

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 orator 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, questioned me, gave me a thorough searching, and then proceeded to strike me with their fists. When I struck back they beat me terribly with their blackjacks. I 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 the "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 an "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 personalities 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 Mooney 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 slur 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 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 young army of 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 it 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 theme. 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 sure 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 a flower 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 the thing that interests me in these sketches. The sketches of Joseph McCabe are interesting 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 knows, means the Haldeman-Julius farm). It has so many subjects as Marcet would collect 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, nagging deficit out of the way.

Put 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. He spoke of the cure for economic ills as the socialization of industry. But he believed 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 is to become an employee 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 three-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 was 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 he 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 considered by that country as a great thing. 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 encouragement 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 obstinate, 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 ever reach perfection or not, the only road toward perfection is to remove the abuses that are directly in front of us, 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 time to time." Yes! 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 we 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 such a 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, well 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, but she is hopelessly out of touch with the actualities of industrial and technical efficiency. —B. J. M., Pittsburgh, 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"? You mean the Socialist party. What kind of industrial 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

Freeman Circulation by States

Freeman Circulation by States				States			
State	Off	On	Total	State	Off	On	Total
Calif.	18	20	38	D. C.	3	3	6
Ill.	17	27	44	Ind.	2	2	4
Pa.	13	29	42	Ark.	6	16	22
N. Y.	17	19	36	Va.	1	9	10
Ohio	16	9	25	Wis.	1	1	2
Mo.	16	19	35	Pa.	1	1	2
Kans.	9	14	23	W. Va.	1	1	2
Mich.	9	17	26	Idaho	1	1	2
Tex.	18	21	39	Mont.	1	1	2
Wash.	15	18	33	Nebr.	1	1	2
N. J.	17	14	31	Del.	1	1	2
Wis.	19	19	38	Okla.	1	1	2
Iowa	10	10	20	La.	1	1	2
Wisc.	6	10	16	Mo.	1	1	2
Ind.	11	11	22	W. Va.	1	1	2
Neb.	14	20	34	Pa.	1	1	2
Okla.	11	20	31	W. Va.	1	1	2
Ala.	5	10	15	La.	1	1	2
Conn.	3	8	11	Mo.	1	1	2
Can.	9	25	34	W. Va.	1	1	2
Mass.	8	23	31	La.	1	1	2
Ida.	1	7	8	Mo.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
Del.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1	2
W. Va.	2	2	4	La.	1	1	2
La.	2	2	4	Mo.	1	1	2
Mo.	2	2	4	W. Va.	1	1</	

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

ARE 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

READ 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 wider 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—to 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 Debs & 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 may 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 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.** 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—so 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 in 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 these 20 books covering every phase 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 1c. 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.

It is all very well to denounce capi-

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 way out of this problem. And just remember, 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 feeling as if 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 maladjustment of consumers' purchasing power to the amount of consumptive goods produced."—W. J. Eileman, 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 Ranton 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 capitalist 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 richest country on earth—that's us—that an ancient and honorable system of barter is back with us again. This move on the part of the people to do for themselves what the captains of industry have made such a mess of is given high financial consideration. In the language of a popular stage star: "You ain't seen nothing yet!"

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 soapbox 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 standard. In these days of confusion, when gold is tottering 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 are not needed. 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 together 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 reform. 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, for widows' pensions, for a minimum wages, for some supervision of labor disputes and for the provision of labor exchanges and money relief during unemployment. In 1912 the government 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 looms at the capitalist governments 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, 1835, by the Patterson & New York Railroad Line. The afternoon schedule is as follows:

From New York

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, is doing the service that formerly the railroads did so well. The airplane is adding to the standard 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 bitting fight against 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 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 Long, editor of *Cosmopolitan*, writing in *Pittsburgh's Inks* 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 fog 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 seven 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. Presumably he had 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 1930 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 we 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 into 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 that those who should know, that there slumber in the secret places of the big corporations new devices 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 doors, 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 sing 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 employment 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 these favoring additions: 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 James Simpson of Marshall Field & Co.

"I would starve before I would starve," says Daniel Willard, 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 created 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 ambrosial 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 share. 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 some one 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 benefit those who have been discarded, and who have been discarded, 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.