as Kansas, we wish particularly to cover Kansas with extra copies of this special edition. Just to read Mr. Haldeman-Julius' Fort Scott speech will be an interesting education for the Kansas voters. We therefore urge our readers to make generous use of Method No. 3, using the blank on page 2 of this issue, so that we can send thousands of extra copies of this special edition to names of Kansas citizens on our book lists.

success—that it is a success. And Duranty is not friendly to the ideas of the Russian leaders; he represents a capitalist newspaper and he believes in the capitalist system; yet he has to admit, in all honesty, that the Russians are carrying out a successful, practical program.

This economic idea of socialization must be adopted in America and it must be adapted, of course, to American conditions. It is the only way of escape from the terrible failure of capitalism.

Meanwhile we face an immediate crisis. We face a desperate situation. The program of socialization cannot be applied at once. I believe, for that matter, it could be applied quickly and effectively. Given the right men in charge of the government and the nation's industries could be running full time within thirty days, all of the nation's workers employed, production and exchange fairly organized.

But as measures of immediate relief—and we are certain to see the most appalling distress in the coming winter—I propose, first of all, a Hunger Loan of five billion dollars for the relief of America's starving millions. Three billion dollars should be devoted to relief of the totally unemployed and two billion dollars to the relief of the workers who are employed only part time and are not able to live in decent comfort on their reduced earnings.

A Loan for Peace, Not War Call this frankly a Hunger Loan—not a Liberty Loan to wage a blood war, but a Hunger Loan to relieve the misery of people struck down by the hand of private ownership—and demand that it be put forward by the government with all possible speed, with a speed matching the urgency of the need.

The government can raise this loan in the form of bond sales, exactly as it did during the war. If bonds can be issued for destructive purposes, they can be issued for constructive purposes. President Hoover moved the other day to help the German people, who are starving and on the verge of revolution. I propose that he should immediately call Congress into special session—we can have it assembled within a week—and ask congress to pass the necessary legislation for this Hunger Loan.

The obvious justice, the simple humanity, of this measure would win the greatest, most instant and enthusiastic support among the people. This would be a popular and a just and a humane measure. It would be a measure of practical, realistic statesmanship.

And a special session of Congress should pass some other measures of immediate importance. It should speed practical legislation for a national system of unemployment insurance, thoroughly organized, with the employers and the workers contributing to an unemployment fund for the security of the laboring masses of the country.

This is frankly a palliative measure, a measure made necessary only under the system of capitalism. Socialization of industry would make employment secure and permanent. There would be no unemployment problem under a system of social ownership, under a system of planned industry with collective control. But under capitalism, which we still live under whether we like it or not, a plan of unemployment insurance is a practical remedy, a partial remedy but a sound one, which is desperately required as the alternative to the most appalling distress.

Government Should Save the People I propose also the socialization of banking as a necessary part of the socialization of all industry. The government already has a limited banking system in the postal savings bank. That should be extended to include all the services of banking, checking accounts and loans as well as savings accounts. The government should serve the people in banking as well as in the general control of industry.

Such a program is designed to promote the welfare of the great majority of the people; opposed to it is only the selfish interests of a

their ownership for the anti-social purposes of exploitation.

Finally, I propose—as an immediate means of financing this social program—a big increase in the income taxes of the few rich who have grabbed the wealth of America. These huge incomes should be taxed in proportion to their size. Millions of dollars yearly could justly be taken by the government, from the overflowing coffers of the rich, for the welfare of the country as a whole.

It is criminally unjust that a few men should have million dollar incomes and five million dollar incomes—or even fifty thousand dollar incomes—while the masses are suffering the worst kind of poverty. The rich have robbed America and higher income taxation would merely be a method of forcing them, in a perfectly legal manner, to disgorge their tremendous loot. Is there any just and sensible objection, from the viewpoint of the public welfare, to the taxation of, let me suggest for an example, at least 75 percent of all income over \$50,000 a year?

I repeat that socialized industry (which includes socialized banking) is the great lesson which America must learn and must apply as the sole hope of economic progress and prosperity. A Hunger Loan, unemployment insurance and higher taxation of enormously rich incomes—these are measures of immediate relief. They are measures in the public interest. They are measures of desperate and urgent necessity. They are measures which attack not just interest, but which are aimed plainly at the restriction and the eventual abolition of private greed, which has controlled the country to its ruin.

Free America from Capitalism America has the wealth. America has the machinery. America has vast natural resources. America has willing workers. And the solution is simple. Let the wealth be used. Put the machinery to work and keep it at work. Use the natural resources for the benefit of the people. Let the workers work and let them enjoy the products of their toil.

Escape from the harsh injustice of exploitation, secure in a country that belongs to them, enjoying liberty in the fullest meaning of the word, social and economic liberty as well as political liberty.

The American people suffer because they do not own America. The rich own America and exploit it and exile the common people from the opportunities of industry.

Private ownership has brought us to this tragic situation. Social ownership is the remedy. It is the remedy of social justice. It is the remedy of economic intelligence. It is the remedy that modern humanism, modern vision and modern practical necessity demands. Grasp this remedy and build a free America—free from exploitation, free from poverty, free from haunting insecurity. A free America—that is the way of escape from the slavery of capitalism.

THE AMERICAN FREEMAN, always on the side of individual liberty and the full expression of every civil right, is amused by frequent references in American newspapers to the absence of personal freedom in Russia. The Anti-Saloon League and the Methodist-Vatican in Washington have done a great deal to help preserve personal liberty in America. Our silly law against the dissemination of birth control information through the United States mails is another wonderful proof of our personal freedom! Our laws against Sunday movies certainly give us full personal freedom on Sunday to find recreation in some other way! And then, what about movie censorship, suppression of free speech, clubbing of strikers on parade, the muzzling of the press, the use of the courts to break strikes, the thousand different attempts to regulate private conduct and morals? Yes, what about them? Are we the ones to criticize the Russians, whose only offense is that they try to preserve their communist state with the same determination that capitalists display when they see signs of the country turning from capitalistic ideas? The whole argument smacks of hypocrisy.

HOOPER has the childish notion that the "remedy" for the failure of capitalism to function is to "let things alone." "Do nothing." "Let these problems solve themselves." "Given time our economic structure will readjust itself and begin working again." These are the ideas, if not the exact words. A schoolboy should know better. Our economic and industrial structure is a delicate, intricate, complicated mechanism. It cannot work without a scientific plan. It needs real leadership and intelligent application. These machines and these industrial organizations were created by men; men must study their faults and apply the remedy according to a well-worked-out plan. And if we wait too long we will find ourselves left so far in the rear through Russia's vast industrial progress, that we will never be able to catch up again. The remedy for the evils of capitalism is not a "let alone" policy. That is a confession of defeat, an admission of being without ideas, without plans, without real leadership, without intelligence. The machines are good and necessary.

THE AMERICAN FREEMAN favors a system of socialized medicine, bringing to the workers the best discoveries of modern science at fair cost. Our present system of individualistic medicine is chaotic. Today the sick man is subject to excessive charges for uncertain treatment. He finds himself at the mercy of ignorant quacks and mercenary specialists. Regaining health today is like betting on a horse race. Sickness for the worker, in addition to its physiological aspects, is a major economic calamity. Through socialized medicine the people of the nation will be supplied with organized, scientific, concentrated and convenient facilities now available

State Programs of Positive Action Are Urged for Relief

America is approaching a winter of extreme distress and, aside from any discussion of major socialized activities, there is no properly organized campaign of immediate relief for the sufferings of millions.

A few city governments have undertaken to help the unemployed, but such measures have been pitifully small in comparison with the gigantic extent of the problem. Yet in this critical time the federal government, state governments and local governments should be cooperating in extensive and well-organized relief measures.

