

Hoover, Failing in Relief, Promises the Same Empty Failure

With no scruples about deceiving the people, President Hoover lacks the skill to maneuver such deception. Unfortunately for his own ends, he repeats stubbornly the very tricks which have already been tried and have failed. He makes assertions, promises and prophecies which have been uttered by him more than once in the past two years and which, as often, have been exposed glaringly in their falseness.

Perhaps even the gift of inventiveness, in a political sense—the cleverness of himself or his advisers to contrive some new formula for conjuring away the stern facts of the economic depression—would not rescue Hoover from his dilemma at this late date. Conditions have piled up too terribly and their weight and woe have tried the masses beyond all patience or credulity. It is probable that the most glib suggestions falling from the lips of "the Great Engineer" now would be as wind along the waste.

But this opinion will not be put to the test. Hoover is not clever. He will not suddenly, as if by magic, be transformed into a clever man. He lacks imagination, sympathy and resourcefulness. He seems capable only of clinging to the falsehoods and the futilities of which the people are already desperately tired. He utters a promise, and he fails to make it good; he ignores the failure to make it good, and puts forward the same worthless promise; and continues, blind to his own sterility and ineptitude as he is blind to the basic nature of the economic crisis, to insist, again and again, that his old broken promises

and predictions are still whole and sound and meet to save the nation. Hoover Will Not Face Realities.

This suggests the kind of a man who is incapable of deceiving the public because he is so insidiously, so egotistically facile in deceiving himself. President Hoover is not a realist. He must know what conditions are in America; yet he seems unable truly to realize the significance of conditions and unable or unwilling—perhaps both deficiencies are subtly intertwined—to analyze, to approach or even faintly to perceive the remedies; or, short of remedies that are fundamental, to grasp the necessity of adequate measures of relief which can be applied temporarily to ease a vast mass suffering that shocks the mind of anyone who is even slightly more sensitive—and even so, more realistic—than Herbert Hoover.

The unrealistic, egotistic and futilitarian character of Hoover is illustrated again—and with an emphasis which utterly condemns the man—in his announcement that he will set in motion the very machinery which will prevent suffering this winter. All will be well, says Hoover. Do not worry, he says, the situation is being manfully discussed by him and his colleagues and appropriate measures will be taken to ease the country over the difficulties which will become worse when the cold winds blow and the requirements of food, clothing and shelter for millions of idle worker and their families are intensified.

And what measures are these which President Hoover plays upon, as upon pipes of sweet music, to

allay the concern and charm away the threatened distress of millions? Why! they are the very same measures which President Hoover has talked about for two years and which have failed miserably to solve the problem of relief. They are the identical measures which President Hoover has advised since the beginning of the depression; or, we should explain, since President Hoover was finally forced to admit that there is a depression, which wasn't for about a year after the depression began severely to afflict every corner of the land and every class in the land excepting a very few rich men.

The Tragic Failure of Local Relief.

Last winter there was grim failure in the efforts of private charity organizations, aided by local government bodies, to care for the distressed workers and their families. Senator La Follette obtained reports from more than two hundred cities which showed that local efforts, both private and official, were insufficient to deal with the situation of abnormal poverty in the midst of plenty. The central fact, the tragic fact is that America has tried to meet this crisis of suffering without any efficient, organized, really national plan of relief.

There have been disorganized, superficial, inadequately financed, local efforts. There has been no fully organized national effort—and for the lack of this effort Herbert Hoover must be held chiefly, if not entirely, responsible.

Having failed last winter, when their greatest possible resources were freshly brought to bear upon the

situation, what are the local charities and the local government committees going to do this winter with their resources depleted and the problem enormously greater? The answer, in the perfection of a senseless and irresponsible relief which will fall even more tragically in the face of the winter. It will be—more difficult to collect funds for the private charity organizations. It will be—and it already is—tremendously more difficult for city governments to contribute funds for the purpose of relief.

City after city, has cut down its appropriations and its plans for relief; and this is true of large cities such as Detroit and Los Angeles; in the smaller cities and towns the prospects are as bad or worse. Yet the ability of this widely known inability of the governments to care for the distressed, in the face of such a record of failure and such confessions from every side of lessened ability to meet the strain, President Hoover can do nothing better than repeat his old, futile, false proposal that the suffering of the masses this winter will be relieved by local agencies, by local charities and local governments.

"News" of the Same Old Futility.

Coming from the President, this statement is given big headlines in the daily papers. It is rated as "news." It is the President reassuring the country—and how? He repeats the problem of distress will be solved by relying upon the identical measures that lie broken in fragments

of utter disaster! The President will see that the suffering masses are cared for, by insisting that their sole dependence in the coming winter shall be upon a type of individualistic and irresponsible relief which will fall even more tragically in the face of the winter of the depression.

This is government-by-propaganda with a vengeance. Propaganda and promotional publicity carried Hoover into the White House; and ordinarily such methods might keep him there for a second term of misgovernment, false predictions and broken promises. But the situation is too serious. The nation's economic tragedy cannot be obscured by Hoover's kind of propaganda, which is not even a deceptive sense of the word but is merely the repetition of statements that are known to be silly and false.

Hoover has scandalously failed to grasp with any intelligence or ability to meet with any sympathy and ability the nation's economic crisis; and now the sort of reassurance he offers the people is the statement, delivered ironically as if it were the trumpet of salvation, that he will persist in the stupid, dogmatic attitude which has brought about his failure. Under the headline of saving the nation, the newspapers inform us that Hoover will let the nation save itself, in the clumsiest and least organized way, and that he will place every obstacle in the path of measures really designed for saving—or at least for immediately relieving—the nation.

It is for this reason that we say President Hoover is neither able nor

clever: a truth which millions of Americans have long ago discovered for themselves. A genius may turn failure into success, sometimes; but a genius will not—and a man of ordinary common sense will not—confuse failure with success; most stupid of all is the political charlatan who attempts, again and again, to make the victims of his failure believe that his failure has been successful.

If times were less terrible, if conditions were less urgent, if the results of President Hoover's failure were not so tragic, his persistence in falsehood and futility might be less critically considered by the people. But these are times of extraordinary need, extraordinary discontent and an extraordinary critical temper among the people. The millions who are suffering intensely from the economic crisis, and whose suffering is certain to be worse this winter unless organized national relief measures are applied, are in no mood to bear patiently with President Hoover's repetition of vain words announcing the continuance of his futile attitude.

The masses demand relief, and this demand will be translated into clear and resolute measures of national relief by members of the next Congress who are more realistic and more social-minded than Hoover.

It is this certainty that relief measures will be pressed vigorously in the next session of Congress—it is this prospect of a movement for genuine relief—that frightens Hoover now and prompts him, so clumsily, to reiterate his ragged theme, of local relief. It is a ragged theme,

a theme of hunger and shame, a theme pinched and gaunt and hopeless. Local efforts, no matter how willing and sincere, are too small, too unorganized, too lacking in resources for the relief that is acutely, agonizingly needed during the coming winter.

If Hoover does not know this—or if he refuses to admit it—the fact is plain enough to the suffering masses, to the country at large indeed (for almost the whole country is suffering in some degree) and to a few determined political leaders who will make unemployment insurance and national relief the urgent, leading issue in the next session of Congress.

It is an issue that President Hoover must somehow face; an issue which will be thrust upon him; an issue about which he must make some decision. Characteristically, he does not face the realities of this issue. He will stick to his broken and bleak dogma of individualistic, local effort regardless of the ruinous distress which it signifies for the nation. He can muster no more cleverness, no more ingenuity nor resourcefulness than to echo the echoes of his too often echoed falsehoods and futilities. His words only mean that, so far as he would have it, the country must suffer this winter in the same way as last winter but in worse degree.

President Hoover has no plan of relief excepting a plan—if it could be called a plan—which has failed, which failed notoriously, which has failed beyond hope of reassurance by a brazen or stupid or desperate presidential lie.

Police Third Degree Methods Finally Discovered by Wickersham Commission

The Wickersham commission's lengthy report on third degree methods of cruelty and intimidation used by the police in most American cities is a valuable document, but it cannot be said that the commission's discovery is startling to the public. It may serve to revive public interest in a condition of affairs which has been disgracefully common for years and which has been denounced repeatedly by citizens and groups interested in civilized methods of administering the machinery of law.

Few citizens at all literate and aware in mind have been ignorant of the brutalities which from long use have become almost second nature to the police. The system in general has been exposed time and again; and individual instances of illegal punishment by the police, before prisoners have been tried and found guilty by a jury, have been often sensationalized in the spotlight of momentary protest.

Discovering what has long been known, the Wickersham commission nevertheless brings a needed emphasis upon a condition that is contradictory of the familiar boasts of "law and order"; if emphasis will need to be brought again and again, that is less the fault of the commission than of a public opinion which is not steady nor clear in demanding constitutional rights and humane treatment of accused persons. At least those conservative citizens who are prone to disbelieve and to resent accusations against the authorities, laying such accusations to recent accusations against the authorities, laying such accusations to the malice and alarmism of naturally discontented elements, will be compelled now to alter their tone in view of the weighty official disclosures of the Wickersham commission.

Torture Methods in General Use.

The commission reports that physical brutality, actual torture, illegal holding in jail, deliberately cruel prolonged questionings of accused persons by policemen operating in relays, denial of food or sleep to prisoners so that weakness and hunger will compel them to admit crimes of which often they are innocent, and refusal of counsel to which prisoners are legally entitled are practices customarily employed by the police in cities both large and small.

New York City is found to be particularly bad in its use of the third degree, while Chicago ranks a close second. Other cities in which "law and order" is a hypocritical phrase, reflected actually in the most lawless and disorderly police methods, are, as set forth by the commission: Albany, Birmingham, Buffalo, Camden, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Denver, Detroit, Kansas City, Mo., Kenosha, Wis., Los Angeles, Miami, Newark, New Orleans, Oakland, Calif., Oklahoma City, Philadelphia, Richmond, Va., St. Joseph, Mo., St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle, Waco and Wichita Falls, Texas, Washington, and West Allis, Wis.

These are cities specially investigated by the members of the commission and as they are quite representative it is necessarily concluded that similar conditions exist in virtually all American cities.

From the long commission report a typical close-up may be taken in the description of methods commonly in use by Chicago police: "The methods described as in use in Chicago include the application of rubber hose to the back or the pit of the stomach, kicks in the

shins, beating the shins with a club, blows struck with a telephone book on the side of the victim's head. The Chicago telephone book is a heavy one and a swinging blow with it may stun a man without leaving a mark. [The use of this practice is described by a responsible eye witness of more than one such occurrence.] Other methods stated to be used are suspending a prisoner upside down by handcuffs or manacles and the administration of tear gas. The frequent participation of prosecuting attorneys in the third degree sessions is stated by several informants."

New Social Ideals Needed.

This report on "the lawlessness of the law" serves to underscore the fact that law observance should properly begin at home, so to speak, with the officials charged with enforcing the laws. Disrespect for law among citizens is a natural consequence, not merely of oppressive and unreasonable laws, but of the violation of the laws by police and prosecuting attorneys.

There is a touch of irony in the commission's recommendation that new laws or even a constitutional amendment are needed to stop these practices which are "so violative of the fundamental principles of constitutional liberty." It is rather a puzzle, this supposed virtue of passing new laws to make the police observe laws already in existence. If they violate present laws, who is to assure us that they will not equally violate future laws?

The commission is nearer the point when it urges the need of an aroused public opinion; only we should add that public opinion must be educated and aroused against the whole system of legal, social and economic injustice. We must have a new conception of government, founded on real equality and justice; but this, of course, is not suggested by the commission who, estimable as they may be, are upholders of the established order.

And the police might cynically reply to the Wickersham commissioners that the established order must be upheld by violence, trickery and injustice.

Conservatism—and cowardice—of the commissioners was shown in their refusal to include a discussion of the Mooney-Billings case in their report on "the lawlessness of the law." They alleged, as reason for their slighting of this notorious case, the inability to examine personally the witnesses and the fact that Mooney is now applying for a pardon.

Had Plenty of Mooney Evidence.

