

Bankers May Swindle Public, Says Hoover Administration

The latest scheme of the Hoover administration to "restore confidence" in banking and credit is in reality an amazing, unscrupulous scheme to inveigle the people still more desperately into the bankers' traps and add to the loss they have already suffered from hundreds of busted banks. Banks have been informed by the comptroller of the currency of the United States treasury department that they can convey to the public mind a dishonest statement of their resources in the following way: If a bank has a \$1,000 dollar bond which it took as security at the par value of \$1,000, and if meanwhile the market value of that bond has dropped to only \$400, the bank can still list it as worth \$1,000. The same may be done in the case of an outright purchase by the bank.

This is a form of lying for which bankers have been (sometimes) penalized in the past. It means that every bank in the United States has been given permission by the United States

government—that is to say, by the Hoover administration—to lie deliberately to the public about its condition. Under this ruling the financial statement of a bank can no longer be trusted. Many of them could be trusted little enough in the past; now their statements are absolutely worthless. The banking law has been set aside, for the time being, to aid the bankers in fooling and robbing the public.

Insurance companies are permitted to play the same trick. They too can pretend that they have a financial soundness which they do not have. They also can lie about their convertible resources, which must stand good for investments in them. Both banks and insurance companies have been required by the letter of the law (not always very carefully looked to in the spirit) to carry cash and securities in such a ratio to deposits and investments as would supposedly protect the depositors. The purpose was to have on hand cash or good securi-

ties, listed at their true value, which could readily be converted into cash to meet the demands of depositors. Under this law, banks were required to show in their periodical financial statements to the public what their securities actually were worth, not what their original paper value was. In this way depositors could have some fairly reliable idea of the condition of a bank—although billions have been lost in dishonest or careless banking or in banking crashes following a sudden economic decline.

Now, however, the banks are not required to observe even this form of honesty. The Hoover administration has told them that they can now safely flout the law and lie to the public, pretending that securities held by them are worth twice or three times what they are really worth in the market today. Insurance companies have been given the same privilege of lying and swindling the people; this was agreed by the state insurance examiners of the United

States in convention recently—and with every state represented.

The Hoover administration still firmly says "No" to the demand for national relief of the unemployed workers. But it hastens even in defiance of the law, in defiance of common honesty, to help the bankers by giving the bankers the fullest illegal privilege of robbing the people.

The Freeman's immediate answer to this situation—which, by the way, has not been given publicity in the capitalist newspapers of the land—is the urgent advice to all its readers that they should deposit their money with the government postal savings bank. Defeat this dishonest scheme of the Hoover administration and the bankers by making the government take care of your savings, where they are soundly guaranteed. For while the government (or the Hoover administration) tells the bankers to be dishonest, the government

itself cannot be dishonest with your money invested in the postal savings bank. The government dare not lose your money for the sake of its own credit. Your money in the postal savings bank will be safe as long as the government is safe. Besides, we the people are preparing to take charge of the government by means of the democratic change from capitalism to Socialism.

And bear in mind that a strong movement among the people to use the postal savings bank in this crisis will force the government to extend the usefulness of this banking system, making it legal to deposit amounts greater than the present limit of \$2,500 and providing checking facilities. In this way we can inaugurate a movement that will complete the private banks out of existence. Our answer to the dishonesty of private banking is, after all, the abolition of private banking by the competitive tactics we are now suggesting.

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E. Haldeman-Julius
Editor

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John W. Gunn
Assistant Editor

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We Sail!

By Marcell Haldeman-Julius

To the Readers of The American Freeman.

Dear Friends:

We are leaving New York! The cool water is slipping by us and I am going to try to get this note off when the pilot leaves us—although they tell me it is not usually done any more. Perhaps they mean for third-class passengers. I didn't stop to ask.

The ride on the bus from Kansas City to Chicago was for me the beginning of an adventure. The bus that took us to St. Louis carried 28 of us but the one to which we were transferred there was a formidable two-deck affair that accommodated 52. Our luggage was taken from us and deposited in a cavernous compartment in the rear.

Both buses stopped frequently, were clean and chose good places for meals.

Meeting Young America

My seatmate was a nice youth of twenty who had worked his way through business college, got a good job, been laid off and now can't get a job. He had the beautifully open mind so natural to youth but was quite uninformed—as again so many youths are—on vital questions. I was, he told me in the course of our twenty-hour comradeship, the first freethinker he had ever met and the first Socialist.

I gave him the titles of books he should read in order to form his own opinions on sound foundations. He read a copy of The Freeman and said he was going to get three other chaps to subscribe and make a club of four.

Across the aisle from us, also on the upper deck of the second bus, was a young farmer on his way to be married. "Look," he said, "what I found this morning—near to St. Louis on the 11th of October—two violets." He had pressed them. He showed us a kodak of his girl, of the house they would live in, of his hogs, his mares—Pearl and Queen and Queen Colt—of his cherry trees—"That isn't sky," he explained. "All that white is blossom!" He told us of his 4,000 potato hills, of his fifteen acres of cherry trees, showed us the pictures of his cows. That man was walking on air!

The girl next was sixteen, from a farm, going to Chicago to high school. She told of their last Chester-White saw that brought and raised seventeen little pigs.

A jolly, friendly bunch we were! The First Bar of Soap Goes!

When I got off the bus, Josephine and Aubrey, Doris Read, my best woman friend, Mary Fry, and her niece and nephew, and Ray Schmidt, a friend of Doris, met me. Almost in chorus they exclaimed: "Why, you don't look tired!"

"I'm not," I told them. "I have had a great time. I like traveling by bus."

A lovely evening followed in Joey's and Aubrey's cozy little studio apartment. (They have been happily married nearly four years now, you know.)

Then I took train for New York.

"Mother," said Joey, "aren't you going to take a Pullman?"

"I am not," I assured her, "not on this trip, not when I am traveling on money sent in by people who have worked hard for it."

I slept soundly in the chair car, using my steamer rug for a pillow and—what do you think—in the morning I had to use the first cake of soap that I had taken along with me to use in Russia! The chair car lavatories do not provide any!

New York—the Ship—Good-Bye!

At New York I was busy every second. I mean that—not even getting to bed until two a. m. There were so many details to see to.

And this morning, what affecting scenes there were.

I am sitting here writing on my knees down in the ship, close to the water line, to see if I can't get the pilot to take this off as a special favor.

brief case to which is strapped my steamer robe.

I left Girard, after all, with two suitcases, but in New York finally repacked and took only the little suitcase. My friend Celia Barker—whose actor-husband, John D. Barker, is doing such splendid work in "The Band Wagon" in New York City—helped me. She is, from much traveling with her husband in different plays, an expert.

I saw Israel Amter, of the Communist party. I saw many friends

of the Soviet Union. I had dinner with my aunt, Jane Addams, at the Cosmopolitan Club. (She had that morning been awarded a \$5,000 prize by *Pictorial Review* for distinguished service to the country and was very sweet and happy about it.)

When Celia and I left there we found friends, including Lewis, Faye, Lewis' sister, Rose, John Gunn's brother, Harold, Mr. Shepherd, a friend of the Barkers—all waiting for us.

Listen, dears, I must hurry! Only a few more moments. How I thought of you all as we left port.

I have an inside cabin with only one berth. That is nice. This is an English ship, Cunard Line.

When I leave Moscow I shall be on my own and am just a little bit afraid. So think of me—as I shall be thinking of you.

And, Henry, darling, as I can't write a separate letter—be good and obedient. Alice, be tender to him. Manuel and John, have a letter for me in Moscow—and you dear special friends in the Women's Brigade, try to double our number by the time I get back.

The sea widens between us! I know you wish me "A Safe Voyage" and I wish you "A Happy Home-Staying." Good-bye! Good-bye! The pilot is ready. Oh, good-bye once more.

SOCIALISM MEANS BETTER WORLD FOR ALL

One big truth men and women are learning from this depression: The plan for a better social order is something more—or something more immediate—than idealism. It is not simply a question of whether we shall exchange certain bad impulses for good ones, whether we shall sacrifice things that are real for things that are ideal, whether we shall build Utopia although we could get along under the present system.

Socialism is idealistic in that it presents the plan of a social order which will be infinitely superior in every way to the present order; but Socialism is also realistic and it hits close, just as capitalism hits close, to the interests of the average man and woman. Thousands of citizens who have never thought that capitalism could hurt them—who have been in a favored position under the system—have had to share the hardships of this depression.

Counting all who have suffered in one way or another during this crisis, it is certain that millions have for the first time felt personally in their own lives the harsh blows of this system. They have felt a degree of want and they have felt insecurity for the first time. They have learned that social injustice and bad organization are a menace to the majority of men and women, themselves included. They have had drilled into them the stern but useful lesson that we live in a social age when social conditions affect us all for good or ill.

This means that millions, hitherto indifferent, are now ready to listen

"Sweets--in Small Quantities"

While President Hoover and the capitalist bosses go through the old, hypocritical, heartless pretense of private and local relief for the ten million unemployed—thirty million men, women and children facing starvation—the United States Department of Agriculture has just issued a bulletin telling what food EVERY CHILD should have EVERY DAY for the absolutely essential purposes of health and growth. This is the official daily menu:

- Milk—at least a pint; preferably a quart.
- Butter—at every meal.
- Cereal, bread, or potato—at every meal.
- Vegetables, other than potatoes—at least two daily; one raw or quickly cooked; leafy kinds often.
- Fruit—once or twice a day; citrus or other raw fruit or tomatoes daily.
- Eggs or meat—the older child may have both.
- Sweets—in small quantities at end of meal.

The dietetic counsel of this Department of Agriculture bulletin is driven home emphatically as follows: "The food the child eats makes a difference in his growth and development and fitness for life. Be sure his diet includes all the material necessary for good bones, sound teeth

and other needs. Start when he is an infant to make him like a wide variety of wholesome foods. Serve him carefully planned, well-prepared meals at regular hours."

Hoover and the rich men who are managing his "unemployment relief" farce say that the jobless workers and their families will be "adequately relieved" this winter. Does this mean that not all of them will starve to death? Hoover says government aid is not needed for the unemployed—ten million unemployed workers, thirty million sufferers—but the government, through the Department of Agriculture, offers the unemployed parents good advice as to how well they should feed their children.

Draw a ring around this item and show it to every person you meet. Ask every person you meet what he or she thinks about a government that informs the workers that they should feed their children plenty of good, nourishing food but refuses to provide the workers either with jobs or with relief on a big scale which would enable them to feed their children decently. Ask the editor of your local paper to reprint this item, in which the experts of the United States Department of Agriculture tell what food EVERY CHILD should have in order to become a healthy, well-developed citizen.

Freeman Editor On A Speaking Tour

E. Haldeman-Julius went on the first of a series of week-end speaking tours October 16 and 17. The Freeman editor spoke in Manhattan on Friday night, October 16, in Community Hall to an audience of 300 people, mostly workers and farmers with a middle class sprinkling. He was introduced by Ross Magill, state secretary of the Socialist party and manager of Haldeman-Julius' senatorial campaign.

In a speech of an hour and twenty minutes, the Freeman editor exposed sharply the weaknesses of capitalism, which are leading—and rapidly—to the disintegration and downfall of the system. Unemployment, he said, is the grim climactic symptom of capitalism's inability to provide for the welfare of the masses. Based on exploitation, on the unjust division known as "wages" and "profits," capitalism makes itself top-heavy and periodically this condition becomes very critical. There is a surplus at the top, which the capitalists can't use nor sell; while the masses are left in want, surrounded by the plenty they have produced.

Unemployment insurance as an immediate measure of relief and collective ownership and democratic management of the industries as a permanent escape from this system were explained as the leading principles of Socialism and as the principles on which, as the Socialist candidate, Haldeman-Julius is making his campaign for U. S. Senator from Kansas.

A "Banker" Interrupts

There was one interruption of the Manhattan speech, which made the speech more effective. When the Freeman editor was telling about the notorious collapse of private banking, one man in the audience arose excitedly and said, "That isn't true, our bank is absolutely safe." Haldeman-Julius replied that while many individual banks are still going, it is significantly true that the banking system as a whole is in a stage of collapse, as indicated by more than 15,000 bank failures during the past ten years and failures during the past three years at the rate of about 1,000 a year.