Great as the distress is now, economically helpless and ominous as the condition of the American masses is today, the severity will be infinitely, appallingly worse in the winter months.

Suggestions for an adequate program of federal relief—an immediate Hunger Loan of five billion dollars, unemployment insurance and higher income and inheritance taxes on the very rich—are given in the Fort Scott address—the leading feature of this issue, in which E. Haldeman-Julius outlined his economic campaign for United States Senator. But action must be urged upon all governmental agencies. Private charity and private organizations, however laudable their intention, cannot provide the suffering millions in this country with decent relief.

A Program of Relief It is the belief of The Freeman editor, and it will be urged by him steadily in his educational campaign for United States Senator, that state legislation and publicly helpful action are required in this emergency. Such a program must be vital not only to Kansas but to every state, adapting itself of course to the special conditions, natural resources and needs of each state.

In some states agricultural relief is more urgent, in other states industrial relief claims the greater attention, but in all states the masses of the people, whatever the character of their occupation, must be helped by governmental agencies. State legislatures, for example, should act promptly for the relief of unemployment within their borders. In states which have no regular session of the legislature in the early autumn, there should be strong movements of public opinion calling for emergency sessions of the legislatures for the purpose of providing all possible features of an unemployment relief program.

These Plans Are Practicable Among the important features of such a program are some of those which are suggested as features of a federal program in Mr. Haldeman-Julius' Fort Scott address. Thus in every state there should be devised speedily a practical state system of unemployment insurance. This need not conflict with a federal system of unemployment insurance, but should supplement such a system. It is also to be considered that action may be obtained in many states before a federal system is legislated and put into operation.

It is vital that we press every possibility of action, that we neglect no means of relief in this crisis that use be made of every public body and instrumentality of democratic government.

State unemployment insurance should be accompanied by free state employment agencies. Each state should also place heavy taxes upon very large incomes and inheritances, thus making the rich as a measure of social justice bear the cost of relieving the sufferings of the masses.

Legislation should be passed in every state making possible the pub-

lic purchase of all land held for speculation and therefore worse than idle; and if the state does not so purchase this speculative land, make it accessible to its citizens who may use it for immediate relief, at least appropriate legislation should force the speculative owners of these idle lands to permit their use by destitute citizens.

States which have legislation restricting the power of cities or towns to own and operate public utilities should repeal immediately all such legislation, thus permitting municipalities to engage in any such enterprises and use the income therefrom to facilitate relief among the unemployed.

Swat the Power Trust All states having water power facilities should take steps of emergency legislation to develop such facilities, as measures of public welfare and immediate relief for the unemployed; and where such water power rights are now in the hands of private corporations, these rights should be taken back into the hands of the state, by legislation as a matter of public necessity. The natural resources of every state should be employed fully for the good of all its citizens, not permitted to remain in the hands of private, profit-grabbing monopolies.

An extensive program of public improvements should be at once undertaken in every state, the character of these improvements depending upon the necessities, the opportunities and the natural resources of each state. Road-building, drainage, irrigation and forestry conservation and development are among such improvements which, undertaken quickly, can help greatly in the relief of the unemployed during the coming winter.

Cooperative associations of workers and farmers should be encouraged by legislation in every state; and all such enterprises of genuine cooperation should be favored with credit by the state itself, charging such groups only for the actual cost of such credit.

It is contrary to the public welfare that state enterprises should be given to private contractors. It is an essential part of Mr. Haldeman-Julius' program that all state work shall be done by the state itself, employing organized labor and paying the highest rate of wages. Wages for thousands of workers are more important than big profits to a few contractors.

There should be a movement in every state for the repeal of any and all laws, which may be on the statute books of any state, hostile to the organization and activities of unions of the workers; among these are laws defining so-called "criminal syndicalism," laws against the use of the boycott in labor struggles and laws against peaceful picketing. Legislation should be passed in every state protecting the workers against the abusive and undemocratic action of the injunction in labor disputes.

Urgent Measures of Humanity In all state works the six-hour day and the five-day week should be established, so that relief can be spread most widely among the unemployed.

It should be urged that every state pass an old age pension act, humane and liberal in its terms, for the immediate and future relief of every citizen past the age of sixty-five years.

These are measures of humanity to which no one can object with the slightest pretense of reason or decency. If these measures interfere with the profits of a few corporations or a few individual capitalists

[Please turn to page three]

Make This The Freeman's Most Successful Edition

We know that you will read every word of this Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition. It is interesting, important, bold, and complete in its discussion of the critical economic issues that today demand the nation's best intelligence and most determined efforts. You will realize, after reading this special edition, that The Freeman editor's campaign for United States Senator from Kansas has far more than a state-wide interest. It is a campaign in which national issues necessarily bulk large. It will interest readers in every part of the nation, although naturally it will have a special and near interest to the voters of Kansas.

We wish to make this the most successful special edition of The Freeman that we have ever issued and we particularly desire to mail extra copies of the edition to the voters of Kansas. We have thousands of names of Kansas readers on our Little Blue Book lists, so we urge our readers everywhere to give special help in Method No. 3, which will enable us quickly and effectively to reach the citizens of Kansas with this Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition. We are glad of course for you to make use of any method of circulation which most appeals to you, or to use all three methods, but in this case we believe that Method No. 3 is the most effective. Please use the blank below and give this special edition a rousing circulation—you'll agree that it's well worth the effort!

ORDER BLANK FOR HALDEMAN-JULIUS FOR U. S. SENATOR SPECIAL EDITION

(August 1)

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I want to help bring the ideas of The Freeman editor to the people of Kansas, beginning with the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition. I am using the method marked below.

Method No. 1. I am enclosing \$....., for which send me a bundle of copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition, at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 2. I am enclosing \$..... and a list of names, to whom you will send the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition, at the rate of 2c a name (minimum list 50 names).

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$..... for which you are to send copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition to good names in your possession, at the rate of 2c a name.

Name

Address

City State

Is Vice-President Curtis Behind Moore Bond Ring's \$500,000 Libel Suit Against The American Freeman?

Following closely upon the announcement of a \$500,000 libel suit against The American Freeman, in which Vice-President Curtis is given special prominent mention, comes the news that Curtis "contemplates" seeking election in 1932 as United States Senator from Kansas. Although this statement is clothed in the usual political vagueness, it has been no secret for some time, among politically shrewd judges, that Curtis longs to duck out from under the direct shadow of the Hoover administration and try his luck in Kansas rather than the nation.

What is more of a secret and yet is giving rise to sharp, suspicious questions is the possible, probable, or conceivable connection of Vice-President Curtis with the libel suit against E. Haldeman-Julius.

Is Vice-President Curtis Behind Libel Suit?

This suit, as our readers know, was filed in the federal district court in Chicago by Harold A. Moore of the American Bond and Mortgage Company. This company was concerned intimately in the financing of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., and William J. Moore, father of Harold A. Moore, was one of the principal owners of the Mayflower. Curtis was a favored guest at the Mayflower, paying \$5.35 a day for an eleven-room suite for which Harry Sinclair, oil magnate, paid \$150 a day during his trial in Washington.

This is how the name of Curtis, Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate, came naturally to be linked in a very unpleasant and questioning manner with the name of the Moores and their grafting bond ring.

And now, in this \$500,000 libel suit against The American Freeman, the name of Vice-President Curtis is again deliberately brought

into association with the American Bond and Mortgage Company. This suit does not confine itself to asserting that The Freeman has published libelous material about the American Bond and Mortgage Company, although the suit is brought by a member of that financial ring and has ostensibly as its purpose the defense of that ring against The Freeman's story published in our issue of May 9, 1931.