The first reason is not at all convincing, in view of the fact that all of the important witnesses against Mooney and Billings have confessed that they were bribed or browbeaten by the San Francisco district attorney into testifying falsely against the labor agitators; that the judge who tried Mooney, the captain of detectives who "worked up" the case, and others intimately associated with the prosecution have admitted that Mooney and Billings were framed; the fact that Osmán, the chief witness who died only a few weeks ago, was implicated in a conspiracy of perjury and was later proved to have been a hundred miles from San Francisco at the time when he swore to having seen Mooney and Billings at the scene of the Preparedness Day explosion in 1916; and the fact that the report of a special commission appointed by President Wilson showed clearly the corruption and viciousness of Fickert, the prosecuting at-

torney who directed the frameup of Mooney and Billings.

The other reason advanced, that Mooney is now asking for a pardon—which he has indeed sought and demanded through all the years of his unjust imprisonment—must be viewed with a sardonic eye. We can only interpret this as meaning the commission did not wish to help Mooney in obtaining justice at this opportune moment. It feared, that is to say, its own prejudice of the case in favor of the victim of injustice.

The conclusive proof of the commission's insincerity with regard to the Mooney-Billings case is the fact that it had before it an exhaustive report, made by special investigators, detailing every feature of this most flagrant frameup of the century. In short, the commission had the facts but refused to publish them. Giving credit for its important revelations, we must severely condemn it for resorting to suppression in the most vital and representative case under its consideration.

Class Prejudice at Work.

We have no doubt about the motive of the commission in suppressing the truth about the Mooney-Billings frameup. The case is too significantly bound up with the class struggle. Mooney and Billings are not ordinary citizens, nor are they members of the criminal classes so-called, who have been abused by the police; but instead they are labor agitators who were persecuted not through the usual animus of the police against outcasts and suspected offenders but through a deliberate and concerted class animus in which leading manufacturers' representatives and labor-hating corporation agents were viciously active.

Our own opinion is that, had Mooney and Billings been ordinary victims of injustice, not marked by any radical philosophy nor hated by powerful members of the ruling class, the Wickersham commission would have given due publicity to the frameup against them. But the motive that led to the frameup of Mooney and Billings, the motive which has kept them in prison fifteen years for a crime they did not commit, worked again with evil facility in persuading the Wickersham commission to suppress the truth—the motive, namely, of class prejudice and fear against labor agitators challenging not merely police brutality and trickery but the entire system of capitalistic misrule, economic and political and legal.

THE WORKERS should blush with shame when leading politicians and capitalist exploiters pay them compliments on their wonderful patience. It is no credit to them that they are patient with injustice, patient with poverty, patient with unemployment, patient with insults and lies and betrayals. We do not advocate violence because it is a merely blind and instinctive way of expressing resentment against conditions. What we do urge upon the workers is a policy of intelligent impatience. They should use the most peaceable, determined and fundamental measures of political and economic revolt with a view to abolishing the system which oppresses them. Under conditions of tyranny, the spirit of freedom is the great virtue and patience is the worst weakness.

IN PERIODS of political revolt, the voters are too often misled by the fallacy of electing "good men" to office. Traits of personal goodness are of lesser moment in public affairs. Sound measures, not good men, are needed. And the man who sincerely advocates sound measures is, in politics and economics, the good man whom the voters should endorse, not for his personality, but for his principles.

"Destroy Crops!" Is Slogan of Economic Insanity and Failure Under Capitalism

The economic insanity of capitalism has been fully confessed and declared by the United States government. This confession is significant in the federal farm board's insistence that southern American farmers shall destroy one-third of their cotton crops.

The farm board, quoting by rote from the dogma of capitalist economics, says that there is too much cotton this year; that this cotton cannot be used; but must be destroyed; that such an immense program of destruction will raise the price of cotton and thus assure the cotton farmers a better income from the 1931 crop.

This is the most amazing demand ever made by a government body. Private agencies have long practiced the destruction of alleged surplus supplies for the sake of boosting prices. It is an old method of capitalism—and a method of madness from a social point of view, although immediately beneficial to the anti-social, crazy idiosyncrasy of the capitalist class—the deliberate destruction of the products of nature and labor—is proposed seriously, sensationally and as a last desperate resort of bankrupt capitalism by the board which conveys the official policy of the United States government with regard to agriculture.

The details of this vast scheme of waste are not clearly explained by the farm board. It has no means of making sure that all cotton farmers will join equally in this campaign of destruction. It is not able to guarantee even that the farmers will benefit by higher prices in proportion to the amount of crops they destroy. It has no counsel for next year, and the following years, except that the farmers shall plant less wheat, cotton and other "surplus" crops—or that, year after year, they shall toil to produce these crops and then destroy a large part of them.

Workers Need Cotton Goods.

Assuming that the price of cotton could be thus temporarily raised—and the scheme will encounter obvious difficulties in the carrying out—what is to be said of the farm board's proposal from the broader social point of view? The fact is that the workers in America and every other country are poorly supplied with clothing, that they are far from the point of consuming cotton goods equal to their necessities.

Under capitalism, cotton on the farm cannot be fully used to produce cotton fabrics; cotton fabrics which are produced cannot be fully consumed by the people, who of vast numbers go ragged in the midst of a cotton "surplus"; machinery for the production of cotton goods cannot be kept running fully, which again means unemployment and raggedness for the workers.

The real failure of the system of private ownership is shown in its inability to function in the fair and full distribution of commodities. It cannot get needed supplies to the people, although these supplies are produced in abundance—in overabundance, says the farm board. With capitalism powerless to distribute commodities, this capitalist agency has no other solution than to propose that this wealth be destroyed. And the farm board wants this insane destruction to be hastened. One-third of the cotton crop, it says, should be destroyed by September 15.

With millions suffering the worst poverty in years, going without food

and clothing, the federal farm board solemnly, officially declares that we have too much cotton.

The Problem of Distribution.

Can anything more clearly expose the error of the capitalistic idea that "private initiative" is needed to create wealth? Instead we see, cruelly clear to us, that "private initiative"—the system, praised so loudly by President Hoover—can only function, in such a crisis, by destroying wealth.

Neither farmers nor city workers can be aided by this insanity. It is a laborer disquisition to prove that an economic system which leads to waste and destruction is fundamentally opposed to the sound principles of prosperity. The farm board is not solving the agricultural problem; it is destroying or proposing to destroy the crops which constitute the immediate problem, thereby emphasizing the real and greater problem of obtaining fair distribution for the wealth which is created in abundance.

Now it is not enough to say that capitalism is on trial. It has been tried. It has been found wanting. It has condemned itself as a mad and monstrous failure. Let the people turn to the building of a cooperative economic system which will steadily produce wealth and distribute such wealth fully and justly among the people.

POWER TRUST LOBBY BACK OF HOOVER MUSCLE SHOALS TRICK

Heavy lobbying by the power trust in Alabama and Tennessee was the method of getting legislation in those states for the joint commission on the Muscle Shoals government dam and power works. The commission, which was illegal as Congress alone has the right to determine what shall be done with Muscle Shoals, was composed of nine members, appointed by President Hoover and by the governors of Alabama and Tennessee.

Every one of the nine had a plain record of antagonism to government operation. Eight of the members had prominently assisted in the fight on the Norris bill for government operation. It was a prejudiced commission, and it was no surprise when recently the commission announced that it was prepared to consider bids from private companies for the operation of this valuable power site.

Judson King, veteran head of the Popular Government League with headquarters in Washington, D. C., has exposed the machinations of the power trust in putting over this Muscle Shoals trick, with its colossal design of grabbing an enterprise into which the United States government has put millions of dollars.

The Alabama Power Company (a part of the power trust) and the Alabama farm Bureau, working hand in glove with the power trust, lobbied the illegal commission measure through the Alabama legislature, while a similar lobby swung the deal before the Tennessee legislature. In Washington, President Hoover served the power trust, which means that he has continually schemed to help the power trust grab not only the 765,000 horsepower development at Muscle Shoals but all of the Tennessee River basin with 6,600,000 horsepower that can be developed in the future.

Upon this prize the power trust has greedily concentrated its efforts for over a decade; and Hoover has taken the side of this growing and

grasping trust against the interests of the people.

Sent by Hoover to deliver government greeting to this illegal Muscle Shoals commission, Secretary of War Hurley sought to throw the mantle of militant patriotism over the power trust raid upon the public domain. "I am here in behalf of the President," he said, "to confer with you and offer the full cooperation of the war department or any other branch of the government which might think necessary to call upon for assistance in your solution of the problem. . . . The men who looked down the beads of their rifles during the World War and trained them on the enemy were neither Democrats nor Republicans. They were Americans." Thus again does a high government official bring patriotism to the defense of plunder and the betrayal of the people for the advantage of an extortionate monopoly. Branding this as the grossest political fakery, Judson King says: "Secretary Hurley is already brandishing the World War rifle, just as his northern brethren once waved the 'bloody shirt.' And for what? In order that the power trust may grab Muscle Shoals and the whole Tennessee River basin and dominate the price of electric power throughout the United States, in return for campaign contributions and political support of the Republican machine and its Democratic allies."

The importance of the Muscle Shoals plant is emphasized by the difference between the 1.9 cent rate for electric power in Ontario province in Canada, where a publicly owned company distributes power, and the 10-cent rate charged by power trust companies in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals. The power trust wants to keep up its exorbitant rates and this would be seriously handicapped if Muscle Shoals were operated by the government at a low rate for users of electric power.

WHAT IS radicalism? It is the determination to end social evils rather than temporize with them or try vainly to make them seem tolerable. It is a basic attack upon social evils by removing their causes. It is furthermore and more broadly an understanding of the important truth that progress demands the rejection of outworn, ineffective methods of social life for new and modern methods that will fit modern conditions. Those who call themselves progressive but deny the term radical are using language deceptively. It is the radical who is the true progressive. For progress requires the vision and the courage of large, decisive, fundamental measures of social change.

IS IT RIGHT that the workers should be the victims rather than the beneficiaries of mechanical progress? This victimization results from the fact that the workers do not own the machines, that society does not own the machines, but that these great mechanical instruments are selfishly owned by capitalists and are used (or kept idle) for their private profit. We are radical enough to believe that machinery should serve the race in the widest extent of social usefulness and that to achieve this ideal social ownership is necessary.

IT TO BE conservative means to conserve, what are we to say of the man who calls himself a conservative while defending this industrial system of, appalling waste, destruction and tragic mismanagement?

THE RADICAL is one who believes that the men and women who do the work of the world should enjoy the fruits of their labor.

VICTIMS OF PEACE FALL IN THE DEADLY TOIL AT BOULDER DAM

Peace has its tragedies only less terrible than those of war. A severe example of the destructive and oppressive processes of capitalism in peaceful times is furnished by the suffering, exploitation and mortality rate at Boulder Dam in Nevada.

The workers at the dam, which is being constructed by a private company although the project is a public improvement, toil in temperatures ranging as high as 120 to 140 degrees. There have been many deaths from this intense heat.

Others die from dysentery caused by poisoning from meat in the lunches, which quickly become spoiled in the heat. These lunches are carried by the workers to the scene of their labor in paper sacks or tin boxes. It is thought that preservatives put into the meat may have a great deal to do with its bad effect upon the workers' health.

Accidents multiply these working victims of capitalism, who are as dead as if they had been killed in battle. When a group of workers was called back too soon after a dynamite blast, eleven were killed in the delayed explosion. A number of workers have been killed when ropes, on which they were being lowered into the canyon, broke and sent them crashing far below.

With all these dangers and bad treatment, the workers are mercilessly exploited. Board costs \$1.50 a day. Ten cents a day is charged as a hospital fee. Ten days' work on the dam makes the worker liable to a \$3 poll tax by the state of Nevada.

The worker has about \$2 a day after paying these charges. Out of this \$2 a day he must get his clothing and amusements, cigarettes and small necessities—and if he is married, support his family.

Most of the wages are paid in scrip which must be spent at stores maintained by the company building the dam. No competitive stores are permitted near the dam, and the company stores charge excessive prices. The dam workers have to drink river water or artesian water brought from Las Vegas, N. Mex., and sold at the rate of fifteen cents for five gallons.

There is no accommodation for the families of married workers, who simply camp out in the desert. Bunkhouses are not ventilated and the workers find sleep difficult in the desert heat.

Thousands of unemployed workers are camped around the dam for miles, and along roads leading to the dam, hoping to get the oppressive and dangerous jobs abandoned by the workers, who are leaving constantly at the rate of three percent a day; this means that about once a month the working force is completely changed. Few workers can stand the cruel ordeal; yet other workers are ready to take their places and in their turn become victims of the industrial Moloch which has the fierce, ruthless aspect of the military Mars.

