

We still lack about \$55 to complete the Truth About Russia Fund. We are sure you are already convinced of the worth of this experiment in radical journalism—that, as you read Marcet Haldeman-Julius' vivid, intimate, appealing letters, you will be glad to contribute to this fund. Send in as much as you can afford. Your money is well invested. You will get dividends in the form of facts, true conclusions, interesting pictures.

## It's a Long Way to Russia

By Marcet Haldeman-Julius

To the Readers of The American Freeman—Dear Friends:

Yesterday morning, October 21, just one week from the day we set sail from New York, we docked at Southampton. Due to the heavy sea we had encountered we were a day late.

And what a commotion as we prepared to go ashore! The sailors were banging the luggage about, piles and piles of bags full of ship's laundry appeared in the passages, and the rooms of those who had left at Cherbourg were already being vigorously cleaned, for the ship was to sail back to America that very afternoon.

Ryan Walker says he is reminded of a monkey on a string! The Aquitania, you see, got into New York one day, sailed for England the next and after arriving yesterday morning was preparing to leave—and did leave—that very afternoon for the United States. Have you the least idea, I wonder, what that means to officers, crew and ship workers? No chance to see their families, no chance even to shop, to see a show, or to get the feel of firm ground under their feet. The policy is the result of the depression and the Cunard Lines' effort to use one ship instead of two. Everyone on the Aquitania has more work—because fewer are employed—than in normal times.

Where Do We Go From Here?

We gathered in the third-class dining room, again in a line, with our "landing cards" in our hands. We who are on this tour to Russia were being landed under bond by the Cunard Lines, which are responsible for us until we get the connecting steamer to Helsingfors.

I had expected someone from Intourist to meet us, as the Intourist representative had when we sailed. But there was no one and the result was both funny and exasperating.

You see, some of us booked straight from the New York World Tourist office and have fourteen days in Russia under Intourist supervision; some booked through the Amalgamated Bank and have seven days under Intourist care. It looked very much as if we were going to separate in London. Some wished to stay here a week, some intended to go straight to Holland and from there by steamer to Helsingfors. Still others of our party discovered that we could stay here until this evening, go by train to Harwich, then from there to a small port in Denmark and from there by train to Copenhagen where we could catch the same steamer as if we had sailed from Hull.

Naturally some were a little doubtful and none of us wished to pay an extra cent. Others who wished to stay the rest of the week in London didn't like the change.

There was confusion worse confounded. Everybody talked at once. And the two patient Cunard officials were at their wits' end.

"Who made you the head of this trip?" one irate young man—and a very charming chap—demanded of another equally irate, equally charming fellow.

"You can stay in London till tomorrow night at our expense," intoned the Cunard official. "After that you must stay at your own."

Meanwhile, before the arguments began, some of the group who would very much have liked to have stayed here the day and a half had gone through the routine and it was too late. This naturally ruffled them!

On English Soil

Incidentally, was I glad I had only a little suitcase and brief case with steamer rug strapped to it! (I wish I had left that steamer rug at home!) I needed no help from anyone.

At last—at last—we went over the gang plank to the dock. "England!" I thought. "England." And a funny little lump of joyous excitement came into my throat.

The next moment I was going through the customs.

"What's in that?" demanded an official, pointing to my brief case.

"Papers and cigarettes."

"Open it."

I did.

"Why are you taking so many cigarettes?" [three cartons full].

"To use and give away as gifts and tips."

"What's in your suitcase?"

"Nothing but clothes."

"Open it."

I did.

"You can close it. Let's have a look again at the other."

At this point I said to a porter: "Here, will you help me strap this rug on again when he gets through? Take a package—any package."

This seemed to reassure Mr. Suspicion and he said I could close it. I really think he imagined I might be trying to smuggle in some dope.

Meanwhile the two young men who had been at such white heat had discovered that while they were arguing their heavy luggage had been taken ashore. Mr. Walker said good-temperedly: "It's a good thing. They'll have plenty to occupy them now." And they had. In the end they learned that it had gone on and that they would, all going well, see it again in Finland.

Landscape to London

We were soon boarding a train. The English trains, you know, have an aisle down the side of each car and off this aisle open rooms. In the third-class cars, these rooms seat eight people and there are racks above for hand luggage. Later (when we left the train) I looked into the first-class compartments. The only difference in them is that the seats

are divided by little arms into six seats, which makes them obviously less crowded, and that the upholstery is of richer fabrics. At each end of the car is a lavatory, one for the men and one for the women. They are scrupulously clean.

The eight of us in our compartment were entirely congenial and I shall always remember that Mr. and Mrs. Walker, young Klein and I had our first sight of England together. I cannot tell you how deeply excited, how profoundly happy, I was.

One thing I began to notice as we pulled out of Southampton. No wooden roofs. And as we went farther into the country I was still more conscious of it. Slate roofs, Tile roofs. Thatched roofs. But no wooden shingles. And not many wooden buildings. England, you see, has plenty of clay for bricks and plenty of stone, but not much timber.

The rolling countryside makes me think of northern Illinois and the more hilly part of Missouri. That is the countryside between Southampton and London (some 80 miles), which is all I have seen. The hedgerows made me think of my own Kansas.

Presently a man came along and asked: "Coffee?"

He brought a tray with the cups and saucers and in his other hand he held two pots: one filled with coffee, the other with hot milk. He poured them in at the same time—half and half.

We drank and watched the lovely October landscape. I remembered a line: "O! to be in England when the hawthorn blooms." Yes, spring must be very lovely here, but not more beautiful than early autumn. The grass is so green! The leaves are all softly blending shades, green, soft yellow and golden brown, with here and there—at long intervals—a splash of red. Every backyard, so it seemed to me, was full of flowers. And so neat. So very neat.

"How clean the streets are!" we exclaimed. And I wish you could see the straw and hay stacks. They are not round like ours. The tops are veritable roofs and look like the tops of Japanese pagodas. We passed fields of sleek cattle that looked much like our Guernseys and there were many fields in which the fall plowing had been done and well done.

Traveling Alone in World's Metropolis

All too soon we began to enter London.

Again there was a commotion as we got off. The bustle of a big station—Waterloo station. And then at last we were in the bus, bound for our hotel. A good, clean, third-class one, in case you ever stop here: The Kingsway Hotel, 64-67 Guilford Street, Russell Square.

I had occasion to go to the office to get some American money changed into English and through the half door I saw a hearth fire, the proprietor's store of liquor, a wire-haired terrier and a cat both asleep before the fender. The lunch at one o'clock was good and if the room were very small I did not mind, as I knew I should only be in it at night.

As soon as lunch was over I started out to hunt the first subway station, for you can guess whom I wanted to see—Joseph McCabe and Nellie Newton.

I wrote in an article that some time I should come tapping at his door and I took an almost juvenile pleasure in doing just that.

I soon found that subways here are called underground roads.

I went to the first one I came upon and asked how to get to Golders Green. My ticket cost five English pennies (which is ten cents in our money) and an arrow told me, "This way to the left." For here you use an elevator instead of stairs and there seem many more passages and turnings and ramifications than in our subways.

The ticket man said, "Go to King's Cross" and the sign read: "To Golders Green, Hampstead Heath, York Road."

A change at Camden Town (I do like the English names) and I was on the Edgware train to Golders Green. When I got off there I felt a bit blown about and wanted to comb my hair. To my surprise I found a most neat and clean rest room with a trim maid in attendance—something I have never found in our subways.

And There I Was!

When I asked the way to St. George's Road I was told, "Go straight into Finchley Street and go along it to the third turning." By which I gathered that my informant meant three blocks. I decided to take the street car—partly because I wanted to ride on one. They are double deckers and a sign says: Tram stops here. And on the car was written: To Paddington. The conductor comes round to collect the fare. It was an English penny. (Two cents in our money.) And that is what it cost to get to St. George's Road (10 cents on the subway, 2 cents on the street car).

I must tell you that whenever I would ask information, and then repeat it to make sure I had it correctly, the response would be in exactly the same tone on each occasion. "That's right." It was never said with a simple downward inflection but like this, "That's right," ending with a slightly upward one. The expression seems to correspond to our American "O. K."

At St. George's Road I stopped in at a grocery store to ask whether I turned to right or left. It was the very neatest, most spick and span grocery store I ever was in. Nellie

Newton tells me it is where she does most of her shopping.

For after a brisk walk of two blocks I came to the wicket gate with which many of you are already familiar. And not a little proud of myself for having found my way all alone on my very first day in England, I was walking up the red tile walk to the little brick house of one of the world's greatest scholars.

I lifted the brass knocker and as it fell I said to myself with an inward chuckle:

"There, I have done it—just as I said it would."

The next moment the door opened and there stood a dark, vivid woman whom I instantly liked.

It was Nellie Newton.

Mr. McCabe was out—at the British Museum—so I decided to wait for him.

And I am writing now—the next morning—by the hearth fire in his living room.

In my next letter I will tell you all about my happy visit here. Just now we are about to sail forth—the three of us, Mr. McCabe, Miss Newton and I—to take a bird's-eye view of London.

We leave tonight at 6:30 for Harwich.

Did you ever realize before how very, very far Russia is from the United States?

Mr. McCabe says he wishes to be very kindly remembered to you—and to you, Manuel, he says that he wishes you were here with me.

And so—until my very next opportunity to write—

Good-bye!

## SPECIAL NOTICE! HOOVER RACKETEERING EDITION OF THE FREEMAN!

The Freeman has obtained sensational news material about the record of Herbert Hoover before he became President. As scandalous as were our previous exposures of Hoover—scandalous as the facts about his career, so far published, have been—our latest revelations will even more astonish our readers. We have the facts to prove completely that for twenty years Hoover was an unscrupulous racketeer. So it is fitting that we issue this material in a special edition of The Freeman which we shall call the Hoover Racketeering Special Edition. This edition will be dated December 26, but will be ready for distribution on December 14. Please give this edition a great circulation. It will be an important weapon in our campaign against Hooverism. Use the three special propaganda methods: Method No. 1, which means that you send us \$1 for a bundle of 50 copies; Method No. 2, which means that you send us \$1 and a list of 50 names to whom you want us to send copies of this special edition. Method No. 3, which means that you send us \$1 and instruct us to send copies of this special edition to the names in our possession. Order your copies NOW so that we can be sure of making this edition an arousing success.

THE OVERSIGHT in all the talk about crime is that the worst crimes of all are legal crimes—crimes of exploitation and parasitism—which are defended, nay, are praised, as the necessary expressions of human nature and as indispensable features of our so-called American system of "economic individualism." But if J. P. Morgan is simply expressing human nature and Americanism, why cannot the same be said of Al Capone? Capone is a piker compared with Morgan. And until the big Morgan kind of racketeering is removed from American life, the comparatively little Capone kind of racketeering can't be removed.

UNDER SOCIALISM some men will still be short and some will still be tall. But is that any reason why some men should be rich and others should be poor?

Running a Socialist journal means we must deal with the banks, the exploiters, the great corporations and the politicians who serve the moneyed powers. If The Freeman is to survive, it must depend on the support of its readers. We support it as generously, too—by every loyal soldier in the liberation war of humanity. Please act today.

WHEN WE get rid of the unemployed capitalists, we will have no problem of unemployed workers.

## Danger!

### The Freeman Faces a Crisis

Dear Freeman Readers:

Last week we announced the end of our monthly magazine, because of the indisputable fact that it has been running at a deficit since the end of 1929. Faced with the double problem of The Freeman and The Debunker both operating at deficits, we decided to sacrifice the monthly magazine in an effort to save our weekly newspaper.

The Freeman is still with us, and we are determined to make every sacrifice in order to keep it going. But here is that overwhelming condition which makes it impossible to continue. The Freeman is too close to the goal of financial safety to be permitted to suspend. That would be a crime. Our 28,000 readers can put The Freeman out of danger if they will realize that immediate action is absolutely essential.

We have already explained how The Freeman will be able to pay its way each week if we were to add 22,000 more readers to our paid subscription list. That will mean a circulation of 50,000, and \$1 per year from that many readers will enable us to pay all salaries, paper bills, labor, power, postage, ink, interest, and the other expenses that go into the enterprise of publishing a journal.

We are not asking for donations. The Freeman will survive and go forward to new achievements if we can impress our readers with the solemn need of quick and decisive action.

The Freeman can be helped in various ways. First of all, get The Freeman a club of subs. either at the rate of 25c each in clubs of four, each good for 25 weeks, or better yet get The Freeman a club of four yearlies at the club rate of 50c per sub. That is a method that will bring quick results for we want to report that our 50,000 paid subscriptions will cut our cost of paper.

In addition to getting The Freeman a club of subs, we suggest that you purchase a supply of Freeman sub cards at either 25c or 50c each. Send at least \$1 and say you want us to send you Freeman sub cards. They will go out to you by first-class mail the very day we receive your order. These sub cards are printed in postcard style and may be sold or given away to your friends.