"Only three percent of the people's deposits have been lost this year in failed banks," said the "banker" in the audience. The Freeman editor pointed out that "three percent" sounds small at first thought, but that this "small three percent" totals one billion 250 million dollars of the people's hard-earned savings which have been lost so far in 1931 alone

through the unsound profit-and-interest operations of private banks.

"Bankers actually boast," said Haldeman-Julius, "that they have got away with only three percent of the people's money. But give them time! As things are going now, in another year they will have lost six percent more, the following year ten percent more and in a few years, unless the people take steps to protect themselves, the bankers will have wasted all of the resources entrusted foolishly to their care."

After the meeting, Haldeman-Julius learned that his questioner is only a cashier in the one remaining local bank—the other four having busted within the past few months. Several in the audience told him of money lost in recent bank failures. He advised them strongly to place their money in the postal savings bank and build up such huge deposits there that, coupled with a campaign of agitation, the government would have to raise the amount of permissible deposits and also extend checking facilities.

Good publicity was had for the Manhattan meeting, both before and after. A Socialist local of eight members was organized. The editor left real enthusiasm and hope in his path.

Straight Talk to Farmers

On to Concordia—and there too the earnest and capable Ross Magill had prepared the way for a good meeting. About 200 people attended the mass meeting which was held in the county courthouse. Again the audience was one of workers and farmers, on this occasion principally farmers. Many came more than a hundred miles to hear the Freeman editor, others traveled forty and fifty miles.

The editor told the farmers frankly how capitalism is confiscating their farms, through low prices for farm products and high prices for machinery and other industrial commodities and, by no means the least, decisive factor, through the rise of the great farm corporations.

Large-scale methods and immense capitalization threaten the individual small farmer exactly as they have threatened and actually played havoc with the individual small business man—so that, Haldeman-Julius emphasized, only in cooperation may the farmer achieve economic freedom and prosperity. He made it clear that Socialism would not confiscate the individual farms—capitalism is doing that—but, under Socialism and a system of collective farming, the individual farmers would be compensated; they might also have voluntary cooperative farming associations, as well as state farming.

At the Concordia meeting a Socialist local of nineteen members was

organized, new interest was aroused in the Socialist message, the senatorial candidacy of The Freeman editor was definitely advanced and the workers were fired with the determination to organize and agitate and educate for Socialism now, rather than on some distant tomorrow.

The Freeman editor will make many more such tours in Kansas, thus meeting personally tens of thousands of people and explaining to them the issue of Socialism versus capitalism. Backed up by the influence of The Freeman with its weekly broadsides of information and protest, and with the aid of Freeman readers in all parts of the nation, the Kansas campaign promises to be not only lively but very productive in its achievements for Socialism.

BUT FICKERT DIDN'T DARE

Charles M. Fickert, the man who as district attorney of San Francisco framed Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, was invited to address the Tom Mooney convention held October 11 in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium and explain to the 9,000 persons assembled there his reasons, if any, for believing the two labor men to be guilty. He was offered thirty-five minutes in which to put his case before the audience.

But Fickert didn't dare face that crowd. He knows that every particle of evidence on which he and his fellow conspirators railroaded Mooney and Billings has been exposed as false, perjured, unscrupulous.

And this man, who was an agent of terrible and deliberate injustice and who cannot today defend his own record, was recently appointed by Governor Rolph to be advisor to the California state medical board at a fat salary of \$250 a month.

In marked contrast to Fickert's attitude was that of Judge Franklin A. Griffin, before whom Mooney was tried.

When the frameup was exposed—after Mooney had been convicted and sentenced—Judge Griffin began immediately to work for his liberation. He has been an untiring and unselfish advocate of Mooney ever since.

In a letter to the Mooney convention, Judge Griffin declared: "I still believe he [Tom Mooney] was convicted on perjured testimony, willfully produced at the trial, and I still believe his case remains an indelible stain on California's fair name."

The impressive size of the Mooney convention, an all-day session attended by 9,000 persons who had come from all over the state, indicates that there is a good deal of sentiment for justice and fair play in California. Thousands of others who could not attend the meeting are believers in Mooney's and Billings' innocence. They are not yet sufficient in number—for Rolph is in the governor's chair.

Meanwhile, this convention reminds us that it is publicity and more publicity and again publicity that has created such a strong, sound sentiment in behalf of Mooney and Billings. If there had been enough publicity and protest the case would have ended long ago, with Mooney and Billings free men. Their freedom can yet be won, but only by arousing a greater number of people in California and the nation so that they will realize the nature of this injustice.

SOCIAL FORCES make a revolution. A movement intelligently understanding these forces must be developed to guide the revolution. And with the common people educated and thoroughly aware of the course of events and the nature of the problems with which they have to deal, the revolution can be peaceable, using the legal and democratic instruments which are already in our hands. This task of guiding the forces of social revolution confronts us urgently in America. We must work night and day building up our Socialist press and movement. Are you doing your part?

SHOE WORKERS wearing old and broken shoes—that's capitalism! Put Socialism in its place and there will be plenty of shoes for all, not as the result of magic, but simply because the shoe workers can and do produce plenty of shoes for all.

WALL STREET bankers don't work for Socialism. Workers should.

PARSONS, KANSAS, TREATS UNEMPLOYED MEN AS CRIMINALS

Clyde Reed, Editor The Sun, Parsons, Kans., unemployed, arrested for refusing to let finger prints be taken when applying for meal at place where he was told free meals were served. Two men running place claimed to be deputies. One alleged deputy took Dolan to police station. Dolan was then fingerprinted and held six days until yesterday. Dolan's only crime is being unemployed. Attorneys will file suit against Parsons for one hundred thousand dollars. Suggest that you investigate and take steps to prevent the repetition of such outrages in your city.—E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS.

This telegram, from The Freeman editor to the former governor of Kansas and editor of the Parsons, Kans., Sun, is the boiled-down story of one phase of the "unemployed relief" which is actually taking place in these United States. This happened in Kansas, too, which prides itself on its virtuous reputation for law and order. It happened in the "heart of America," in a small and semi-industrial Kansas town of about 20,000 population. Clyde M. Reed, editor of the Parsons Sun and the town's leading citizen, is rather notable as an exponent, in politics, of reform and democracy. Parsons has many restaurants—and churches and nice homes—and a jail. John Dolan was hustled into the jail. Parsons greeted him with a fingerprint expert and a dirty cell in a grim, pestilential jail.

And John Dolan's only "crime" was that of being unable to find a job in this land of "over-production," hunger and forced beggary. Private and local relief must take care of the unemployed, President Hoover has said and keeps on saying. Dolan went to a restaurant in Parsons and inquired if he could do some work in exchange for a meal—surely an honest request. He was directed to a place where, he was told, free meals were provided for the unemployed.

Going to this place, Dolan found half a dozen men waiting. He went in and asked about a meal, was told to sit down a minute, and shortly was asked to step up to a table and "sign up." Then he discovered, to his astonishment and anger, that "signing up" meant having his finger prints taken. "Is it a crime to be unemployed and hungry?" Dolan asked. He started to leave, when one of the two men running the place grabbed him.

This man claimed to be a "deputy." He compelled Dolan, who made no resistance, to accompany him to the police station. Charged with no crime whatever, Dolan was nevertheless forced at the station to submit to having his finger prints taken. He was thrown into a cell. He demanded trial—it was refused.

Six days, from October 13 to 20, Dolan was held in the Parsons jail. On the sixth day he was turned out and ordered grimly to leave the city at once. Dolan came to Pittsburg, Kans., and told his story to Caroline A. Love, an attorney in that town. Then he came to Girard and told his story to The Freeman editor.

Immediately E. Haldeman-Julius wired Clyde M. Reed, as above, while steps are being taken to file a suit against the city of Parsons for \$100,000. Our purpose is to prevent similar outrages to other workmen, whose only "crime" is being unemployed and being made hungry and helpless as the result of too long an ordeal of "rugged individualism."

WALTER S. GIFFORD, American Telephone and Telegraph magnate who heads Hoover's commission for (talking about) unemployment relief, announces that from time to time he will let the American people know how the unemployed are getting along. Kind of him, indeed! And we can say in advance that his reports will be optimistic. The ten million unemployed and the millions who are afraid of losing their jobs and the masses who see and share in the prevailing troubles—don't need any reports from Gifford. They know what the situation is and we believe they are in a mood to end the cause of this insane situation, if we reach them with our messages of economic sanity.

Would You BELIEVE IT?

Cotton mills in South Carolina are employing boys on night shifts, while adult workers are out of jobs.

Twelve Negro cotton specialists have gone from the United States to Russia, where they will help the Soviet Union increase its cotton production.

Deputy sheriffs in the employ of the mills kidnaped and whipped Clara Holden, organizer for the National Textile Workers' Union in Greenville, S. C. This charge is made by Greenville mill workers in affidavits received by the International Labor Defense.

Promoting a march of World War veterans to Washington, D. C., to demand relief, J. L. Cunningham, Portland Ore., says: "Right here in Oregon thousands of unemployed veterans are waiting their reward for past loyalty to their country in the form of coffee, doughnuts and soup."

U. S. Senator Edward P. Costigan, Colorado, declares that he will join in demanding government relief for the unemployed when Congress meets in December. Costigan is known as a progressive Democrat. He supports the employment of capitalism which causes unemployment.

Demanding unemployment insurance for the "lost 70,000 miners," John H. Walker, president of the Illinois district of the U. M. W. A., stated at a meeting of the district in Springfield that only 40,000 miners are now working in the state, whereas more than 100,000 were employed ten years ago.

Seeking to land in jail, where he would at least be warm and fed, Frank Jackson, a 33-year-old unemployed worker of Oakland, Calif., appeared on the streets naked. He was arrested but the judge, discovering that the man wanted to go to jail, ordered him to get out of the city.

Teachers of Negro schools in Virginia are paid as low as \$35 per month. This low pay is one item in the indictment of poor educational facilities for Negroes. There is agitation for better education for this abused race—led by the Negroes, with small cooperation thus far from the white population.

A private gang of machine gunners to carry out eviction orders will not be organized by H. A. Ratner, Chicago real estate agent. The city authorities told him that police would provide all the force necessary to throw into the streets the persons and poor belongings of jobless workers who do not pay rent.

Jane Addams, speaking in Washington D. C., said that the Women's International League has obtained 1,300,000 signatures in Great Britain and nearly 1,000,000 in Japan insisting upon definite action for peace at the disarmament conference to be held in Geneva in February, 1932. Signatures have been gathered in all countries.

The U. S. Supreme Court has refused to modify its 5 to 4 decision of last May, denying citizenship to Prof. Douglas Clyde Macintosh, of Yale Divinity School, and Averil Bland, who served as a war nurse. The two other citizens could not be admitted as citizens, the



Jane Addams receiving the \$5,000 prize from Pictorial Review as a tribute to her most distinguished activities in behalf of America's larger welfare. She has devoted her life to social work, but her greatest and richest deserved fame has come from her labors in behalf of peace. She is the world's best-known pacifist and most eminent woman. Miss Addams is an aunt of Marcell Holdeman-Julius. They had a hurried visit together in New York City just before Marcell sailed for the Soviet Union as the special reporter for The Freeman readers.

court ruled, because they would not agree to bear arms in a war.

The recognition of Russia and unemployment insurance are not proper subjects for high school debates, declares Mrs. J. F. Hornaday, vice-president of the Indiana Daughters of the American Revolution. She asks the attorney-general to prevent such debates and the Indiana State Debating League to select other subjects.

Huge electrical transformers, each weighing 84,000 pounds, are being made by the General Electric Co. for the Soviet Union. The transformers are so wide that no railroad operating to the coast can haul them, except by tearing out signals and other equipment along the tracks. That's what the New Haven railroad will do in order to get the job.

Orders from the Soviet Union for American goods dropped during the first nine months of 1931 to 49 percent lower than during the same period in 1930. For 1930 to same months the sale of Soviet products to America dropped 36 percent. The drop is due to political and financial obstacles placed in the way of Russian-American trade.

The White House has asked publishers not to print a book by Walter W. Liggett exposing Herbert Hoover, it was

announced over WOR radio station, New York City. The book had already been accepted by one publisher, and its coming publication announced, but it recently was withdrawn from this publisher's scheduled lists.