Boulder Dam is a battlefield, where men die as wage slaves rather than as soldiers. They are the victims not merely of nature—for there are natural conditions which can be remedied but are not. More largely they are the victims of exploiters who are more interested in profits than in the welfare of the workers out of whose toil and hardships and deaths these profits are ground remorselessly.

These workers would probably be only faintly interested in a discussion of the relative chances of peace and war.

English Capitalism in a Crisis of Social Collapse

Amid the dramatic and unexpected events of the latest change of government in England, the fact which stands out as most important is that capitalism—in yet another great country—has been forced into a sensational, stark admission of social-economic failure. Ramsey MacDonald's right-about-face, while personally interesting and to a degree surprising, impresses us less profoundly than conditions which underlie it, the events which gave it significance, and the meaning of the choice which, at the summit of his career, MacDonald has made; the schism in the Labor party, with the overwhelming majority against MacDonald and his few compromising colleagues, is simply the drawing away of the conservative element in the party at a time when they are not quite able to face radical issues in the temper of Labor statesmanship.

We do not say that Labor statesmanship—that the principles of social welfare as against the motives of private greed which determine the course of capitalism—should immediately triumph in England. In any case the Labor government was compelled to surrender its limited power and its formal responsibility for the discharge of government; it held such power as it had only through the alliance with the Liberal party; it was not a majority government.

But it seems to us that MacDonald's duty as leader of the Labor party was to stand by the principles of that party, because those principles are right and because a desertion of them, however sincere personally MacDonald may be, is a failure to hold to the vision of social responsibility.

Workers Must Suffer More
Boiled down, the action of MacDonald means that in this crisis of capitalism he is willing to support the view that the mass of unemployed workers should bear the greater burden of suffering. They have already borne this greater burden, but MacDonald and those who left the Labor party with him are agreeing that these submerged workers must bear a still greater burden than for years they have miserably borne.

The issue in England was essentially simple, perhaps not for a political but for a courageous social-minded leader who would rather be defeated in supporting the right than win politically for the moment by a compromise which indeed is more like a surrender. The issue in England was whether wealth and privilege and even moderate incomes should be called on to pay additional taxes for the support of England's millions of unemployed workers—whether, in short, those who have should give more for those who have not—or whether these unemployed millions, already barely existing on the so-called "dole," should be dropped to something less than an existence.

Compromises were attempted, conservatives and liberals resisting tax increases to make up the \$600,000,000 deficit and the Labor government yielding as far as it could but the majority holding out for the maintenance of unemployment insurance benefits on the present scale, low enough in all conscience. The conservatives and liberals, representing not only the wealthy but the middle classes, said in effect: "Don't ask us to pay any more; let us keep all that we have; and let the jobless workers have less."

It was said that capital was leaving England or was threatening to leave if higher taxes were imposed. That is to say, capitalists, especially foreign capitalists with English investments, declared that unless they were assured of the profits and dividends they are now getting they would withdraw their financial support from English industries.

In a country where millions, willing but unable to work, are kept from downright destitution only by government employment insurance which in turn requires in these extraordinary times much higher taxes, spokesmen of capitalism held this monstrously selfish threat over the English government.

Patriotism and Profits
As we say, MacDonald could not keep the Labor party in power under these circumstances; but what he could do was to let a frankly capitalist government take the responsibility for this anti-social attitude of capitalism and, still as the leader of an uncompromising Labor party, place the issue before the English people. That would have been his course had MacDonald remained clearly true to his principles of social justice. By agreeing to head a so-called national government, MacDonald yielded for the time at least and at a very critical time his social principles and, according to his own explanation, placed patriotism before the principles of his party.

But what is this patriotism—or what are the principles—which he has sacrificed in the name of patriotism? Seen without any illusion, this patriotism is a defense of English capitalism in its demand that the present profit structure shall be maintained without further taxation for the benefit of the unemployed. It is a "patriotic" support of the view, that there should be "equal sacrifices from all" (a slogan used by all parties in the recent controversy but with different meanings), but that the masses of unemployed labor should sacrifice yet more and that the wealthy and the middle classes should be called on for no additional sacrifices.

MacDonald has not exchanged a class point of view for a national point of view. He has chosen to defend the interests of the wealthy and middle classes against the interests of the working class with its millions of unemployed. We do not say that he has consciously taken this position, that he puts it to him-

self in this way. Probably he believes that he is trying to save England and taking the only course that will save England. But what is he actually trying to save except English capitalism and how can his ideal of saving England, granting its sincerity in his own mind, be reconciled with the fact that he is sacrificing to a degree the millions of unemployed workers in this plan of salvation?

Sacrifices Are Not Equal
The principal, indeed the sole, business of the new national government is to balance the budget and to save the deficit of \$600,000,000. In doing this the principal, and it seems the sole, device is to cut down the payments of unemployed relief and other social-welfare expenditures. Unemployment insurance, as we understand the matter, will be continued but on a smaller scale.

What does this mean except that these poor, miserable workers, denied the opportunity to work, are now to be denied less opportunity—not to live, for years they have not done that—but to exist? Equal sacrifices? No, indeed. True to capitalist policy, the tremendous sacrifice is to be piled upon the working class which has ever since the World War been compelled to make sacrifices infinitely greater and more severe than any other class in England.

There is plenty of wealth in England; but capitalist statesmen insist that this wealth shall not be further taxed—and MacDonald has taken the side of these capitalist statesmen. There are large incomes and comfortable incomes in England; but in this social crisis MacDonald has joined in and now leads the refusal to demand from these incomes a larger contribution to the welfare of the workers who are idle through no fault of their own.

If saving England were genuinely the ideal—in a spirit of high patriotism with no selfish motive—would not all be willing to share somewhat equally in the burdens of this depression? Would not the wealthy and middle classes in England agree to have less in order that the unemployed workers should be able to keep up at least their present rigidly minimum standard of existence (not living)?

But not this patriotism is a policy of keeping up the profits of the capitalists and protecting good incomes and private properties at the expense of the most abused class in English society. It is the kind of selfishness and the degree of selfishness which appears extraordinarily shameful and even tragic, from a social point of view, in the midst of such a crisis.

Capitalism Caused the Crisis
The reality of the crisis none can doubt. We can only point out the nature of the crisis: that it is the failure of capitalism in England. It is due to the capitalist World War and the capitalist depression. And in this crisis the only thing which the leaders of capitalism can do or are willing to do is to let the worst victims of the failure suffer still more; is to make the greatest burden fall still more heavily upon those who can least afford to bear it; is to admit that capitalist government, with capitalist industry, is not equal to the task of caring for its workers—that it will not even grant them a so-called "dole" equal to that which they have been receiving.

In short, capitalist government in England is confessing most conspicuously its social failure, its unwillingness to accept the full economic responsibilities of government so far as the welfare of the unemployed workers is concerned, its inability or its strong disinclination to place even to a necessary degree and temporarily the motive of social welfare above the motive of private profit. England spends more than half a billion dollars a year on military and naval armaments—practically equal to the sum of the deficit. Billions in profits go each year to English capitalists and to foreign capitalists with investments in England. Some millions each year are required to keep up the parasitic show of royalty. All these drains upon English wealth are possible under capitalism, but it is not admitted as possible that England can continue the present benefits to the unemployed workers.

Faced with the crisis of war, England was quite able and moved promptly to take charge of the industries for war purposes. England could produce materials for destruction and she could run enormously into debt for the ends of destruction. In this crisis of unemployment and industrial collapse, why should not MacDonald as leader of the Labor party demand that England take over the industries and run them for peaceful instead of warlike purposes?

If the English industries were socialized, they could be made self-supporting for the English people as a whole. All could live by them, though a few could not take huge profits. If MacDonald were not so fearful enough to carry through this policy, he should at least have urged it as the statesmanlike solution of England's crisis.

The Social Responsibility
As matters stand, MacDonald and his new national government will face the strong opposition of the majority of the Labor party, which will fight to the last against cutting down unemployment insurance for the sake of maintaining the private profit structure which saps the major share of English wealth.

It is truly, in England as in all other capitalist countries, a conflict between profits and the right to live for the workers. It is not as if, even with the present unemployment benefits, the jobless workers of England were being pampered. They get a pittance and no more; enough

for the merest animal requirements of food and shelter; at the best they are merely kept alive; and now the policy of capitalist England, sponsored as it is by the first Labor prime minister of England, is to cut down to a yet lower point the already drastically reduced standard of existence of millions of English workers.

Many of these workers lived through four years of hell in the World War; few of them but had near relatives, also victimized workers, wounded or killed in the trenches of capitalist warfare. Now their country (their country ironically but really the capitalists' country) cannot provide employment for them.

There is no question that the great majority of unemployed English workers are eager to apply their labor power to the earning of a decent livelihood; we should know this by the average of human nature and we know, furthermore, that the English system of unemployment benefits very carefully guards against malingering and mere wilful idleness. No, with few exceptions the millions of English workers who are shut out from industry are not eager to work; but capitalist industry and a capitalist government will not let them work.

In such a situation, what reasonable and humane man can deny that it is the duty of the English government to see that these workers who are forcibly unemployed shall at least be kept from destitution, that they shall at least be assured a continuance of the poor enough standard of existence which they have under the system of unemployment benefits which now it is declared purpose of MacDonald to reduce his new hybrid ministry to the bare necessities? But this has been a favorite excuse with politicians, including the late W. J. Bryan.

America's Need Is the Same

What we here say about the responsibilities of government in England applies with the full cogency of criticism to the responsibilities of government in the United States. The difference is that America is a richer country with a richer government than England and will thus face less difficulty in supporting a plan of unemployment insurance.

We have still a long way to go in America before taxation of large incomes is nearly as high as in England. And here, as in England, the voice of conscience and of truth cries aloud that workers who are kept up at least their present rigidly minimum standard of existence (not living)?

It is simply a question of whether mass suffering in America is to be relieved on a scale and with measures proportionate to the suffering—or whether President Hoover and his group of anti-social charlatans and exploiters are to succeed in keeping the great machinery of the federal government out of action with regard to relief, when only such action can prevent the most appalling misery throughout the country in the coming winter.

Our government spends nearly a billion dollars a year for military and naval armaments. Billions and billions in profits, dividends and interest are poured yearly into the treasure houses of the amazingly rich who, few in number, own America with the grasp of a relentless and insatiably greedy ownership.

If the government of America—if the capitalist system of America—is not rich enough to take care of the ten million idle workers and their families, then this government and this system is not worthy to survive. The capitalist system is indeed not organized to give prosperity to the masses, not organized for real social needs, not organized for the efficient purposes of civilization and humanity. A new society must be born out of the pain and error of this decadent system, and we hope that the process of birth will be an intelligent process of social change.

An Imperative Social Duty
Meanwhile, our capitalist government is rich enough and is fully able to sponsor a system of unemployment insurance and immediate relief which will prevent the most extreme suffering this winter. Foes of social welfare will use England's situation as an argument against employment insurance in this country; but their argument will not be just nor logical, as it will be founded on an entire and deliberate misrepresentation of the state of affairs in England.

Even from a capitalist point of view, we think that the rulers of England are making a mistake; that they may be inviting social revolution; that beyond a certain point the endurance of the masses will snap and that disastrous events will ensue. With so much iron in the latest turn of events in England, another irony may be that MacDonald, throwing aside Labor statesmanship, may be unintentionally doing more to hasten the social revolution than he could do by years of his erstwhile parliamentary, political tactics.

But whatever errors England makes, the friends of social justice and decent humanity in America will continue without pause to insist upon the quick establishment of unemployment relief in this country. Even in England the government does not propose and would not dare completely to abandon its system of unemployment insurance; it is only proposed to cut down the benefits—a serious enough proposal and one which, when every fact is considered, appears plainly unjustifiable—yet in this there is no legitimate argument for the American opponents of unemployment insurance.

Will Americans endorse the view that their government should let millions of workers starve or suffer extremely rather than apply federal relief in this emergency? The assertion that private charity and local agencies can take care of the situation is the most cruel and heartless pretense. It failed to do so last winter and its failure this winter will be tragically worse.