Another method is to send The Freeman a contribution under Method No. 2, which we will use to pay for mailing free copies of The Freeman to good names in our possession.

These methods can be used by our reader friends without undue hardship to any of them, and if enough of them do this soon after we issue this urgent announcement The Freeman will be on the road to financial independence.

We aren't trying to make dividends or profits out of The Freeman. We'll be delighted if we can keep paying our expenses from week to week.

Running a Socialist journal means we must deal with the banks, the exploiters, the great corporations and the politicians who serve the moneyed powers. If The Freeman is to survive, it must depend on the support of its readers. We support it as generously, too—by every loyal soldier in the liberation war of humanity. Please act today.

WHEN WE get rid of the unemployed capitalists, we will have no problem of unemployed workers.

### DEVOTION TO JUSTICE

A noble example of devotion to a just cause is given by Aline Barnsdall of Los Angeles, who contributed \$1,000 to pay the expenses of the Tom Mooney convention held October 11 in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium. To date, she has contributed \$20,000 to the defense of Mooney.

This woman, as her wealth indicates, is not a member of the working class. She has given money and time and sympathy—indeed the greatest devotion—to Mooney's defense because she sincerely believes in justice. Justice, fair play, human brotherhood are terms which mean something real and earnest to her.

Let others follow the example of Aline Barnsdall. Let them give their money and deepest interest and most unselfish efforts not only to the cause of Mooney but to that wider cause, which Mooney stands for and of which he is the symbol—the cause of a free life for all men and women in a just social order.

### THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY

BY CLIVE LOVETT CLEAVES

The sound of lamentation, the creak of rusty mental machinery, and the deep voice of an awakening fury fill the land. Bewildered millions, whose eyes until now have been hypnotically fixed on the glittering symbols of "prosperity," are coming out of the trance. They are seeking blindly where to lay the blame for the depression. One blames automobiles, another prohibition, and still another the war. One could laugh himself sick at the great variety and wildness of the "causes" named—that is, he could were not such ignorance of the real cause so plainly a call to action. No Socialist or enlightened worker worthy of the name could pass up such an opportunity.

NOW IS THE TIME TO EDUCATE OUR GROPING BROTHERS! They already are disillusioned. The windy and oft-repeated Hooverian promise of returning "prosperity" has lost its power to charm them. For the first time in their lives they are seeing capitalism for what it really is—a slavering, its stark greed and the slaying ferocity of its dog-eat-dog philosophy is becoming more and more apparent to them. They see the situation, but they don't know what to do about it. It is up to us, the marchers in The Freeman Army, to show what to do, to enlist them on our side.

If we pass up this golden chance to strengthen our arm we shall deserve to lose. Half-hearted measures won't answer. There is nothing wishy-washy about the tactics capitalism uses against the worker. Nor can we afford to be less unrelenting, less persistent in our efforts.

Even though we may lack the ability to express ourselves, to expose the insanities of capitalism, or to paint in glowing words the sober glories of our goal—the liberation of mankind—we need not worry overmuch. For we have at hand a potent force with which to open minds heretofore beyond our reach and closed to us. The Freeman is this force. Let us use it to the utmost of our ability.

THE CAPITALIST PRESS describes Ramsay MacDonald as a "national" hero but a "political" outcast. Inasmuch as the British Labor party, which rejected MacDonald's leadership after he deserted the principles of the party, is the strongest political party in Great Britain, it would seem that MacDonald is somewhat less than a "national" hero.

SOCIETY needs workers, but the capitalists do not need them. Why not put the capitalists aside—get them out of the way—and let society function rationally?

## Thugs Trample Free Speech

By George H. Shoaf

Nothing like an adequate portrayal of the police and American Legion outrages against working class expressions of discontent in California is possible in this connection. The wanton invasion of a Socialist party meeting at Glendale, Calif., has been described; but the most utterly inexcusable and unwarranted assaults upon American citizens who have tried to exercise their constitutional rights of free assembly and free speech, however, are those which were perpetrated against members of the I. W. W. and which are still being staged against men and women of the Communistic persuasion.

Apologists for the capitalist system loudly denounce the officials of the Russian Soviet Republic for their arbitrary suppression of counter-revolutionary activities, pretending that the Soviet Union is a despotism wherein there is no freedom of speech or press, and indicating by contrast that America is the land of the free and the home of the brave. Communists and their sympathizers may agitate with impunity in Chicago and New York City, but certainly in California, especially in the southern portion of the state, their activities are distinctly *persona non grata* with the rulers of this western plunderbund. If the Soviet Union sends her political malcontents to Siberia, southern California breaks up their meetings, clubs and blackjacks, those who attend, and speeds to jails and the penitentiary their crusading leaders.

Mob Action by Uniformed Thugs

These outrages against constitutional rights are committed by members of the American Legion in uniform, assisted by elected and appointed officials sworn to obey the Constitution in the matter of enforcing the law, all of whom have the tacit and open sanction of the heads and beneficiaries of the great corporations which control and dictate the political and industrial life of the people of California.

The recognized head of the forces of oppression and suppression in Los Angeles—Capt. W. F. Hynes of the "Red Squad"—openly and blatantly declares that he is not going to permit the Communist party or its auxiliary organizations to function. In this declaration he has the unequalled backing and support of the Los Angeles Times, the notorious labor hating, red-baiting, non-union leader of the reactionary press, as well as the local Chamber of Commerce, under whose immediate auspices he operates, and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association with its allied capitalistic connections. Any tendency towards liberalism is frowned upon by Capt. Hynes and his associates; radical utterances are suppressed and radical meetings are dispersed by this same valiant captain and his "Squad."

Were Jack London alive today he would see in its incipency the making of The Iron Heel, so vividly described in his book of that name, with its deepest imprint stamped indelibly into the very vitals of the constitutional rights of the people of this Los Angeles community. And the elements of this Iron Heel are certain whisky-drinking violators of law and order, who have arrogated to themselves the authority and leadership of the American Legion. The development to perfected dictatorship of this Iron Heel depends upon the intelligence and the courage and the unity of those factors for social progress which believe in evolution rather than revolution. If the forces of progress and democracy lay down on the job of demanding and asserting their rights, the Iron Heel will reign

supreme; if, however, they stand up in this crisis and acquit themselves like patriots should, the infamous purposes of the instigators of American Legion activities will be thwarted and The Iron Heel will go down to defeat.

Hoodlums Center Fire on I. W. W.

American Legion activities began in California immediately upon the conclusion of the World War. The first object of their attack was the I. W. W. Unquestionably those members of the Legion who staged these early outrages were influenced or employed by detective agents of the corporations, the corporations well realizing their inability to successfully loot and exploit so long as the organization of the I. W. W. was on the job. Literally and truly the American Legion, in the interests of the corporations of California, cleaned up the I. W. W. in a reign of blood and terror the like of which this state has not witnessed since the vigilante days of '49. I. W. W. leaders were taken out, horsewhipped, beaten up and left for dead. In many cases murder was committed. Other leaders were arrested, framed for conviction and sentenced to long terms in the penitentiary. Women and children were not left unmolested by the Legion thugs. The story of the outrage of I. W. W. women and children at Wheatland, in central California, and at San Pedro, in the south, is as barbaric as any ever told.

Coincident with these outrages against the I. W. W. were the onslaughts of the American Legion upon members and meetings of the Communist party. Outstanding incidents in this connection were the Legion raid upon a summer park in San Bernardino mountains, in southern California, where Communist children had been sent for an outing, and the arrest, trial and conviction of Yetta Stromberg on the charge of violating a so-called "Red Flag Law." Miss Stromberg, a university student, volunteered to chaperon the children during their outing. Being Communist children, it is alleged that as a part of their daily exercises they made a ceremony of raising a red flag. American Legion men formed a mob, invaded the park and forcibly drove the children therefrom. Miss Stromberg carried her case to the United States Supreme Court, where it was reversed, dismissed and the defendant ordered released.

Rulers Defy U. S. Supreme Court Decree

Despite this Supreme Court decision Capt. Hynes arbitrarily refuses to countenance the display of the red flag in any public or private meeting in Los Angeles county, and the Legion with force and fireworks supports that refusal.

Another outstanding incident was the free-for-all fight between youthful Communists and members of the R. O. T. C. which occurred at Roosevelt high school, Los Angeles, on March 19, of this year. This fight was the climax of a long agitation for free expression in the school which had been waged by the Communist students. As a result of their political beliefs nearly a dozen students of the school within a year have been suspended, expelled, transferred, and denied their diplomas. The melee started when a conservative student assaulted one of the radical students. By previous arrangement, evidently, the "Red Squad" unexpectedly appeared to umpire the fight, which took place in the school yard. Instead of seeing to it that the fight was fair and square, members of the "Red Squad" took sides against the Communist students, and charged the mass of the student body to charge and beat them up. Four or five conservative students would seize and hold a Communist student while other conservative students would beat the Communist so handicapped, in the face and on the head until unconsciousness resulted. As the Communists were tremendously outnumbered by the conservatives, the fight was not a fight, but a slaughter.

Following the outrage, several hundred members of the R. O. T. C., accompanied by the "Red Squad," drove in automobiles over to the Cooperative Center on Brooklyn Avenue, a Communist rendezvous which had been recently wrecked by the police, and there broke plate glass windows and doors, demolished illuminated signs and banners, and otherwise finished the work left uncompleted by the police.

While this vandalism was in progress members of the "Red Squad" and the principal of the Roosevelt high school looked on with amusement. The only answer elicited from police headquarters to a call for help from the management of the Cooperative was, "Yes, we know about it." Although this episode was the talk of the city for weeks, the newspapers regarded it as of so little value as news that they accorded the matter less than a dozen lines.

Capt. Hynes Directs Sluggers

Paul V. Walton is a Negro youth, twenty-four years old, who was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, but has lived in Los Angeles twelve years. During January of this year he became interested in radical economics, and as a result of his studies announced himself to be a Communist. At the present time he is a member of the executive committee of the Frederick Douglass branch of the International Labor Defense. Because of his penetrating qualities as a student, his unquestioned power of expression as an orator, and above all because of his fearlessness and refusal to be intimidated, he has become a man marked for persecution at the hands of Capt.

## Speculators Grab Millions, Farmers Busted

The American farmers have been given another jolting lesson in the skin game of capitalism. Now that wheat and other grains have left the farmers' hands, the speculators on the boards of trade in the big financial centers are reaping their harvest of graft. One man, Arthur W. Cutten of Chicago, made millions in wheat within a few days. He bought wheat cheaply when the farmers had to sell last spring; now the price advances, and Cutten and the other financial "operators" make sudden tremendous fortunes.

Last spring most of the farmers of the country were forced to sell their wheat at a price as low as 25 cents a bushel. At some points the price was a few cents higher. The market was low when the producer of the wheat had to sell. The months go by. All of the small farmers and the farmers who cultivate farms of medium size (which means the majority of farmers) have sold their wheat. They didn't get enough from their wheat to pay their taxes. It was a forced, bankrupt sale.

These farmers could not hold their wheat, for two reasons: first, they had pressing need for what little money they could get for their wheat; second, they had no facilities for storing and holding their wheat indefinitely. A minority of big farmers were able to put by their wheat, and now they share in the price advance.

The chief swag in this gigantic wheat robbery goes to the speculators in Chicago and New York and other financial centers, who never did a useful day's work in all their lives. Prices for wheat on the Chicago board of trade ranged from 64 cents to 71 cents—and the price is expected to go as high as \$1 a bushel. This money doesn't go to the farmers. They

were promptly and thoroughly robbed months ago. The fortunes in wheat go to the men who bought and speculated in the grain. Not the producers, but the financial tricksters—the men for whose advantage the system of capitalism invariably operates—grab the bulk of the income from the nation's wheat.

Millions of hard-working farmers plowed and seeded the ground, cultivated and harvested the grain—and they didn't get enough to pay their taxes, their debts, their actual living necessities. One Chicago promoter adds millions of dollars to his fortune in the course of a few days' trading on the stock exchange.

The American farmers ought to think about this hard lesson. It ought to be an eye-opening lesson. The farmers can expect nothing but robbery from the capitalist system. Their only hope is in Socialism and large-scale collective farming under social control, which will assure to the farmers the value of what they produce. Individualistic farming is a bankrupt illusion and a bitter snare; it leaves the farmers at the mercy of the big financial and industrial interests.

The farmer can't be free—he can't prosper—under capitalism. Even though he owns his own farm and that farm is free from debt (as few of them are), he is simply working for the grafters of capitalism, who control prices and dominate their own profit all the movements of trade. Only in a cooperative Socialist society, which will have abolished private profits and made labor values the honest basis of income, can the farmer be free and prosperous and, as an individual, have any hope of a decent life.

Following the outrage, several hundred members of the R. O. T. C., accompanied by the "Red Squad," drove in automobiles over to the Cooperative Center on Brooklyn Avenue, a Communist rendezvous which had been recently wrecked by the police, and there broke plate glass windows and doors, demolished illuminated signs and banners, and otherwise finished the work left uncompleted by the police.