The suit could have been brought without mentioning the name of Vice-President Curtis. It could have been so brought if the sole purpose were to defend the reputation of the operations of the American Bond and Mortgage Company or Harold A. Moore or any of the individuals actively connected with this ring. Yet Curtis' name has a conspicuous place in the wording of this libel suit, which states not only that Harold A. Moore and the American Bond and Mortgage Company have been libelled but also takes the pains to allege that the name of the Vice-President of the United States has been used in "a defamatory manner" in connection with The Freeman's story of the Moore ring and their American Bond and Mortgage Company—which is now in the hands of receivers and involved in litigation over its notorious bond deals.

A Review of the Facts

Frankly we are wondering about the nature and extent of Vice-President Curtis' implication in this libel suit. He is implicated in it by name and definitely in the wording of the suit itself. We shall let our wondering take the form of a concrete and simple review of the facts. The story in The Freeman appeared in our May 9 issue, which was in the mails two weeks before the date of issue. The libel suit was not filed until July 6, so that two and a half months elapsed between the time

when Moore and other interested parties could have read the story in The Freeman and the time when the libel suit was actually filed in federal court.

Our speculations concerning the motive of this libel suit are influenced very much by this thought: If Harold A. Moore or the American Bond and Mortgage Company had wished to make a gesture in behalf of themselves, without suggestion or motives brought to bear by any other party, why did they wait two and a half months? It would be stretching our credulity to argue that Moore and other members of the bond ring did not know about a story so important to them. But even if that could have been true, the question then is: Who called their attention to the story? Is it possible that Vice-President Curtis, either in calling attention to the story or in urging that such action be taken concerning a story already known to Moore and the bond ring, had an original and deliberate part in instigating this libel suit?

Curtis in a Wrathful Temper

This we do know: This libel suit came shortly after Vice-President Curtis had visited in Kansas, looking over the political ground in his home state, and had been publicly questioned by Mr. Haldeman-Julius about his strange favors obtained from the Mayflower Hotel, owned by members of the Moore bond ring and notoriously associated with one of that ring's financing schemes.

This questioning made a prominent news story in Kansas and in the country at large—and it put Curtis in a very wrathful temper; especially as his weak ending of the story was that his hotel bill in Washington "was not Haldeman-Julius' business." That would ordinarily be true, but it happens this was not

an ordinary hotel bill; the circumstances were suspicious; that publicity did not help Curtis in Kansas. Curtis denied knowing William J. Moore personally and he denied being associated with the bond ring, yet his explanation of his exceedingly favored terms from the Moore-owned hotel was not convincing nor complete.

We think there can be no doubt that Vice-President Curtis left Kansas smarting under the sting of a story from which he did not emerge very handsomely. Is it to be doubted that he was angry at Mr. Haldeman-Julius and The American Freeman? His attitude toward Mr. Haldeman-Julius was also doubtless sharpened by the fact that The Freeman editor is in the campaign for United States Senator, the office which Curtis is now planning to regain.

The American Freeman Is Unafraid

On his way east Curtis stopped a day to deliver an address in Mooseheart, Ill., close to Chicago. On the day following that address, Harold A. Moore filed his libel suit against The Freeman in the federal district court in Chicago. Did Moore and Curtis meet? Did Curtis communicate with Moore? We do not know. Our reconstruction of the possible machinery and motives of this libel suit is, we admit, quite circumstantial. But the circumstances seem to us to fit very neatly indeed—too neatly—so neatly that we wonder, that we more than wonder, whether all these details of time and place and men and events and the suspicious sequence of a political controversy and a libel suit can be the result of mere coincidence.

Although this libel suit threatens to involve The American Freeman in much difficulty and expense, we do not see what Harold A. Moore or the American Bond and Mortgage

Company can hope to gain for themselves from such a suit. They cannot show that The Freeman has really libelled them. We are confident of backing up our original story of May 9 with further and even more important investigations. But perhaps Vice-President Curtis, faced with the most embarrassing situation of his political career, may hope to gain something from this libel suit or from the mere report that such a suit has been brought. Curtis may have seen—we suggest it only as a possibility—in such a suit a salve to his reputation, a salve for the sting administered by Mr. Haldeman-Julius in his inquiries about Curtis and the Moore-owned Mayflower Hotel.

These are interesting speculations. Perhaps we shall never know more than we now know about the real instigation and animus of this \$500,000 libel suit—and, again, we may learn a great deal more than we now know. Meanwhile our only course is to prepare thoroughly for battle and to meet our enemies, open or concealed, in any move they bring against The Freeman and its editor.

Clarence Darrow Our Attorney

As announced in our last week's issue, Clarence Darrow will represent The Freeman in this case and he is a host in himself. But chiefly The Freeman rests its confidence in the integrity and truth of its work and in the support and trust of its thousands of loyal readers. Whether political opponents or the manipulators of a bond ring, we shall not be silenced, we shall not be intimidated, we shall not be driven into the slightest changing of our course by the attacks or threats of any enemy or set of enemies.

The Freeman fights on and does not surrender!

Freeman Army

James Copeland, Mo., sends \$2 and a list of names to receive copies of the July 18 Banking Scandal Special Edition and the All About Russia Special Edition of July 25.

J. Miller, Pa., is in with a list of 50 names for the July 25 Special Edition on Russia.

J. M. Livingston, Neb., shoots us \$1.60 and 80 names for the July 25 Russia Special Edition.

George H. Shoaf, Los Angeles, Calif., sends \$10 for Method No. 3 which enables us to send 500 copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition to Kansas names in our book files. That's a great help. Remember, this Aug. 1 issue is of concern to every American citizen, in or out of Kansas, because Haldeman-Julius issues concern the entire nation in this grave economic crisis. If elected, he will serve the workers in every state in the union and not Kansas alone. That's why Freeman readers everywhere should help in this great fight.

Clyde L. Holden, Conn., sends \$1 for 50 copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition, Method No. 3. The Freeman fight in Kansas properly attracts support from coast to coast. Help us send at least 100,000 more copies of the Aug. 1 issue to Kansas voters. We are holding the plates and will print any quantity ordered by Freeman supporters. Help today when your help will do the most good.

Mrs. Irene K. Brown, Iowa, sends \$1 for four sub cards at 25c each, good for 25 weeks of the American Freeman, and adds: "I hope you get out of your suit all right. It must be you were telling the truth and it hurt otherwise you wouldn't have been sued."

Remington Conger, N. Y., sends \$1 and says, "Make any use of it you see fit." We are applying this dollar to the expense of mailing free copies of the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition to Kansas names in our file.

Freeman special editions always attract a great deal of attention and support. Our Banking Scandal Special Edition of July 18 sold many extra copies. W. R. Hantley, Mich., came in early with \$2 for 100 copies of the \$500,000 libel suit filed against The American Freeman is arousing our readers to action. We are beginning to get orders for sub cards, each good for 25 weeks of The American Freeman. The sub cards are printed on postal cards and are ready for mailing. All the buyer need do is to

write his name and address on it and drop it in the mail box. We can rest. These sub cards are simple and effective ways of helping The American Freeman get new readers and thereby help it win its great fight for a free press. Here are just a few of the buyers of sub cards, each having sent us \$1 for four cards: J. A. Lundquist, Minn.; Ransome J. Chickering, Minn.; Alice Connelly, Colo.; E. W. Dungan, Ohio; F. G. Blanchard, Ohio; W. Abbott, Ill.; W. A. Ahern, Mass.; John C. Carlson, Minn.; J. W. Blackburn, N. Mex.; Frank Ahola, Mich.; J. Prater, Kans.; L. L. Fawcett, Kans.; N. Y.; Olaf Fremstad, Wis.; D. J. Cavanaugh, N. Y.; Dona C. Fries, Wis.