Airplane pilots have formed a union, which already includes about half of the experienced pilots now in service. Pilots in Canada, Mexico and South America are eligible to membership. The new union's appeal to the public is that it will demand the use of skilled pilots only and that it will resist the dangerous tendency to force excessively long hours upon the fliers.

The small business man runs a perilous course under capitalism, according to Julius Klein, assistant secretary of commerce. Speaking to a national convention of restaurant proprietors, he said that in 1928 in Kansas City, Mo., 551 restaurants out of 1,084 changed ownership or failed and that in Buffalo, N. Y., "in the course of ten years only eight out of every 100 independent retail grocers survive the stress and strain of business uncertainty. In the drug field there are but thirty hardy veterans left out of every hundred."

A CAPITALIST believes that the workers owe him a fortune.

Question Box Edited by John W. Gunn

The following appeared in our local paper: "The Communists have Russia well under control. Everywhere I went the army was evident. There were soldiers on almost every farm, on guard day and night. I doubt if anything like a counter-revolution could happen with the army and secret police functioning so effectively." Is this picture true?—Mrs. J. P. Waynard, Calif.

It happens that I have just read Maurice Hindus' *Red Bread*, telling about the collectivization of agriculture in Russia, not in statistical or merely technical terms but in its human reflections in the lives and thoughts of the peasants. Hindus was born and raised in Russia and is not a Communist. He is inclined to be critical of the Soviet system, yet he is fair and truthful. Judged by this book (one of the best) and by other literature I have read, both in condemnation and praise, the picture Mrs. Waynard calls to my attention is highly exaggerated, that is to say, quite false. Russia is not covered by soldiers nor overrun with secret police. The peasants and workers talk freely about conditions, express their opinions and in their factory and village meetings enjoy a great deal of direct democratic management. The workers have a greater measure of control over industry in Russia than they have in America; in other respects the Russian workers and peasants have more freedom than the American people have—for instance, Russia does not have Prohibition nor any law against the circulation of birth control knowledge. It is true, however, that the Communists party rules the country and that an opposition press is not permitted, although wide personal liberty is granted and the government encourages criticism of details in the working out of its plans. Russia has a dictatorship—differing therein from Socialism, which advocates industrial democracy—but it is not upheld by terrorism. Even a critical reporter like Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, admits that the Soviet government has the good will and confidence of the Russian masses.

I am a railroad man, with a nineteen-year-old boy, whom I should like to give the advantage of a real education without any capitalistic bunk. Can you tell me where my boy can get an education, at a reasonable expense, that will really educate him and not fill him with the usual nonsense about success (i. e., beating the other fellow) and orthodoxy and a cheap wish to seem above his class?—A. M., Md.

The ideal school for A. M.'s purpose is Commonwealth College, in the southern Ozarks, near Mena, Ark. This school for workers, young and old—but attracting chiefly the young men and women of the working class—was established as an experiment in 1923. It has been a remarkable success, although it is deliberately limited in size and in the number of students in any school year. Students and teachers work four hours a day, five days a week; agriculture mainly, but also small handicrafts are carried on; classes are from 7:30 until 12:00 daily for six days a week, in addition to much informal reading and discussion. The school year is divided into three quarters of twelve weeks each; there is a summer session of ten weeks. The college represents no special theory or party, but it trains workers for effective service in the labor movement. Courses are given in American history, economics, law, effective writing, secretarial work, and various aspects of the labor and cooperative movements. Terms are \$40 a quarter, payable in advance, \$10 being remitted with application for entrance into the school; and a \$5 breakage fee, the unused balance of which is returned to the student at the end of the school year. To enter the school, one must be eighteen years of age or more and one must apply in writing. Commonwealth College is the best school known for college workers' education, combining as it does labor and study and the spirit of communal culture. The young worker will acquire at Commonwealth a good knowledge of basic studies usually found in academic courses, and he will gain more, namely, a vivid appreciation of the human meaning of knowledge and a social vision that will help him, not to rise above his class, but to assist his class in rising to social dignity and freedom. Commonwealth College has the full and unreserved endorsement of The American Freeman.

A man works in the postoffice. He has got as high as possible. He wants to go on up—make more money. How would he do it under Socialism?—Ward Mulford, N. J.

He would advance by doing better work and demonstrating his fitness for a better position. We are assuming, of course, that there would be, in his case, a better position open. Obviously the positions which are now regarded as better would be limited in number; not every one could be the manager of a postoffice. What is more important, it seems to me, is that divisions of income, social ambition, pride of place and the itch for success would not urge men on so feverishly under Socialism. All would receive the full social value of their labor; all would be prosperous and secure; all would be on a social plane of comradeship. The present striving to make more money and to fill a higher position, which is partly a reaction from insecurity and partly the reflection of selfish, snobbish "ideals" under capitalism, would gradually cease to be a strong motive under Socialism; in its place there would be the urge to live more fully, richly, beautifully. Under capitalism men work to live or live to work or to grow famous or rich. Under Socialism men would learn how to live for the sake of living.

THE CRIME OF HOOVER

In saying that President Hoover is to blame for the present unemployment situation, Senator LaFollette is quite correct.

This doesn't mean that Hoover personally caused the unemployment. It is essential that the workers clearly understand that the profit system, not any individual, is responsible for the industrial crisis.

But Hoover's crime—his principal crime against the workers, for his crimes are many—is that he has refused to call Congress into special session to pass legislation for organized national relief of the unemployed millions.

The situation has become worse month after month. National relief will be needed, as even conservative charity workers have long clearly seen. Because Hoover thinks such relief would be "paternalistic"—because, that is, it would involve the government in actually doing something for its jobless working class citizens—he has dogmatically opposed it and has used his power as President to prevent such relief.

A special session of Congress wouldn't end the evils of the capitalist system. That can be done only by abolishing capitalism. Congress could help the unemployed and almost surely the regular session, meeting in December, will have to do something for the idle, starving millions—too late, however, for the immediate needs of this winter.

In preventing such action, Hoover, personally having the power to call Congress in special session for the purpose, is personally to blame for the suffering this winter due to inadequate relief.

The unemployed should organize committees and hunger marches to demand relief from local, state and national governments. They should do more—they should study the nature of this profit system and agitate for a government of, by and for the workers.

A SERIOUS LESSON

The most important letter we have received in The Freeman office during many weeks is from a Texas policeman, who sends a dollar for Method No. 3 to help in the Kansas senatorial campaign and compliments The Freeman on the good, lively, interesting paper that it is. This policeman likes Warren's page and says: "I believe his page and articles will not only prove enlightening but will serve to increase the circulation greatly." But here is the real point of the letter. This policeman says:

Here is one for you to think over. I am a policeman that has just had his wages reduced 15 percent by a capitalist run and controlled government. So you see we are all brothers under the skin and suffering from the same disease, "monopolitis," and of course we will have to win the Army, Navy and Police side, which is only a case of education.

This comrade policeman is exactly right. Most people can be taught the truth of Socialism and its advantage to themselves. Just remember that the majority of men and women are not supporting capitalism because it is in their interest to do so.

They are supporting the system because the daily newspapers constantly misrepresent the system, making the workers believe that they are being fairly treated, that their troubles and sufferings are unavoidable (being caused, they say, by "natural" economic "law"), that everybody has plenty of opportunity, and that some day the worker may be rich himself and an exploiter—or perhaps President representing the exploiters.

These lies and many more are told every day by the capitalist press. So the masses stand for capitalism because they don't understand its real nature—and also because they have not been told how a better system (Socialism) is possible and how they can bring this better system about through their own action.

Well, that is the purpose of The Freeman: to tell the masses exactly how this system exploits them and to show them how they can put Socialism into practice.

Socialism will mean a better life for the majority, including policemen and soldiers and sailors. The revolt of the British sailors only the other day shows that even these trained defenders of capitalism can be class-conscious and realize that, in defending capitalism, they are not serving their own interests.

It was the revolt of the soldiers and sailors that, after all, made the Russian revolution a success. These men realized that they were workers, just like their fellows at home. They joined in kicking over the system that was their common enemy. The lesson for us is, like our Texas policeman comrade says, to spend more time getting Socialist papers in circulation among policemen, soldiers and sailors.

A Constructive Suggestion

BY G. H. JONES
It would be advisable to remind Freeman readers from time to time that it is important to see that every piece of radical literature that comes into their possession—if it is good propaganda, as most of it is—is made to do as much duty as possible, either by handing it to people they meet, or leaving it where it is likely to be picked up, in a street car, for instance, or in some such place.

It seems to me that this matter is important enough to warrant repeating every little while.

If the 27,000 readers of The Freeman were careful and conscientious about this, I feel sure it would produce appreciable results and at no expense. (A copy of The Freeman may be remailed to some friend at only 2c when put in a large envelope.)
Radical literature is too important, especially at this juncture in the world's affairs, to be wasted. And, by the way, isn't it a blistering shame that such a paper as The Freeman, edited by one of the ablest and most controversialists this country ever produced, has a circulation of only a measly 27,000, while some flap-doodle publication that isn't worth powder to blow it to perdition, can have a circulation of a million or two? The Freeman ought to have a circulation of at least five million.

Talk up The Freeman to everybody you meet.

GRAFTERS don't work for Socialism. Workers should.

PARASITES don't work for Socialism. Workers should.

HOW CAN WE expect to have prosperity so long as parasites take most of the nation's wealth?

ARE YOU satisfied with conditions? If not—and surely you are not—then put your energy into the struggle for better conditions.

CLOTHING WORKERS in rags—that's capitalism. Under Socialism there will be abundant clothing for all, for the practical reason that enough clothing is produced to supply all.

A NEWS ITEM informs us that Hoover is studying the depression. Yeah? Again or yet? The crippled beggar who sits along the iron railing in front of the White House, selling pencils—he, too, is studying the depression. Different angles, of course.

IT IS SAID that Ramsay MacDonald may "retire" as ambassador to the United States or as viceroy of India. This could hardly be called retirement. MacDonald, who deserted the Labor party and the principles of Socialism in a crisis, would still be serving the British capitalist class.

CAPITALISM is rapidly destroying itself. The mission of the workers is to build Socialism. This cannot be done until the masses are educated to Socialism. This task of education is our task and your task. Let us work together diligently and measure up to the stirring events and changes that are just ahead of us and that are indeed with us now in their important beginnings.

NO MAN can enslave another under Socialism. The present method of enslavement is by economic control. Capitalists own the industries and thus make slaves of the workers. When the nation owns the industries—a nation run by the workers—this economic slavery will cease. It is your great opportunity to help end this slavery by educating the workers to Socialism.

WHAT GOOD is political liberty unless the workers vote themselves into power? They are merely miserable dupes so long as they vote for the representatives of capitalism. Democrats and Republicans—they won't help you, because they are upholders of the present system under which the wealthy parasites continually rob the workers. Vote for Socialism and a new system under which the workers will get what they produce.

AN OLD PARTY politician will promise the workers anything except the fundamentally important service of ending the rule of the rich. It is this rule which old party politicians are sworn to uphold, because the rich contribute their campaign funds and permit them political graft in exchange for the huge economic graft of private ownership. Get wise to yourself and refuse to support the old party politicians. Vote for Socialism.

PRODUCERS of abundant food dragging out a miserable existence in poverty—that's capitalism. Under Socialism all will have enough food, for the practical reason that enough food is produced for all. Rich men cannot spend \$50,000 in one night on a luxurious party but the workers can be comfortable. Which do you believe in? luxury for a few or comfort for a few, you will be a Republican or a Democrat. If you believe in comfort for all, you will be a Socialist.

LIKE EVERY SYSTEM of privilege and oppression, capitalism is based on the hope that its victims will not understand how they are being robbed and will not organize to end the robbery. This hope is being shaken by the class of revolutionary world events. It will be finally shattered when we develop a clear and uncompromising movement among the workers, with the abolition of capitalism as its goal. To develop this movement and reach this goal, a fully radical and widely read working class press is indispensable.

AS CERTAINLY as the sun rises and the seasons come, so certainly will there be a social revolution in America as in the world. It is not certain that this social revolution will be peaceful. We all want it to be peaceful; but that depends upon the masses of the citizens. Unless they are educated to bring about this inevitable change peacefully, there will be a violent revolution. That is a calamity we wish to prevent. Help us to prevent it by educating your fellow workers to intelligent Socialism.