The federal government must act. The dogmatic, dictatorial inhumanity of Hoover, who would have the unemployed workers suffer the last full harsh measure of punishment of the failure of capitalist leadership, must be overcome by Congress in response to the pitiful, crisis-inspired, fateful appeals of the people.

Let Andy Mellon and his rich friends turn loose from large amounts of their ill-gotten profits in order that millions of honest, industrious but forcibly disemployed workers shall be kept decently alive throughout this terrible winter. And if capital threatens a strike, as it has threatened in England (they driving Ramsay MacDonald into the army of capital), let the government of the United States be overwhelmed with an immense and intense national demand that it take charge of the industries and run them for the benefit of the people.

This would be very unpleasant for Hoover and for Mellon and for the profiteering capitalists—but in this crisis let us not make the mistake of placing these interests above the tremendously urgent and absolutely just interests of the people. Popular government—yes, that is what we demand; therefore we move directly against the policies of Hoover and the anti-social system of Hooverism. We move thus by what we regard as the shortest and most practical route, namely, an appeal to the American people. Let the people rule—and let the people live!

GLEANINGS

BY J. G. C.
No MORE insulting words could be said of the great rank and file of the people than that "The people have just as good a government as they deserve." But this has been a favorite excuse with politicians, including the late W. J. Bryan.

THE APATHY of the people in going to the polls is one of the direct results of our methods of election. They realize that most important elections are decided before nominations are made. In the case of a President, the clique that rules, and ruins, chooses a candidate to win and another to lose. But when a majority get tired of this game of "heads I win, tails you lose," they will put an end to it.

WAR preparations are going on, despite the "Armament Reduction" and "Peace Pacts." These are the smoke screens with which people are blinded to the true conditions. This coming war, unless the people succeed in checking it, will be a "holy" war, like those of the past. It will be to save "democracy," "civilization" or "Christianity." It will be directed against Russia and a war to the death against all people in every land who dare to raise voice against the cliques of money-lords who rule most of the earth.

THE people of Russia suffered ages of slavery and misery under the czars. In 1917 they succeeded in abolishing czar government and setting up a soviet of labor. Eight million Russians had been killed by the combined German and Allied armies. Russia had the care of the mothers, widows and children of these dead, she had been drained of all available wealth by the czar government, and she had to fight off the invading armies of Christian nations. Yet today there is less unemployment and destitution in Russia than in any other nation. And Russia has offered to lead in the abandonment of armaments.

ALL who want peace should work for it now. After war is once declared, prisons and jails will be filled with those who would dare show up the plots of the money-lords. Work for peace and for representative government. Those who stopped the wheels of the currency now calling in money to throw the nations into war as a means of starting industry and piling up more profits and more power. Yet peaceful activities may furnish employment better than war. Peace is the world's best hope.

THE NATION has been drained of its currency, or medium of exchange, by the clique of rulers. It was their big step toward forcing the nations into a war against Russia. Had we a Congress of and by the people, an issue of currency such as was used to finance the Civil War would check the power of the gold owners and again start industry and industry to upbuild instead of to ruin.

IS IT too radical for us to demand that the industries should be run steadily so that the workers can always have the opportunity to produce wealth and to enjoy the wealth which they produce? We think that this radicalism is an expression of social sanity and we are glad to have it examined critically in comparison with the present social insanity which disrupts the industrial system, throws millions out of work and imposes poverty in the midst of plenty.

THE FREEMAN proposes radical measures because in this crisis humanity faces radical issues not needs. Petty half-measures will not be helpful. Bold and thorough changes are required. We must indeed substitute a workable system for a system that has sensationally proved its failure to work for the common good.

THE COMMON people are the victims of war. They have everything to lose and nothing to gain by war. War is always against their interests, never for their interests. They should unite to abolish war and, as the basic means to that end, abolish the war-making system.

AMERICA has changed so much from the ideals of earlier democracy that nowadays a man is considered a radical if he believes in free speech.

UNMASK all hypocrites!

RESIST all attacks on liberty!

YES. Hooverism is depressing.

SPEAK boldly against injustice!

CAPITALISM is super-exploitation.

THE PEOPLE should own America.

G.O.P. Slogan: Starve with Hoover.

Don't be silent when wrong is done!

CHALLENGE the betrayers of mankind!

NEVER cease warring against shams!

IMPOVERISHED workers cannot make a great nation.

EVERY jobless worker is an indictment of capitalism.

TARIFF battles are skirmishes leading to major wars.

EVERY strike is a proof that the workers are outcasts.

SOCIALISM advocates cooperation for the common good.

THE SOPHISTRIES of capitalism do not gild its tragedies.

UNDER CAPITALISM, the worker's penny earned is a penny lost.

PEACE treaties are sad delusions in the midst of economic war.

THE AMERICAN FREEMAN demands a high income tax on the rich.

BE RADICAL enough to take your stand on the side of social justice.

CAPITALISM helps the workers by taking from them the burden of wealth.

THE AMERICAN FREEMAN believes in production for use and not for profit.

OUR political democracy is a farce unless we have industrial democracy as well.

THE WORKER can show the greatest heroism by defending the rights of his class.

CONDITIONS will improve when the workers learn to organize for their own interests.

POVERTY is no disgrace but a system that creates poverty is a disgraceful system.

GOOD MEN? There are plenty of good men, but they cannot function well under a bad system.

THERE is something very wrong with the character or the intellect of a man who is not a radical in the presence of monstrous, unjust and insane social conditions.

WE ARE frankly radical in believing that wrong conditions should be not covered up nor prolonged nor hastily, superficially patched but that they should be abolished.

WE DO NOT wish to die for our principles. We wish to live for the triumph of these principles and so that these principles can assure a fuller, freer life for all mankind.

OH, YES, Andy Mellon knows what a radical is; namely, any man who believes that the rich should pay a higher income tax. Andy himself is not radical, far from it. He believes that the rich should keep their enormous fortunes and that the masses should suffer.

RADICALISM should not be confused with violence. The capitalist system is violent in forcing misery and struggle and death upon the workers. The radical labors for a system of social peace and justice. He wants to free mankind or to persuade mankind to free itself from the violent conditions of capitalism.

THE VERY men who are afraid to be known as radical and who feel ashamed at the imputation of radicalism are not afraid nor ashamed to defend economic conditions which are terribly wrong and which are infinitely more disastrous actually today and not theoretically in the future, than all the so-called "evils" of radicalism could possibly be.

A WORKER who is starving is not a radical simply because he demands something to eat at the moment. He is a radical if he demands a social organization that will assure him permanently the right to work and eat and enjoy the fruits of his labor. Isn't there a great deal lacking in the intelligence or self-respect of a worker who is not thus radical?

THERE ARE many quacks who would apply this or that treatment to the symptoms of social distress. Such treatments beyond counting have been proposed and applied in the past, yet the distressing "symptoms" continually reappear. It is time to deal with causes, to remove the fundamental social injustice which is always bringing forth the symptoms of distress. But that is radicalism. Well, is it any less sensible for all that? One should not be frightened at a word.

WE DO NOT believe that a worker can be too radical. He may be unintelligently rebellious. He may protest in ways that are violent and superficial and, so far as the real social problem is concerned, actually futile. But the worker who is radical, genuinely and completely, does not insist that the root cause of social injustice—namely, the private ownership of the means of wealth—shall be abolished and that upon the foundation of cooperative ownership a system of social justice shall be firmly created. This is radicalism which cannot be too loudly proclaimed nor insisted upon too strongly.

WORKERS MUST NOT BE DECEIVED

BY GEORGE H. SHOAF

The workers must not permit themselves to be seduced or bulldozed into fighting each other for the benefit and profit of the owning or master classes, either in this country or abroad. Neither must the workers allow themselves to be provoked into violence. Sporadic outbreaks by unarmed and unorganized workers, ignorant both of the economics and the objective of revolution, would play directly into the hands of the masters of capitalism, and would be fatal to unity of understanding and thoroughness of orderly preparation, factors absolutely essential to working class success. Conditions this coming winter are going to depress and exasperate and try the workers as they were never tried before. Their natural and instinctive desire will be to fight; but whom and for what are matters about which they should have positive knowledge.

Every honest thinker quite readily admits that the capitalist system is breaking down, and that to continue its lease on life war is imperative. Peace talk by the authorized agents of capitalism is regarded by informed thinkers as buncombe; peace conferences are fraudulent in conception and always are barren results. Every nation is preparing for war, and every nation is expecting war. France and Italy are ready to fight for larger spheres of influence in Africa. France would like to have an excuse for the re-occupation of Germany. There is not a nation south of the Rio Grande but would jump at the opportunity to invade the United States with military aggression. Despite their protestations of friendship, Great Britain and the United States would unhesitatingly devastate the earth in a bloody scramble for territories to exploit. There are just two things which are holding the nations back: first, the fear of possible revolution in their homelands; second, their common fear of Soviet Russia. Probably the second of these obsessions is more pronounced than the first.

Russia Favors Peace
Strange as it may appear to the profit mongers of the capitalist world, Soviet Russia is the only nation that wants peace and dreads war. At every conference called to discuss peace invariably the Soviet representatives have stood the capitalist delegates on their heads in their strenuous advocacy of measures demanding immediate and complete universal disarmament. And every time the capitalist delegates hedged and disclosed the true purpose of the conferences, which were not to end war, but to prepare for it.

There are reasons for this. The workers of Russia have accomplished their revolution. They now actually possess their country and its resources and they have established the rule of the working class. They make no pretense to having inaugurated the full regime of communism; they now are in the full swing of activity energetically laying the basic industrial foundations whereon will be erected the communistic superstructure. Their social engineers, the finest on earth, have planned an integrated internal economy which the workers are putting through to completion, and which was devised for the common good. Above all things, what the Russian workers now desire is an era of uninterrupted peace in which to finish the work commenced.

If the Soviet experiment succeeds, and it threatens mightily to succeed, unquestionably the example of Soviet success will become infectious. The fact that today the Soviet authorities are hiring every competent mechanic and technical engineer they can get from foreign countries, and are actually short two million workers in their construction and engineering departments, while ten million Americans are unemployed and starving, constitutes a situation which cannot be ignored. Already thousands of the millions of starving unemployed in capitalist nations are turning to Soviet Russia as a home of hope. The rapid movement of Europe rapidly are going communistic, and the workers of America who have heard the communistic message are sitting up and taking notice. The world for the workers—the battler of communism—is a slogan which is finding ready response on the part of every worker whose eyes are open and who feels the consciousness of his class.

The Danger of Capitalist War
The real danger today is that Soviet peace will be broken by capitalist war. Too much emphasis cannot be given this statement. The implications of it, clearly expressed, should be drilled into the inner consciousness of every man and woman of labor until the workers of America and the world will recoil with horror from the prospect. The Russian workers do not want war. They want peace; and they are prepared to make every reasonable sacrifice for its preservation.

Never since capitalism emerged from feudalism has an economic crisis been more universal, prolonged or acute than the present. In the beginning the big men of industry and finance, blind to the laws of social evolution, announced that the depression would be lightly felt and that its duration would be short. The "Great Engineer" in the American White House, even more ignorant than his millionaire associates, blandly declared that prosperity would be resumed within six months. The third winter of our discontent is now approaching, and the end of the depression is not in sight. In fact, according to the private admissions of noted economists, it looks like the bottom had fallen from the capitalist system and that the consequent hiatus is steadily widening and deepening. Nearly everybody is now agreed that an early return to prosperous times is impossible.

Marxian students of the social process were not surprised at the breakdown; in fact they expected it, and in advance gave scientific reasons for its arrival. They under-

stood the nature of capitalism, and the laws which underlie and govern capitalist development. They do not hold Hoover responsible for the industrial and financial collapse any more than they would have blamed Smith, had that gentleman been elected President. An adequate presentation of the laws and an explanation of the reasons behind the present depression cannot be given in a paragraph, but they should be made known to every person who thinks and who is interested in his own and his country's welfare.