We are glad to report that many Freeman readers are getting us clubs of 10-week subs, at 10c each in clubs of 10 or more. This is a cheap and effective way to help The American Freeman. Here are just a few of the buyers of club-gateways: E. W. Dungan, N. Y.; G. W. Gilmore, Texas; T. H. N. D.; Rev. A. Ackerman, Minn.; James Lumpkin, Colo.; Mrs. R. V. Blakely, Colo.; Henri Letard, Texas; G. W. Hoffman, Can.; J. C. Henderson, Mo.; Dr. Finkle, Cal.; L. L. Fawcett, Okla.; J. P. Dorsey, Mich.; I. J. Galtner, Pa.; Jos. R. Noel, Ill.; W. A. Goodwin, Can.

Mrs. E. J. Bladese, Ill., read about the \$500,000 libel suit and showed where she stood by sending \$1 for four 25-week sub cards. If we get a hundred thousand sub cards out we will soon see a bigger and more powerful Freeman. Will you help by ordering at least four sub cards? They are easily sold to your friends and acquaintances. Just tell them about the work that is being done by The American Freeman and add: "I am sending you a sub card—you'll be surprised how easy it is to mail another reader. All the buyer of the sub card has to do is to write his or her name and address on it and drop it in a mail box. It is simple, quick and effective."

W. L. Smith, Colo., comes in with an order for four sub cards.

Beatrice Johnson, Minn., sends \$1 for Method No. 3 and gives us instructions to send 50 copies of the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition to good names in our possession. They will all go out to Kansas names, because we are anxious to have as many Kansas names as possible read this edition.

A. W. McArthur, Ill., is with us in our fight against the racketeers who have filed a \$500,000 libel suit against The Freeman. He shows his stand by ordering four sub cards.

"Good luck to you in your libel suit," writes S. A. Badame, Ill., as he orders four sub cards for \$1.

F. W. Long, Ind., wants to help in the work, so he sends \$5 for 150 copies of the July 25 All About Russia Special

Edition. That's the kind of help that gets The Freeman somewhere. Help in as many ways as you can. Order bundles. Send in clubs of subs. Order sub cards. Tell your friends about The Freeman. Put your own copy to use after you are through with it. Always try to put The Freeman in touch with more readers. We have an insatiable appetite for bigger circulation. We can fight better when we know our audience is large. If you want The Freeman to get results in its campaign for social justice then hustle a club of subs.

E. W. Bender, Calif., wants to help in promoting the Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition of Aug. 1 and sends \$1 for Method No. 3, which means 50 copies of this special issue will go to Kansas names in our files.

John N. Tack, Calif., is a loyal booster for The Freeman. His latest is a club of four subs.

Max Curtis, Calif., comes in with a club of four subs.

Jerome Carter, Calif., landed four new readers.

The week's best sub-getter is Ed. J. Green, Ala., who shoots us a club of 40 subs. Those are the boosts that count for a bigger, stronger, better, more militant Freeman.

No sooner did we list Ed. J. Green as the week's best sub-getter with 40 subs than in comes C. H. Blodgett, Ind., with a club of 68 subs. That's some list. Who will top that?

A. J. Kitcher, Ariz., wants to see the Aug. 1 Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition get more readers. He sends \$1.50 which pays for 75 extra papers, which we will mail to him for him to good Kansas names in our possession. It is plain that the entire liberal element in the country is interested and anxious to help in the sensational fight in Kansas.

The \$500,000 libel suit caused the following friends of this paper to come to our help with orders for sub cards: Mrs. Berquist, Ill.; John E. Ehrenfried, Ill.; John E. Burroughs, Ohio.

The past week has been especially good among The Freeman's sub hustlers. In one mail we received clubs of 10 subs from each of the following: A. J. Holland, S. O.; Geo. Pierce, Can.; Mont. G. E. Sanderson, Mo.; W. E. Phillips, Ore.; J. N. Robinson, Calif.; Geo. M. Linn, Mass.; G. P. Holmes, Maine; H. Herzog, N. Y.; Joe H. Schmidt, Pa.; A. E. Bourke, Calif.; Benjamin Beftin, Fla.; Wm. Jones, Iowa; F. Kaplanaky, Can.; Louis Rostko, Ind.; W. Crawford, Va.; Ala. Salvetti, Minn.; C. M. Offenbach, Ohio; Herman De Young, N. J.; L. M. Flowster, Ohio; Kate A. Gardner, Kans.; John Tepley, Wash.; Earl C. Baptist, Ill.; Oliver M. Harvey, N. Y.

Educator and Liberator

The entry of Haldeman-Julius into the publishing world marked the beginning of real education and culture for the common people. And we hope his entry into the political field may prove equally beneficial to all honest citizens who desire a government truly representative with opportunity and protection for all.—J. J. Masly, N. Dak.

Real Leaders Are Needed

My Dear Mr. Haldeman-Julius: Permit me to congratulate you upon your decision of becoming a candidate for United States Senator in 1932. We need men of your caliber and stamina to guide the destinies of our nation.—John C. Rose, Pittsburgh, Pa.

AN INTERESTING note on the spirit of Americanism is that the school teachers in Harrisburg, Pa., were discharged in a body this spring—every single one of them—and now many of them have been rehired at a reduced salary. This action also deprives many teachers of pensions which were soon due. Our wonderful "initiative" never gives up.

How can capitalism bring peace when it makes inevitable the warfare of classes?

NEW RUSSIAN FACTORIES AND HOMES FOR WORKERS

Throughout Russia the five-year plan reaches with transforming hands. At Kharkov, most important city in the Ukraine, there is the highest building in Russia, which is used as the headquarters of the government trusts which most directly plan the economic life—or rather direct the carrying out of the plans for the economic life—of the Ukraine. Modern office buildings, a club and a hotel for tourists are evidences in Kharkov of the new Russian spirit.

In the district surrounding the city there is much industrial activity. It is the activity of a new socialistic construction, "arranged in the five-year plan. Numerous factories are being built, one of them being a tractor plant which will turn out 50,000 tractors a year. This plant has a foundry, repair shop, forge, assembly plant, office building and homes for workers.

These apartment homes for the workers are a conspicuous feature of the new Russia. Surrounding this plant outside Kharkov are seventeen blocks of workers' apartments, ten apartment houses in the block, and seven hundred tenants in each house. At present the workers live in temporary shelters, while these plans are being carried to completion.

And they are being carried out. These things are actually being done in Russia, and each year sees the completion of some new aspect of the five-year plan. Then the Russian leaders will have (they already have) further plans.

Possibly when the present plan is completed, the Russian leaders will ease the driving force of their constructive zeal and let the nation rest a while before embarking full speed upon another plan. They will do whatever the nation desires; for it is conceded even by very critical observers that Stalin and his colleagues are very sensitive to the feelings of the Russian workers and remarkably quick in adjusting their plans to the popular temper. Thus the five-year plan is succeeding, not merely because the leaders planned it, but because the Russian workers are enthusiastic for it and realize the possibilities for them.

Education has developed this attitude among the workers. Radio, newspapers, posters, club meetings, speeches, demonstrations—every imaginable method of propaganda has been used most intelligently by the Russian leaders to teach the workers and even the peasants in the remotest places the advantages of the five-year plan; the need of quick industrialization of the country; the power of the machine and its beneficent possibilities to man when rightly used; the virtues of cooperation; and, all in all, both the technical and the human aspects of the great social ideal which is animating the whole genius and energy of new Russia.

It has formerly been the boast of American capitalists that they could produce goods so cheaply as to beat all competitors in the world markets. Now the Russians are beating them and their tone is different. "The Russians are a menace," they cry. "They are 'dumping' goods in the world markets. Wicked, treacherous Russians who can beat us in producing and selling goods!" And if the American capitalists could produce goods and sell them more cheaply than the Russians, they wouldn't, would they? Huh!

In Russia the workers are recognized as the most valuable citizens. In America the exploiters are regarded as the most valuable citizens. Think over this difference.

THE GREAT ENGINEER—huh?