While this vandalism was in progress members of the "Red Squad" and the principal of the Roosevelt high school looked on with amusement. The only answer elicited from police headquarters to a call for help from the management of the Cooperative was, "Yes, we know about it." Although this episode was the talk of the city for weeks, the newspapers regarded it as of so little value as news that they accorded the matter less than a dozen lines.

Capt. Hynes Directs Sluggers

Paul V. Walton is a Negro youth, twenty-four years old, who was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, but has lived in Los Angeles twelve years. During January of this year he became interested in radical economics, and as a result of his studies announced himself to be a Communist. At the present time he is a member of the executive committee of the Frederick Douglass branch of the International Labor Defense. Because of his penetrating qualities as a student, his unquestioned power of expression as an orator, and above all because of his fearlessness and refusal to be intimidated, he has become a man marked for persecution at the hands of Capt.

Hynes and members of the "Red Squad." Walton's first encounter with his police antagonists was in a meeting of Young Liberals in a hall at 1048 East 27th Street, Los Angeles, shortly after his conversion to Communism. Hynes and his gang invaded the hall, broke up the meeting, and proceeded to severely slug the speaker, who happened to be Walton. Following the slugging, in which his arm was permanently crippled, Walton was escorted to an automobile by members of the gang, who first threatened him with death, but later changed their minds and took him to the city jail where he was locked up. No charge was placed against him. At one o'clock next day he was released with a warning that he leave the city immediately.

Since that event the young Negro artist has been manhandled and arrested no less than eight times. The last time, which occurred August 22, of this year, he came very near losing his life. He was scheduled to speak in a Negro church at 51st and Hooper Streets, Los Angeles, at eight p. m. An hour before the meeting the "Red Squad" appeared and informed the officials of the church that no meeting would be allowed that night. As the crowds began to gather members of the "Squad" told them to "beat it," as the meeting had been called off. Speaking of the affair in an interview, Walton said:

**Negro Communist Brutally Assaulted**

"With four others I was sitting in an automobile parked near the church watching the performance of the 'Red Squad.' Just as we were preparing to drive away, seeing that our meeting had been broken up, members of the Squad rushed over, flashed their lights into the car and forcibly yanked me out. They dragged me over to the street corner, questioning me, gave me a thorough searching, and then proceeded to strike me with their fists. When I struck back they blackjacked me, screamed, naturally, and the people who had been ordered away from the church began to crowd around. Then the leader ordered that I be put into an automobile, which had driven up for the purpose, in which sat several men. As the driver started away, the leader said significantly, 'Go down Santa Fe Avenue.'"

"Knowing that no police station was down that way, I inquired of my fellow occupants where they were taking me. They said I would soon find out. They said that this would be my last ride in an automobile. From their manner of talk I inferred that they were taking me for a 'ride,' and this made me desperate. When the automobile slowed down at the intersection of Santa Fe and Slauson Avenues I determined on a bold and unsuspected action. With one elbow I broke through the glass door, at the same time butting the driver forward over the steering wheel, while with my foot I kicked one of the men at my side in the stomach. The whole thing happened so quickly that by the time my kidnappers recovered from their astonishment I was out through the glass and gone."

Meyer Baylan, a young white Communist, for more than a year has been the object of "Red Squad" hatred and assault. Preceded by several arrests and minor beatings, members of the "Squad" cornered him on the night of Sept. 21, this year, in the offices of the executive committee working for the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law, at 120 Winston Street, Los Angeles. After ordering the members of the committee to leave, the leaders of the raiding party first searched the premises and destroyed all petitions and other literature they could find. Then they turned their attention to Baylan. He was accused of being an "atheist" and a "nigger lover" and challenged to strip for action. Refusing to fight, he was beaten and escorted to a police station where he was charged with being a "alien." Next day, however, he was released without a trial. On one occasion a year ago members of the American Legion at an unemployment meeting, where Baylan was a speaker, assaulted the young Communist, kicking him clear across the street from the hall into a vacant lot.

**Heap Contempt on Constitution**

Among the more prominent personages sought to be terrorized, and who on several occasions have actually been prevented from addressing public meetings, are Dr. Robert Whitaker, retired Baptist minister, and Attorney Leo Gallagher, who has just returned from a visit to Soviet Russia. Dr. Whitaker, who now is a radical propagandist, was advertised to speak at a meeting in Highland Park, near Los Angeles, several weeks ago. Evidently, the subject of the address displeased Capt. Hynes, for the "Red Squad" appeared and broke up the meeting without, however, making any arrests. Dr. Whitaker is the chairman who presided at the big "Money" demonstration recently at the Municipal Auditorium in San Francisco.

Twice recently since his return from Soviet Russia Attorney Gallagher has been prevented from giving his Soviet reactions to Los Angeles audiences. In the cases of these prominent speakers members of the American Legion and the "Red Squad" simply blockaded the doors to the halls wherein they were to speak and refused to allow any one to enter. Indignant citizens who attempted to remonstrate were pushed and shoved away from the door and ordered to leave the vicinity on pain of arrest.

In the case of Communist meetings it seems to be the policy of the "Red Squad," in recent weeks, to slush the speakers and terrorize with force the auditors, rather than to make arrests. Hynes boasts that he has at least one spy in every liberal and radical meeting that is held in Los Angeles county, and that if he personally does not know in advance of the fact as soon as the meeting starts. Then he takes such action as his judgment dictates. Since his only authority is the will of the corporations, the heads and agents of which

for years have openly and defiantly trampled upon the Constitution of the United States, it is easily seen how little justice characterizes his perfectly irresponsible procedures.

Meanwhile the terroristic activities of the American Legion and the "Red Squad" are slowly arousing the wrath of increasing numbers of more or less influential people in the community, and it is not unlikely that somebody is going to speak out—and that with force and effect—soon.

We are proud of the work Fred D. Warren is doing on the last page. Each batch of copy is received in the office and read by everyone present before it has a chance to get on the linotype. That helps show what great "freedom interest" there is in the literary efforts of Fred D. Warren, a Socialist editor without peer in the entire history of Socialist journalism. The Freeman is glad to be able to bring his services to the attention of our readers, and we feel certain that Freemanites will not conspire to keep Warren's work a secret; instead, they will go out and tell everyone they know about the little old Freeman and the great work he is doing. And to tell about this paper without asking your friends to subscribe is to fall short of the mark.

**THE FREEMAN BOOK SHELF**

BY JOHN W. GUNN  
Talks With Joseph McCabe. What I Have Learned About Animals. Sports From An Interrupted Pen. Marcet Haldeman-Julius. Each 50c. Haldeman-Julius Publications.

I can't imagine Marcet Haldeman-Julius writing essays in philosophy or on any abstract term. Her nature is toward personal, concrete, vital things, that she can look upon and touch, and wrap her sympathies around, and, in truth, merge her identity with. Give her a human being to write about (high or low matters not, for Marcet can penetrate with sore insight and love into the significant truth of any character); give her a dog or a horse or a bird to write about; give her flowers to write about; give her a sunset or a wheat field to write about; give her a definite case of human wrong to write about, as, for instance, the persecution of Negroes or the touching, often tragic, misunderstanding and mis-handling of young people by narrow-minded, unsympathetic elders; give Marcet any such subject to write about and she will write it.

In these three books the charm of Marcet and the warmth, the vital and compelling glow, of her personality is held out with generous hands for every reader. Know these books, and you know Marcet. Know Marcet—as so many readers of The Freeman do know her, even though they have not met her in person—and you feel that you just have to read these books.

The sketches of Joseph McCabe—four long, intimate, analytical sketches—are masterly works of portraiture; but no, that isn't something out of a frame—rather these sketches place McCabe strikingly beside you and let you look at him and into his mind and down the highway of his nobly marching and crowded and adventurous and busy life. Once, in a friendly group in Kansas City, McCabe said, ostensibly in humor yet with real appreciation, "Marcet is an authority on dogs—and on me." Other Confidential Sketches complete this book of 128 pages. (Each book, by the way, consists of 128 pages, 60,000 words.)

The book about animals has this queer excellence: it will make you understand human beings better. Marcet doesn't write about dogs, horses, birds, sheep, cows, cats, etc., if they were curiosities or foreigners, so to speak. She writes about a dog exactly as she writes about a man or a woman; she understands the dog, thinks and feels with it, knows it as an individual, not merely a generic, part of life. Animal lovers will be delighted with this book—and so will everybody else.

Sports From An Interrupted Pen is so full of charm and contrast of personalities, incidents, vivid pictures of the life that flows about The Farm (which, as everybody in Girard and vicinity knows, means the Haldeman-Julius farm) it has so many subtle, penetrating, and beautiful things in eager abundance anywhere, but especially on a farm at the edge of a small town—that I shan't attempt to review its contents. Like the other two books, it reflects beautifully the personality that is Marcet. It is a book about people and nature and the wonderful, lovely, aching, promising drama of living. And it shows that Marcet doesn't have to go out on any strange, romantic quest for life. Wherever she is, life comes, life unfolds, life tells its secrets.

**THE DEFICIT MUST GO!**

Surely our readers are as eager as we are to remove the deficit of \$105 a week under which The Freeman is operating. A working class paper should be self-supporting. Only so can it be fully useful and so can its continued work for the cause of social justice be assured. Our circulation is now 28,000. If our readers will get busy and add 22,000 names to the list—giving us a total circulation of 50,000—we will be relieved of this crippling deficit. You understand, we already have the machinery and the editorial labor, so that printing 50,000 papers would necessitate only the extra cost of the print paper itself and the work of mailing. The big part of our investment is already made, whether for 28,000 or 50,000 readers. We urge all our loyal readers to put forth extra-special efforts to swell the list to 50,000—move the embarrassing, harassing deficit out of the Freeman fully on its feet as a working class paper whose readers think enough of it to support it. Let's go, NOW, and make the deficit go!

AN ATTACK on free speech is an expression of fear. It shows that capitalism is afraid of its critics. That should give us courage. Let us fight all the harder. We are right, and if we persist in our efforts we shall win for the cause which, stimulated by the strongest social forces, cannot successfully be suppressed.

**URNS GUNS ON THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM**

**E. Haldeman-Julius Addresses an Interested Audience at Court House in Concordia**

[The following report is taken from the Oct. 19 issue of the Concordia (Kans.) Blade-Empire. It shows how seriously the capitalist editors take the senatorial campaign of the editor of The Freeman. Realizing as we do that the senatorial campaign hasn't even got started, it is clear that The Freeman editor's ideas on economic problems will soon be heard and discussed in every section of the state. By concentrating on this campaign, the comrades throughout the country will make possible a great advance in the work of organizing the United States for Socialism. It is plain that every dollar spent thus far in Kansas has brought real results. If we can proceed with our campaign and flood the state with our literature and conduct many mass meetings, there is no predicting the outcome.]

E. Haldeman-Julius, noted writer, publisher and Socialist, attacked the present economic structure and the capitalist system upon which it is based, pointing out his analysis of the causes of the present depression and explaining his cure for it, before a crowd of interested listeners which nearly filled the courtroom of the Cloud county courthouse Saturday night.

He told the assembled farmers that they were floundering up to their necks in mortgages. He told the business men that they were looking forward to a hard winter. He told the crowd that unemployment among workmen was rife. In short, that there was a depression on. Then he told them what he believed would cure the depression.

Stay to Talk It Over  
Haldeman-Julius' audience was an interested one. They listened intently and when the meeting was over they split into groups to talk over his address. Many crowded about the speaker to congratulate him.

The noted Socialist, although he is an announced candidate for United States senator from Kansas, made no mention of his candidacy. The speaker's cure for economic ills is the socialization of industry. But he believes that the socialization of industry should come about by peaceful means. He does not advocate the use of violence. He believes the American people will obtain the socialization of industry through the ballot. Haldeman-Julius believes that Russia has found a cure for most of her economic ills, but he deplored the use of violence Russia used in bringing about a socialistic state, though he added that capitalistic despotism made violence necessary. He made it plain that he wishes to see no violence in the United States.

Chain-Farming on Way  
Chain-farming is coming to the United States, he believes. It is inevitable. The time is coming when the farmer will have to choose whether he will remain an employe of a great chain-farming corporation, he said. And when that time comes, he said, he believes the farmers will seek to socialize agriculture. The farmer will work in harmony with his neighbors and competition will be done away with. Agriculture, he said, will surely become socialized some day just as it now is in Soviet Russia. And when that day comes the farmer will have no mortgage to worry about.

Haldeman-Julius painted a glowing picture of Soviet Russia. The five-year plan was lauded to the rafters of the courthouse as he described its workings and the benefits the Russians enjoyed because they had freed themselves of competitive exploitation. The Russians had real leadership, something in which the United States was sadly lacking, he declared. The United States would founder in its economic maze until the time would come when it would be necessary to send American envoys to study the Russian system. Or perhaps Russia would send her envoys to the United States to tell us what was wrong and how to remedy it.