The World Must Have Peace
What is needed more than anything else today is not war but peace. For their own good the nations of capitalism need peace. The beneficiaries and victims of the capitalist system need an era of peace throughout this depression in order that they might stew in their own and respective juices. Many upholders and defenders of capitalism already are having their illusions dispelled; they are beginning to see the folly and lack of logic involved in the philosophy of rugged individualism; they are being brought with a shock to face the realities of things; and a few are opening their minds to the luxury of thought. From the crisis thoughtful men and women must come. The very situation itself will produce thinkers; and when enough thinkers, bent on social change, unite, action for the good of humankind may follow. War would mean merely a temporary escape from the necessity of solving the problems of capitalism. It would also end fundamental thinking. The conclusion of an international war would not necessarily bring to an end the capitalist system and the inauguration through revolution, of the cooperative commonwealth, of international war might end in international catastrophe.

During the present reign of peace it is imperative that the facts of the depression be gotten over to the working classes. Naturally enough the publicity agencies of capitalism are suppressing or distorting the facts. Many things are happening daily which the people should know but which the capitalist press is killing with silence. The workers are the most numerous and the most important factors in the total population of this and every other country. If war comes they will have to do the fighting. If war is avoided it is because workers, intelligent and aroused, will refuse to fight. It is to reason with them and persuade them to refuse to fight that these words are written.

Gradually, as the crisis heightens and distress grows universal, social rebellion will increase among the masses of the people. Within recent weeks a changing attitude is beginning to be perceptible. Here and there a murmur of discontent is heard where a month ago the situation apparently was serene. Many persons of education and refinement, who two years ago enjoyed well-paying, white-collared jobs, but now are walking the streets, are asking themselves and others the reasons for the depression and the fact that mine workers and farmers in certain sections are growing with a disposition to show their teeth. These people are ripe for the radical message. They should be reached, and that immediately, with pamphlets and papers written by economists and social scientists who are competent to interpret the breakdown of capitalism. They should not be left to the tender mercies of the hired agents of plutocracy who will misinform and misquote them to their ruin.

Workers Should Not Fight Workers
Why should the workers of Italy fight the workers of France? The cause of the workers in both countries is the same. In both countries they are the victims of exploitation because all of them live under the capitalist system. Instead of fighting each other, they should unite and overthrow the system which has despoiled them to the verge of destitution. Why should the workers of America fight the workers of Great Britain? In both countries they are robbed by master classes and in both countries they are being ground into the dregs of poverty.

There is no earthly reason why enmity should exist between the workers of the two countries, but there is every reason why the workers of the two countries should unite to destroy the social, economic and political system that threatens to drive them to war upon each other. Who should the black and yellow workers in the United States or anywhere else dislike or wish to fight their white fellow workers, and why should the white workers hold prejudice against their black and yellow brethren? They are all workers alike.

Under the capitalist system they work together. On the job there are no social or race discriminations. They are subject to the orders of the same boss. They are hired alike, fired alike, and together they starve while looking for a job.

Why should the workers of the capitalist world join in an onslaught upon the workers of Soviet Russia? The interests of all workers are identical irrespective of race or residence; they have one common enemy—the capitalist system.

In this crisis the workers must not permit themselves to be deceived. The world war was fought by the workers for the benefit and preservation of the owning and ruling classes. The only war for democracy that can be fought now or in the future is the one that must be waged by the workers of the world against the master classes of the world. The only holy war that should draw to the colors the workers of the world is that which the workers must fight for the common ownership of the world. And the finest and most effective weapons of combat the workers can use are those of orderly agitation and education and organization.

ELECT The Freeman editor to the United States Senate and make The Freeman's policies count in national legislation.

Freeman Army

A Reader, Minn., sends a club of 30.
A. G. Hammer, Alaska, whoops things with a club of 25.
J. H. Costello, Calif., sends \$2 under Method No. 3.
Simon Ferguson, Mo., orders four sub cards.
A. J. Brown, Calif., sends a club of 20 subs.
F. A. Webster, Mont., sends \$2.50 for a club of subs.
Charles Gilman, Mass., sends in two subs.
Geo. Brabender, O., sends \$2.50 for a club of 10 subs.
F. J. Chambers, N. Y., sends \$3 and a club of 12 subs.
O. B. Hedrick, W. Va., sends \$2 to pay for 8 subs.
F. J. Chambers, N. Y., sends \$3 and a club of 12 subs.
O. B. Hedrick, W. Va., sends \$2 to pay for 8 subs.
L. H. Young, Calif., puts on one new name and takes out three sub cards.
John A. Striepling, Ill., orders four sub cards.
F. A. Johnson, Kans., orders 100 copies of the 12 Anti-War Special.
Hugh P. McGuire, Mich., orders \$1 worth of Freemans.
Sam Ragendorf, O., orders 50 copies of the Sept. 1 Socialism Special.
Otis A. Robinson, Maine, orders 50 copies of the Aug. 1 Senatorial Special.
I. K. Drown, Iowa, sends two sub cards for Kansas names.
F. A. Johnson, Kans., ordered 100 copies of the Sept. 5 Socialism Special Edition.
G. A. Morris, Iowa, is in early with an order for 50 copies of the Sept. 26 Senatorial Special Edition No. 1.
R. A. Ghick, Mo., answers the \$500,000 libel suit with an order for four sub cards.
Ed J. Green, of Alabama, dropped into The Freeman office with a club of 13 subs.
A. Faff, Pa., orders \$5 worth of sub cards; the same from C. O. Bennett, Neb.; Elmer Strom, Calif.
Robert Goldschmidt, Calif., sends \$2 for a club of 8 subs and \$1 for Method No. 3 to help in the Kansas fight.
D. A. McLean, O., sends \$1 under Meth. No. 3 for the Sept. 26 Senatorial Special No. 1.
M. J. Walsh, Minn., orders \$1 worth of trade coupons, for which he gets a 10 percent bonus.
Benjamin R. Engel, Ill., sends \$5 for sub cards, but instructs us to apply them to good names in our possession.
Rasmi Lund, Minn., orders 50 copies of Sept. 5 Socialism Special Edition and 50 copies of Aug. 2 Farmers' Special Edition.
John E. Prastka, Iowa, orders 25 copies of the Aug. 1 Senatorial Special Edition and 25 copies of the July 25 Freeman.
V. E. Gould, Ore., orders 50 copies of the Sept. 12 Anti-War Special and Loree Reeves, Ore., takes 50 copies of the Sept. 19 Radical Special.
A. H. Woodard, N. H., sends \$1 to the Senatorial Fund. The same from Paul O. Hostettler, Calif.; Peter Burke, Wash.; J. S. Remenak, Mich.
An order for four sub cards, at 25c each, was received from O. E. Bannister, Wash.; M. W. Born, Alaska, ordered 8 for \$2.
Wm. Keller, Ill., orders 50 copies of the Sept. 5 Socialism Special. The same from E. Bone, Alaska; C. Z. Hankins, Colo., uses the same edition, but sends in his own list of 50 names.
Arthur Gontz, Manitoba, Can., says he is going to put aside 25c each week to apply to Meth. No. 3. That means \$1 a month. Wish we had that nearly 1,000 Freemans who would do the same.
Philip Quirin, Pa., sends \$1 under Meth. No. 3. The same method brings \$2 from J. M. Boland, Ill.; \$1 from David Simonetti, N. Y.; \$1 from Geo. G. Denison, Pa.; \$1 from J. E. Friend from St. Joe, Mo.; \$5 from Fred J. Nehegen, Ill.
P. Brackett, Calif., is 84 years old, but he still is a fighter for social justice. He sends \$5 for 20 sub cards and adds: The combatants you are fighting are unscrupulous and would not stop at murder of incendiaryism. It is well to be on guard.
Each of the following ordered \$5 worth of sub cards: Stanley L. Snow, Calif.; J. E. Smedes, Wis.; P. Brackett, Calif.; H. King, Conn.; Ezra Ruyle, Mont.; J. R. Vason, Texas; Benjamin Smith, Mich.; C. H. Belden, Mo.; Walter M. Trego, Ill.
Clubs of 10 subs were received from: Frank Ring, N. J.; Ralph Hammer, Minn.; Ben. Betting, Fla.; E. H. Wagner, Minn.; R. M. Templeton, Ariz.; Mrs. Cora Beckley, Wyo.; H. P. Theus, La.; O. M. Johnson, Ark.; G. DeYoung, N. J.; V. E. Gould, Ore.; Nels Devine, Pa.
Method No. 3 brought \$1 from each of the following: Wm. W. Van Pelt, Ind.; the senatorial fight; L. C. Chenoweth, Mo.; Hans H. Dahm, Minn.; John F. Mackey, Wash.; Wm. Werner, Calif.; Geo. Conestake, Pa.; Roy Lilia, Ill.; Frederick H. Heshele, N. J.; A. Friend, Calif.; \$2 from Oscar W. Friend from St. Strickland, Mo., \$2.50 from Geo. Guernsey, Calif.; \$5 from P. J. Schmitt, Ill.
The Kansas senatorial campaign brought \$1 from each of the following, via Method No. 3, which will be used to send the Sept. 26 Senatorial Campaign Edition to the following voters: S. W. Noland, Ind.; Geo. E. Williams, Ga.; J. T. Puckett, Iowa; Malvina Deturk, Ind.; Stanley Greene, Iowa; J. W. Williams, Okla.; Wm. A. Corbion, Calif.; T. Ashbjornson, Alaska; S. J. Ansley, Fla.
Clubs of four subs were received from: Thos. Bottema, Calif.; Rosmi Lund, Minn.; James Madden, Tex.; Jarvis A. Baldwin, Wash.; S. J. Harper, La.; S. A. Boodine, Kans.; James Prokes, O.; Florian Peer, Mich.; H. L. Sheldrake, Md.; C. H. Blodgett, Ind.; C. A. Duncan, Ok.; Pierre A. Banker, N. Y.; Mrs. A. Kinross, Calif.; W. B. Glass, Ga.; C. L. Sawyer, Colo.; Jos. H. Clouse, O.; A. Switzer, Kans.; Otto Siebert, O.; M. Samuels, Pa.; S. Pierce, Calif.; J. Mard, Kans.; Dudley Allen, Neb.; W. J. Rhodes, Tex.; N. Y. Van Pelt, Ore.; E. W. Bening, Ill.; Mrs. Anna Merced, Mont.; Arthur J. Bauman, N. Dak.; Tony Jonrak, Wis.
Method No. 3, by which Freemansites pay for sending The Freeman to good names in our possession, brought \$1 from these: Fred B. Cobb, N. Y.; Walto Raskala, Can.; J. W. Schweinfurth, Ore.; G. D. Marshall, Wash.; Hyman Hirschhorn, N. Y.; Dr. E. G. Smith, Texas; M. W. Horn, Alaska; I. Schwartz, Calif.; Geo. W. Van Pelt, Md. W. also received \$2 from: Eugene R. Berry, Va.; J. F. Wiedemann, Ill.; A. E. May, Ill.; "Wisdom," Chico, Calif.; Emil Torrey, Minn.; A. A. Graham, Calif.; W. C. Goodman, Texas. We received \$4 from Theodore (Jack) Schneider, Ky. \$5 was received from Jonas Solberg, Alaska.

LIBERTY depends on fair play.

GOOD books are good friends.

LIBERTY depends on education.

HAPPINESS requires a good job.

PROGRESS is the child of discontent.

HAPPINESS requires attractive homes.

HAPPINESS requires a satisfactory sex life.

HAPPINESS requires worthwhile entertainment.

SCIENCE has always fought a bloodless battle.

CAPITALISTIC politics will never help the workers.

FIND some of your satisfactions in social activities.

ORDER a free catalog of Little Blue Books sent to you.

Who would be free, himself must strike the blow.—Byron.

IDEAS that will not bear discussion are not worthy of belief.

THE corruption of our city governments is notorious and unnecessary.

IN 1916 Woodrow Wilson ran for President on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." In 1932 Hoover kept us out of war, "He kept us out of war."

OUR KIND of patriotism is that which believes that the ownership of the country should be vested completely and securely in the people of the country—not in a few, but in the many.

VOTERS are useless unless they are enlightened by sound principles of government and industry. Only those principles are sound which will contribute to and conserve the common welfare.

THE AUTHORITIES in Berlin have padlocked the headquarters of the Communists in the German capital. What they cannot do, however, is to padlock the economic crisis which furnishes the necessary material for Communist agitation.

WE HPAR a great deal about the dignity of labor. We should think more—and do more—about the rights of labor. Labor cannot be dignified when it is enslaved. Only free labor can be self-respecting, and it must be freedom self-won.