GREED is the incentive of capitalism.

INDIVIDUALISM will not solve our social problems.

GREAT fortunes are founded on vast misfortunes.

CONDITIONS have most to do with making men good or bad.

THE WISE MAN confines his thinking to the problems of life.

CAPITALISM offers an incentive for one capitalist to steal all incentive from thousands of workers.

SOCIETY is fully organized to facilitate the movement of things into a few hands.—Clarence Darrow.

A HUNGRY man is not likely to be a very enthusiastic patriot for the kind of government that lets him starve.

WE pity the poor worker who is proud of his democratic opportunity to choose between two political agents of capitalism.

THE STATUE of Liberty "enlightening the world" in New York City harbor has its back turned to the United States.

LOOKING at history, men can readily perceive the evils of chattel slavery and serfdom. Are the evils of wage slavery less plain?

HOOVER says that the government can do nothing for the people. It seems, then, that the people should do something about the government.

LAWs should be based upon social needs; while personal beliefs, personal morals, personal tastes should be left to the wish of the individual.

TALKING about "over-production," there is (under the regime of capitalism) an "over-production" of workers. Capitalism's solution is a war to kill them off.

WHAT A tremendous revolution in human affairs if everybody had enough to eat and plenty to wear and a decent shelter! The extent to which this is now inconceivable measures the extent of our social failure.

LINCOLN said: "I believe in the Providence of the most man, the largest purse and the longest cannon." America, under Hooverism, seems to believe in the Providence of the fewest jobs, the longest bread lines and the hungriest stomachs.

LET us remind you that we publish the greatest list of liberal classics in the world. Write the Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas, and ask for a catalog of our books. Our book policy is as free and broad and enlightened (as well as enlightening) as our policy in editing The Freeman.

ITEM for Hoover: The Brooklyn, N. Y., Edison Company has laid off 2,000 workers, a number being discharged just as their vacations were due. The company's statement that these were only "temporary employees" was proved false, as a number of the men have been employed by the company for several years. One official of the company, admitting that some of the workers might "have been with the company eight, ten months or two years," added that as much as two years' employment did not entitle a worker to be "discharged by the company as a permanent employee." Such a statement stands no worker in a permanent employ under capitalism.

Timely and Vital Banking Issue

To the Editor of Freeman: Your last issue calling for enlarging the scope of the postal banks to a general banking business so we may have a safe deposit system and a scientific credit system as anticipated by our national constitution is the most timely and the most vital issue ever presented to the voters of our state.—John W. Nelson, Kans.

An Opportunity for Service

Mr. E. Haldeman-Julius: There is no man that I know of that I would sooner see in the U. S. Senate than yourself. What an opportunity you would have for service to the people if you win out. There are a few in every state that could qualify, but as the mass of voters in all states are so ignorant and prejudiced they have themselves to blame for present conditions.—William Maxwell, N. Dak.

A Voice for Justice

I think that I can safely say that there are thousands of readers of The Freeman, besides a host of others who never have seen a copy of The Freeman, who would gladly know that E. Haldeman-Julius and others of his type had voices in the halls of congress. We are sadly handicapped by our present representation.—J. F. Warner, Ariz.

THE COMMON people have always suffered from slavery, which has only changed its forms. Talk of freedom is a mockery when the people must depend upon a privileged owning class for the means of making a living. Slavery will exist so long as some men have absolute economic power over other men.

TRAMP, tramp, tramp—the millions of unemployed are marching nowhere and for nothing.

State Programs Are Urged

Concluded from page two

or contractors, the more vital fact is that they will facilitate relief for hundreds of thousands of workers who are suffering pitiable need and the fear of far worse distress through no fault of their own.

In offering this program for states and thus stressing the economic and humane possibilities of political action, the editor of The Freeman feels that, whatever the outcome of his campaign for United States Senator from Kansas, he is usefully calling attention to the real, critical issues that demand thought, protest and positive action from the people of Kansas and every other state.

Awakening the People

Now is the time if any when E. Haldeman-Julius should arouse the fighting spirit of the people, which is awakening them and which should create for them a spirit of happiness. There is no doubt that The American Freeman is creating an atmosphere among the people which will help them to keep their faith.—Ralph Gryskiewicz, Chicago, Ill.

A Paper for the Masses

The few copies of The American Freeman which a friend of mine left here in my barber shop has got these people thinking. They are always anxious to see new copies when they come. Here's hoping your paper is in every poor man's home in this country. I feel that you are friends to the poor, of which I am one.—Otto Lierman, Calif.

WE ARE just radical enough to believe that all of the workers in this country can be fully employed if permitted fully to consume what they produce.

\$500,000 Libel Suit Causes Sudden Crisis in Ranks of The Freeman

The \$500,000 libel suit brought against The American Freeman by Harold A. Moore, of the American Bond and Mortgage Company, will burden this workers' paper with expenses which are particularly difficult during this time of depression. We have no fear whatever concerning the results of this suit—but we must appeal to our loyal readers for their support in this crisis.

We do not ask for gifts. We urge that our readers buy Freeman sub cards, four for \$1, each good for 25 weeks of this fighting paper. This will give us an emergency Freeman Defense Fund for this occasion and at the same time it will be adding to the circulation and strength of The Freeman in future fights.

It will be a great favor if you will rush your order for sub cards and for The Freeman Defense Fund right away, as we are not yet certain what efforts and expenses this \$500,000 libel suit will necessitate.

We are sure that you will want to help defend this valuable paper—so valuable to the cause of social justice—from the threatened attack of the Moore bond ring and whatever foe may be hiding behind this libel suit.

We have Clarence Darrow as our attorney and we have The Freeman as our fighting paper; but in a possibly long and expensive trial in the courts we must depend upon the assistance of our readers. Act now for The Freeman Defense Fund by using the blank below.

I WANT TO HELP THE FREEMAN IN ITS GREAT FIGHT!

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

The Freeman must not be suppressed. I want to help you in your fight. Enclosed find \$..... for which please send me Freeman Sub Cards, each worth 25c and good for 25 weeks of The American Freeman. Send me these sub cards at the rate of four for \$1.

Name

Address

City

State

Note: If you prefer to have your remittance to be used for sending The Freeman to good names in your possession make an X here

ORDER BLANK FOR THE AMERICAN FREEMAN

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I believe in a paper of free ideas and I therefore send \$1 (\$1.50 Canada and foreign) for a year's subscription to The American Freeman.

Name

Address

City

State

Producers of Nation's Bread Must Have Immediate Relief

The economic plight of the farmers, while it more directly affects agricultural states like Kansas, can not but work an injury to the welfare of the whole country. No important numerous class of producers and (if granted justice) potential consumers can be brought to the poverty line without the most serious consequences spreading far beyond their own fields and immediate problems.

And the situation is all the worse in that the farmers are suffering additionally from that general collapse known as the depression, so that thousands of small business men and millions of unemployed workers are feeding a severity of distress which is absolutely senseless because it is not the result of real poverty of the nation—but artificial and all the more bitter poverty inflicted by a small rich class upon the masses.

Large-scale farming, through co-operatives or the state, must be the response of this great basic industry to modern conditions. But there is an immediate disadvantage under which the farmers labor, which has been done to remove it, namely, the control of prices of farm products by large private marketing agencies and grain exchanges.

The private and largely speculative grain trade jumbles the prices of farm crops; most farmers cannot afford elevator storage, also chiefly in private hands, so they must take what they are offered when their crops are harvested.

Again, the farmers have been so deeply in debt for years that immediate sale of their crops is necessary. Farm machinery and other necessities which the farmers must buy are, we may add, maintained at prices profitable to the corporation sellers rather than the agricultural buyers.