Hits Banking System  
The intricacies of the American banking system got their share of condemnation from the speaker. The banking system in the United States was crooked, he declared. Its workings prevented the distribution of money in a just way, he said.

Overproduction is the outstanding cause of the present depression, he asserted, and the one big way of remedying that was through the socialization of industry. Russia had no overproduction because it worked under a systematic plan of organization. When Russia produced enough of one commodity, it quit before a surplus was amassed because there was no competition pressing or profit incentive to produce more. That was what the United States needed to cure its ills.

Lippmann's Fallacy  
Walter Lippmann, world famous as a writer on economic questions, was taken to task severely by the speaker for criticizing Russia on the grounds that Russia would find herself in pretty much of a mess when it piled up an overproduction of commodities. The great mind of Lippmann had overlooked a point childish in its simplicity when he made such a statement. Haldeman-Julius said it reiterated that there could be no overproduction in Russia because there was no competition.

When man does away with the senseless competitive order and the waste and suffering it entails, man will find a new happiness, he said. Not until then will the human race lift itself out of the doldrums in which it is wallowing, the speaker declared.

Gandhi's Boycott  
The effect one man can have on the whole tenor of world civilization was pointed out by the speaker when he showed why the United States had an overproduction of cotton and why the textile industry was in a slump. Gandhi had ordered his millions of Hindu followers to boycott England's

cotton goods as a protest against that country's not allowing India her independence. Gandhi and his followers had reverted to the old-fashioned spinning wheel. England had no place to dispose of her cotton goods. The textile industry in England was virtually at a standstill. England could not buy United States cotton. Our southern planters suffered as a result. England's economic decline was laid at the door of industrial inefficiency by the speaker. Antiquated methods in her industries multiplied waste and constituted a heavy drain on the government's resources, he said. In contrast the super-efficiency of Russia was pointed out.

"Dole" Under Another Name  
Haldeman-Julius believes the dole is coming in the United States. But he doesn't call it a dole. The word "dole" has an ominous sound and frightens the people. He prefers the term "unemployment insurance." He believes congress is going to pass an unemployment insurance measure at its next session. It is necessary to protect the working man, to give those who are willing and able to work a means of livelihood in a time of unemployment, he said. It will be the first step in the socialization of industry.

The speaker outlined his plan for unemployment insurance. The fund built up would be handled by the government. Unemployed workers would be classified according to vocations. The legitimate unemployed worker who was without a job through no fault of his own would receive compensation.

A Practical Plan  
In his analysis of a plan for unemployment insurance, Haldeman-Julius scoffed at the general impression Americans have that unemployment insurance, or the dole, has been a big factor in impoverishing England and that it would have the same effect on the United States.

He pointed out that France has unemployment insurance and that it is doing things. France has only 54,000 unemployed workers, he said, and it is ridiculous to assume that a workman is going to quit his job and attempt to live off his unemployment insurance. He squelched the reports that thousands of England's laborers were living off the dole because they were too lazy and shiftless to make an effort to find work. The announcement in England that there was a job open would draw hundreds of unemployed workers to the scene, each in a frenzy to obtain the work, he declared.

For the Workingman  
Believing a plan of unemployment insurance to be the opening wedge in a drive for the socialization of industry, those who are opposed to such a plan will put up a stiff fight at the next session of congress, Haldeman-Julius predicted. But he believes there will be enough public opinion to force congress to put the measure across.

A local Socialist club with 19 members was formed after the meeting.

RULING CLASSES never learn. They refuse to see when their game of privilege has been played out to the end. They try vainly to hold back the forces of social change. They can seemingly do this for a time, but the result is a more terrific explosion. The ruling class today exhibits the same obstinacy, intolerance and blindness as ruling classes in the past. Today, however, the masses have political powers, means of expression and opportunities of advancement which they did not have in the past. We must make quick use of these powers and opportunities by educating the masses to Socialism; that is, to a peaceable social change which is the only alternative to a violent revolution. For the present system cannot last. What will we have—Socialism or a general smash-up?

SUPPOSE we don't expect to have a perfect world under Socialism; is that any reason why we should do nothing to abolish the glaring, inexcusable, plainly remediable imperfections which make up the system of capitalism? Whether we can reach perfection or not, the only way of improvement is to remove the abuses that are directly in front of us, to solve intelligently the problems that face us now and, in short, make the best present use of our brains and our resources.

A NINETEENTH CENTURY poet wrote, "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." Now we say: Better fifty years of Socialism than a cycle—or than all the "business cycles"—of capitalism.

**"Banking Sound," Says the Capitalist Press As Failures Increase**

"Sound Banking Situation. Only 4 Percent of Total Deposits Affected by Failures." This is the headline in the Kansas City Star over an Associated Press story intended to encourage "faith in the country's financial structure."

A month ago the bankers were proud to say that they had lost only 3 percent of the people's savings during the past year. Now the amount has grown to 4 percent—and still the banking and press propagandists talk about our "sound banking situation."

The A. P. story admits that bank failures occur "from day to day!" The emptiness of this propaganda is further shown by the fact that in the first nine months of 1931 there were 1,234 bank failures, with a loss in deposits of \$929,485,000—a loss of 100 million dollars more than in the first nine months of 1930.

Show this to your neighbor and let him know how the capitalist press deceives him.

**Question Box**  
Edited by John W. Gunn

Will you please give, briefly, the substance of the definite plan by which you propose to eliminate the present distressing economic conditions? That you wish to establish a fairer distribution of wealth is plain, but what plan do you offer to effect this? Above all, by what method do you intend to carry out your plan?—H. Borchardt, Jr., Mo.

We have no blue-print of Socialism, with every detail of industry and social life under Socialism traced neatly—but I take it that Mr. Borchardt is a sensible man and does not expect such a perfect prophetic plan. As for the essential plan of Socialism, it is that the industries shall be transferred from private to social ownership and shall be run, not with the profit motive, but with the motive of supplying the needs of the people. Socialism will not require some magic new industrial technique; there are plenty of technicians, men skilled in all branches of manufacture and commerce and science, who know how to run industry—and run it for the common good—if only they are placed in a position to do so. The basic principles of industry, that is to say, the purposes which it is to serve and the manner in which its products are to be divided, constitute the vital change that must be made in the transition from capitalism to Socialism. In making this change, the task of prime importance is that of educating a majority of the people to Socialism—enlisting their powerful support for this change—developing Socialism as the will of the nation so that, with the help of science and good sense and the spirit of social justice, it will become the way of the nation. For explanations of the Socialist plan more elaborate than can be given here, Mr. Borchardt is referred to the twenty excellent books in the Free Library of Socialism.

What good does it do to have 5-year plans or 500-year plans when the raw material that is to carry out the plan—the workers—are inefficient and unable to understand the delicate job of handling a machine? Russia is all right in her idealism and her enthusiasm for industrial and technical efficiency. —B. J. M. Pittsburg, Pa.

The answer to that is neatly at hand. On my desk is a copy of the New York Herald Tribune for November 2, reporting that Henry Ford praised the workmanlike structure and operating efficiency of two tractors sent to him from Russia. The tractors were made in the Putilov factory at Leningrad. "It gave me great pleasure," Ford wrote, "to have this ample proof of the industrial progress of Russia. These tractors not only helped us to get an idea of the industrial plant producing them, but also made us understand the endeavors of the people who will use them in various ways. I am glad to inform you the tractors worked quite satisfactorily." B. J. M. will hardly deny that Ford, with the assistance of his experts, is capable of judging the merits of tractors. The "raw material" of the Russian working class has proved its worth and ability.

You are advocating for the working class to organize industrially and politically. What do you mean by "politically" party. What kind of organization do you mean? —Paul Barach, W. Va.

The Freeman supports the existing organizations of the workers on the industrial field, insofar as they genuinely represent the interests of the workers. Clearly the craft unions are weak in their principle of organization, which has in it an element of disunion that is often fatal to the aims of labor. Craft union leaders are, in the main, supporters of capitalist fallacies and frequently they are conscious betrayers of the workers they pretend to serve. Industrial unionism is the scientific principle of labor organization, with all the workers in an industry (say, the packing industry or the transportation industry) or the textile industry) cooperating in one big union rather than dividing their forces in a number of smaller craft unions. At present, however, the American workers are organized on a craft union basis and The Freeman supports this organized working class movement in all its true endeavors for the cause of labor, while pointing out its weaknesses and encouraging the development of industrial unionism. Looking beyond the present class struggle to the time when Socialism will prevail, we also urge the workers through their labor organizations to study the details of the skilled management of industry so that they will be prepared fully to assume their larger responsibilities and their wider scope of action in the Cooperative Commonwealth.

I have just had a dispute with a lady over the term "radicalism." Her idea of radicalism is exactly opposite to mine. For her benefit, especially, among the readers of The Freeman, I want you to discuss radicalism from every angle.—C. F. Turner, Texas.

A common error is to think of radicalism and violence as synonymous. The fact is that superficial thinkers are apt to favor violence, not being able to work out an intelligent solution of our social difficulties. There are radicals who believe that violence is necessary—or eventually will prove necessary—to remake society. Other radicals have the firm conviction that the peaceable tactics of education, agitation and organization will accomplish our aims. The distinguishing mark of a radical, which separates him profoundly in character from both the conservative and the liberal, is that he concentrates his attention upon the causes of existing evils. Whereas others believe in tinkering with effects, the radical insists that the causes of social evils must be abolished. He believes in funda-

These 20 books are given free with each \$2 order for four 50-cent Freeman sub. cards.

mental, as contrasted with superficial, changes.

What modifications of the Socialist program does international Socialism entail?—Norman W. Frost, Maine.

Basically, Socialism will be the same the world over—that is to say, it will rest on the identical principles of collective ownership of the industries, production for use instead of profit and the full product of his labor to each worker. It is possible within the framework of essential Socialism for a wide and interesting diversity of customs, traditions and cultural ways to prevail in different countries. Russia will never be exactly like America—at least I hope not—although both operate (when America comes to its senses) under a basic Socialist economy. International Socialism would solve its problems and govern its relations, like national Socialism, in the spirit of social science and social justice. The problem of a "surplus" would not exist in the exaggerated, hostile and dangerous form that we know under capitalism; but nations would mutually exchange products according to real surpluses and real needs. Thus America would not import from abroad a product that is grown or manufactured in sufficient quantity in this country—a process of carrying coals to Newcastle which is prevalent under the competitive system of private ownership and the struggle for profits; but if America has too little of one product and too much of another, it will make an exchange with a country in which these products are in the opposite ratio.

**Freeman Army**

State	Off	On	Total	State	Off	On	Total
Calif.	18	20	2,977	D. C.	3	3	235
Ill.	17	19	4,918	Ind.	1	1	187
Ill.	13	19	2,431	Ark.	8	16	216
N. Y.	17	19	2,424	Pa.	1	9	189
Mo.	19	19	1,925	Kent.	3	5	172
Ohio	16	19	1,877	Wash.	3	5	163
Kans.	9	14	1,782	Mich.	6	8	155
Miss.	9	17	1,662	Tex.	4	18	148
Wis.	14	17	1,657	W. Va.	3	4	117
Tex.	18	21	1,545	Ariz.	5	9	147
Wash.	15	18	1,385	Pa.	2	12	125
N. J.	17	24	1,311	Calif.	2	13	113
Pa.	19	19	1,275	Ind.	19	19	113
Iowa	10	10	459	Conn.	4	8	118
Wis.	6	10	418	Wyo.	5	7	109
Ind.	11	11	318	Mex.	5	7	99
Ind.	14	20	400	N. C.	3	5	64
Okla.	11	20	378	Ill.	1	1	64
Ala.	5	10	278	Foreign	2	3	63
Conn.	3	8	279	I. I.	4	5	61
Calif.	9	9	265	C. I.	9	10	50
Wash.	8	8	250	Del.	2	6	45
Ida.	1	7	250	Del.	2	6	45
Ida.	2	2	244	Total	324	534	28,000
Exp. for week ending Nov. 7, 1931	324	324	324	Exp. for week ending Nov. 7, 1931	324	324	324
New subs for week ending Nov. 7, 1931	534	534	534	New subs for week ending Nov. 7, 1931	534	534	534
Gain for week ending Nov. 7, 1931	210	210	210	Gain for week ending Nov. 7, 1931	210	210	210

Wm. Burton, Kans., sends \$1 for Method No. 3.  
S. H. Smith, Calif., signs the pledge to send in two yearlies each month for a year.  
H. Abbott, Ill., heard about our \$105 weekly deficit and has been working long hours of his spare time to help the Freeman on its feet. "The whole family enjoys reading The Freeman especially Warren's page," writes William Abbott. "I hope to send you \$100 in 1932 to help the Freeman on its feet."  
"Just received The Freeman of Nov. 7. It is a dandy. Enclosed find \$2 for a bundle of 20 copies which I wish to distribute at a meeting of our local," writes G. A. Harrison, Mo.