BACK IN 1907 Hoover told the late Dr. David Starr Jordan that he was getting \$5,000 as a mining expert and \$95,000 a year as a financial expert, that is, to put it bluntly, a promoter. Under Socialism he might get \$5,000 as a mining expert, but he would have to prove his ability in that line by actual service and not by publicity agents. Under Socialism Hoover couldn't get \$95,000 as a financial expert or promoter, nor the millions he made in mining stock deals. And that, dear friends, is principally and sufficiently the reason Herbert Hoover is not a Socialist.

WHY SHOULD the masses of America be poor so that John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, Andy Mellon, Henry Ford and a few other rich men can have extreme fortunes? It is for this purpose that capitalism is operated; and we say that it is an insane, criminal purpose. We say that the products of American industries should be fairly distributed among the workers—that no man should receive a dollar for mere owning—that only labor should be rewarded. Think this idea over and see if you can find a flaw in it. We are sure that you will see its justice and unite with us in bringing Socialism to a world which cannot longer safely exist, or for that matter exist at all, under capitalism.

Mooney's Worst Trouble Is His Innocence, Says Fremont Older

It's hard luck to be innocent of a crime. Guilty, you may go free. Innocent, you are in a tough spot—especially if you have been a labor agitator and have been framed by so-called officials of "Justice" who really serve labor-hating corporations.

Thus at the all-day Tom Mooney Convention in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium on October 11 Fremont Older, editor of the San Francisco *Call-Bulletin*, declared that winning freedom for Mooney and Billings is harder because they are innocent and entirely deserve freedom "than it would have been had they really been guilty and served fifteen years' imprisonment."

If Mooney and Billings were guilty, they could be turned loose with the statement that they had been punished enough.

But the California officials don't want to admit that these men are innocent, that they never deserved a single hour of punishment, and that they were framed into prison by the corrupt corporation tools of the law in San Francisco.

THEY OUGHT TO KNOW

Clerks, technicians, engineers, executives—representatives of all these classes of labor, who have been accustomed to feeling themselves secure under capitalism, have been driven into the breadlines. The New York *Times* of September 21 reports that in August there was an average of fifty-two applicants for every "white collar" job offered by the commercial employment agencies in New York City. Men—and women—who formerly held excellent positions, positions of special skill and trust, are now tramping the streets.

The situation is tragic. Even the *Times*, leading capitalist paper that it is, is driven to comment on the plight of these workers, although it has no suggestion for saving them from their fate, excepting that they should share in such local and state relief as is available. "Information from the social welfare agencies," says the *Times*, "indicates the growing number of applicants for relief from the white-collar class. Two or three years ago there were almost none. Now there are many—at some agencies as many as in the class of manual laborers. Savings have been used up, money has been borrowed credit with relatives, friends and agencies is gone, and such problems as health, nutrition, dental care and needed recreation are ignored with disastrous results."

The thought in this situation is, not that the sufferings of this class of workers are more deserving of consideration than the sufferings of the greater army of industrial workers, but that the depression is so widespread that even those employees usually favored by capitalism—those in social position and privileges if not always in wages—are badly hit. And thousands of workers in this class, who are still employed, live from week to week under the black shadow of insecurity.

Most of these workers have not, in their better days, been interested in Socialism. They have felt, quite mistakenly, that they had security and opportunity under capitalism. Now they are learning that capitalism throws them aside with as little concern as it kicks the manual workers out of industry. These men and women are thinking about economics, you may be sure. Most of their thinking is uninformed. They have no perception of the principles of economics. They know that something is very wrong but they don't know exactly what it is nor quite what to do about it.

These men and women—and their fellows who remain at work but who have been given most vividly a feeling of the insecurity of capitalism—are ripe to receive the message of Socialism. If we can reach them and tell them clearly and simply why capitalism is a hopeless system for them and why Socialism is a hopeful system, guaranteeing them a secure and comfortable life, we can bring them into our ranks.

Here is a great field of Socialist education. The problem is that of reaching these victims of capitalism with our message. This problem can be solved easily if each person who is familiar with the message of Socialism and who appreciates how clearly this message is given in The Freeman week after week will make it his job to spread this message in his own town, city or community. THERE IS NO TIME LIKE THE PRESENT FOR GETTING THE PEOPLE INTO THE RANKS OF SOCIALISM.

BOSS GIFFORD AND "RELIEF"

Yep! Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., is an impressive choice as the head of President Hoover's committee to relieve—through radio talks—the unemployed.

Boss Gifford's company has discharged thousands of operators as a result of the installment of automatic devices. That helps the unemployed—what?

And Gifford is a member of the board of directors of the U. S. Steel Corporation, which recently slashed the wages of steel workers by ten percent.

Great relief! Will the unemployed workers get wise to the fact that capitalism, in all its acts and agents, is a sham? NOTE ON MILITARISM: "In the whole world there are no more funds for cancer research each year than the annual interest on the cost of two destroyers."—Dr. Francis Carter Wood, director of the Crocker Institute of Cancer Research of Columbia University.

Morris Hillquit, who edited our FREE Library of Socialism, sums up the importance of this set of books: "In twenty separate books, it covers all phases of the Socialist philosophy, program, methods, achievements and organization. Each subject is treated by an outstanding authority within the

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This FREE Library of Socialism is being made a very useful part of The American Freeman's educational campaign to bring the message of social justice and industrial sanity to the American people. We are offering this set of 20 valuable, educational books on Socialism FREE to every reader who sends us \$2 for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards, using the blank below. It is necessary to use the blank if you want to take advantage of this FREE offer.

This offer not only enables us to get these books into circulation, thus providing the very best and latest Socialist literature for our readers; but it also helps us to increase the circulation of The Freeman. Together, the FREE Library of Socialism and The Freeman form an educational combination that will carry forward most effectively the needed Socialist education in America. In this crisis it is most important that the masses should be made thoroughly familiar with the principles and program of Socialism. Morris Hillquit, lawyer and well-known Socialist author and chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party, edited this FREE Library of Socialism, choosing the best authors and drawing up a comprehensive plan of Socialist education. The titles and authors of the 20 books are as follows:

Look At The Contents!

1. Socialism and the Farmers' Problem. Agernon Lee.
2. Socialism and Culture. Upton Sinclair.
3. Why I Am a Socialist. Herwood Brown.
4. Socialism and the City. Daniel W. Hoan.
5. Will Socialism End the Evil of War? Devere Allen.
6. Socialism and Communism. Norman Angell.
7. Pioneers of Socialism. McAllister Coleman.
8. Incentives Under Socialism. G. D. H. Cole.
9. Socialism and the Trade Unions. James Oneal.
10. Certain Misconceptions: A New Current in Socialism Answered. John M. Work.
11. The Socialist Goal. Fred Henderson.
12. The Betrayal of the Workless. McAllister Coleman.
13. Can Socialism Prevail in America? James Oneal.
14. Forces Working for Socialism. Paul Blanshard.
15. Organizing the World for Socialism. Clarence Senior.
16. Socialism and the Individual. Norman Thomas.
17. Socialism and Women. Marion Phillips.
18. The Practical Accomplishments of Socialism. Morris Hillquit.
19. The Practical Program of Socialism. Harry W. Laidler.
20. The Political Philosophy of Socialism. Morris Hillquit.

As you can see, the 20 books cover every phase of Socialism, its history, ideas and methods and aims. These books, together with The Freeman, constitute the best guide to the present crisis of society. In these books you will find a complete explanation of the origins and the evolution of capitalism. You will understand the rise of Socialism, the shaping of its principles, the growth of its practical aims. We may indeed call this set of 20 books a library of economic culture. These books will be more valuable to you than a college course in economics.

It is not enough to circulate these books alone. They must have the backing of a strong Socialist paper, circulating each week and making the applications of Socialist thought and knowledge to current events. This is why we are offering this Library of Socialism FREE

special field. Each book is complete in itself. All are up to date, concise, to the point and written in plain English. As far as I know no exposition of Socialist doctrines and practices has ever been attempted on such an ambitious scale or in such a comprehensive manner."

to every reader who will send us \$2 for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards. Using these books and The Freeman in combination, we can do wonders for Socialist education in America.

Note: A sub card is printed in the form of a postal card, addressed to The American Freeman, containing on one side a subscription guarantee and blank lines for the name and address of the sender; it can be stamped and dropped into the nearest mail box.

Let us warn you: A social revolution is coming in the United States—as it is coming in the whole world. We must be prepared to control this revolution, to shape it, and to guide it in the right direction. And what kind of preparation must we have? Obviously we must have a thorough understanding of Socialism. We must know Socialist principles fundamentally. We must be familiar with the historic development of Socialism. We must be soundly informed concerning the practical program of Socialism—that is, we must know HOW we are going to make the change of systems.

Well, these 20 books in the FREE Library of Socialism will give you all this information. They will serve as a complete guide to the Cooperative Commonwealth. Read these books and you will be a fully effective Socialist, not only as an agitator for Socialism now, but as a trained worker in the Cooperative Commonwealth when Socialism is established.

That may be any day. The capitalist system is going to pieces. The so-called "leaders" of capitalism are unable to mend the system or to set it going again. They talk, speculate, wonder, bluster and—do nothing. It looks as if the Socialists would, sooner or later—and probably sooner—have to take over the country and show how it can be run on sane, scientific principles. Make yourself a part of this great movement by ordering these 20 books in the FREE Library of Socialism, with an order for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards.

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Freeman Circulation by States

Table with columns: State, Off, On, Total. Lists circulation data for various states including California, Illinois, Michigan, etc.

Total 266 475 27,553. Expirations for week ending Oct. 24, 1932: 266. New subs for week ending Oct. 24, 1932: 155.

Gain for week: 209. T. H. Meyer, Kans., sends \$2 for Method No. 3.

Hand this copy of The Freeman to your neighbor when you are through with it.

Niel J. Morgan, La., sends \$1 for a bundle of back numbers.

Arthur J. Gortz, Canada, still continues sending 25c each week for Method No. 3.

T. C. Haller, Mo., sends \$4 for Meth. No. 3. Albert Smilgoff, Ill., sends \$2.

Thos. D. Panatier, Nev., sends \$1 for a bundle of 50 copies of The Freeman which exposes the dictatorship conspiracy of the American Legion.

The following orders were received for sub cards: Elizabeth H. Claywell, Ill., \$15; M. L. Phillips, Kans., \$1; H. Hall, Fla., \$2; E. Studer, O., \$1; Henry Erminger, O., \$1; John Piercey, Kans., \$5; Dr. Frank B. Woodson, Ind., \$5; E. A. Breeze, O., \$1; H. H. Homan, N.Y., \$5; Milton Wilfong, Ind., \$1; Jacob Benkert, Calif.

Enos Farmer, Calif., sends \$4 for a bundle of four Freemans each week for one year and eight 50c sub cards, with the understanding that any cash promises but if all the readers do what I intend to do we will have a million subscribers before the end of another year. Tell Fred Warren, an old member of the Americal Army back on the job.

The following each sent \$1 to Meth. No. 3 in order to help in the Kansas senatorial campaign: D. W. Jarvis, Calif.; H. Hall, Fla.; land, Calif.; Chas. L. Hamblin, Mass.; Claude W. Jordan, Va.; Smith W. Clark, Va.; Chas. A. Beck, Calif.; Albert Johnson, Ill.; J. F. White, Tex.; E. L. Warden, Mo.; F. S. Fleming, Kans.; Pat Kerby, Ind.; E. L. Warden, Mo.; B. S. Cox, Tex.; D. C. Drake, Ohio.