IT DOESN'T much matter whether Mellon takes his orders from Hoover or Hoover takes his orders from Mellon. Both agree perfectly that their main mission is to protect the rich. As they are both rich men themselves, this is a form of self-protection.

THE TENDENCY of true progress is to abolish the foolish and brutal conflicts of war, both on the military and the economic field, and to substitute for them the cooperative struggle of all mankind to bend the forces of nature ever more and more to their service.

HOW CAN there be equality of opportunity between the capitalist corporation which owns the labor—and therefore the very life—of thousands of workmen and the individual workmen who are thus held in the exploitive power of a relentless combination of capital?

HOW CAN Hoover's interests be identical with the interests of the American people? Hoover grabbed a huge fortune by financial jugglery. He took what others earned. He has been a promoter and exploiter. His whole interests and sympathies are pledged to the system which oppresses the masses of the people.

"STRAIN of Office Shows in Hoover's Face"—Headline. It is nothing like the strain which shows in the workers' faces, in their empty stomachs and in their legs tired from tramping the streets in vain quests for work, food, charity, anything to keep them miserably alive a little while longer. We might add that there could not possibly be any strain on Hoover's brain, since he has not made the slightest use of it in an effort to remedy the depression.

VICE-PRESIDENT CURTIS is said to be worth five million dollars—that is, he is said to have five million dollars, but of course that is very different from saying he is worth that much. Undoubtedly Curtis is a wealthy man. Yet he has held public office all his life, at a salary which alone would never make him rich. Whence, then, his fortune? We conclude that, with Charley, politics and business have gone hand in hand. Servant of capitalism, he has capitalized his opportunities.

HOOPER's ideas of individualism are a century and a half out of date. There was some plausibility in such a theory of society when the beginnings of capitalism were being made, when new country remained to be settled, when small industries made the economic advancement of the individual relatively easier, when competition and all social relations were more direct, personal and more nearly although never entirely equal. Today all that early individualism has been overwhelmed by the march of monopoly, great industries, concentration of wealth and power, the supremacy of the machine and its domination by a few private owners. Individually the American worker has no chance whatever against these huge combinations of wealth and machinery. His only opportunity lies in socialization. The workers cooperatively must own the machines, and have full access to the means of wealth production and a fair share in the distribution of wealth.

BEATING DOWN RAIL WAGES WILL BE INJURY TO ALL

It looks as if the plea of the railroads for higher freight rates will not be granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Farmers protested right against the request of the railroads; such a raise would have been obviously a blow to the farmers and the small business men, and as railroad charges would have been reflected in other charges, it would have been a general injury to the country. It has been shown that the railroads, at present rates, are earning about 6 percent on their legitimate investment.

Now the strategy of the railroads is to move for a sweeping reduction in the wages of railway workers. This has, as a matter of fact, been the real aim of the railroad heads all along. They never expected to obtain their requested rate increase. That was simply a publicity move to create the impression that the railroads are threatened with bankruptcy, that they need to gain more revenue either by an increase in rates or by beating down wages.

From its inception, this whole propaganda and procedure before the Interstate Commerce Commission has been a wage-cutting scheme. Behind the scenes have been the bankers of the country, who are demanding that railway wages be cut down so as to bring more returns on railway securities.

It was even thought probable by the planners of this campaign that the leaders of the railway workers' unions would back up the demand for a rate increase, hoping thereby to protect selfishly their own wage rates at the expense of the country as a whole. Into this trap the unions did not fall. They have instead shown that the railroads were making fair profits and are not hard-up as they claimed.

Would Make Depression Worse Had the unions favored the rate increase, the failure to obtain that increase would have been turned into an argument against the unions when the wage-cutting proposal came to be made. The unions would have been in the uncomfortable position of having admitted the railroads' plea of poverty and thus would be weakened logically in their resistance to wage-cutting.

Morally and logically in better case, the unions will none the less have to muster all their forces to fight a drastic plan of beating down railway wages. Last May leaders in high financial circles in New York City passed the word down the line, among bankers and railway executives, that the actual purpose of all the publicity and appeals to the Interstate Commerce Commission was an attack upon wages. This has not been widely proclaimed, but the threat of it is clear enough to the union leaders. And soon the wage-cutting campaign of the railroads, inspired by powerful bankers, will be entirely in the open.

The Freeman editor is opposed to this policy of the bankers and the railway heads and he believes that, if they rightly understand the situation, the common people will share his opposition. A cut in railway wages means that these workers will be so much less able to buy the products of the farms and the products of labor in other industries.

The country is now suffering from the depleted buying power of the workers. The railway campaign would make this condition worse. Furthermore, those in the know understand that this wage-cutting move will not be confined to the railways. It is simply the first move in an intended campaign for general wage-cutting in all industries. Wage-cutting has been in process quietly and steadily for months, in spite of President's Hoover's not very candid statements that wages have stayed up and must stay up. If the railways succeed in their plan of wage reductions, this movement will grow suddenly and drastically and it will affect with profound injury all of the farmers and workers and members of the middle classes. It will mean bigger dividends for a few exploiters, but it will be a blow to the economic life of the nation at the very time when it can least endure such a blow.

Government Ownership the Solution The true solution of the railway problem, as The Freeman editor will insist if elected to the United States Senate, is government ownership and operation. Under that arrangement the workers on the railways would receive fair wages and the country would benefit from lower rates at the same time. The railroads are a great national necessity and they should not be in the grip of private profiteers. They should be national utilities, publicly owned and run for the common good.

The Freeman editor's policy with regard to the railroads, like his policy with regard to all great essential industries, is that of socialization which will serve the interests of the majority of the people. The railroad problem is immediate. It can never be solved capitalistically. Neither higher rates nor lower wages will help the common people: on the contrary, either policy will be an injury to all except the minority who split railroad dividends.

The Freeman editor takes his stand on the principle of public ownership and operation, which means two things: first, that public service is more important than private profit and, second, that public service cannot be realized fully and justly when the dominating motive is private profit.

The railways belong to the public. Government ownership and operation of the railroads will rapidly become a more prominent and urgent issue. It is sure to come. Why not hasten its benefits?

The final controversy will be over the compensation which the railroad owners should receive. When the time arrives, there will be expert accountants to guard the public interest, but now we content ourselves, with saying that the railroads should be bought at their

actual physical value, and that watered stock and fictitious capitalization should not be paid for. The details can be worked out; it is the principle with which the public must be made thoroughly familiar.

The American people have, from time to time, been inclined to look favorably upon the idea of government ownership of the railroads; and now we face another opportunity to win attention and approval for this idea.

GROWING MORGAN INTERESTS REVEAL THE MENACE OF MONOPOLY

All economic discussion is idle which does not concern itself realistically and constructively with the growing evil of monopoly in controlling the large industrial enterprises of the nation. Individualism cannot deal, for example, with the power of the Morgan banking group which controls 33 percent of the banking resources of the United States.

The significance of this 1931 status of the Morgan group is emphasized by a comparison of its strength in 1912, when it controlled only 13 percent of the country's banking interests.

The Morgan group, through its various interlocked corporations, also controls over 50 percent of the electric power in the United States; the Morgan interests dominate the power trust.

The American Telephone Company is a Morgan corporation. The Morgan group is heavily interested in copper and is extending its power in this important mining field.

The financial dictatorship of the House of Morgan is being built up strongly in such industries as iron and steel, electrical, chemical, oil, coal, aviation, railroads, heavy manufacturing, automobiles, sugar, groceries, tobacco, textile, paper, publishing, retail trade.

Out of this is growing a super-monopoly through the financial interlocking of the Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon and Harriman groups.

The Freeman editor points out, as a vital feature of his campaign for United States Senator, that the American people have no economic defense against this growth of monopoly excepting to socialize these industries for the common good.

Either the people must resign themselves to being more and more ruthlessly enslaved by monopoly or they must resolve to own the great economic resources and activities of the nation.

Private monopoly or public monopoly—private exploitation or public service—this is the choice which the people must make. And delay is dangerous.

No man is fit to represent the people who does not clearly realize the nature of this immense problem and see with true vision the social solution of the problem.

WHAT A BRIGHT IDEA!

We were just naturally overcome, and helplessly so, for a moment by the blindingly brilliant suggestion of the Parent-Teachers' Association of Los Angeles. The suggestion is one of the million or so that have been made with a view to easing, minimizing, obscuring or rationalizing the unemployment problem.

High school students who graduated this spring, said the P. T. A., should go to school for another year in order not to crowd the already chaotically overcrowded labor market. These boys and girls can't get work, anyway, so they might as well devote this depression season (a season whose length is not as calculable as nature's regular seasons) to the further improvement of their intellects.

Just what help this will bring to the solution of the depression is not clearly explained by the bright minds of the P. T. A. We beg leave to point out most humbly that their suggestion does not introduce a single new factor into the problem.

Parents of this Spring's high school graduates must, if they can, manage to support their children whether the latter go to school another year or remain idle out of school. In fact, it would seem that sending them to school for an extra year would be rather more expensive to their parents.

Working class parents, who are unemployed or working part time or getting reduced wages, will not be able to provide more easily for their children by having them continue in high school. The unemployed father of a family will not land a job sooner because his son and daughter spend an additional year wrestling with the immensities of a near-higher education. Probably these children of the unemployed workers have had to quit high school before graduating, trying to find odd jobs to assist the family in these hard times. Education is difficult for the children of workers; and what they need most, after all, is an education in economics.

If the suggestion of the P. T. A. were really beneficial as a means of relief from the depression, it ought to help all of the unemployed workers, the adult ones as well as the high school graduates. Thus schools would be—if we may be permitted a fantastic flourish—hailed as refuges from the depression. The hard facts of Hooverism could be escaped by a mass matriculation in the nation's high schools; and workers whose education was stopped in the lower grades could take up their studies where they left them. A jobless worker could immediately simplify his problem or indeed remove the problem by going to school. Under such conditions, presumably, he wouldn't have to eat, wear, clothes nor find shelter for himself and family.

It is a wonder that Hoover himself didn't think of this curious notion, so typical of the rattle-brained individualistic and uneconomic ideas which have been contributed, by great and small, to the solving of the depression.

We should add a suggestion of our own—that the unemployed workers, flocking to the high schools to

Worker, Driven to Suicide by Poverty, Indicts Social System

What is a worker to do when he is down and out, especially when he has passed the 45-year age which is now decreed by many large employers as the limit of industrial usefulness?

Some beg. Some steal. Some shuffle brokenly in the bread lines. Some join in demonstrations of protest and demand. Others, more dispirited and disillusioned, seek suicide as an escape from a life embittered and wrecked by injustice.

The last-named method was chosen by an unidentified worker, whose body was discovered in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. In a pocket of the poor proletarian suicide was found a note which said that a letter written to a Philadelphia newspaper would explain his act.

Like the act itself, the letter was brief and blasting. "This note," the workman wrote before killing himself, "is written to remind you of the walls of languishing prisoners within industry's Bastille—the 45-year period (and in many quarters a much shorter one) of usefulness and is the worst indictment of the present social system that workers, thus early, should be shuffled aside and no provision made for their readjustment."

This tragedy should be used as an illustrative footnote to Hoover's next speech on "the genius of our institutions."

escape the depression, should devote the time to studying economics. But then we reflect that the economics taught usually in high schools are not the economics of the real industrial struggle, of the class war, of strikes and breadlines and police violence against workers' meetings of protest.

The workers of America are getting a sternly realistic education in economics, in a school of conditions rather than academic theories. It is The Freeman's mission to drive home the lessons of this hard economic school of Hooverism.

NOTHING LIKE THIS IN RUSSIA

BY GEORGE H. SHOAF It is now seriously proposed that southern planters destroy one-third their crop in order to maintain prices at a level that will pay them for planting. Last week a ship load of bananas left the Port of Baltimore for the open sea where the fruit was dumped because there was no sale for it on land. Thousands of tons of coffee were given similar treatment off the coast of Brazil not long ago. Last season 750,000 tons of fruit and vegetables were destroyed in California alone because of the inability of the people to purchase the product.

And that in the midst of a people millions of whom this coming winter will be driven through starvation to crime! Can you beat it?

My engineer friend who recently returned from Soviet Russia, whose experiences I wrote up for The American Freeman, says that when he described this waste and destruction of food in the United States to a group of Russian workers, they were disinclined to believe the story, regarding it as preposterous. They had suffered from lack of food due to famine conditions. Even now they were rationing themselves, using the surplus food to exchange for foreign machinery for their basic industries; but they appeared unable to understand a nation and a

people that would allow starvation in the midst of plenty.