Herman Ruzel, Mich., sends in a club of four subs and adds: "Through my efforts as an organizer at our Socialist Club I will soon have 30 more subscribers of this kind. This will help put Detroit on your active list. Your paper is getting better every week."  
Chas. C. McGowan, Ida., sends in a club of six 25-cent subs and writes: "This is my first club of subs. Didn't have time to help in spreading the message before today. I have been too busy working long hours on a farm at low wages. I just picked these subs up on one day's trip on another business. Will try and send you another list soon. It's a pleasure to read The Freeman for the first time."  
Comrade D. T. Snyder, Mo., says he wants Socialism by way of the Communist Party. We aren't worried about labels. What The Freeman wants is the kind of people at the end of capitalism and you can call it Socialism, Communism, or what have you! It's all the same to us. By the way, Comrade Snyder would like to see you at our meeting to the Truth About Russia Fund, this time for \$5.

Orders for sub cards were received from: N. Y.: Karl J. Stieland, Ida.: J. C. Dittes, N. J.: Hans Kalm, N. Y.: Wm. Schoeler, Ore.: J. G. Feather, Calif.: Ezra Royle, Mont.: S. E. Cairo, Ore.: Leland L. Harris, N. Y.: J. H. Anderson, Wyo.: A. M. Lillifield, Mexico: A. M. Stowe, Va.: R. J. Harris, Fla.: Joy Brown, Wash.: W. F. Dietz, La.: Frank Anderson, Wyo.: A. B. Sanford, Ore.: R. F. Scholtz, Ind.

Warren W. Batterton, Neb., is one of our steadiest Army workers. He is always working hard to get the Freeman clubs of subs. Here is a letter he wrote for four subs to come to the library of Socialism. He writes: "I am eager to learn more about Socialism as I am only a young worker and know little of the hands of the capitalist. I am working on another club of subs which will be mailed soon."  
Clubs of subs, ranging from four to thirty subs, were received from: Algot Bong, Wash.; Ralph Alario, Calif.; Melvin Dix, Ore.; John M. Glenn, Wash.; Chas. G. McGowan, Ida.; Parlan McFarlane, Utah; Warren W. Batterton, Neb.; E. B. Barthrop, Ore.; Elma D. Stark, La.; S. C. Crawford, Tenn.; J. H. Bostman, Wash.; R. T. Sawyer, Miss.; B. F. Bailey, W. Va.; J. H. Deansford, Calif.; Harry Mitchell, Mich.; J. Collins, Calif.; J. G. Mitchell, Calif.

Chas. C. Mottram, Conn., sends \$1 for Meth. No. 3, telling us to use it for sending copies of The Freeman to good names in our position. He writes: "Just now I find myself somewhat Hooverized and unable to do my share. But in order to do my bit to boost the circulation of The Freeman I have decided to send you \$1. I shall send up my N. Y. Sun paper and newspaper and to donate this sum (10c) each week for Freeman sub cards for one year. I shall send you my first order for 4 sub. cards but I want it disposed of according to your judgment."  
It is important for members of the Army to realize that The Freeman is running at a deficit of \$105 a week. If we could increase our paid subscription list to 50,000, we would be in a position to produce The Freeman without a cent of cost. The Freeman has already had editorial and labor expenses to bring out enough paper to take care of our present circulation and this expense would not be increased if our circulation were to be boosted another 20,000. There would be added expense with regard to printing, but this would be a small amount. We would remain to wipe out the general deficit. That should be the goal of every loyal comrade in the Freeman Army. Order a batch of sub cards for your club and send us \$1 each week. Then again, send us a club of subs, which you will find easy to get. If you send us \$1 each week for 52 weeks, we will be back down to the job now we could wipe out our deficit in a few short weeks and save The Freeman from an untimely death. Let

These 20 books are given free with each \$2 order for four 50-cent Freeman sub. cards.



About 30,000 textile workers in and around Lawrence, Mass

# Do You Want to Understand the Forces Which Contend for Mastery of the World's Social-Economic Life Today?

**A**RE you, like millions of men and women, perplexed and confused as you look at the uncertain, contending, quickly shifting forces in the world today? Probably you are. Most people are. We live in a world of momentous change. To understand this world is the most important need, for his own interest, of every person.

Are you perplexed, for example, that Mussolini—a former Socialist (an agitator indeed in the extreme syndicalist movement of Europe)—is now heading a Fascist dictatorship in Italy?

Are you at a loss to understand just why Hitler and his followers in Germany call themselves "National Socialists" and are striving and scheming for a dictatorship in the German Republic?

Does it excite your puzzled wonder to know that Premier Laval of France, also a former Socialist, is today the head of the world's leading imperialist nation?

Do you wish to comprehend clearly how Ramsay MacDonald rose to power in England, what principles he has advocated and what principles he now represents, what economic and social forces are basically responsible for the vital controversial issues in England today?

Are you not intensely curious to understand the history, the causes, the motives, the principles and aims of the Soviet Union, where 160,000,000 people are amazing the modern world with their gigantic plan to build up a huge new collectivist society?

Are you interested, as an American citizen, in knowing exactly what is the position of America in the world today? America's economic position? the aims and policies of Hoover and the interests he represents? the significance of America as a powerful, representative capitalist nation and the threat or promise, as you may judge for yourself, held out to America by the challenging movements of Socialism, Communism and Fascism?

We are sure that you do want to have a clear insight into these forces which are so sensationally contending for mastery in the modern world. Certainly, it is of the greatest personal importance to you that you understand

## A Knowledge of Socialism Is Essential to Leadership

**R**EAD what Fred D. Warren, editorial writer of *The Freeman*, says about the importance to all men and women in the 20 books of our FREE Library of Socialism:

"The four outstanding figures in world affairs today are MacDonald, Laval, Mussolini and Stalin. It is important to note that all of these men started their political careers as Socialists, and all of them got their first understanding of industry from a study of Socialist literature. The first three attained their positions of power by compromising their radical principles with the practices of capitalism. Stalin has stuck to his guns by abolishing private property in the means of production and distribution. The point I wish to emphasize is that it was a knowledge of Socialism which placed these men at the head of their respective countries. They knew all that the capitalist economists knew, and they also knew the economics of Socialism! Would it not be wise for you to know about Socialism? If you wish to play your part in this game of making a new world, or saving an old world, you should know what Socialism is and what its supporters hope to do. Whether you finally stand for Socialism, or against it, you can't make a good fighter without this information. To make it easy for you to obtain this information, we have had twenty books prepared by outstanding Socialist writers in this country and Europe. These twenty books are contained in our FREE Library of Socialism—and in these twenty books is the dynamic thought that is remaking the world. With this information you can intelligently take your stand on one side or the other. FRED D. WARREN."

these forces. Otherwise you are lost in this changing world. You cannot know which way to turn. Events will baffle you. Either you will be incapable of action or you will act blindly. And blind action today, in a world so perilously out of balance, is fatal. It will be fatal to you, because your action and the action of millions of other men and women will determine the immediate

course which society will follow in these dark, troubled and yet—for those who have the right vision and the true interpretation of social forces—these hopeful times.

Now let us tell you a secret, which is not a secret to the big men in the world today: *You must understand Socialism if you would read correctly the events and signs in this modern world.* Although they have recanted their principles, MacDonald and Laval and Mussolini understand Socialism quite clearly.

They are wiser than the people who believe the propaganda which they utter. They keep their eyes on the real forces—the economic forces—which move society.

They study the economic forces which are working in an effort to save capitalism. They watch closely the economic forces which are leading with increasing strength and challenge to a remaking of the world on different economic principles.

*The leader today who does not understand Socialism, whether to support it or to oppose it intelligently, is doomed to have his leadership wrested from him. He cannot hold his place in a period of social struggle and transition which he does not comprehend. Stepping into their places as leaders will be the men who do understand Socialism, Communism, Fascism—all the social movements of the modern age.*

A knowledge of Socialism is the test of survival in a time when social questions are foremost, when social-economic forces make and unmake nations, when crippled industry and deranged commerce and major conflicts of interest are sending up danger signals, challenges, alarms, promises and visions of the future in every quarter of the world.

Understand Socialism—and you will read the news of the world with a new insight. You will read about more than the events themselves: you will see clearly what is back of the events, what causes them, and what other events they are likely to produce. And when you study Socialism you will be able to decide intelligently what part you will play in this world struggle.

# With This Knowledge You Can Interpret the Modern World Events

Modern world events are remarkably clarified when you understand Socialism, which is the key to the economic tendencies that bring about every important situation in the events of the world today. The twenty books in our FREE Library of Socialism are the very latest, most authoritative 1931 literature about Socialism. Backgrounded in the history of Socialism and the development of society, they bring the evolution of social forces and the powerful influences of revolution up to the very threshold of the present hour with its overwhelming issues.

## Study of Economics

These are issues which demand a solution from every man and woman; and in Socialism—which is to say a sound and realistic knowledge of economics—lies the way to understanding these issues. Whether you become a Socialist or not, whether you conclude to promote or resist this movement, you will want to know what this great world-wide struggle means. You must understand it if you hope to engage intelligently and successfully in this struggle. There is no part that you can play, on one side or the other, without knowing the facts about Socialism, its principles, its history, its natural development out of the contradictions of capitalism.

*Socialism is a study in economic realism.* It traces the various conflicting lines of interest in the modern world, and it shows how these interests drive groups of men to different courses

of action. Powerful groups support capitalism, both through propaganda and through instruments of force. Why is this? When you read these books on Socialism, you will see with perfect clearness why these groups fight to maintain capitalism. The supporters of capitalism have a great deal to say about the ideals and principles of this economic system; that is merely propaganda: it is superficial, not touching the actual reasons.

In these books on Socialism you will be made acquainted with the fundamental, controlling reasons why capitalism is defended so vigorously by certain individuals and groups in the present society. You will learn to search out the interests which prompt defense or attack of the existing order of things. In any clash of purposes or seeming tangle of events (a tangle to the uninformed readers of the news) you will be able to recognize instantly the motives and the aims that are at work. No longer will you be misled by slogans, artful phrases, resounding and untrue appeals to emotionalism. You will know precisely what the different groups are fighting for—what capitalists and their supporters fight for, what the Socialists are fighting for, as well as what significance, not merely of ideas but of interests, resides in the movements of Communism and Fascism.

The real leaders in all these groups (not the little fellows who make a petty pose of leadership but are in fact only echoes and tools of the real leaders) are clearly and realistically famil-

## Socialism Up-to-Date

Morris Hillquit, leading figure in the American Socialist movement and the editor of our FREE Library of Socialism, says of these twenty books:

"In twenty separate books the FREE Library of Socialism covers ALL phases of the Socialist philosophy, program, methods, achievements and organization. Each subject is treated by an outstanding authority within the 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."

iar with the interests they are protecting and with the goals toward which they are striving. The capitalist leaders find it useful to mislead the people about their real aims, propagandizing the people with one set of motives and alleged ideals while they, behind the scenes, pursue objects that are strikingly at variance with the ideals taught to the people. The Socialist and Communist leaders are more candid. This is because they appeal to a wide set of interests, to the interests of the majority, and therefore it is to their advantage to make the issues per-

fectly clear. The capitalist leaders, serving the interests of a very few only, find it necessary to persuade the masses through false propaganda that capitalism is a good system for all.

After all, you are the one to judge whether the claims of capitalism or the claims of Socialism or Communism are true; in which movement you belong; through which set of principles you can best serve your own interests and play the most significant, strong role in the world struggle. Obviously you cannot reach an intelligent judgment until you have studied the issues. Unless you have a full understanding of Socialism—giving as it does a broad, realistic picture of the social forces that are active in our time—you will be unable to choose well your part. You will blunder. You will be defeated. You will be the helpless prey and tool of men and groups who do understand what the social conflict means.

For your own good we urge you to know about Socialism—for in knowledge there is power, in knowledge there is the secret of leadership. There is no kind of education which is more vital to you than that contained in the twenty books of our FREE Library of Socialism. These books turn a puzzling world into a clearly explained world, a world in which definite forces are struggling for definite ends.

After reading these twenty books, you will have a clear understanding of the real meaning of the conflict between Japan and China in Manchuria, and of the significance this conflict has for the rest of the world. The attitude of the

League of Nations and of the American government will be understandable to you in the light of this knowledge of Socialism, which—let us repeat earnestly—is a knowledge of the social and economic forces which really determine events.

## Behind That Curtain

What is happening in England today will be grasped by you with a sure understanding when you have read these twenty books on Socialism. No longer will you be satisfied with the phrases of politics and consider them as knowledge. You will perceive the superficiality of such appeals, how they are designed to draw attention from the real issues, how they deliberately seek to conceal the powerful motives that are in operation behind the curtain of events. Knowing Socialism, you can see behind that curtain and know not only what the chief actors are doing but why they are doing it. You will have the economic interpretation which is the key to the urgent social puzzles of our time.