Clubs of subs, ranging in size from four to as many as thirty, were received from: John D. Bradley, Ky.; Leon E. Innes, Mont.; Geo. Ullman, Calif.; Dr. F. Linneberger, S. Dak.; Clarence W. Bruce, Ind.; Wm. Topozek, Pa.; Al. Langendorfer, Ky.; Wm. D. John, Pa.; Robt. Mitchell, O.; E. J. Brandt, Mo.; A. C. Peterson, Minn.; Ward Mulford, N. J.; E. D. Meyer, Pa.; Hans Grunrad, S. Dak.; L. P. Larson, N. Dak.; J. Racicot, Wash.; Asa Keller, Wash.; J. R. Ziegler, Kan.; H. Landes, Mich.; Theo. Eiling, Okla.; C. H. Camp, Tex.; Ray Ramto, Ore.; Melvin Dix, Ore.; H. E. L. Per, Ill.; L. W. Calhoun, O.; C. J. Recheaten, Pa.; C. R. Carle, La.; Ernest A. Amosa, Hawaii; Edna C. Bryant, Ind.; W. Caldwell, Mo.; A. E. Wulff, Calif.; W. F. Smith, Calif.; Ed. Schmidt, Pa.; Roy Emano, Ore.; Leo C. Rose, Mich.; Calif. American Legion, Pa.; Frank J. Bray, Pa.; Oscar P. Johnson, Ind.; A. H. Warnke, Wis.; V. E. Guld, Ore.; W. H. Cook, Jr., Mo.; John Bookjans, Pa.; Walter A. Farris, Ill.; Russell Griesbaum, Mo.; P. Lockwood, Pa.; Russell Griesbaum, Mo.; B. S. Cox, Tex.; Ralph W. Gilman, Kans.; D. E. Ester, Okla.; Max Lassalle, Idaho; Paul D. Wildeck, N. D.; Chas. H. Sharp, Alaska; Clay Hubbard, Calif.; John Fradel, Pa.; S. H. Smith, Calif.; O. E. Samuelson, Okla.; Warren Patterson, N.M.; Dr. C. R. McCalmont, Mo.; Geo. Pierce, Canada.

MARCELT'S SOVIET TOUR. Each of the following order to help pay the expenses of Marcell Haldeman-Julius' tour for Freeman readers: W. Henry Thompson, N. J.; J. A. Hayes, Tex.; George Carter, N. J.; Marjorie E. Herrick, Ind.; Chas. A. Beck, Calif.; F. E. Waters, Calif.; P. O. Hostetter, Calif.; Doctors Balfe, Calif.; Wm. C. Reuter, Ill.; C. L. Orr, Pa.; F. K. Van Alstine, Ind.; A. E. Norelius, Wash.; F. C. Bryant, Mass.; John

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MOONEY IS SCAPEGOAT, ASSERTS RUPERT HUGHES

Tom Mooney is a scapegoat for California, asserted Rupert Hughes, well-known novelist, in a letter which was read to the Tom Mooney convention held October 11 in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium. The letter was brought to the convention by Paul Bern, an executive of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film company and Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., the celebrated screen actor, who flew from Hollywood in an airplane.

"Criminals have gone unpunished and walked out of court unscathed," wrote Hughes, "confessed murderers have been acquitted and commended by juries and applauded by delighted mobs, yet for fifteen years Mooney has been held fast while the case against him has grown more and more ridiculous.

"I have no word to say in defense of the person really guilty of the slaughter on Preparedness Day, but I cannot believe one whit of respectable evidence has been offered to connect Mooney with the horror.

"Eminent jurists and citizens of the most unquestioned virtue abhor such crimes as Mooney is charged with, but abhor still more the methods by which the crime was fastened on him and the refusal to undo the injustice disclosed by the amazing amount of new light thrown on the whole procedure.

"The blot has been transferred from Mooney to California, for California has locked her scapegoat within her own walls with all her sins upon him, and only by his release can release California."

The Campaign Grows Hotter!

In his speaking tours, which began in Manhattan and Concordia, Kans., E. Haldeman-Julius opens a new phase of his campaign for U. S. Senator from Kansas. During these tours The Freeman editor will be placed directly in touch with tens of thousands of Kansas voters. His purpose is far less to obtain his own election to the U. S. Senate on the Socialist ticket than it is to reach these voters with the message of Socialism, which he regards as necessary. But constant education through The Freeman is indispensable in backing up these meetings. The Freeman helps the meetings and the meetings help The Freeman.

Our readers can help in this campaign, which has national significance for the growing Socialist movement. Their best method of helping is to contribute \$1 or more to Method No. 3. This means that we cannot only send copies of The Freeman through the mails to Kansas voters, but that The Freeman editor and Ross Magill, state secretary of the Kansas Socialist party and manager of the campaign, can afford to give away thousands of copies of The Freeman at these meetings. By this method The Freeman Army can place itself fully and effectively in this Kansas struggle.



Von Hindenburg led the Kaiser's armies—then he became President of the German Republic—but it is virtually as a dictator that he now rules Germany, representing of course Germany's capitalist class in suppressing discontent and possible revolt among German workers. Von Hindenburg looks like a dictator and President Hoover looks and acts as if he wished to be one—so remember that American Legion resolution, calling for a dictatorship, and realize that the danger still exists. Keep fighting for a free press and free people.

FACE THE TRUTH—AND ACT!

Resenting our attack on President Hoover in the September 19 issue of The Freeman, A. W. Stubbs of Kansas City, Kan., raps us sternly as follows: "It is a grave thing to charge the highest official in the world with falsifying, and unless you can prove it from his own utterances, you are not an American Freeman nor a good American citizen."

Such innocence may be blissful—we don't know. Is it possible, truly, that Mr. Stubbs has such childlike faith in the veracity of high officials? According to customary political standards, a main test of fitness to be a high official is willingness and dexterity in deceiving the people.

Wilson deceived the people first about his peace intentions and later about his war purposes. Coolidge deceived the people with his talk of a Golden Age of Prosperity. Hoover has time and again issued statements, or caused his propagandists to issue statements, meant to deceive the people about the facts of this economic crisis.

In the very article in The Freeman for September 19, which Mr. Stubbs mentions resentfully, we emphasized a deception by President Hoover, which we have repeatedly emphasized in other issues of The Freeman: namely, his assertion that private charities and local public funds are quite capable of handling the unemployment destitution.

This statement is notoriously false. Hoover knows it to be false. At the height of the suffering last winter, Senator LaFollette made inquiries from the local authorities of 200 American cities and he was informed that the situation was beyond their resources; and the situation will be worse this winter, while the resources of the cities (and of the states) will be less.

In such representative large cities as Detroit, Pittsburgh and Los Angeles local relief has admittedly collapsed—that is to say, with relief needs growing, relief measures have been diminished because funds are lacking.

Local relief throughout the country has failed, as thoughtful students of the situation knew it would fail, and the publicity given to the President's need of relief—not to organize men to provide relief—is a confession of failure. This failure will become more sensationally clear as the winter deepens and the demands of the masses can no longer be ignored.

Members of Congress know that Hoover has misrepresented—in blunt words, has lied about—the situation. A dispatch from Washington to The Freeman says: "Day by day the number of House and Senate members arriving from home and settling down for a long season by the Potomac is growing. Many of them have virtually fled from their own districts and states, due to the strain of being asked, night and day, by all sorts of constituents, for loans or gifts or jobs which they cannot give. These men realize that the first business to be taken up when Congress convenes must be the appropriating of Federal funds for relief of the unemployed. If Congress hesitates to face this task, its members will hear from home. Washington may be invaded by regiments of the jobless, ready to march on the capitol with their demands."

Conditions are too serious for us to hesitate over amenities. Hoover has lied persistently and brazenly, from October, 1929, to the present time; he has tried to make this crisis appear as only a slight, temporary depression; as the figures of unemployed grew and he could no longer deny them absolutely, he has tried to tell the country believe that the figures were much less than they actually were; a steady stream of jugged figures and falsely optimistic statements has emanated from the White House and the government departments.

Mr. Stubbs says that "we have never had a President more willing to work for the best interests of the masses." Yet by his own words Hoover shows that his one dominating interest in this crisis is to prevent federal relief for the unemployed and to prevent the increase of income taxes on the rich whose fortunes are in such flagrant contrast to the impoverished condition of the masses. What we have said against Hoover is strictly, seriously, shamefully true. Hoover's own words prove it. Conditions prove it. It is proved, and proof is added to proof, in each issue of The Freeman.

If Mr. Stubbs and the few others who may feel as he does will only

"Boycott California," Says Mooney in Letter to Large Protest Meeting

From his prison cell Tom Mooney urged a crowd of 9,000 meeting in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium on October 11 as a protest against his continued imprisonment, to boycott California products and the Olympic Games to be held in Los Angeles in 1932. The meeting was attended by Mooney defenders from over the state and lasted all day. Addresses were made by notable advocates of justice—now such sady belated justice—for Mooney and Billings.

Mooney's plea was communicated in a letter, written from his prison cell and read to the audience. "An intensive world-wide educational drive should be set in motion immediately to win the support of athletic and sports clubs and organizations throughout the world, asking them to refuse to come to the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles while I, an innocent man, remain in prison. All tourist trade to California should be discouraged everywhere by the workers and all the real friends of labor and every lover of fair play and decency."

HOW TO END MILITARISM

Young man, work for Socialism and grow up with the Cooperative Commonwealth. In the ranks of this new social movement—comparatively new although today it is the most significant movement in the world—you can serve yourself and your fellow men.

Take, for instance, the evils of war and militarism. These evils spring from capitalism. The capitalist nations go to war for profits, for markets, for the extension of their commercial power. In the struggle youth is sacrificed, humanity is crucified, all the values of civilization are violently assailed.

What can youth do about it? Youth's opportunity and its duty in this field is pointed out by Max Raskin, a Milwaukee labor attorney, in addressing a Socialist youth meeting in South Haven, Mich. He said:

It is no more necessary to have war than it is to have diphtheria. The bacteria of war lies in the class that is constantly seeking the dollar-profit; it lies in the military junkies that keep up a strong lobby in the nation's capital and force appropriations of millions of dollars every year to the profits of their clique.

Youth must resist the martial music of marching men. It must turn from the seeming glamor, romance and adventure of war and militarism, and see its destructive realities, the cold-blooded massacre of human bodies, the annihilation of the nation's wealth, the youth of today carries the taxing burden of its war-bitten elders.

Youth must turn its visions toward a political unit that concentrates its efforts to wrest this government from the forces of capitalism and its war industries. Youth belongs in that movement which is pledged to usher in a new social order based upon production for use and not for profit.

Young men and women, listen to this call. It is a call to service and to sane living. Workers, young and old, heed this message for your own good and the world's good. It is the most important message being given to mankind today.

The Freeman is dedicated in every

VIOLENCE IS NOT THE WAY

Impudence may be a virtue, depending on how it is expressed. Often it is not to be distinguished from recklessness. A Freeman reader of Ohio is, we believe, recklessly impatient when he objects to The Freeman's program of peaceable education and economic change. He writes:

Concerning Haldeman-Julius' running for a Senator's chair I think the time gone when the peaceful means cost so good against the so enormous powerful conspiracy. Their aim is to pauperize the useful population for the sake of the few. They are armed on water, on the land, and in the air for killing and defending. Going after the conspirators as they did in Russia is the only salvation. Bombs against bombs. The many against the few.

This reader forgets that in Russia the opponents of czarism and class rule did not have the opportunity to use democratic methods. Popular education was impossible; education could be carried on only among a minority, at the risk of execution or exile.

In America we do have democratic methods available and we can conduct a large popular education; therefore we should exercise fully these important rights.

Besides, without a great degree of popular education our cause is hopeless. Our critical Oh' reader himself points out that capitalism is at present "enormously powerful" and that it is "armed on water, on the land, and in the air." A revolutionary movement of violence would at once be met by tremendously greater violence from the present ruling class.

Our most intelligent procedure, as well as the civilized procedure, is in developing a strong public understanding and belief in Socialism; when Socialism is declared, by legal political expression, to be the system which the majority want—then the capitalists will discover that the armed forces of the government cannot successfully be employed to deny the will of an intelligent, aroused, determined nation.

We can beat the capitalists with ideas—because we have the most and the best ideas. We can't beat them with bombs—because they have the most and the best (or the worst) bombs.

BE YOUR OWN LEADERS

The betrayal of the English Labor party by Ramsay MacDonald is a warning to the workers that they should be their own leaders.

There is no worth-while movement of labor unless there is sound economic education among the workers.

They should understand fully the nature of the capitalist system and the steps which must be taken for the inauguration of a just and prosperous social order.

Thoroughly informed concerning the true principles of social liberation and progress, the workers will not be dependent on the whims and changes of leaders.