Saves Farmers from Middlemen

Although urging the economic importance of large-scale farming (not, however, by private farm corporations) and federal control of the grain trade in the interest of the farmers and consumers, The Freeman editor in his campaign for United States Senator suggests other and immediate measures which will benefit the farmers. It seems clear that the greatest direct help to the farmer can be given by relieving him of the profit-grabbing exactions of middlemen; and this will also benefit the consumers of farm products. Thus every state, or especially one in which agriculture predominates, should build a chain of state elevators and warehouses, where the farmers' products can be stored at actual, reasonable cost of such non-profit facilities, which lend financial, legal and moral aid to farmers' cooperatives in establishing such non-profit facilities, which should likewise include stockyards—every facility, indeed, for the most advantageous distribution of the farm products, at only the real cost of such distribution.

Logically accompanying this feature of service to the farmers should be a system of municipal markets, through which cities and towns purchase directly from the farmers and, by eliminating the profits of middlemen, effect a saving to the consumers in the cities while guaranteeing better prices to the farmers. This suggestion of city marketing, buying directly from the farmers and selling directly to the city consumers as a non-profit public service, is the essence of economic common sense.

State Credit for Farmers
The state can perform another very important service to the farmers by rescuing them from the interest-squeezing grip of private bankers. What reasonable objection can there be to the establishment of a state credit system, which would offer financial help to the farmers at a charge (representing only the actual cost of such service) far below the interest rates demanded by private bankers? It is the conviction of Mr. Haldeman-Julius, formed after a plain reading of conditions, that the farmers will never recover from their bankruptcy or near-bankruptcy without such state credit and other forms of state aid.

Among vital and practical forms of aid to the farmers is a system of state insurance against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests, hail, flood, storm, fire—in short, all the accidents of crop failure or crop destruction, which make the occupation of farming so at the mercy of nature's hazards. It is to the interest of the state that it should guarantee the farmers against such losses—or from the disastrous effects of such losses—and that, again, only an actual-cost charge should be made for this insurance.

Heavy taxation is a terrific burden upon the farmers, yet it is plainly unjust to tax a man for his industry, when the obvious source of heavy taxes is in the enormous incomes of the rich who have grabbed their wealth through exploitation and not through labor. The Freeman editor urges that every state proceed with the proper legislation to exempt from taxation (and from execution for debts or mortgages) dwellings, tools, farm animals, implements and improvements to the sum of \$2,000. This is one item of farm relief—and not a small one—which would immediately be helpful.

At the same time, farmers and all other citizens should urge a stricter, fairer assessment and collection of taxes on big corporations; if these corporations in every state were forced to pay their just share of taxes, the burden on the farmers and small home owners and small business men could be greatly eased.

Farmers' Fight Is a Social Crime
Another measure, which would tend to encourage instead of as now discouraging the useful occupation of farming, is the renting of state land to landless farmers on the

easiest terms; and when the total rents paid equal the value of the land, the tenant should be given the full right of occupancy and use, the title of such land being held by the state. This would make it easy to possess land and would make that possession inviolate so long as the farmer was willing to use the land. Lands used for this purpose would of course be lands already owned by the state or to be acquired by the state through purchase or reclamation.

State aid may and should be supplemented by the work of farmers' cooperatives, organized for purchasing, marketing and credit activities. The state should afford the most friendly encouragement, counsel and assistance to such societies of co-operative farm producers.

These measures of farm relief proposed by The Freeman editor are simple and practical yet it is plain that they will immensely benefit the farmers. In contrast with such measures, all other talk of farm "relief" by old party politicians is the most temporizing and trifling with a serious problem. It is a social crime that the producers of bread should be bankrupt and, as part of his campaign for United States Senator, Mr. Haldeman-Julius is urging measures both immediate and far-reaching which will restore the farmers to a respected and prosperous place among the nation's producers.

His Ideas Are Civilized

Haldeman-Julius holds the most intelligent, the most humane, the most frankly realistic, the most civilized and, in a true sense, the most ideal attitudes toward life and mankind and social government of any man of our times or, for that matter, of any past time. If this earth becomes safely civilized and realistically social and sensible in, say, a few hundred years hence, it must apply the ideas which Haldeman-Julius now advocates. The presence of this great debunker and realist in that archaic body, the United States Senate, would be worth all the grief we have suffered at the hands of that body in the past century.—John D. McInerney, Nebr.

Broad Views of Government

The educational activities of E. Haldeman-Julius have covered almost every phase of human endeavor, thereby giving the people of this age a broader, more scientific view of the universe and of life. His broad views enable him to fill any position of honor or trust in any of the branches of government, from President down. Had our law-making branches been filled with such men as E. Haldeman-Julius we today would not be experiencing depressions, bread lines, soup kitchens, unemployment and strikes.—J. E. Young, Ark.

If men and women are to enjoy life, it is absolutely necessary to satisfy these six fundamental desires: 1. Physical comfort. 2. Economic security. 3. Satisfaction of sex life. 4. Interesting work. 5. Stimulation of the senses (entertainment, culture). 6. Freedom from unnecessary annoying restrictions. These needs are fundamental. Remove one or more of them and men and women are unhappy. If life were planned intelligently and scientifically happiness would be within the reach of every man, woman and child.

TOM BURNS, Portland, Ore., continues his active work for The Freeman. He has the whole front page of the last Freeman in the center of a large window on a main street of Portland, and beside it a large electric clock adjusted so its hands travel backward. Below the clock is this sign: "Hoover Prosperity Vock—Go Backward. Backward—Valck—Fores and Poverty. Near the clock is a large sign: "Twins—Hoover and Hunger." He also keeps a quantity of Freemans on hand for distribution.

VICE-PRES. CURTIS gets mad every time anyone mentions the Mayflower hotel. Well he might. He has, for years, occupied a suite worth \$150 a day and has paid the absurd rate of \$5.35 per day. Why? That hotel is run by a gang of bond racketeers who have robbed the American people of \$100,000,000. Did they need Charlie Curtis' political protection?

THOSE individuals who prove themselves unfit to live in civilized communities must be segregated from the rest of us, but they should be permitted to live in reasonable comfort instead of being tortured by such prisons as we now put them into.

THE WORLD will be remade by science when the people learn to use science for the benefit of all instead of for the enrichment of the few.