This knowledge which will make the meaning of events clear to you and enable you to take a leading or an intelligent part in these events—this knowledge is contained in the twenty books of our FREE Library of Socialism. These books are not for sale. They are given FREE with an order for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards. These sub cards are worth \$2; and you can use them or give them away or sell them. The twenty books come to you free.

# These 20 Books Contain Vital Knowledge That Will Help You in Facing Life

The twenty books in our FREE Library of Socialism are entertaining, interesting and instructive. More important, however, is the fact that you need these books as a guide—a comprehensive and clear guide—to the social forces which are affecting your life for good or ill. Without the knowledge contained in these books, you are bewildered and helpless; or you are misled by superficial phrases and thought patterns which are not truly descriptive of the realities which are behind the great events which are vital to you, as they are vital to all men and women.

To indicate how soundly and thoroughly the twenty books in our FREE Library of Socialism cover the movements and social forces of our time, we are giving below a list of the titles and authors, with brief descriptions.

1. SOCIALISM AND THE FARMERS' PROBLEM. Algernon Lee—Educational director of the Rand School of Social Science in New York City. Most discussion of the farmers' problem concerns itself with effects only—if causes are mentioned, we discover that effects have been mistaken for causes. Lee goes right to the basic causes of the dilemma of agriculture. He traces the evolution of modern farming. He sets forth facts and figures to show clearly the position of the farmers with respect to modern industry and commerce.
2. SOCIALISM AND CULTURE. Upton Sinclair—America's most famous Socialist author, a novelist and critic of international importance. Culture—literature and art and the ideas and ideals of society—has its roots in the economic life. This profound significance of culture has never been revealed more convincingly than in this book by Sinclair. It is the best of guides to the real social forces that underlie literature and that are reflected in the various movements of culture.
3. WHY I AM A SOCIALIST. Hey-

wood Brown—Widely known New York City columnist, author and lecturer. Explaining that he did not become a Socialist for sentimental reasons, Brown describes frankly the conditions and trends of modern life which convinced him that in Socialism is the only solution of our social troubles. There is wisdom in this book, and no one can read it without better understanding this world we live in.

4. SOCIALISM AND THE CITY. Daniel W. Hoan—Socialist mayor of Milwaukee and member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America.

In the most practical spirit, Hoan tells what Socialism can do to improve life in our modern cities. Fortunately he doesn't have to deal in theory. He is able to describe exactly how successive Socialist administrations in Milwaukee have bettered conditions in that city.

5. WILL SOCIALISM END THE EVIL OF WAR? Devere Allen—Editor of *The World Tomorrow* and a leader in the modern peace movement.

Mounting armaments, threats of war, talk of disarmament that gets nowhere—what do these things mean? A realistic study of the basic causes of war is given in this book by Devere Allen.

6. SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM. Norman Angell—Member of the British Labor Party and a well-known writer on world problems of peace and economics. Like many others, you have doubtless asked yourself what is the difference between Socialism and Communism. The two movements strive for the same goal, but with contrasting tactics. Angell presents the most intelligent analysis of the two movements.

7. PIONEERS OF SOCIALISM. McAlister Coleman—Columnist for *The New Leader* and author of "Eugene V. Debs: A Man Unafraid." These are interesting sketches of the great thinkers and leaders who

laid the basis and pointed the direction of the modern Socialist movement. It is important that everyone should know the origins of this world-wide movement having millions of adherents in every land.

8. INCENTIVES UNDER SOCIALISM. G. D. H. Cole—English Socialist and economist, secretary of the Labor Research Department.

This subject of incentive was never so persuasively, thoughtfully discussed as in this book by Cole. You cannot have a true grasp of social questions unless you know the motives which impel or inspire men to their endeavors. Capitalism emphasizes one set of motives—but there are others, quite as powerful, as Cole explains.

9. SOCIALISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS. James Oneal—Editor of *The New Leader* and author of "The Workers in American History" and other books.

A history of the early struggles and the growth of the trade union movement, and its relation to the Socialist movement. In what ways do the Socialists differ from and go beyond the trade unions? In what ways does the Socialist movement cooperate with trade unionism?

10. CERTAIN MISCONCEPTIONS: A FEW CURRENT OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM ANSWERED. John M. Work—Veteran Socialist writer, author of "What's So and What Isn't," and member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America.

Most of the objections to Socialism are based on a misunderstanding of the philosophy and aims of the movement. Work removes many of these fallacies and misrepresentations—the main ones, which interfere with a sound knowledge of Socialism.

11. THE SOCIALIST GOAL. Fred Henderson—Prominent and active in the

## How You Can Get These Books

These books are not for sale. You can get them FREE by sending us \$2 for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards. The order blank in the lower right-hand corner of this page must be used. The four sub cards that you will receive are worth the \$2—and you can sell these sub cards and get your money back, while the twenty books will be yours FREE. A Freeman sub card is printed in the form of a postal card. On one side is printed the address of *The American Freeman*. On the other side is the guarantee that this card is good for a subscription to *The American Freeman*. The user of the card need only write his name and address plainly (on the lines provided for that purpose), and drop it into the nearest mail box. The card will reach *The American Freeman* and the new names will go promptly on our subscription list. Send \$2 with the order blank and take full advantage of this FREE educational offer.

British Labor Party and an able writer on Socialism.

This book—so informed, so convincing, so modern—goes right to the heart of the social problem. Henderson explains the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the productive capacities and customs of the world; and he explains how the Socialist goal is a readjustment of our system of distribution which shall be in harmony with the modern methods of production.

12. THE BETRAYAL OF THE WORKLESS. McAlister Coleman.

A forceful account of the evils of unemployment, the causes of unemployment, and the remedies of unemployment. Coleman analyzes the failure of capitalism to provide economic security for the workers.

13. CAN SOCIALISM PREVAIL IN AMERICA? James Oneal.

Is Socialism un-American and not adapted to our American environment and traditions? Oneal traces cogently the development of social forces in America which make for Socialism. He shows that Socialism is the natural outgrowth of capitalism in America, as in all other modern industrial countries.

14. FORCES WORKING FOR SOCIALISM. Paul Blanshard—Secretary of the City Affairs Committee of New York City, active in Socialist work.

If you imagine that Socialism is simply the expression of discontent on the one hand and idealism on the other hand, you will change your mind after reading Blanshard's book. These are important elements in Socialism, but deeper yet are powerful social forces that are leading toward Socialism.

15. ORGANIZING THE WORLD FOR SOCIALISM. Clarence Senior—National Secretary of the Socialist Party of America.

An able, concise review of modern Socialist organizations, their tactics and their aims. You are not informed as a citizen unless you know what the Socialists are doing, not only in this country but throughout the world.

16. SOCIALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL. Norman Thomas—Socialist candidate for President in 1928 and author of "America's Way Out." Thomas faces honestly the question

of what effect Socialism will have upon the rights of the individual. He shows how social interests, in a highly mechanized and social age, naturally limit the actions of the individual—and how this is true even under capitalism.

17. SOCIALISM AND WOMEN. Marion Phillips—Chief woman officer of the British Labor Party since 1918, editor of *The Labor Woman*.

This book sets forth the special appeal which Socialism has for women. It treats particularly of women as the buyers, interested in getting fair values; the workingman, for example, is interested in wages; the workingman's wife is interested in what she can buy with his wages.

18. THE PRACTICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF SOCIALISM. Morris Hillquit (in collaboration with Nathan Fine)—Hillquit is Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America and editor of our FREE Library of Socialism—Fine is director of the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science.

Even under capitalism, Socialism has been a potent influence and,

through Socialist agitation and education, many sound accomplishments have been forced upon capitalist society. The authors trace these accomplishments carefully and show how socialistic principles have been gradually applied.

19. THE PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF SOCIALISM. Harry W. Laidler—Co-director of the League for Industrial Democracy and president of the National Bureau for Economic Research.

You should know just what the Socialists aim to do and how they plan to do it—and this book will tell you. Laidler is an energetic practical student of modern industry and its problems and, applying Socialist principles, he shows what the economic developments of the future must be.

20. THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM. Morris Hillquit.

In brief, effective strokes of historical analysis, Hillquit explains how political philosophies are the reflection of economic interests. He shows clearly how the political and social ideals of capitalism, triumphing over those of feudalism, were based upon the motives and necessities of the new industrial age.

These 20 books are FREE—but to get them you must send \$2 with the order blank below for four 50-cent Freeman sub cards—\$2 only the price of the sub cards you get the 20 FREE books EXTRA.

## Order Blank for Free Books

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

Enclosed is \$2, for which you will send me the 20 books in your FREE Library of Socialism and four 50-cent Freeman sub cards.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

Send Orders to The American Freeman, GIRARD, KANSAS

# Warren's Page

By Fred D. Warren

## KNOWLEDGE IS LEADERSHIP

The four outstanding figures in world affairs today are MacDonald, Laval, Mussolini and Stalin. It is important to note that all of these men started their political careers as Socialists, and all of them got their first understanding of industry from a study of Socialist literature. The first three attained their positions of power by compromising their radical principles with the practices of capitalism. Stalin has stuck to his guns by abolishing private property as the means of production and distribution.

In Italy, England and France, capitalism has had much to offer in the way of riches and prestige to these leaders of the growing Socialist movement. They were won over to the ruling capitalist class through a false nationalism developed after the war. Under the guise of patriotism these men sacrificed their comrades of the working class, but to what end? The story is not as yet completed. The fact that Russia, with all of its handicaps, is looked upon by the world today as the solvent nation in Europe is a straw which indicates which way the current is setting.

However, the point I wished to emphasize when I started the above paragraph is this: It was a knowledge of Socialism which placed these men at the head of their respective countries. They knew all that the capitalist economists knew, and they also knew the economics of Socialism! Would it not be wise for you to know about Socialism? If you wish to play your part in this big game of making a new world, or saving an old world, you should know what Socialism is and what its supporters hope to do. Whether you finally stand for Socialism, or against it, you can't make a good fighter without this information.

To make it easy for you to obtain this information, we have had twenty books prepared by outstanding Socialist writers in this country and Europe. These twenty books are included in our FREE Library of Socialism, and may be had by sending \$2 for four subscription cards at 50c each. You will count the effort well spent in getting these four subscriptions, after you have received and read the 20 books covering the phases of Socialism. Contained in these twenty little books is the dynamic thought that is remaking the world. With this information you can intelligently take your stand on one side or the other.

## COTTON, THE DEPOSED KING

New York World, Sept. 19, 1929: "Convinced that only by adoption of modern American irrigation methods can Russia produce sufficient cotton for its own needs, the Soviet government today decided on a gigantic irrigation enterprise in Russian Turkestan. The work will be under the direction of A. P. Davis, formerly head of the United States Reclamation Service. He will have 30 American engineers as his assistants. It is the largest irrigation enterprise undertaken in modern times, and when finished will make Russia independent of the United States and Egyptian supplies."

When the above item was printed two years ago—cotton was selling in this country at 16c. Today it is selling for less than 6c. I suppose some bright mind in Hoover's cabinet will soon tell us that what we ought to do is to take our navy over to Europe and tell the Russians to quit raising cotton—that it is our staple Southern crop and that if we can't sell it we will starve. This does sound ridiculous, and of course I don't expect any one—not even the silly men employed at Washington—to advocate such an enterprise. But history tells us of just such silly things being done by the ruling class. England, mistress of the seas in 1812, sent her war ships to America in an effort to head off the development of American industry. Holland tried to make the world dump its products at her door a hundred years before the English attempt. Go back in history and you will find hundreds of such foolish attempts. Trade—commerce—profits—these have been the motivating influences that have prompted EVERY government action in the past. It is still the prime mover of human efforts.

The opening up of the vast cotton-raising region of Turkestan, which has been connected with the Siberian Eastern railway by a railroad built by the Russians without outside help, will change the industrial complexion of the world, just as the development of industry in America changed it. While watching with interest the efforts in Russia, we should remember that we have a big job in America to so arrange industry that here will be no surplus except that legitimate surplus we will wish to exchange for goods we can't make at home.

## KEEP POSTED

The figures which I have used showing the income of the American people—90 billions—are taken from the 1929 reports. They show the results when the capitalist system was working at about 100 percent. The income for 1930 is still conjectural, says a financial authority, which estimates the national income (which includes wages and salaries, profits, interest and income on the farms) at 64 billion dollars, or a decrease of over 30 percent from high water mark of 1929. For the current year, based on reports so far received, wages and salaries, etc., will be less than 30 billion and profits still smaller. It is well to keep these figures in mind, otherwise one is apt to become confused. Figures at best are confusing, but it is by understanding figures and being able to read reports that our capitalist friends have been able to accumulate so much of the wealth of the world.

talism and to take a poke at its many weaknesses and cruelties, but it is going to take more than that to solve the riddle now confronting the working class. I hope my readers will take seriously these few figures which I will print from time to time. You can rely on them being as accurate as it is possible to compile. I haven't wasted my time on LaSalle Street during the past twelve years, but have been quietly storing this information which will be helpful in making clear to our friendly enemies just what's wrong with their beloved system. From what I print, please make up your own calculations and draw your own conclusions—so that you can intelligently and effectively talk your side of this problem. And just remember, you've got to talk fast and furious if you are to help win this battle against ignorance and hunger.