An individual leader may desert, but an intelligent mass movement will go right ahead without him.

MacDonald's desertion of the Labor party in England will hurt that party only insofar as its members have looked to him for guidance and leadership.

The party strong and unimpaired to the extent that there has been real education among the rank and file, so that they can serve their own interests as leaders of themselves.

The Freeman doesn't want to lead the workers. It is offering no individual leader for the masses.

Its aim is far greater—namely, educate the masses.

We are interested in spreading the right principles.

Once the workers grasp these principles, they will have their destiny in their own hands.

ROGER BALDWIN, interviewing Gandhi in France, says that the great Indian leader is both intelligent and honest. That's a combination that is seldom found in American political leaders. Most of them, in fact, are neither intelligent nor honest. They thrive on the credulity of the mass of voters, whose information is limited and twisted and who do not think enough—and deeply enough—about economic questions. The answer? Educate the voters!

"DON'T TAKE FROM THE RICH," Hoover begged the war veterans, mostly middle class, attending the American Legion convention in Detroit. That sums up Hoover's attitude in this economic crisis. His central idea is to protect the rich and to perpetuate the system whereby the rich take from the poor, robbing the poor of the products of their labor and keeping them poor.

line to the spreading of this message far and wide. We do not need to suffer from the evils of capitalism. There is no reason why we should submit to the threat and the crime of war. Militarism, vicious product of the system of economic strife and greed, must be kicked out of the way among other frightful things that have marred human history.

THE AGITATION LEAGUE

Every Freeman Armyite should make it a point to share in the work of making a success of the campaign planned by the Agitation League. There is nothing of more pressing importance. The Agitation League consists of readers who want to help keep Freeman agitators in the field where they will do the jobs needed to make The Freeman a great power for social revolution.

For the present, we plan to concentrate our work in Kansas, because of the fact that The Freeman editor now the Socialist candidate for the office of U. S. Senator from Kansas.

As explained before, those who help the Agitation League will enable The Freeman to supply its field agitators with literature and sub cards at less than cost, the difference being made up from this source. This is an ideal means of agitation work that may be done by those readers who are too busy to go out and do the work of promoting Socialism. They let their money, instead of their time, work for the cause.

The Agitation League, after all, is nothing more than another form of Method No. 3, so familiar to all our readers. Through Method No. 3 our readers contribute as liberally as they can afford, with the understanding that their money is to be used to pay for sending copies of The Freeman to good names in our possession. This method is still in force. This Agitation League does not take the place of Method No. 3. The League's job is to help pay the expense of bringing our message to the workers and farmers of the nation.

ANALYZING HISTORY thus far, we might say that civilization is the advancement of ever more intricate and gigantic schemes whereby ruling classes can rob the workers. We say that this is not true civilization but a travesty of civilization. The world will not be truly civilized until ruling classes disappear and humanity comes, as simply it can and surely it will become, a cooperative family of workers enjoying the entire fruits of their labor.

A POLITICAL campaign is worthless unless it educates the people in the fundamental issues of social and economic life. It is this kind of campaign, soundly and broadly educational, that E. Haldeman-Julius is waging for United States, Senator from Kansas.

ALONE, the worker is powerless. Together, there is no limit to the power of the workers.

THINK, WORKERS, THINK!

Q. What's wrong with the country?

A. "Over-production."

Q. Does this mean that the workers have produced more clothes than they need to wear, more food than they need to eat, more homes than they need for shelter, more comforts and luxuries than they can possibly consume?

A. No; on the contrary, millions of workers haven't nearly enough clothes, food, shelter, comforts and luxuries.

Q. Then what is meant by calling this condition "over-production"?

A. This is a capitalist term, meaning that the workers have produced more goods than their wages will buy and more goods than the capitalists can sell at a profit.

Q. Then why is it that, with plenty of goods and workers anxious to use these goods, the goods lie idle and the men starve and go ragged in idleness?

A. Because the capitalists own the means of production and distribution and the goods are piled up as the private possession of this owning class.

Q. What is the remedy for this unnatural and unreasonable condition?

A. Organize, agitate and educate for Socialism so that the workers can own the means of production and distribution and will be able to consume ALL that they produce instead of giving about half of it to a few rich owners in the shape of profits, this system of profits resulting in "over-production" and starvation in the midst of plenty.

RELIEF in Socialism means—simply and fundamentally—belief in your own right to live. It is an assertion of your right to the opportunity of working and getting what you earn. It has nothing to do with your opinions on other subjects. Don't let anyone confuse you about this, but persistently remember that Socialism is an economic program which must be considered in the light of its practical, revolutionary message about the way of living industrially which human beings must adopt for their own sake. When you live under Socialism, you will get all that you produce. You will be economically free and you will use your freedom to be your own business.

THE AMERICAN LEGION convention in Detroit favored a national referendum to decide whether the American people want beer. That is fair and democratic. But first of all, we think, the people should decide the vital economic question whether they are going to have bread. Not a hand-out of bread in breadlines, but bread and all the comforts of life and security in these comforts, the right to earn and get them steadily; this is the program for the working class.

EXPOSE the lies of capitalism!

FREE! JOSEPH MCCABE'S FRANK, REVEALING, MODERN Key to Love and Sex

8 Volumes FREE to Every Reader Who Sends \$2 for Four 50-Cent Freeman Sub Cards

A full, honest and intelligent knowledge of sex is a profoundly important feature of education. It is not sex that is shameful, but ignorance of sex that is both shameful and dangerous. It is because we believe in sex knowledge, physiological and psychological and historical, that we had Joseph McCabe write a Key to Love and Sex in 8 comprehensive volumes. The list of contents will convince you that McCabe has covered the subject thoroughly. He has explained every phase of sex. He has put into these 8 volumes the information which every man and woman wants to know, together with a great deal of information which will come as an amazing revelation to the average reader. One can have a clear, fearless, happy attitude toward sex after reading McCabe's Key to Love and Sex.

Now we are actually offering this set of books FREE to every reader who sends \$2 for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards. We want you to help The Freeman increase its circulation and at the same time we want to give you the benefit of this vital knowledge. Know the secret that lies at the heart of life. Know the truth not merely about the physical nature of sex, but about the mental and emotional reactions. You will look at sex with new vision after reading McCabe's 8 volumes—and these 8 volumes are yours FREE if you send \$2 for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards, using the order blank below. Let us impress upon you that you must use the order blank. You are entitled to this FREE offer only if you use the blank and order the sub cards now.

Remember, the sub cards are fully worth the \$2 you will send us. And you can sell these sub cards and get your money back. The set of 8 volumes will be given to you FREE. We shall benefit by a larger circulation of The Freeman. You will be the gainer in obtaining this remarkable educational set, dealing completely with a subject that is so confused and misunderstood in the popular mind. The Key to Love and Sex unlocks the doors of knowledge about this subject—a subject which actually comprises many subjects. While he has written many useful books, nothing that McCabe ever wrote is more fundamentally useful than these books on love and sex.

As we see it, while The Freeman is carrying on its political and economic education, such books as these by McCabe will do educational work in other ways that are vital. Full culture is needed by the average man and woman. The difficulty is that so much that they are taught in the schools is vague, conventional and really misleading. Seldom does one have the chance to read such candid, scholarly and yet simple accounts of love and sex as are given in these 8 volumes by McCabe.

If you think that you know enough about sex, you will change your mind when you read McCabe's books. He introduces you to countless new features of love and sex, as it has played its curious role in the life of mankind. These books are informative about the physiology and psychology of sex; and they also tell you the real history of man's sexual life; they show the evolution of the ideas and institutions through which love and sex have expressed themselves. McCabe also has some striking and sound ideas about what our attitude toward sex should be. In short, these books clear the mind of many false notions and show us not only what sex has been and what it is but what it may be.

Once you have them, you will agree that these 8 volumes of The Key to Love and Sex are indispensable. And you can have them FREE by sending us \$2 for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards, using the order blank below.

ORDER BLANK FOR "KEY TO LOVE AND SEX" AND FOUR 50-CENT FREEMAN SUB CARDS

I am enclosing \$2, for which you are to send me four 50-cent Freeman sub cards and a FREE set of the 8 volumes of Joseph McCabe's The Key to Love and Sex. Name Address City State

Warren's Page

By Fred D. Warren

DEBS

I do not believe I ever felt the inadequacy of words so much as I did on Sunday afternoon, October 18, at Terre Haute, Ind., when I faced a large audience made up of friends and acquaintances of Eugene V. Debs. The occasion was a memorial meeting for our comrade. Serious faces everywhere, and yet a spirit of gladness seemed to pervade the atmosphere, as though 'Gene himself were there. Nothing I could say could possibly have added to the love and respect these old-time friends of Debs manifested for their departed comrade—for such he was to every man, woman and child in the city that knew him so well. Many disagreed with his political principles, though many of his one-time friendly antagonists are beginning to recall his words of prophecy as to the course the world would take in its struggle for the better day. Debs' words are being proved true by the events of the past few years. Since his death on October 20, 1926, the world has witnessed many revolutionary changes, and these changes have pushed the nations towards the goal so vividly portrayed by the most commanding figure in American politics. I say this advisedly. When the history of the United States is written fifty years from today the name of Eugene V. Debs will be placed first among those who lived and died on American soil.

I shall cherish as my dearest memory my association with Debs during the six years we were engaged in our work on the *Appeal to Reason*. Debs was never hired by the *Appeal*. He was too big a man for that. One day he stepped into my office and said: "Fred, I'm down here to help in the fight just ahead!" That was all. I pointed to a desk near mine. Debs pulled off his coat and instantly became a part of the little group that was endeavoring to make the *Appeal* the mouthpiece of the working class. During all those years there was that sort of a companionship which I believe will be common among men and women of the future—a companionship in which sincerity and helpfulness will be the motive back of every act.

I do not believe we can honor the memory of 'Gene Debs in a more fitting way than to renew our pledge to carry on the work to which he gave so many years of his life—the emancipation of the working class from mental and physical slavery. We should be heartened by a knowledge that never in all the long years of his career did he falter in his devotion to this ideal. Whatever he undertook to do, he did with all the power at his command—there was never a reservation—no subterfuge. His only question to himself when he was called on to act was: "Is this in the interest of the working class? If so, I am for it no matter what the consequences."

Flattery, threats and prison did not deter him in his onward course. His life and his work should be an inspiration to those of us who knew him. His circle of friends embraced the people of every land—he knew no race, no color, no creed, save that of humanity itself!

"Rugged Individualism"

There has been much said in the immediate past about "rugged individualism." This has been one of the prized assets of capitalism. Its praises have been sung from the platform and in the press. In the universities and schools it has been held up to the youthful student as a prize much to be desired. Badly battered, "Rugged Individualism" struggles to its feet long enough to holler for help through the columns of the daily and periodical press. Here's a couple of choice hollers:

Much as we may prize the principles of rugged individualism which vitalize enterprise where confidence and credit are protected, there is no alternative to chaos save to invoke the ultimate authority of the state.

This is from *Business Week*, which started out gaily to tell of the wonderful advantages of the capitalist system just before the Big Bust, and is an interesting weekly publication to the student of economics, because its collection of facts, gathered from all over the world, mirrors almost perfectly the toppling dynasty of King Capital. It has long ceased in its efforts to bolster up the present system, and now openly admits that the thing it undertook to do three years ago is a hopeless task. It runs up the white flag in a full-page editorial in its issue of October 7, from which the above is taken.

The second cry of distress comes from the *Chicago Tribune*, which admits that it is the World's Greatest Newspaper. It, too, has been a stout supporter of "Rugged Individualism," the kind that rides rough-shod over men, women and children. Today its words are in line with the rest of the world. The *Tribune* wants the government to lend the railroads 3 billion dollars. It admits that the credit of the railroads is impaired to such an extent that they cannot borrow money at 5 percent, and therefore the nation is asked to take the risk which the wise investor will not consider!

The *Tribune's* plan is to use this money to electrify the railroad systems of the country. "This money would give employment to a great many workmen; would give the traveling public better transportation; and in the end would benefit all of us." The plan sounds reasonable, and if practical would be a better one than any yet proposed to provide employment. But would the results to the nation, after the money had been spent, justify its expenditure, and could the railroads pay it back at the end of 20 years? They are unable to pay interest on the sums now invested in the railroads, through the sale of stocks and bonds. What

hope that they could do any better twenty years hence?