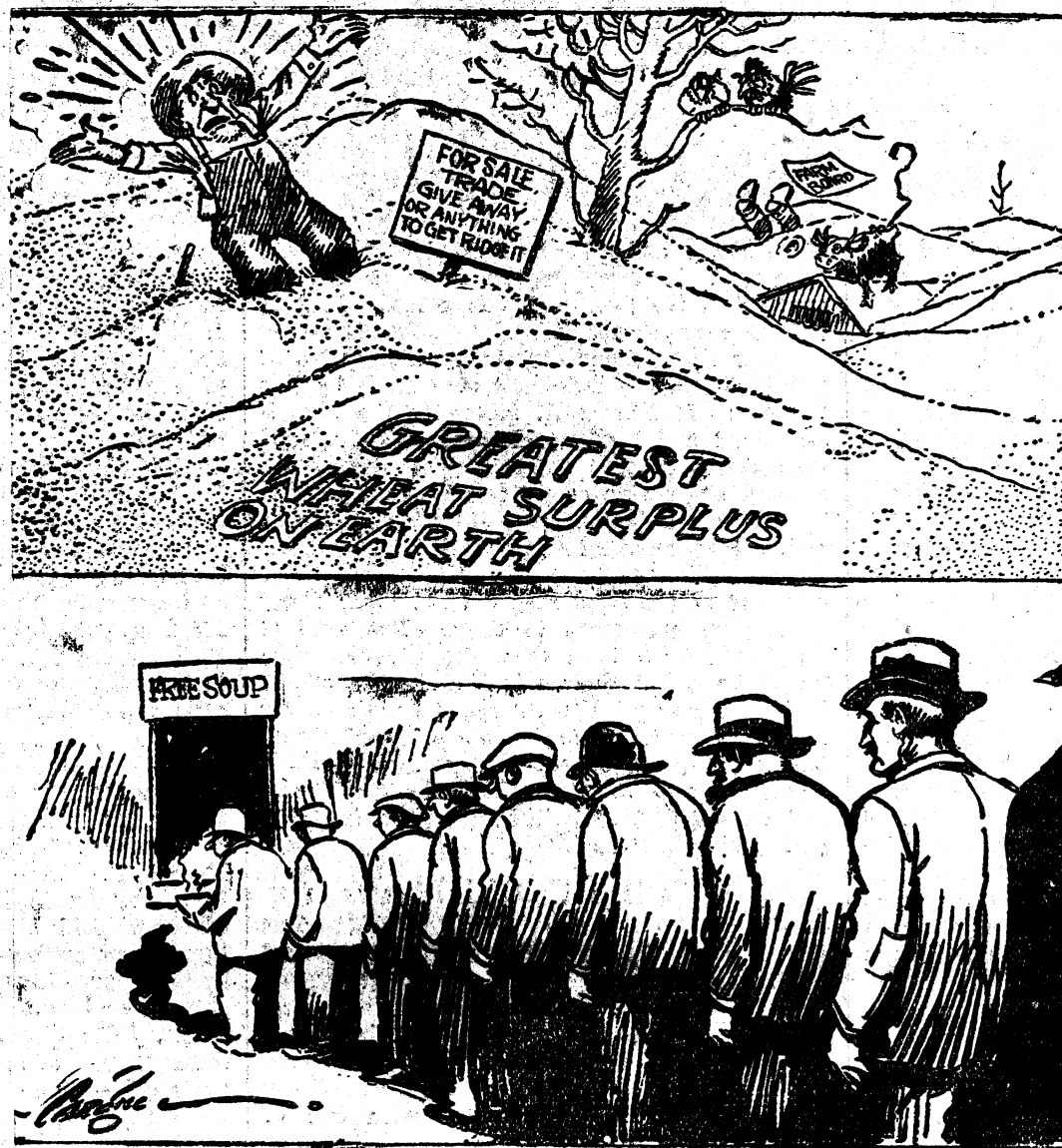
TO CONTROL crime, we must first destroy the conditions that now create criminals, and second, abolish the idea of punishment entirely.

RUSSIA's greatest strength lies in the fact that it is working according to a definite plan and competing against a planless world.

OUR present political system was planned for an agricultural economy and it works badly in our modern industrial system.

MAKING schools free does not provide equality of opportunity unless all children are freed from the necessity of child labor.

Most European cities are honestly managed, while most American cities are run by crooks and grafters.



"Too much wheat"—so farmers must starve on the farms and workers must starve in the cities. It is such insane economic conditions that E. Haldeman-Julius is opposing in his campaign for United States Senator from Kansas. Politicians suggest this compromise and that but their words are idle, superficial and futile because they are defenders of the system which causes such vast and needless distress in the midst of all the materials of prosperity. The Freeman editor condemns this system of economic madness and misery and, in this Haldeman-Julius for U. S. Senator Special Edition, proposes sound relief and remedies, guided by the principle of the common good.

Cities Should Inaugurate Sound Measures of Social Improvement

City governments have it in their power to help decisively in a large, social-minded program of relief in this unemployment crisis. They can establish measures of public service that will not only provide immediate relief but that will have lasting benefits, fitting into the plan of a socialized life.

Insisting that all government agencies should put forth their greatest, most prompt and most far-sighted efforts to avert suffering in this economic emergency and to prevent future emergencies of this character, E. Haldeman-Julius is emphasizing a program of municipal action in his campaign for United States Senator from Kansas.

These measures will naturally be of more significance in the larger industrial cities, yet the main suggestions are also appropriate even though on a smaller scale, to the smaller cities. In other words, every city should push municipal action within the limits of its needs and possibilities.

Municipal Ownership a Necessity
It is of primary importance that every city should fully own and operate all of its public utilities, such as street railways, gas and electric plants, water and the like; and that all public work within the city should be conducted strictly as municipal enterprises.

There should be a high standard of union hours and wages and the organizations of the workers should be represented democratically in all such municipal enterprises.

Experience has shown that such enterprises pay for themselves and make possible lower rates to the citizens; and naturally this is so, as they emphasize service rather than profits.

One of the most important municipal enterprises, which should at once be undertaken in every American city (appropriate legislation being demanded from state legislatures where that is lacking) is a program of modern housing for the workers. There is no business that is more vital and more public-spirited in its nature, in which a city can usefully and rightfully engage, than the business of replacing slums, old and unsanitary and unsafe dwellings, mean and shabby streets, with clean and decent modern homes. Cities should be charged with a direct responsibility for the kind of homes their workers live in—or, as at present, barely exist in.

Such housing programs should be completely under the control of the cities and should be conducted without private profit to any corporation or individual. These new and modern homes in each city should be rented to the workers at sums equal only to the actual cost of keeping up the property.

Let the City Do Its Own Work

In support of this program of municipal housing, cities should establish publicly owned plants for manufacturing and supplying all materials needed to keep these municipal homes and apartment buildings in a good condition of repair; and materials for all other public works should likewise be supplied by publicly owned plants, machine shops and similar enterprises. The aim is to have the city do as much as possible for the benefit of its citizens, suppressing the interference of private profit to the great advantage of the common people in terms of decent living, modern opportunities and real social security.

Every city should move at once to exempt from taxation the homes

of unemployed workers and the exemption from seizure for rent or other debts of household goods and furniture of workers. There should be in every city a bureau specially created for relieving workers who are threatened with eviction for non-payment of rent, due to sickness or unemployment. This is of immediate importance in view of the disgraceful series of evictions in many American cities. Prompt relief is needed, backed up by the larger program of modern municipal housing which will give the workers absolute security in homes that are entirely safe and decent. Every city should establish and maintain decent night lodgings for the sheltering of unemployed workers who have no other means of shelter.

Ask for Employment Bureau
A regular municipal employment bureau should be established in every city. The facilities of such a bureau should be provided free to unemployed workers and private employment agencies, profiting on human fears and miseries and uncertainties, should be thus wholly displaced by the machinery of free public service. Every city should also have a free legal bureau for the benefit of the workers, thus providing them with the best and surest means of legal counsel and protection.

It is the civilized duty of every city to provide free meals, textbooks, clothing and medical attention for all school children who are in need of these aids; otherwise the boasted opportunity of education is but a mockery to the starving and ragged children of the workers.

The abolition of child labor should be combined with immediate unemployment relief for adult workers by prohibiting, in each city, the gainful employment of any child under the age of sixteen, including such work as blacking shoes, selling papers, and the like.

There should be both municipal and state homes for the sheltering, feeding, clothing and educating of all children under sixteen who have no living parents or other providers. No child under sixteen should be compelled to work competitively for a living and bid in a cheapening labor market against the labor of adult workers. This is particularly important as a temporary measure, when it is vital that all means of employment should be provided for those who need it most and who have dependents.

All idle land within every city, whether it be now owned by the public or by private persons or corporations, should be brought into use by the city or by associations of citizens or thrown open to use by individuals in ways that may provide most immediate and effective relief for unemployment in this crisis.

Plain Duties of Civilization

In every city the school buildings and all municipal and county buildings should be freely open, at convenient hours, to the unemployed for demonstrations, discussions and measures for common action or education in behalf of the workers' welfare. It should further be recognized as the duty of every city to build and maintain a free Labor Temple, which will be used as an educational and social center for the workers; this applies of course to cities where no such building is at present available to the workers.