Mark the paragraph you find in this paper that you know will interest one of your neighbors, and send or give it to him. This is why I urge you to join the Bundle Brigade. You can't argue with the printed page. It won't talk back, but just quietly and effectively carries its story and, finally, conviction. Recall your own early experience. It was without doubt a pamphlet or a paper that first attracted your interest in this question of Socialism. It seems to me that you need no urging to do for someone else what someone did for you!

## THEODORE DEBS

I was delighted to have an opportunity to talk over old times with Theodore Debs and his good wife at his home in Terre Haute a few days ago. Theodore bears a striking resemblance to his brother, "Gene," and it seemed at times that I was actually talking face to face with our illustrious comrade. There was no mistaking the spirit that pervaded the room, and I lived over again the days when we battled the hosts marshaled against the working class.

Theodore is filled with the same fire that animated his brother during the long years of his service to the working class. As a matter of fact much of the effectiveness of "Gene's" work was due to the helpfulness of Theodore, who was at his elbow in time of need, and proved in many a trying situation the influence that helped just when help was needed. I was thrilled at Theodore's stories of the early struggles to establish the party before the unity convention which met at Indianapolis in 1900 and out of which grew the Socialist party of America. There were many laughable as well as serious incidents, and some day I hope Theodore will put them in book form. This history would be an inspiration to those who had no part in the early efforts to build the Socialist movement in America. Socialism is no new idea or principle, but has an historical background in this country that is something to be proud of.

Theodore, if he could be persuaded to do so, would make a commanding figure on the platform, and I hope Comrade Clarence Senior's effort to induce him to take an active part in the approaching campaign will be successful. I know Theodore would be willing if his health permits. To me he looked as though he had a good many years of usefulness before him.

## SIGNS OF THE NEW DAY

I get a smile every time I read in the newspapers about the new system of "barter" being developed by the peoples of capitalist countries in their efforts to "get going." Every attempt at barter is a shoulder blow at the system now so generally in vogue. Barter, in practice, means the exchange of commodities without going through the hands of a middle man. It means making a direct trade on the basis of equal values for the items involved. This of course leaves no profit for the middle man—and with the middle man eliminated, the corner stone of the capitalist system disappears.

Barter actually eliminates the necessity of "money" as we know it today. Money has been considered a medium of exchange. In actual use it is a means by which the producing class is cheated out of the results of its labor. A few trades like the one with Brazil wherein wheat was exchanged for coffee, will show us how much more profitable it would be to do all our business on that basis.

The middle man has taken his toll of the world for many hundreds of years, in first one form and then another. And we are beginning to understand to what an extent he has cluttered up the orderly processes of trade, which has as its basic principle the distribution of the various articles of daily use which go to supply our material needs. On each transaction he has made a profit, meaning that he takes more than he gives. With this profit he has built great factories, great steamship lines, great transportation systems, and with this profit he has acquired most of the wealth of the land. With these means of exploitation, he has filled his warehouses with food and clothes until their sides are bursting with riches, while the men and women who made them walk the streets looking for jobs. Hunger is a good educator. With more than 20 percent of the population actually physically hungry, and another 70 percent fearful of where the next month's rent is coming from, the situation offers hope of betterment.

You can push the people just so far, and then they "do" things. This is why I smile, because these little signs of the times indicate that there is coming an awakening, and then the sun will rise, and after that the glories of a new morning!

I was glad to get a letter from my old friend, Matt Semple of Ottawa, Kans. Matt is still carrying on strong, and that we won't have to wait much longer for the Big Change.

"THE most popular explanation offered for the present troubles of society is that of a maldistribution of consumers' purchasing power to the amount of consumptive goods produced."—W. J. Eiteman, Associate Professor of Economics, Albion College, in *Current History* for October, 1931.

In my thirty years of Socialist work I have never seen the harvest so ripe as it appears to be right now. There is just one topic of conversation—jobs! Always have a copy of The Freeman or a pamphlet in your pocket to give to the man who brings up this topic in conversation. You will find it even more effective than argument, orally delivered. And don't forget: We must work quickly!

"A PROFESSOR in an important university declared that capitalist society cannot continue to exist, having almost realized itself, with signs of disintegration visible on all sides; that the Russian revolution ushered into the world a social order that is an evolutionary sequence and enabling those who toil at last to enjoy the fruits of their labor."—Walter Renton Ingalls, B. S., D. Eng., Director of the American Bureau of Metal Statistics.

ALONG with the disquieting news that the railroads are preparing to reduce wages, comes this disturbing cablegram from Moscow sent by the International News Service: "Increases in wages of Russian railway workers, ranging between 20 and 30 percent, were announced in Moscow today." The term wages is purely a capitalistic one. What the dispatch clearly means is that the "income" of the workers on the Soviet railroads has been increased as better methods are being employed.

THE report comes to us from France that the government is considering imposing a tax on water used by tourists! Consumption of wine has declined by 39 million gallons, while it is estimated that the production this year will have increased by more than 200 million gallons. This leaves a big surplus of wine, and to encourage its use a tax is to be levied on drinking water! What France needs is some of our active prohibitionists over there—that would increase the use of spurious liquors!

AN effort is being made by the miners of Illinois, sponsored by President John Walker, whereby coal may be exchanged for wheat, corn, cattle and hogs. The plan will be watched with intense interest by other sections of the country. It is a crude way to do things in this age of modern methods, but with the breakdown of the capitalist system it is a move in the right direction. Along with these efforts to relieve immediate distress, Socialist propaganda should be pushed. The opportunity to show people the right way to go should not be overlooked.

DOWN in Worth county, Georgia, where money has disappeared, the County Fair Association announced that it would accept eggs, cotton seed, peanuts, chickens and other farm produce in payment for admission tickets. The fair was a success, and everybody was happy. It would appear from the reports coming in from various parts of the country, that in order to stem the rapidly swelling ranks of Social Democracy, the ruling class in Germany granted many concessions in the way of sick benefits, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, etc. But these measures, enacted and executed by the ruling class both in England and Germany, have not proved of lasting benefit to the workers, nor have they slowed up the demands for more. Their colossal failure is due to the collapse of capitalism. All reform measures depend on the success of the capitalist class to carry on—and this the capitalist class is unable to do. Bankruptcy from every corner of the globe. While Socialists have been consistent advocates of reform measures, in order to relieve somewhat the hard lot of the workers, they have never ceased to point out that these measures could not solve the problem. Personally, I feel that the time has arrived when, as Socialists, we should ignore immediate demands, and confine our efforts to the more important work of pointing out that only by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system can the working class hope for permanent relief. To make it impossible for the capitalist, through his ownership of the machinery of production, to make a profit out of the employment of labor, will alone solve the world's problem. And nowhere is capitalism developed to the point we find it in America. And nowhere is the need greater than in the United States. IT IS TIME TO WAKE UP!

SOME of the newspapers, commenting on George Bernard Shaw's talk on Russia, think Mr. Shaw is not consistent in lauding the non-profit arrangements now in vogue in that country while he himself takes profits from his literary work. Shaw's literary genius has brought him a considerable revenue through orthodox capitalist channels. His success has given him a hearing that no soap-orator without income, could ever have gotten. The same newspapers that criticize Shaw because he is well-to-do, berate the ragged advocates of a better day because they are poor and unsuccessful in the game of grab which Shaw so vigorously denounced. It is hard to please these boys of the press.

AND now come Germany and Brazil with their successful trade of coal and coffee. Germany shipped 500,000 tons of Ruhr coal to South America and took in pay a proportionate amount of coffee. Economists are calling this Brazilian move to exchange commodity for commodity, the era of the coffee standard. This is not far from the "barter" standard. In these days of confusion, when gold is toppling from its high pedestal, and silver not much better off, the world is beginning to consider a stable and unvarying standard of value. The common denominator of all values will soon be recognized as "the labor hour." On this basis exchange of commodities can be made without injustice to either side. Barter is a step in that direction.

THE shoe factories of the United States have a yearly capacity of 900 million pairs of shoes. The largest number the country ever absorbed in any one year was 300 million. The nation, in its collective capacity, must pay for this additional equipment and must pay interest on the stupendous amount invested in these idle factories. What is true of the shoe industry is likewise true of practically every other industry in the country—the possible exception being the public utilities, which, being operated non-competitively, there is little urge to build only as demand indicates is necessary. Some day the nation will discover that it is foolish to build factories that it does not need. The labor time now used in this useless manner can be better employed in building parks and playgrounds. Such improvements add to the real wealth of the country.

Get up a club of four or more subs.

## BLAMING THE SOCIALISTS FOR CAPITALISM'S FAILURE

A special cablegram from Paris to the Chicago Tribune tells us that the present deplorable condition of Europe is due entirely to the Socialists. The discovery was made by Alex Small, and wired hurriedly to the Chicago Tribune, which gave the message a place in its columns under heavy headlines.

"A few figures which I have before me," says Mr. Small, "are some indication of what an important part Socialism has played in bringing the nations of Europe to the conditions they are now in. Germany is the most conspicuous case of a country giving social aid right and left to every one. It is calculated that the cost to Germany, from 1924 to 1930, of all forms of charity and social aid was somewhat in excess of \$18,000,000,000. In Britain the outlay in social expenses since 1925 has been approximately \$2,840,000,000."

Assuming that the expenditure of this vast sum of money, spent to relieve suffering and unemployment, has brought Europe to the verge of bankruptcy, are the Socialist responsible? Let us take a look back over the records: perhaps we can discover just who did put into operation these measures in England, where the greatest distress is now apparent. In an article in *Current History* for October, J. B. Brebner, of Columbia University, says on this subject:

The Liberal, not the Labor party, had settled the fate of these unemployed by repeatedly securing national approval between 1906 and 1914 for its program of social relief. By 1914 the British people were deeply committed to varying responsibility for factory and mine conditions, for insurance against industrial accidents, for housing and town planning, for old age and widow pensions, for minimum wages, for some supervision of labor disputes and for the provision of labor exchanges and money relief during unemployment. In 1912 the services could afford to provide these services.

It would appear from this statement that the Liberal party, not the Socialists, were actually responsible for this legislation. But, and here is something to remember: These measures, and others of a more revolutionary character, were advocated by the growing Socialist movement, and the Liberals, being astute politicians, merely adopted these measures in a vain effort to stem the rising tide.

Let us take a look at Germany: In this column in our issue of October 17, I quoted extensively from Howe's "Socialized Germany," in which it was clearly pointed out that in order to stem the rapidly swelling ranks of Social Democracy, the ruling class in Germany granted many concessions in the way of sick benefits, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, etc. But these measures, enacted and executed by the ruling class both in England and Germany, have not proved of lasting benefit to the workers, nor have they slowed up the demands for more. Their colossal failure is due to the collapse of capitalism. All reform measures depend on the success of the capitalist class to carry on—and this the capitalist class is unable to do. Bankruptcy from every corner of the globe. While Socialists have been consistent advocates of reform measures, in order to relieve somewhat the hard lot of the workers, they have never ceased to point out that these measures could not solve the problem. Personally, I feel that the time has arrived when, as Socialists, we should ignore immediate demands, and confine our efforts to the more important work of pointing out that only by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system can the working class hope for permanent relief. To make it impossible for the capitalist, through his ownership of the machinery of production, to make a profit out of the employment of labor, will alone solve the world's problem. And nowhere is capitalism developed to the point we find it in America. And nowhere is the need greater than in the United States. IT IS TIME TO WAKE UP!

## ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

I have before me, as I write this, a copy of a time-table issued on June 15, 1895, by the Patterson & New York Railroad Line. The afternoon schedule is as follows:

At 3 o'clock.....by horses  
At 6 1/2 o'clock.....by steam

Thus the new pushes the old. The horse equipment was used for a time and then steam came into general use as the years slipped by. Today we are witnessing another change: The automobile, both public and private, now doing the service that formerly the railroads did so well. The airplane is adding to the work of the railroad executives. However, you will find that just as the owners of the horse-cars took over the new steam engines and coaches, the railroads are preparing to take over the automobile lines. There is one obstacle, however, and that is the privately owned passenger car. It is doubtful if the Interstate Commerce Commission can save the railroads, even though a round-about method were used to add 120 million dollars to the revenues. The railroads are complaining bitterly at the changed conditions, and are putting up a bittingly hard fight in the running. Our own impression is that the days of railroad domination are ended, just as the days of the steamboats, that at one time sailed the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, passed when the iron horse made his appearance. The law of change is immutable, and the individual or the institution that stands in the way of progress is most likely to be bowled over without ceremony. This applies to governments as well as to industry. History is replete with illustrations that prove the point. Our own country furnishes two outstanding examples of changes made in the underlying structure of government. The standing in the way of progress is just plain dumbness on the part of those that do not see the glorious changes that are to be made in the not distant future.