The reason for this anomaly is plain. In Soviet Russia power, the basis of society and government, is in the hands of the workers; in the United States it is in the hands of the capitalists. In Soviet Russia the workers are caring for their own, because they have the power. What do the capitalists of this country care for the welfare of the workers, whom they underpay, overwork, and discharge, ten million of whom today are without work and virtually destitute?

Picture a line of demarkation in the jungles of Africa. Suppose on one side of that line a crowd of apes stood guarding a vast quantity of food products. Suppose across the line were massed ten million apes whose labor had gathered and piled up the food. The other apes were guarding. Suppose that during the process of collecting the food the fiction of private ownership prevailed. On one side of the line now stand jobless and hungry the ten million apes whose labor piled up the food, which shows up so enticingly, but which is guarded by agent apes hired by other apes who pose as owners. By virtue of the fiction principle of private ownership the owner apes will not let the hungry workless workers have the food unless they pay a stipulated price. This the hungry ones cannot do because they did not receive in wages the full value of their labor; that portion of their unpaid labor they now behold in the pile of products on the other side of the line.

How long, may it be supposed, will those hungry ten million apes patiently and cravenly endure their agony of hunger before they charge desperately and defiantly across that line and upon and into that food?

Will a cat starve when it can get cream even if it has to break into the milk house and take it? Will any animal that lives—wild or tame—starve to death in the presence of food merely out of respect for vested interests and the sacred rights of private property?

No! It remains to be seen whether the workers of America have the brains of a cat and the courage of an ape, or whether they really are what the masters of the plunderbund say they are—an aggregation of emaculated mules who refuse to use the legal power of the ballot to end all this social and industrial insanity.

Unemployed Taught How to Be Idle in Other Trades The New York City board of education comes along with some novel nonsense to "help" the unemployed. It runs two retraining schools, where workers who cannot find jobs in their present trades can apply themselves to the study of other trades. Thus a musician who is out of a job can study to become a machinist—and then stand in the bread lines as both an unemployed musician and an unemployed machinist. Unemployment is general, therefore, such retraining is a mockery. Yet more than 1,000 workers, ranging in age from 17 to 60, are enrolled in these schools and there are long waiting lists. 104 women waiting to enter a single class, in bookkeeping. However, the board of education does not guarantee to get them bookkeeping jobs, but only to teach them how bookkeepers work when they are not idle.

THE MOST conspicuous and consistent note of radicalism down through the ages has been the demand for the just distribution of wealth. From the unjust distribution of wealth have sprung the greatest evils. This wrong distribution is what we suffer from today. It is more than ever the need of radicalism to demand a just distribution, and until it is accomplished, this must remain the major social problem.

THE RADICAL is one who believes that when an economic system has so plainly broken down as capitalism has, a new system is needed.

Freeman Circulation by States

State	Off	On	Total
California	142	151	2,312
Illinois	95	111	1,989
New York	102	130	1,968
Pennsylvania	68	89	1,554
Missouri	94	87	1,654
Kansas	80	87	1,652
Ohio	73	79	1,496
Minnesota	54	63	1,466
Michigan	47	57	1,429
Washington	68	79	368
Texas	77	91	342
New Jersey	41	45	332
Iowa	30	24	323
Massachusetts	29	31	312
Oklahoma	8	15	299
Wisconsin	39	42	306
Indiana	21	22	266
Oregon	17	17	247
Nebraska	11	9	231
Colorado	7	8	231
Florida	7	7	184
Alabama	3	4	179
North Dakota	1	4	171
Montana	21	23	161
Connecticut	4	4	159
Canada	4	5	189
South Dakota	16	16	154
Idaho	9	10	141
Louisiana	11	12	140
Arkansas	6	10	140
Kentucky	8	15	135
Virginia	3	7	125
Alaska	7	8	114
West Virginia	6	9	106
Maryland	5	5	101
Foreign	17	16	100
Arizona	8	7	86
Georgia	2	3	80
Maine	3	2	77
Dist. of Columbia	8	7	68
Tennessee	11	14	67
Wyoming	5	9	60
Rhode Island	10	20	53
New Hampshire	3	6	54
North Carolina	3	6	55
New Mexico	8	10	50
Nevada	3	5	47
Mississippi	3	5	39
Vermont	2	4	37
South Carolina	4	7	37
Delaware	11	9	32

Total1,333 1,529 21,186
Expirations for week ending Sept. 5.....1,333
New Subs for week ending Sept. 5.....1,529

Gain196

MORE INDICTMENTS AGAINST MOORE BOND RING

On Aug. 25, the Federal Grand Jury, in New York City, returned indictments on 16 counts of fraudulent use of the mails and a 17th count of conspiracy to defraud, against William J. Moore, of Chicago, of the American Bond and Mortgage Company, and four other officers.

Those indicted with Moore included his two sons, Harold A. and Kenneth Moore, of Chicago, his step-son Charles C. Moore, of New Rochelle and Hayden W. Ward of Forest Hills.

Bond Holders Get Little The operations of the company, a Maine corporation with offices in New York, Chicago and Boston involved sale of bond issues on thirty-four buildings, and the company's preferred stock totaling \$56,000,000, George Z. Medaille, United States attorney, said. Bond holders appear likely to get only ten to fifty cents on the dollar.

The indictments charge, according to Mr. Medaille and his chief assistant, Thomas E. Dewey, that the corporation sold \$7,000,000 preferred stock on balance sheets showing that the company had large capital and surplus, whereas the government charges the surplus was made up of defaulted bonds.

\$2,000,000 Surplus Denied In 1927, it is further charged, the company got into trouble with bank loans amounting to \$5,000,000, and thereupon put out a debenture note issue for \$5,000,000, representing falsely that it had a \$2,000,000 surplus.

The company began operations in 1904 and since that time has sold \$240,000,000 worth of securities, Mr. Medaille said. Many New York buildings are involved in its operations.

WE ATTACK Hoover the man because he stands for the system of Hooverism.

12 PRIZES of \$625.00 each!

JUST recently over \$26,000.00 in prizes have been paid in our good-will prize distributions! These unusual offers are rapidly creating favorable advertising and making new friends. Now join our latest "treasure hunt!" Scores of valuable awards totaling over \$8,200.00 will be paid this time. Easier to win a first prize now—there are 12 equal first prizes of \$625.00 each and duplicate prizes for all persons tying when prize decision is made. Here's the test. Act quick!

FOLLOW THE AUTO TRAILS

Can you do it? Every trail twists and turns, crossing other trails again and again. This baffling test is a challenge to your skill, but I'll give you a fair start, to make sure you understand.

Begin with trail marker No. 1 in the small circle at the left. If you can follow this trail through the tangle you will see it leads to the car marked "E." Some of the trails go from left to right, others from right to left. When you have done your best with each trail, write your answer like this: "Trail No. 1 leads to car 'E.'" "Trail No. 2 leads to car..." and

Ford Would Be a Dictator

Would he? Or is? Henry Ford is a dictator over the labor, wages, working conditions and, therefore, the lives of many thousands of toilers. His dictatorship is simply branching out and claiming more territory when he asserts that in future no worker can remain in his employ unless that worker keeps up a garden of his own. His employees who do not have land for gardens, says Ford—adding pretense of benevolence to his feudalistic fiat—will be given the use of land by the Ford company.

The statement by Ford carries also the foolish, arrogant insult that the workers are to blame for their sufferings in this depression, as, according to the dictatorial Ford, they have not bestirred themselves with sufficient industry, frugality and self-help to support themselves. Thus Ford seeks to evade any responsibility for the depression and throw the burden of blame upon the workers.

This is adding insult to injury with vengeance. The system of private ownership, which means capitalist dictatorship of industry, has thrown millions of workers out of employment, has refused to let them work the factories, has reduced the wages of hundreds of thousands of workers, has forced other millions of workers into part-time employment—and then the so-called leaders of industry, who certainly are the dictators of industry, declare that the workers' condition is their own fault. If they will only make gardens, says Henry Ford, they can get along quite nicely.

And Ford doesn't express this as merely an opinion. Swelling with all the insolence and intolerance of his dictatorship, Ford delivers this as a command to his employees, to his wage slaves, who must obey him in any and all things or get out of the Ford factories.

Ford's Own Failure

But does Ford think that not merely his own workers or ex-workers but the American people generally have been asleep and do not know what Ford himself has done to demonstrate his leadership of industry? They do indeed know that many thousands of Ford's employees have been kicked out of his factories, given an indefinite layoff which amounted to a discharge, and when returning to Ford's employ, if they do return, will presumably have to start as new workers at a lower wage than they had been getting. Among the discharged Ford workers were many who had been receiving \$8 a day as old employees; but who now, when they come back to their jobs (that is, when Ford chooses to call them back to their jobs), will have to work for \$6 a day.

It is also well known throughout the country—or it is known to all who read the important economic news—that thousands of discharged Ford employees, laid off due to the depression, have been thrown upon the city of Detroit for relief; and that Ford has refused to contribute to this relief, not even contributing as a taxpayer as his factories and home are outside Detroit.

Like other dictators of industry, Ford has passed the burden of the depression on to the workers—and now he has the cruel or callous effrontery to tell his workers that they are not doing enough for themselves and that he will keep no one in his employ who will not raise a garden.

It would obviously be quite as fair if the workers should declare they would not work for Ford unless Ford himself would raise a garden and work in it himself too—but it happens that Ford has the established power under this system and the workers, having potential power greater than any other element in society, have not learned to use it for their economic and social emancipation.

It will also occur to many, reading Ford's latest amazing edict, to ask what has become of that precious individualism which President Hoover talks of so glibly, when an industrial magnate thus takes it upon himself to dictate the conduct of his employees outside working hours. Are the workers to have no private lives? Are they to have no leisure? Are they to have their lives entirely directed and dominated by Henry Ford and other capitalist dictators? They have had some liberties of a personal kind, although essentially they are the wage slaves of an industrial dictatorship. Now Ford comes out a bit more boldly and

crudely with an assertion of dictatorship in a new field.

Social Remedy Is Needed
This garden order of Ford's is also a confession that Ford is not able or willing to give his employees a living wage or an opportunity to make a living. But all that, however, is not sufficient to assure them a livelihood. But that, we will not say the failure of Ford himself—but the failure of the capitalist system. If Ford and the other industrial dictators cannot keep the factories going, then it is the merest absurdity to talk about gardens as the remedy; the remedy is that society should take over the factories and run them.

Another thing which Ford evidently has not thought about is that if all the industrial workers were to eke out a living by raising gardens, thousands of other workers who make their living by the production of foodstuffs would be thrown out of employment. Ford's pretended solution of the depression is no solution at all, but merely a gesture of his dictatorship which, from any intellectual point of view, is too puerile for words.

It shows again that Ford, whatever may be his ability as a capitalist, is less than a child in thought when he turns his mind to social questions. He doesn't have ever the cleverness to put himself in a seemingly favorable light, for his presumptuous edict that every Ford employee must raise a garden is an admission that Ford does not or will not pay his employees a living wage or give them an amount of employment that will enable them to live. This certainly is not the fault of the workers nor is it a justification for Ford's attempt to establish a feudalistic jurisdiction over every part of the lives of his employees, bossing them in the factory and after they leave the factory.

If Ford will not give his workers full employment, he should admit his failure in a candid way and not try to cover it up by issuing the arrogant command that his workers should raise gardens; and if Ford will not pay his workers a living wage, he should not make it appear that they are to blame for this condition and that they must raise gardens or be kicked out of their jobs.

The Unemployment Problem

In saying that garden-raising by the workers would remove the need for an unemployment "dole," as he with his millions of profits chooses contemptuously to call relief for the unemployed, Ford exhibits a kind of stupidity that is not after all so rare among industrial dictators but that Ford has flourished more shamelessly than any other. If garden-raising were, as it is not, an intelligent way of relieving the depression, it would still obviously be an impractical measure for the coming winter. The workers' suffering this winter will not be relieved by gardens they might raise next summer.