The fact of the matter is that the money would be spent for equipment that would be obsolete long before the railroads were electrified. The general passenger agent of a big eastern railroad system said recently: "It's the privately owned automobile that is putting the railroads out of business." And then he went on to say that more people are transported by their own cars than ride on trains. This applies to both long and short hauls. This statement wasn't very impressive to me until the other evening, and then it dawned on me that the general passenger agent meant I had occasion to make a short trip of some sixty miles to Racine, Wis. With me was one of my boys. The trip on the electric line would have cost \$8. We decided to hitch up the family bus—and made the round trip on 10 gallons of gas at 17c per gallon. Of course, no calculation was made on wear-and-tear on the car, but that had been written off a long time ago, and standing in the garage the loss on the vehicle would have been about the same. The point is that with the automobile ready to make the trip at one-fourth the immediate cost, the railroad lost this \$8 in revenue. Multiply this by the 26 million automobiles now in use in the United States and you get some idea as to what has happened to the railroads. Earnings on this particular electric line have shown a steady decrease, and its bonds are selling at 50 cents on the dollar.

So it would appear that a noisy contraption developed by a farm hand up in Michigan about 25 years ago has brought the railroads to the verge of ruin, and kicked their "Rugged Individualism" into the middle of next week. It is rather curious that when the individualist falls, he turns with tear-stained face to the state for help!

The Capitalist Barometer

The *Wall Street Journal* has for many years kept an accurate record of fluctuating stock market prices based on the average prices of the stock of 30 industrial corporations. These averages have been looked upon by Wall Street operators as a key to changing conditions in industry. On August 30, 1929, two months before the Big Bust, this average stood at 376. On January 3, following the crash, these 30 stocks stood at 244. One year later, January, 1931, the average was 164. On September 1 of this year, the average had sunk to 139. Today it stands at 104. It tells the sad story of declining stock market prices. It tells more—it indicates the rapid decline in employment. The prices of stock depend on earnings. Earnings depend on employment. If Tom Brummel and his comrades do not have work, there can be no profits. This fact is beginning to dawn on the capitalist—forced on his attention by his daily declining profits, as disclosed by earnings statements issued from the front office.

He steps back to the work room, and inquires what's the matter. The superintendent tells him that there is a falling off in orders. He goes to the order clerk. The order clerk tells him the customers are not buying. He goes to his warehouses and he finds that his warehouses are filled to overflowing. He orders a curtailment in the working force. He goes back to his office—and waits. He doesn't know what he is waiting for—only he hopes there will be an "upturn." All previous panics have had an end and so will this one, the financial editor (who is wondering if he will lose his job next Saturday) tells him. "Bright fellow, that," thinks our befuddled capitalist.

And then he looks at the index figure and finds his stocks have gone down another notch. Before you read this line they will have gone down still further. And in the meantime, Tom Brummel gets hungrier and hungrier—and more desperate!

Mr. Morgan's Little Joke

Here is a humorous piece printed in *Harper's Weekly*, reprinted by the *Wall Street Journal*, and reproduced in the *Appeal to Reason*, in its issue of February 3, 1906:

"Harper & Bros., in their illustrated weekly publication, make a most important official pronouncement on the status of the New York stock exchange: 'Pretty much all the brokers' offices are gambling shops, run wide open in conformity with law. Whenever we stand at the ticker tape, we are trying to get some other chap's money, without giving him anything in return. To be sure, the other chap, unknown to us, is trying to do the same by us. It is dog eat dog. No philosopher can hesitate to consider that stock broking is an awful trade, nor can he help wondering if the brokers tell their children what they do—for some of them do have children, and raise them as well as they can.'"

The *Wall Street Journal* credits Col. Geo. Harvey with writing the piece. Mr. Harvey was, at that time, one of the three voting trustees of Harper & Bros. The other voting trustees were J. P. Morgan and Alexander E. Orr.

BACK TO FIRST PRINCIPLES

Commenting on the exchange of American wheat for Brazilian coffee, *Nation's Business* editorializes as follows: "Our economic text-books taught us that barter was the first form of commerce. They invited us to vision a prehistoric man who, having killed an animal, had more meat than he could eat before it decomposed, while in the cave across the way dwelt a neighbor who had no meat but an extra stone hammer. The exchange was perfected and commerce and economics came into being."

"LEARNED in the law" means how to do an illegal and unlawful act without getting caught; if perchance you are caught, how to evade punishment.

BEFORE the editors of Illinois, at Champaign, Congressman Rainey told of his recent visit to Russia. Discussing the Soviet method of handling intoxicating liquor problems, he said: "I did not see over ten or twelve drunken men in all Russia. Habitual drunkards are sent to hospitals and cured, or arrested. Fines levied on persons who go on 'drunken sprees' go into a fund to provide entertainment in rest homes where workers take their vacations." He also said "there is no unemployment nor forced labor there."

GERMANY'S foreign trade shows a balance in her favor of over \$600,000,000 so far this year, while Uncle Sam's balance for August is against him. Thus the battle of the nations for trade is rapidly pushing the world to the verge of another catastrophe. When will we get wise enough to arrange our industrial system so that ALL the people will get ALL they are capable of doing through their skill and labor, leaving nothing for capitalists to scrap over? It all looks so silly, and would be extremely funny if it were not fraught with so much hardship and tragedy.

In big type the daily newspapers tell us that "Cudahy employs in five plants accept 10 percent cut in wages." This magnificent gesture is paraded on the front pages in order to prepare others for the inevitable cut that is coming. The DuPont de Nemours company has inaugurated the six-hour day, thus adding 10 percent to 15 percent more employees. The pay is for six hours, not eight, and the increased number of employees getting the same total of wages will mean more groceries and pay more house rent than would the smaller number of men. It makes business, and that is the prime object of capitalism—not comfort and increased income for those who do the work of the nation.

I MET a railroad engineer the other morning, and he told me he had just arrived after a successful run of 148 miles, bringing in a train of 106 cars. I suggested that that was a pretty long train. "About four times the number of cars that used to be legal," he said. He also volunteered the information that the same number of men in the crew did the work today as required in the old days. With such an increase in efficiency of the labor, it just looks as though the railroads ought to be able to pay the same wages as before. However, it would appear that under capitalism, the more efficient labor becomes, the smaller become its wages. Under a sane system of society, increased production would mean increased income.

A UNITED PRESS dispatch from Superior, Wis., tells us that "Thirty-seven discarded box cars are being set up on delinquent tax land here and will be remodeled to house Douglas county families unable to pay rent. Four acres will be provided for each box car family to till next spring." The reporter forgot to add that nineteen of the families belong to the Hoover crowd and eight belong to the Democratic camp. They voted for box cars three years ago, and unless someone supplies them with Socialist literature this winter they are quite likely to do the same trick next year, which will make it necessary for more families to live in abandoned box cars. If it were not for the tragedy of wives and children having to live like cattle, I don't think I could feel sorry for the husbands in view of their dumbness in letting the politicians and their capitalist allies take the honey and cream while they don't even get skim milk.

I DON'T want to disturb the confidence of the little capitalist who has his money invested in depreciated stocks and bonds, but you will recall that a prominent banking group, consisting of the Morgans, Rockefeller et al., came gallantly to the rescue of the market on October 29, 1929. It put up stocks just long enough to get the "public" back in, and then the plug was pulled and prices have been slipping daily since. The average on the following January was 244. The same stocks are selling down to 104 as this is written. Just a few days before the Big Crash, there was "an interesting story" in the *Chicago Tribune* as follows: "Banks restore stability to ranging stocks—optimistic statements from leaders in iron and steel industry"—and then comes the big news: "HOOPER SEES UNITED STATES IMPUNE FROM PANIC." You might paste these items in your hat and wear them as blue just read them over again and again. People are funny that way. It's a wonder Morgan hasn't laughed his head off over the spectacle.

THE national income of the United States is placed at 100 billion dollars, by Mr. Brisbane, with a payroll of 60 billions. These figures agree (with slight variation) with Prof. Langsdorf's figures as quoted recently on this page. It is important, if one is to understand the present industrial situation, to keep these figures in mind constantly. National income means the money paid in wages and salaries and handed out in dividends and interest. The sum of these two items gives us the total value placed on the merchandise produced in the country within a year. The difference between them represents the amount of goods that may be bought and consumed and that which is passed over to surplus. The payrolls represent the purchasing power of the nation. If this sum isn't equal to the selling price of the goods produced, it leaves a balance that must be disposed of through some other trade channel. Failure to find a market outside of our own country means closing of the factories, loss of employment, and a still further reduction in the amount of goods that may be purchased and consumed. No market, so far, has been found for the 1930 surplus, hence we find ourselves in the strange predicament of having produced so much wealth that we are actually poor! Future generations will laugh at our folly.

War!

There was a big boom in this country following the close of the war of 1812, which your historians tell you was waged by Great Britain in the interest of her growing commerce. Europe was also just recovering from the Napoleonic wars and bought American exports eagerly. As a result, America enjoyed the most prosperous era that it had ever known. Here is an extract from an old French account of the United States from the period 1818 to 1837, when the 'First Big Bust' occurred:

"Wonderful prosperity; enormous quantities of paper money issued by public and private banks to cover the needs of expanding trade—a rise in prices of everything from lands to foods and merchandise and clothing—wild speculation in sound and unsound ventures using paper currency, notes, bonds—aims to grow rich at once—craving for luxuries unknown—enormous rise in loans and discounted notes (many of which were worthless with no security beneath them)—brokers' gambling speculations—too many banks with no real gold reserves in their vaults—everybody in debt or on credit."

Sounds wonderfully like the situation we have today. The soothsayers tell us with cheerful confidence that we will recover as we did from the 1837 panic, and point to the rising tide of good times following that date, continuing until 1857, when the depression monster hit us right between the eyes. What they do not tell you is that in between these two periods we had a nice little war with Mexico, and annexed some considerable new territory. Also along with the war, gold was discovered in California, and the mad rush was on, which brought profits to speculators and a boom that ended with the panic of 1857.

The country dragged itself along until the Civil War, which was likewise followed by a boom in real estate and manufactures and farming, to be followed by the 1873 crash. The Franco-German war had just ended and a moderate boom followed which helped the United States through an increased demand for American products to supply losses sustained during the war by the belligerents.

The country drifted along, with economic conditions getting gradually worse until the Cleveland panic of 1893, due, so the soothsayers told the country, to overproduction—though then, as now, hundreds of thousands of people were famishing for the very things which we had piled high in our warehouses. Then came the announcement of the war with Spain in 1898. Instantly there was activity all along the line—particularly at the Chicago stockyards which proceeded to ship embalmed beef to the soldiers at the front, killing more by poisonous food than were killed in action. But it "made business" and times were flourishing for a while, even if men did suffer from ptomaine poisoning.

The packers waxed rich, and the lesser industrialists coined millions at the expense of the people of the United States. The war was won which opened up new fields of exploitation in Cuba, and prosperity flourished for a few years, until a snag in the form of the Roosevelt panic of 1907 hit us amidship. Banks suspended payment—no money was available, and industry was stagnant. Again the political soothsayers told a famishing nation that times would get better—"we always had recovered from the depressions"—and there was no reason why we shouldn't resume operations as soon as people had starved long enough and the surplus goods were dissipated or spoiled. Sure enough—they were right again. War broke out in Europe—millions of men were on the march and the demand for American made goods reached a figure staggering even now to the imagination. Factories were opened up; agriculture boomed; wheat soared in price; and corn and cotton were needed for food and clothes.

What followed is too recent history to need repeating here. The point I wish to make by referring to these historical panics is that no panic in this country has ever been broken except as the result of a war—either one in which the nation was directly involved or a war that involved European nations, and thus stopped production over the seas and created a demand for American goods.

It logically follows that if we are to snap out of this depression, which has now reached proportions of world-wide dimensions, somebody must start another war. France could fight, but so far there appears to be no opponent worthy the steel of the militant French nation. At the moment, Europe has no desire to start a fight with Russia, as the Russians appear to be about the only solvent customer available. The United States hopes to profit by the Russian business, and there is little chance that we would care to stir up trouble in that quarter.