These measures, proposed by The Freeman editor as his widely visioned economic program in his campaign for United States Senator, are

nothing more nor less than sound, decent, humane measures of civilization. In doing less than what is here outlined, American cities are falling miserably short of the plain duties of municipal government. These enterprises of social welfare should be permanent, but of course they are urgently important in this great emergency of distress.

These measures should be urged by movements in every city of the nation; for in his present campaign Mr. Haldeman-Julius is necessarily taking a view broader than that of a single state or city; this economic crisis affects the whole nation and the principles here emphasized are needed everywhere as immediate relief and as a large, solid, permanent program of social welfare.

For Better Economic Conditions

Better economic conditions, clearer thinking on vital problems, real prosperity would eventually follow the election of Haldeman-Julius as U. S. Senator, not alone because of the powerful personality and the vigorous character of the man but mainly because it would indicate the awakening intelligence of a usually stupid and complacent general public.—John W. Harvey, Jr., Mich.

ONLY THROUGH free speech, free press and free action can progress continue unhampered.

HENRY J. ALLEN REFUSES A CHALLENGE TO DEBATE HALDEMAN-JULIUS

In refusing a challenge to debate with E. Haldeman-Julius, the most amusing excuse is given by Henry J. Allen, personal and political friend of President Hoover and leading Republican of Kansas. For a short time Mr. Allen was United States Senator from Kansas, by appointment of former Governor Reed to fill out the unexpired term of Charles Curtis, who left the Senate to become Vice-President. In the 1930 election, Allen was defeated by his Democratic opponent, now Senator George McGill.

Allen was known as Hoover's spokesman while in the Senate and he is, we presume, still close in the unofficial councils of the President. Thus Mr. Haldeman-Julius judged Mr. Allen could give the most authoritative and able defense of Hoover's policies, in so far as such a defense might be possible. It would of course have to be a defense of political expediency, an attempt to make the best of a bad case, since Hoover and his supporters cannot afford to be absolutely silent in the face of criticisms of the administration's failure. If any defense they may make can only hurt them, yet silence would hurt them more.

Thus it happened that Mr. Haldeman-Julius, wishing to obtain the widest discussion of important public questions, suggested that he and Mr. Allen join in a serious and candid debate, facing squarely the issues brought to the front by this economic depression and by President Hoover's attitude toward the depression. Mr. Allen's reply was given in the following letter:

Dear Mr. Haldeman-Julius:

You ask me to meet you either at Topeka or Wichita, to discuss your conviction that "the present administration is a failure and that the Hoover policies are inadequate." I am not surprised to note your disappointment in President Hoover. I remember you felt the same way about him before he was elected. I am surprised, however, that you should deem it of importance for you and me to debate the well-known opinion which you, in common with other socialists of this country, hold of the President and of the government of the United States.

In view of the fact that your opinion on both these proposed themes of debate does not possess the quality of being either original or unexpected, and of the further fact that you are politically and professionally bound to maintain your well-known attitude, there could be no significance in such a debate. The only outcome either of us could hope for would be some newspaper publicity, of which I trust there is no present need in your case. I am, happily, both of us could come to such a meeting with open minds, it might not be altogether profitless; but since all you invite me to is a debate upon your well-known opinion of America's public officials and America's government, I am constrained to tell you that I think God wants the best folk to take their time more seriously than that.

Sincerely yours,
HENRY J. ALLEN.

We believe the reader will see, as instantly as we did, several amusing features in this reply. Take, for example, Mr. Allen's statement—which may be intended as sarcastic but quite misses such an aim—that Mr. Haldeman-Julius was against Hoover before the latter was elected President. That can only be taken as a compliment in fact if not intention. Far from making Mr. Haldeman-Julius' present criticisms of the Hoover administration seem unimportant, it indicates that he used very good judgment in analyzing Hoover's principles and policies in the very beginning—that by the nature of Hoover's policies he could perceive their sure failure from the point of view of the public welfare

—and, therefore, that his present views are all the more important because they have been so clearly and amply vindicated.

Mr. Allen does not express himself very well on this point. "I am not surprised," he writes, "to note your disappointment in President Hoover. I remember you felt the same way about him before he was elected." But how could Mr. Haldeman-Julius now feel disappointment in Hoover if he never expected good from Hoover? It is far from disappointment, but rather it is the logical understanding of the failure of wrong principles; that Mr. Haldeman-Julius feels.

The objection to such a debate, that it would be futile and even frivolous because both Mr. Allen's and Mr. Haldeman-Julius' views are well known, can only be regarded as itself a frivolous objection. It is usually the case that two debaters are representing principles which they have long been well known to have held. It is further customary that debaters have the aim not of convincing each other but of appealing to the audience as well as to that larger audience which may read reports of the debate and the comments thereon. Mr. Allen should know very well that a debate is not a private conversation between two men, but a public discussion which has a public purpose.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius is confident that in debates, in addresses, in his publications and in all other ways of reaching the people he can give wide expression to ideas that will be convincing and helpful to the people. He is not interested in convincing Mr. Allen to a public comparison of principles; and these principles Mr. Haldeman-Julius regards as more vital than personal publicity.

Is it possible that Mr. Allen is not sure his own message and his own principles could be made by him interesting or convincing to the people of Kansas? If Mr. Allen possibly has a good defense of Hoover's administration, what he may think is a good defense—it would seem that he would be glad to make that defense in a public debate or in any other manner; having a bad defense or no defense, there is some discretion even though at the same time an admission in his refusal to debate.

Stands for Popular Government

If such a dynamic, outspoken man as E. Haldeman-Julius can attain the Senate it will be a big step toward a government which will recognize the rights of the people. We deeply envy each Kansas citizen privileged to vote for E. Haldeman-Julius in the coming election. Would that we could.—Beatrice M. Holden and Clyde L. Holden, Conn.

A Record of Unflinching Service

Mr. Haldeman-Julius can well afford to disregard those who try to cast aspersions upon his integrity. The truth speaks for itself. Mr. Haldeman-Julius stands solidly upon his record, a record of unflinching service in the cause of debunking, in the cause of rationalism and right thinking, and in the cause of truth and justice.—A. Heymoolen, Minn.

WHAT WE NEED is a 10-year plan for the United States to make it what it could be with the elimination of wastes, injustices, cruelties and inefficiencies.

EVERY worker wants a safe and interesting and good-paying job. Is there anything unreasonable about that?

THE PLANS of capitalism are all directed toward the exploitation of the workers.

The Best Time for Propaganda

We want to increase the circulation of The American Freeman because we know—and you know—that its policies and principles are of the most fundamental and far-reaching importance in the crisis which confronts America today. This paper could do a thousand times the good it is doing, if only it had a much larger circulation. We have the greatest opportunity for social propaganda—for telling Americans about the ways and means of making a decent society—for obtaining the most interested audience for our vital messages—and isn't it urgent that we make full use of this opportunity? We are thoroughly active and keen with plans at this end, but we must depend upon our readers for an increased circulation. We depend upon them to be our messengers and introducers to the people of their communities. Show your neighbor, friend, acquaintance, fellow worker a copy of this issue of The Freeman and explain the importance of this paper, its vital program and its unique fearlessness. Get four persons in your community to pay 25 cents for 25 weeks of The American Freeman and send us this club of four, on the following blank, with a dollar. Or if you would prefer you can pay the dollar and put four names on the list for 25 weeks at 25 cents each. Let us have a flood of these clubs of four and it will put new heart and purpose into The Freeman. Use the blank below, which has lines for the names and addresses of the four new readers and a line for the name and address of the sender of the four subs.

Please Use This Blank for a Club of Four Subs

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

I want the influence of The Freeman to be greater and greater in this critical time. I am doing my share by sending in the following club of four subs, at 25c each for 25 weeks.

1 Name	Address
City	State
2 Name	Address
City	State
3 Name	Address
City	State
4 Name	Address
City	State
Name of Sender	Address
City	State