Unemployment relief is also associated with the larger problem of providing unemployment insurance for other depressions—and those other depressions will certainly occur if capitalism continues. Does Ford think that capitalism will be able to employ the workers steadily, and that the present crisis is an isolated, peculiar phenomenon? Such an idea cannot survive when faced with the fact that capitalism has always been a system of recurrent depressions. It is simply a question of whether the workers shall be assured any protection whatever, even under capitalism.

Does Ford think that the workers should not be guaranteed such protection? Evidently he does so think. He seems to believe that the capitalist dictators have no responsibility save to protect their own profits. He thinks that the workers should create prosperity for themselves even though they are not in control of the system.

The trouble is that workers have created prosperity, but under the capitalist dictatorship they are not permitted to enjoy that prosperity. They are not permitted to consume the wealth they have created. They are at the mercy of the dictatorship, the ignorance, the insults of such men as Henry Ford. Only when they put an end to such dictatorship, and control their own lives both privately and socially, will the workers be really free, secure and prosperous.

The system of capitalist dictatorship has appallingly failed to serve the people—it is not, of course, designed to serve the people—and Ford's brainstorm about gardens is a grotesque emphasis upon this failure.

COMPROMISES with unscientific social methods always create more difficulties than they solve.

FAILURE OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM

By GEORGE H. SHOAF

According to the Internal Revenue Department of the federal government, between 1919 and 1929 profits to industry increased 100 percent, production of manufactured goods increased 50 percent, and wages 27 percent, with a reduction of 20 percent in the total number of workers employed. The large manufacturing corporations were doubling profits concurrently with the discharge of workers because of the substitution of automatic labor-saving machinery. Since 1929 the slashing of wages has proceeded apace despite trade union opposition, and workers have been laid off indiscriminately until today the army of the unemployed is variously estimated to include anywhere from six to ten million persons. Figures are available which reveal that the surplus product, created by labor in the industries of capital during the last twelve months in America, in round numbers amount to nine billion dollars. This surplus product is the property of and is now in the possession of the owning class; the wages of labor have been insufficient to enable the creators of this surplus product to buy and consume it.

It is easy to criticize and condemn the American labor movement for its failure to completely organize the American working classes and keep them profitably employed. With truth it can be said that no one is anxious to organize the workers or to improve the conditions of labor more than the leaders of the labor movement. Any one who has a practical plan for organizing the unorganized, thereby increasing the scope and power of trade unionism, by the leaders will be welcome with open arms. No one deprecates the poverty and chaos which exist among the workers, organized and unorganized, more than do those men and women who are charged with the responsibility of labor leadership.

In this article an attempt will be made to analyze the situation as it affects the relations between trade unionism and capitalism, and to point out where trade unionism has failed to prevent the employing class from enriching itself at the expense of the working class; why trade unionism has less strength today than it had ten or twenty years ago, and how impossible it is for trade unionism, under its present form and with its present ideology and objective, ever to effect completely the social and economic emancipation of the working class.

The Basic Error

The outstanding characteristic and obsession of trade unionism is its acceptance of the capitalist system. It recognizes the right of private ownership, applauds the principle of private profits, endorses the extraction of interest and rent, and glorifies the giving and taking of wages which, theoretically and practically, it endeavors to help the employing classes to supply. Needless to say its allegiance to government established on a basis of capitalism, and financed and operated in defense of capitalism, is whole-hearted and complete.

This recognition and endorsement of capitalism, and all that capitalism represents, by the American trade union movement should be understood and appreciated by those who seek to evaluate the movement, or who wish to give it proper recognition in the American scheme. Failure in this respect is responsible for much misunderstanding on the part of radicals who ignorantly expect trade unionism to accomplish results and attain objectives for which it was never designed. Trade unionism is essentially a conservative and not a radical movement.

A fair day's wages for a fair day's work, with hours and condition of labor fixed by mutual consent between the employers and employees: this constitutes the reason for the existence of the trade union movement in this country. To get these wages, hours and conditions the organized workers try to use the methods of diplomacy, such as conciliation and arbitration. If these methods fail, reluctantly recourse is had to the strike. If the employers consider it an advantage to recognize the organization and make concessions, immediately the fact is heralded to the world as a union victory. If the employers decide upon a policy of non-recognition and refuse to do business with the organization, either of two things happen: the strikers return to their work as individuals, crestfallen and whipped; or the strike terminates violently, in which case the union always sustains defeat. Whenever and wherever the organized workers triumph usually it is because the employers find it to their advantage to let the workers triumph.

Unions Accept Capitalism

An analysis of the object and methods of trade unionism reveals that it is incongruous and absurd. In the first place, in its acceptance of capitalism, it accepts the rights and privileges of private ownership, and the power of capitalist government to guarantee and maintain those rights and privileges. The sacredness of private property virtually is a religion with those who uphold the capitalist system. Property rights are paramount under capitalism; human rights are served only if there is no interference with property rights. Therefore, when organized labor asks for a square deal it gets it only if it is advantageous for the owners of industry and finance to make the concession.

Take a concrete situation. A group of men and women called a corporation own a great factory wherein thousands of workers are productively employed. What are the owners operating the factory for? Their health? For the fun of the thing? As a matter of philanthropy? Nonsense. The factory was established and is operated to make profits—money—for the owners. The more profits the factory makes the better pleased will the

owners be. In order to make money, and more money, the owners must pay the workers as little as possible, pay them as fast as they can, and change for the finished product; all they can get the public to pay.

How about the workers—the men and women whose labor transforms the raw materials into finished products? In the language of the street, where do they get off?

Unorganized, the workers receive scab wages; that is they get for their labor just what it pleases the owners to pay. Organized, the workers demand, and, if they succeed in doing business with the owners, they occasionally secure higher wages and better conditions of toil. If, however, the owners decide to stand on their rights and refuse the demands of the union, then what? Strike, violence, injunction, police, military—the full power of the government—thrown on the side, not of the striking workers, but thrown on the side and to the support of the owners. Every strike the organized workers wage against the owning class always ends in a fight against the government, with the workers getting whipped to a standstill.

The Government Supports Capitalism
There is nothing strange or illogical in this. The government of the United States was formed and is maintained to protect and perpetuate the rights of private property. Private ownership is endorsed by the workers as much as it is desired by the owners. According to law, framed in consonance with the principles of government, the owners of the factory have a right to do as they please with their own. They can arbitrarily fix the wages of their employees, determine the hours and conditions of toil, run their factory or not as they please, and hire as few or as many workers as seem to them best. They can close their factory any time they wish and throw the workers in the streets, and the workers are absolutely helpless so far as the government is concerned.

If the workers strike, that is their privilege, though the right to strike is seriously questioned by many corporations heads today. By striking, the workers simply cease working. Legally, they cannot compel the employers to pay them a solitary cent in wages more than the employers see fit to pay. If the strikers try to interfere with the operation of the factory by throwing out picket lines, or if they endeavor to force other workers from taking their places, immediately they run afoul of the law and render themselves liable to arrest and punishment.

Why? Because the basis of the social, political and economic system under which both owners and workers move, and we have their being is private ownership. Both owners and workers are born into this system, and psychologically and culturally they are pledged to its preservation, with the government which was formed to guarantee that preservation. How perfectly inconsistent the workers are when they organized to wrest from the owners that which they consider merely human rights. When they attempt to back their demands with force—the strike—at once they become outlaws, for then they place themselves in opposition to government; and what loyal member of the American labor movement would dare fight the government, no matter how unjust or corrupt he knows that government to be? When the workers strike, the look and act like fools. If the owners assert their property rights, the government is duty bound to back them up, with the result that the workers are whipped the moment they quit work.

A Program for the Workers

What, then, are the workers to do? Quit agitating, educating, organizing? By no means. Instead, the workers should give up their illusions and become realistic. They should analyze the situation with some degree of intelligence and inaugurate a more effective method of procedure. By this time they should realize the failure of their ancient efforts and should be willing to initiate something new. Craft unionism is obsolete in this age of mass production and distribution. The trade union movement has been fruitlessly hitting at effects since big capitalism invaded the industrial field. Trade unionism itself is an institution of capitalism; distinctly it is not a militant movement of the organized workers bent on social change; nor was it formed and promulgated for the purpose of doing real battle with the employing classes. As a result of its composition, its policies and its methods, trade unionism has not only failed to check the growing power of concentrated wealth in this country, but it has witnessed the steady decline of working class organization, and the rapid demoralization of the workers themselves, until today, in the presence of the master classes, the workers are helpless and impoverished slaves.

Having no legal right to dictate wages, hours or conditions to the owners of industry and finance under capitalism, the workers should take the steps necessary to make their demands legal? How? By making themselves the owners of the industries in which they work. Instead of striking for higher wages, they should organize and strike for the ownership of all the means of life. As owners their right to fix their wages and working conditions will be undisputed, and as owners they will have the government on their side. Until the workers awaken to this necessity they will alternately starve and starve and degenerate lower and lower in the social and economic scale.

Food prices will be dictated by an official appointed by the city government in Vera Cruz, Mexico. The announced purpose is to prevent profiteering in food supplies. We have plenty of food price dictatorship in the United States and dictatorship of wages and jobs; but it doesn't operate in the interests of the workers.

Coal Owners Admit Loss of "Private Initiative"

Only government control can save the coal industry, says President J. D. A. Morrow of the large, intensely capitalist and strongly anti-union Pittsburgh Coal Co. It is said that Morrow's proposal is not personal with him, but expresses the views of other coal operators.

Unless the government steps in, Morrow predicts, the coal industry will be thrown into much worse difficulties and more hundreds of thousands of miners will be exiled from labor and crowded into the rapidly swelling army of the unemployed.

It is not suggested, however, that the government should own the coal mines but only that it should inaugurate a system of regulation, similar to that now in practice, with regard to the railroads and other public utilities. The coal operators want the benefits which they think would come from government control and stabilization, but they want to retain the profits from the private ownership of coal.

Whatever may result from this surprising proposal, the significant point is that this group of capitalists have admitted the failure of the very "private initiative" which President Hoover has been cultivating as the distinctive and saving mark of the American economic system. Common sense would suggest that, if private management has failed, there is no conceivable virtue or advantage (from a social point of view) in private ownership. If government needs to save the coal industry, it should save it for the public good and not for the more orderly enrichment of a few owners.

Legal opinion is that the courts would have to give an extra stretch to their definition of public utilities, in order to include coal mines in this category; but it is no secret that the courts are remarkably apt at stretching laws, rulings and definitions.

Another definition which will have to be stretched is that of "private initiative." What does it amount to when, as in this instance, it comes forward with a confession of failure yet with an undiminished claim to the privilege of ownership and exploitation?

More initiative in taking profits is not admirable nor valuable nor worth preserving. Yet this is the kind of initiative which capitalism chiefly represents and schemes to protect.

Meatwhile President Hoover, in the midst of the economic ruins of private ownership and control, will doubtless go right ahead talking about the beauties and virtues of "private initiative."

WHEN politicians say that the American economic system is sound, they really mean that the fortunes of American rich men are safe. But are they safe? Is capitalism safe? It appears to be destroying itself swiftly and with no clear realization of the nature of its doom nor the means of averting that doom.

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Pennsylvania Governor Fears Riots This Winter

Fearing riots this winter among striking miners and other unemployed workers, Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania has notified the militia that they may be needed to put down the violence of capitalism's desperate victims. A visit to Oregon has been cancelled by Pinchot because, as he telegraphed the governor of Oregon, miners in his state "whether working or on strike" are so goaded by hunger that he dares not leave the state.

It will be recalled that Pinchot recently appealed to the Red Cross for aid to the striking miners, giving as his reason that Communists were teaching these miners and their children to believe that capitalist government was their enemy. It didn't seem to occur to Pinchot that the Communists were simply expressing a conditions and not agitating a theory, although the governor himself admitted the condition.

And now it appears that Governor Pinchot will prove the friendliness of capitalist government to the workers, not by providing the workers with jobs or food but by sending out the militia to suppress, almost certainly with bloodshed, any serious demonstrations of discontent.

WE READ that New York City officials intend to make the streets safe from gunmen. We may be as skeptical as we please about such declarations, which have been so frequently made and not carried out in action. But we suggest that a sounder measure, though indeed a radical measure, would be for New York City and all other American cities to tackle the problem of making their streets safe from unemployment, poverty, slums and the sum of bad economic conditions which make crime and which, even worse, form in themselves a tremendous sum of social crime.

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