The only war cloud that appears on the horizon is the Sino-Japanese difficulty over Manchuria.

As I write these lines the trade reports an increased demand for wheat for shipment to the orient, due doubtless to the possibility of war in that section. Prices have advanced substantially, and the "trade" is looking forward to some swell profits if the trouble continues. War and profits go hand in hand. The League is making desperate efforts, on paper, to stop the trouble between China and Japan, and may succeed in doing it. If this happens it would appear that the future offers little hope for our

captains of industry. Another disturbing factor is that the world actually seems to be getting closer to a solution of its economic troubles by so arranging our economic system that the men and women who do the work will get for their work ALL they create! When this is done, as it will be, there will be no surpluses to disturb the orderly processes of production and force nations to look for foreign markets. Looking for foreign markets has always resulted in war. With no surplus, there will be no shut-down of industry. With no search for foreign markets, wars will end!

TO AVOID THE DOLE, WE HAVE CHARITY

A few weeks ago, I reported in these columns the efforts of Samuel Insull, Jr., and a group of thirty-three Chicago financiers, to raise eight million dollars to take care of the unemployed in Chicago this winter. Of the amount, about one and one-half million dollars has been raised, which, considering the winter of 1929 when money was handed about by the billions, seems ridiculously small.

Tom Brummel, who you will remember was the name of the man singled out by the philanthropists as typical of the 20,000 unemployed in Chicago, is the subject of much attention at the hands of charitable inclined persons because Tom has no job. In the olden days, there were no charitable institutions. Primitive Man just had to take care of himself. That he did it successfully is evidenced by the fact that the race survived. He was his own meat packer; he built his own house; he harvested the crops which nature provided in abundance; he operated his own transportation system; he made his own clothes; when occasion demanded he was his own warrior; and if he felt so inclined he was his own priest.

In his individual person, Primitive Man functioned in all those capacities which today have become specialized. There was this difference: when he did the work in the days before civilization, he received ALL he was able to make. Today he divides with others the product of his labor. This division is made by means of wages. Tom today receives wages for his labor, and what he makes, with hand and brain, passes over to the owner of the land and the machinery of production. He then buys what he needs. Unfortunately for Tom, he can't buy back all that he has produced. The difference between what he can buy and what he has produced becomes profit. The profit is in the form of merchandise of various descriptions, wheat, cotton, copper, coal, oil, etc. He must wait until this surplus is disposed of by the small class that has now become its possessors before his services will be needed to make more goods.

While waiting for this surplus to be disposed of, which at times is unusually slow, as at present, Tom and his family lack for food and shelter. His distress becomes acute and he makes funny noises about being hungry. Sometimes he gets real angry, becomes unruly and makes unreasonable demands. To meet this situation, the Master of the Machine has built up a great army, equipped with death-dealing instruments of the most approved kind. This army is paid out of the profits of the master class. Tom is permitted to build the battle-ships and the guns and the ammunition and the airplanes. For this work he gets wages, and is happy so long as there is work to do.

This war machine, which at first was a very simple affair, consisting of a bow and arrow and a spear and shield, has grown to staggering proportions. There is much talk in the world about reducing the load, because it is taking too much of the profits of the man who owns the machine. Last year the war cost of the United States reached the staggering sum of \$3,700,000,000, out of a total revenue of less than 5 billions. Some statistical shark has figured that out of every dollar collected by the government 72 cents finds its way out for war purposes.

This war load has become greater than the master class can stand and there are now being proposed various expedients to reduce the load. The difficulty that confronts the statesmen of the world is this: If they reduce the amount of money spent for war material and armament, etc., it throws a great many men out of employment. This adds to the congestion of the times, and increases the number of unemployed. The owners of the factories where war materials are made and battleships are built object to any curtailment of the amount spent for this purpose. Their argument is sound: "When you make this reduction, you take the job away from Tom Brummel, and he can't eat."

Civil government is costing the master class great sums of money, and there is always talk of reforming the law-making functions of government in order to save money for the owners of the machines. But here, too, the reducers are met with the cry that if you do this, it throws a great many men out of work, and separates them from the public crib. The politicians make a lot of noise, and it is not likely that there will be any reduction in expenses in this direction.

After all, Tom carries the whole load. On his broad shoulders has been built up this thing which we call capitalist civilization. Unless Tom wakes up before he is utterly crushed what good there is in this system, and there is much that is good, will be lost, as past civilizations have crumbled to ruins and disappeared. The Socialist press is making a desperate effort to tell Tom what the trouble is, but so far the few thousands of papers distributed by the Socialists haven't made much of a dent against the bulwark of ignorance built up by the daily distribution of some 30 million copies of the daily newspapers devoted to singing the praises of capitalism. Better think about it, you boys that still persist in giving your pennies to the enemy!

A Great Adventure "Exploration into the human mind is the great modern adventure," said Mr. Scabrier, a scientist. "With its dramatic compelling emotions, its dynamic motives and impulses and its majestic powers of reason and imagination, the mind is a vaster realm of research than ever inspired a Magellan to circumnavigate the globe. No tropical jungle, no arctic or antarctic desolation offers such fields for discovery!"

THE YOUNG CROWD

"I was too young to remember much about the Appeal, and the stirring times before the war," writes a young Montana Socialist, "but I want you to know that I am with you, whether you revive the Appeal or continue *The Freeman*. I pledge myself to get two subscriptions each month for one year, and hope to do a great deal more. There was a time when vigorous and aggressive work was needed; it seems to me that it is right now."

Scores of letters like the above have come to me, and I don't know but that they give me more of a real thrill than from the old timers. We just naturally expect the old-time Socialist to be in the fight, but we can't be so sure of the young men and women, until they have had an opportunity to try their mettle. As a matter of fact the immediate future belongs to Youth, and if we are to be prepared for the big change, it will be necessary for the young men and women to put themselves in readiness. There will be great need for technical men and women in the early days of the new republic, and for that reason I believe that spare time should be put in in developing the mind and hands to do really useful work. A knowledge of the historical development of the race is necessary, but what is more necessary is to know how to do some useful work. Engineering, in all its branches, offers an unlimited field. There are a number of good engineering courses that may be studied in your spare hours. Russia is sending her young men to America to study in strictly capitalist universities, but technical knowledge knows no politics. Few of the young men of working class parents have the opportunity to go to these schools, but they can develop their minds by correspondence courses.

The local comrades should select some youth of their acquaintance and see that he is given this opportunity. They could well afford to spend ten or twelve dollars a month toward his education. It will come back manifold. If you are interested in any engineering course, let me know and perhaps I can help you on your way.

A COMPILATION of the losses during the big war by the Allies places the known killed at 6,239,000, with wounded at twice these figures. Losses in property reach the stupendous sum of 150 billion dollars. The Central Powers' losses were not so great—a conservative estimate would place the total killed on both sides at 250 million, and the property losses at 200 billion. These terrible losses in men and property were reflected in the United States by the 25 billion of excess exports from this country on which our patriotic captains of industry made a handsome profit, but let your own Socialist press struggle along like beggars. Think it over! And while thinking read about the suggestion of Comrade Kendall on this page.

"GOLD is now flowing out of this country in a very disconcerting way," says the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, "and it is fortunate that we possess an abundance of the metal and can spare a considerable amount of it, though obviously enough we could not very long endure a movement on the gigantic scale on which it has been proceeding during the last two weeks, notwithstanding we are credited with possessing half the supplies of the metal in the world." The grand total of gold withdrawals during the past two weeks stands at \$372,000,000. Fifteen weeks of this and Uncle Sam's gold vault would be in exactly the same condition as England's. This shifting of gold, which has little use value, may well be called the game of "Who's Got the Button?" It is a silly game, but it is of sufficient importance in this era of rugged individualism to upset the trade of the world.

"An ominous increase in the number of unemployed in the United States, chiefly in the coal mining industry, the building trades and the textile industries, began to be noted as early as 1927." This statement was printed in the *New York Times* magazine, *Current History*, in January, 1931. No word of this unemployed problem appeared in the daily press in 1927. Yet it was there and known to many newspaper editors. The ballyhoo on the stock exchange was beginning to make its appearance, and there was a special devotee to the needs of the working class. Even in 1928 and 1929, in the midst of what the daily newspapers were pleased to call "an era of unprecedented prosperity," the United Charities of Chicago was sending out appeals for money to help those in distress in the city. The appeal was made on the basis of the old and sick, and "those unfortunates we have with us always."

"PUPILS HUNGRY IN SCHOOL!" ASK FUND FOR FOOD

This headline did not appear in a newspaper in Moscow, or London, or Berlin, or Hong Kong—but in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*. It was not written by Henry Wales, the Tribune correspondent who wept scalding tears over the sad condition of the people in Russia. It was written by Phillip Kinsey, the Tribune's special correspondent who covers Chicago. Kinsey boasts of more wealth and more millionaires than any city in the world but with one exception—New York. Under this heading the Tribune prints the following statements by well-known citizens of Chicago:

There are, at a conservative estimate, 15,000 children in the Chicago public schools today who are undernourished and who will need to be given a nutritious and agreeable diet. Unless they are helped many will faint in school. They will grow dull and fall behind in their work, and hence will need a day to give each child one good meal. The schools cannot do this. The teachers can do no more. The public must help. I know of no greater need, and no better investment in the city today.

WILLIAM J. BOGAN, Superintendent of Schools. I wonder how our patient people live. A child fainted Friday. Today the mother tells me that all they have had for weeks is coffee cake and coffee.

WILLIAM P. BOWLIN, Principal of Fulton School. If I could only furnish my poor children with half a pint of milk a day I would be happy.

CATHARINE M. MCGUIRE, Principal of Everett School. We are feeding 27 children and giving free milk to 31 children. These children are all from very poor families, no one in the family working. They come to school with nothing in their stomachs, and we find them deathly sick from starvation and throwing up only water. We make sure these children starve and still we are not in a position to feed them. Is there any way that we may have relief?

G. C. MCCULLOUGH, Principal of Clay School. Last year the school teachers of Chicago contributed of their meager salaries over \$173,000 to feed hungry children. Of the millions collected by the governor's commission, \$27,000 was contributed to this fund. The school teachers are taking their pay in scrip this year, and this scrip has little or no value. They are not in a position to help the children. We make this desperate appeal to the public. I would not minimize the efforts of these men and women to help those in need, but I can't resist the opportunity to call attention to these people that such a condition is a disgrace and they should condemn, for all time, the capitalist system under which school children are allowed to go hungry.

It is idle to say that there is no food in this country to feed these children. It is here in abundance. It is the supply that men are actually advocating destroying food and the materials out of which warm clothes may be made, to remedy a deplorable situation! If I had the power, I would relieve this suffering by the millions. I am not a power—the best I can do is to point out to these people that there can be no permanent relief until we have abolished the system responsible for it. Feed the children NOW, but use your influence to change the system. If it is done, and it will be done, it can be done in an orderly, peaceful manner if we don't wait until hunger has driven the people desperate. And in their desperation they should condemn the machinery of production and distribution on which their welfare depends.

What a silly thing it would be for a couple of armies lined up in battle array, if one of the armies should take all its ammunition over to the enemy and then expect to win! Isn't that just what you do when you support the capitalist daily press to the tune of \$800,000,000 (count 'em again) per year and let your own Socialist press struggle along like beggars. Think it over! And while thinking read about the suggestion of Comrade Kendall on this page.

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The Bundle Brigade

You can do more effective work than to join the Bundle Brigade and have five copies coming to you regularly each week. Pick out five of your neighbors and see that each week they have a copy of *The Freeman*. Last week I printed a letter from Comrade Kendall, of Chicago, who told of his successful work in making his copies where they would be sure to be taken up on the suburban train that brought him to the Loop every morning. As he dropped *The Freeman*, always with the front page exposed to view, he picked up a copy of one of the discarded dailies—that is, if he felt inclined to clutter up his mind with the slush with which they fill their columns. He saved his three cents in this manner—and found the exchange was making him money. It would be a joke on the capitalist sheets if this practice becomes general. Try it for a couple of weeks. It will clean out your mind, and the consciousness of helping along the Revolution will bring you a smile of happiness even in the midst of this capitalist gloom. Join the Bundle Brigade. The cost of five copies per week for six months will be just a dollar bill!