## A Russian Question Answered

Ray Luss, editor of *Cosmopolitan*, writing in *Printer's Ink* about his impressions while in Russia, says among other things:

One of the questions asked most frequently of the person who has returned from Russia is: How can you get people to put real effort into their work if all of them are to be on practically the same level and all of them are to receive practically the same reward? After a while, you begin to see that if no one in this room had any luxuries; if no one had a motor car, if no one had a better suit of clothes, if your wife and John Jones' wife dressed on exactly the same scale, if no one could have a better apartment than you had, all those things would lose much of their value.

And when you begin to look for unrest among the Russians you bump up against the realization that as terrible as a great many conditions are there today, those conditions are so much better for the mass of the people than they ever were under the old rule that they think they are approaching heaven. It's quite true that you see lines of people waiting to get into the food stores at two and three o'clock in the morning. That's discomfort. And, it is absolutely true that in the old days they didn't wait there until two or three o'clock in the morning. The reason they didn't was because they got no food at any time under the old method and to them it's a great deal better to wait until two or three and get some food than to go to bed on an empty belly.

## FARMERS AND SERFS

The Department of Agriculture figures that it costs a farmer \$1.15 to raise a bushel of wheat, taking the country as a whole. Under the system of farming so generally in vogue in this country, where the farmer works from sunrise until dark, together with all the members of his family, it is difficult if not impossible to say how much it costs to raise a bushel of wheat. Whatever it costs, it is now generally conceded that the farmer is not getting rich selling wheat at 25 cents per bushel.

In the good old days before the Machine Age when the farmer tilled the land of his lord, he actually couldn't lose, as he does today. The lord permitted him to work for himself three days of the week, and what he could raise in these three days belonged to him and his family. The other three days he worked for the lord. He was never evicted, and the lord paid the taxes and looked after protecting him from robbers. Today the farmer raises wheat, at whatever cost, and ALL of it goes to pay the rent on the farm or the interest on the mortgage. What he can scratch from the land otherwise he uses for food.

There are 6 million farmers in the United States and on these farms there are over 12 million voters. About one-half of them voted for Al Smith and the other one-half voted for Herbert Hoover. Behold, the result! Unless a miracle happens, they will do the same trick again next year. Suppose you who read these lines, all of you, pick out twenty farmers in your neighborhood, and make up your mind that before the winter is over you will place a Socialist book or pamphlet in the hands of each. Start with the Free Library of Twenty Socialist Books The Freeman is offering with each order for four 50-cent subscription cards. If you don't say "before the winter's over, it's the best investment you ever made, write to me personally" and I'll return your two dollars!

## SWEET CONSOLATION

This paragraph is taken from an address made by Silas H. Strawn, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, a few evenings ago:

To those who are melancholy about existing conditions and who are wondering whether we ever shall climb out of the present trough of depression, may I call attention to the fact that during the last 120 years of our national life there have been no less than seventeen major depressions. In 1837, conditions in business and finance were infinitely worse than they are now, but we came out of that depression, as well as those of 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907, 1914, 1920 and 1921, and went on to enjoy greater prosperity and a higher standard of living than ever before.

If we are going to snap out of this depression, because we have done so in the past, is there any assurance that when the next cycle of good times does roll around, that it will not be followed by another period of depression? "If this," said a stout supporter of Things as They Are to me the other day, "is the best capitalism can offer, I think we ought to have a change."

## A Lobster Makes a Speech

Theodore Debs tells this one on his brother, "Gene": "We were to hold a meeting in Mobile. We arrived in town a short time before the meeting, and one of our good comrades insisted on taking us to a place famed for its lobster. 'Gene' protested, but our friend insisted. So off we went. The lobster was good—too good! After the meal we hurried to the meeting place. 'Gene' was pretty well out of breath, and when he appeared on the platform I could see that he was laboring hard to get his stride. Presently great beads of sweat appeared on his forehead and dripped from his face, as he struggled manfully to collect his thoughts. It was a darned poor speech, and I told him so as soon as he came back stage. 'Shucks,' said 'Gene' as he mopped his brow, 'I didn't make that speech—it was the lobster!'"

## Mr. Ford Helps Lengthen Bread Lines

The Ford tractor plant located at Cork, Ireland, shipped 6,800 farm tractors to this country in 1930, as against 1,400 the year before. The shipments in 1931 represented 42 percent of the output of the Cork plant. These tractors come in free of duty, being classed as agricultural implements, though they may be used

in mines, stone quarries and other industrial plants far removed from the farm. Mr. Ford was enthusiastic at one time about getting the boys out of the trenches, but it would appear he has not so great an interest in keeping the men in America out of the bread lines. Of course the tractor factory belongs to Mr. Ford and there is no legal reason why he shouldn't move it to the moon if he found manufacturing conditions more favorable up there. The trouble lies in our allowing private individuals to own the jobs we must use in order to live. Even at half the wages a job was owned would be preferable to one that gets away overnight and leaves the family face to face with starvation.

## CAPITALISM IN ACTION

"In Russia," says Stuart Chase, "a new invention is immediately put to use over the whole industrial front." In this country, however, a new invention if it disturbs the orderly flow of profits to the owners of the old machines, is quietly shelved, and may never see the light of day. It is said by those who should know, that there slumber in the secret places of the big corporations new inventions which, if introduced today, would junk billions of invested capital, and for that reason they are hidden away until a more convenient day. If, on the other hand, a machine can be made to do the work of a dozen or more men, it is trotted out quickly and installed. The extra men are shoved out into the ranks of the unemployed. Hard times and slow markets develop labor-saving machinery much more rapidly than in times of prosperity when obsolete machinery may be used profitably. Industrialists are alert today as never before to reduce costs of manufacture—and the reduction usually takes the form of cutting down labor costs, either by speeding up or discharging employees. This is capitalism in action. Contrast it with the statement quoted at the head of this paragraph.

THIS is the machine age, with the robot competing desperately with the men who must work for a living. Factories for which there was never any excuse have been built, and we have counted this work a help to labor. "Did it not provide work, and did it not distribute wages?" These are the statements we heard on every hand. But what good are the factories today? There they stand—silent and gloomy—while the men mill around on the outside of the shops, hoping the shop will open soon. Hope gives way to despair, and despair leads to desperate measures. Maybe that's the only way the workman will get any sense in his head. It's difficult when times are good—this effort to make people understand that the system just won't work. This has been quite apparent to every Socialist worker during the past ten years. It is now time for all of us to get right down to hard work showing our neighbors and shopmates that the capitalist system cannot be made to work smoothly for any length of time. There may be a short revival, and during that time the newspapers will bring the praises of the system, and with a few square meals in his stomach, the average man will forget what he has suffered. For this reason the message which you carry to your distressed neighbor NOW must be so convincing that a little temporary prosperity will not fool him again.

"SELF-REGULATION, by men who think, is the way to avoid Socialism," is the formula put out by a writer of a little book called "Less than One Hundred Men." He doesn't sign his name, but he does put up a good story from the point of view of the little businessman. He skins the "big shots" in finance, and tells them that if they don't let the small investor and the small businessman play in the back yard, that the Socialists will undoubtedly get them in the end. In fact, from his conclusions, the Socialists will get them from both ends and the middle. "I was one of the millions," he says, "hurt by the stock market crash in 1929-1930 and the decline in business." Before that eventful date, things were very fine—but when the "less than 100" began to take their profits, it became all wrong. His position reminds me very much of Mr. Hearst, who bawled loudly about the wonders of the country under the "New Era"—meaning the bull market—and then turned on his erstwhile friends and tickled them in the ribs with his unmanly jabs. However, the Hearst syndicate is back in line again and shouting lustily for the big boys.

ACCORDING to *Business Week*, quoting from census reports just made public, there were 37 percent less factory workers employed in the first eight months of this year as compared with the same period last year. One out of every three men employed last year is walking the streets—looking for a job! Of the entire 48 millions employed last year, 15 percent are reported out of work. This places the unemployed at approximately 8 millions, but, as I have pointed out before, it does not include the millions of part-time employees and of those just balancing on the edge of the unemployment abyss. To further complicate matters, wages have been reduced, according to the same authority, from an average of \$28 per week in 1929, to \$22 for August of this year. In quoting these figures, just remember, they do not come from Socialist sources, but from the Hoover government, and are quoted by one of the most stalwart supporters of things as they are—*Business Week*.

## A HOPEFUL SIGN

From South Africa comes this bit of information about the next war. This paragraph is taken from a press report of a speech by General Jan Smuts, who ought to know something about war:

War will fight with new and unheard-of chemical and biological weapons. It will cover the fair land and the great cities with poison and disease germs. It will saturate vast areas with deadly atmosphere. There will be no escape, not even for the statesmen and the war-makers, and a pall of death will rest over all. Even now the laboratories of three continents are busy with their deadly researches. In due course some lunatic will press the button and the flower of the human race will be trapped and destroyed.

The hopeful sign that I see in this new method of war is that when it comes there will be "no escape, not even for the statesmen and war-makers." If there is no chance for these birds to escape then there won't be any war!

## A Lesson in Advertising Waste

Commenting on the profitability of the business from Russia which American manufacturers received last year, the *Wall Street Journal* says:

In this connection the point is made by those favoring additional orders from Russia that the terms granted last year, averaging a down payment of around 50 percent, were more satisfactory to the industry than was generally believed. Such deduction is based on the relatively smaller costs of this business which involved no tooling-up charges, nor did it include selling and advertising expense in any way analogous to that required for domestic production.

Advertising experts in this country have been telling us for years that advertising reduced the selling prices of goods advertised. Maybe they can figure out this problem of lower prices as suggested by this item from the *Wall Street Journal*, where no advertising was required to sell the goods!

## GETTING PRETTY LURID!

"If those who have too much do not take care of those who have too little, those who have too little will GO GET IT," says Gov. Long of Louisiana.

"This is an emergency as grave as war," says J. C. Simpson of Marshall Field & Co.

"I would steel before I would starve," says Daniel Williard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

## Europe Breaking Up

"Europe is breaking up. On all sides one hears the cracking of a structure preparing to crumble and fall. In Germany I found no competent mind anywhere which believed that Germany could avoid a smash. Let nobody be deceived. Europe outside of Russia is struggling in the last extremity of universal catastrophe."—John Haynes Holmes, Chairman of City Affairs Committee, New York City.

## Capitalist Civilization at Stake

"Tremendous world forces are at work beyond the knowledge and understanding of politicians and statesmen, until a situation has been reached in which the fate of Germany, linked with that of all Europe, is at stake, and the settlement of the financial problems of the world set back indefinitely and thrown into still greater confusion."—E. H. Botsford, General Secretary of the Williams Aluminum Association.

## BUT WILL IT?

"Capitalism is challenged from the outside by communism and threatened from the inside with collapse. Capitalism must reverse its primary and secondary aims. It must make the increase, the enrichment and the stabilization of life for the millions its first business."—Dr. Glenn Frank, President of Wisconsin University.

## WAXES ELOQUENT!

"The amber nectar of prosperity has been quaffed to such a degree that the object of business has been changed from sober service into a race for quick riches."—*Financial Chronicle*, April 6, 1929.

Comrade John Whitlock of Chicago comes in with an order of 100 yearly postal sub cards. Whitlock is one of the old wheel horses that has probably contributed as much money directly to the Socialist movement as any one in the Middle West. He can always be depended on to do more than his part. He writes that he expects to keep 100 sub cards circulating each month, by handing them out to less fortunate comrades. They sell the cards at \$1 each, make a bit of change for themselves and place a stick of mental dynamite under some hard-boiled old partyite each week for a year. It's a great combination, and may be worked successfully in every town and hamlet in Hooverland.

The Federal Council of Churches asks this significant question of the supporters of capitalism: "When prosperity shall have returned, is it to be the same kind of prosperity that we have known in the past? History indicates that a return to such prosperity will be only temporary, and that another depression with its human suffering will follow unless fundamental changes are made." Will someone please answer?

"THE argument for the superiority of capitalism over communism is only half convincing so long as periods of depression are tolerated."—George E. Putnam, in *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1931.

Help The Freeman grow bigger.

You can help the unemployed in your neighborhood by encouraging those out of work to sell The Freeman at 5c per copy. The work will have a twofold result: Get funds for those who do the selling and put new ideas in the minds of those who buy. This suggestion comes from an out-of-work comrade in Kansas City, Kans. It should be eagerly taken up and pushed all over the country. It is a form of self-help that will not cause injury to the hearts of those who have been discharged, and who can find no master to employ them. Those who are able should join our Bundle Brigade by sending \$3 for 25 copies weekly for a period of three months. The cost is nominal—only 1c per copy under this plan to better the unemployed, and will yield a profit when sold at 5c per copy of \$12.