

"You Dare Not Print That!"--But We WILL Print It in Our Dec. 26 Hoover Racketeering Edition!

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A FINNISH INTERLUDE

BY MARCET HALDEMAN-JULIUS

Helsingfors, Finland.
To the Readers of The American
Freeman—
Dear Friends:

We have just come from the talkies here and whom do you think we saw up here in Finland? Rudy Vallee. He sang the Maine Stein song (in English of course) while the "bouncing ball" bobbed from syllable to syllable and Micky Mouse pranced in his usual fantastic modernism. The audience was invited to sing and hummed the tune, although they did not understand the words.

The Finns, you see, make no movies for themselves, so they borrow from other nations.

There in the Paramount news reel was the big St. Louis 1931 World Series game and the automobile race in New Jersey.

The feature picture was in Spanish with continuity flashes in Finnish. Across the street Buster Keaton is amusing the people and Norma Shearer and Kay Francis are advertised. I infer that they speak in English also—with Finnish continuity.

The tickets were ten marks (for the seats near the screen twelve marks and for those farthest back fifteen marks). There are 48 marks in an American dollar.

Finland reminds me so much of Canada. There are no leaves on these trees. Already it is real winter. Although Helsingfors with its 300,000 people is only about half as large as Copenhagen, it is much more hustling and like an American city. Automobiles are thick and so are clanging street cars. The people stroll quickly and look very like those in the United States, except that they are more warmly dressed here.

During the czar's reign, Finland was part of Russia. Then, when he was overthrown, it belonged to the revolutionists. But the struggling Red army was fighting on thirteen different fronts. England and France helped the counter-revolutionists and we had our finger in the pie too. You will surely remember how we sent our men to Siberia and northern Russia, without even a declaration of war against the Soviet government. As a result the Soviet government lost Finland and it became a separate republic.

One of the first things I intend to do when I reach home is get and read a history of Finland. If you do so you will find it interesting. But it has produced no great writer nor artist.

It seems hard to realize that these clean, orderly streets were once—not so many years ago—the scene of cruel shooting.

These are the pleasantest quarters we have had and the best food (except the breakfast in Denmark) that we have had. We have a pleasant sitting room for the day and are getting rested.

This afternoon we had coffee up here. If you could have joined us you would have heard many interesting bits from the past lives of those who have lived in Russia.

All of us did a little shopping. I bought a pair of fleece-lined overshoes—very fluffy-looking—for 95 marks, a wool scarf for 49 marks and an extra pair of wool stockings for 40 marks.

As it takes 48 Finnish marks to make one American dollar, the overshoes cost a little less than two dollars, the scarf a mark over half a dollar and the stockings eight marks less than a dollar. One could buy the same articles for the same money in the United States, but one could not get as good a quality of each.

The store was spacious, the clerks most gracious.

There are no empty buildings as there are in American cities.

(Tomorrow the election will be held in England—and you will have mown all about it long before you will have read this letter.)

Tonight at midnight we move to Leningrad. We shall always remember this gracious, friendly capital of Finland.

J. N. ("DING") DARLING, American cartoonist who has visited Russia, says of the Soviet Union: "It looks like the bosses have disappeared and off the janitors and office boys in charge." Hurrah for the janitors and office boys! They are doing a far better job than the bosses are doing in the United States. "Ding" forgot to mention that the former bosses who are left in Russia are doing useful work for the first time in their lives. That's what "Ding" means by saying the Soviet Union looks as if it is being run by janitors and office boys. He did notice one fact, it seems—namely, that the useful workers are in charge.

PERSONAL liberty under capitalism is a mockery, because right now the greatest item in that liberty for millions of workers is the liberty to starve and freeze. The workers could do this, however, by protesting fully and strongly against the system which imposes these cruel conditions. That, after all, the most important duty the workers have is that which sides in their own mass power to destroy this system and put a sane social system in its place.

DO YOU KNOW that 70 cents of every government dollar goes for AR? Think over this fact. It's mighty convincing argument for socialism, which will establish peace and cooperation.

What Is Behind the Drive to Suppress Right of Free Speech in Los Angeles?

By George H. Shoaf

What is back of this crusade by members of the police department and the American Legion to suppress free speech and crush radical agitation in Los Angeles, Calif.? Is it purely a local matter, or has it national connections with international implications? Are these raids on radical headquarters and meeting places by Capt. Hynes of the Los Angeles Red Squad merely the result of possible misunderstandings with his wife at home, or is he acting under instructions handed down by a higher authority?

Those who have given the matter thought have arrived at the following conclusions:

Capt. Hynes is not doing what he does because of either personal animus or interest. He does what he is ordered to do for fear of losing his job. The severity with which he executes orders is staged to insure the continuance of that job. He well knows if he does not carry out orders he will be replaced with someone who will. All of which illustrates the verity of the contention of Jay Gould who held that he could hire one-half of the American working class to kill off the other half.

The fact that the Red Squad, with Capt. Hynes in charge, does not operate from police headquarters, but from its offices in the Chamber of Commerce building fifteen blocks away, throws sufficient illumination upon the activities of Capt. Hynes as to make the matter perfectly understandable to even the most superficial thinker. Capt. Hynes does not take orders from the chief of police; he takes them from those who direct the affairs of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

Chamber of Commerce Is Responsible. It is the Chamber of Commerce, then, that is responsible for the outrages which Capt. Hynes and his Red Squad daily and nightly perpetrate in this community. Free speech, free press and free assembly suffer because the Chamber of Commerce has decreed that these guarantees of the Constitution of the United States shall be abrogated and set aside in Los Angeles so far as radicals are concerned. Deliberate intent to violate the laws of the land, and the actual violation of those laws, are chargeable directly to the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. The men who compose and dominate that body, therefore, are the real criminals, whom the real patriots of this country must hold responsible for the crimes which are being committed in Los Angeles in the name of patriotism.

Americans interested in genuine Americanism may as well get this matter straight now as later. Radical theorists are inclined vaguely to blame the capitalist system for the inhumanities and injustice everywhere evident. In part, they are right. But guilt also is personal. Some person or group of persons in a measure control and direct the activities of the capitalist system. Clearly, that person is not a workman, nor is that group of persons a working class organization. Capitalism is run by the capitalists for the benefit of the system.

Matthew Schmidt, sentenced to San Quentin prison for life for complicity in the destruction of the Los Angeles Times building 20 years ago from his wealth of experience and understanding, to members of the I. W. W., just arrived to begin prison terms, said:

"Here, comrades, don't make fools of yourselves. Don't deliberately disregard prison rules or fight prison guards. These rules were made before you came, and they were made to be enforced. The guards are workmen like yourselves. While they may not know it, their interests are your interests, and with all members of the working class their destiny is common. Don't fight them; educate them. First, make yourselves familiar with the historic process. Study to understand capitalism. Then you will understand the necessity of class solidarity and will be equipped to make intelligent and effective war upon the real enemies of your class—which is the privileged or capitalist class."

Three Reasons for Reign of Terror.

There are three reasons or explanations which throw light upon the present campaign to nullify the federal Constitution in the matter of suppressing free speech, free press and free public assembly in Los Angeles and vicinity. For this campaign of suppression by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce is an undeniable nullification of constitutional rights. Capt. Hynes and his Red Squad are plain violators of the law, as every student of the Constitution knows; but back of these law violations are the members of the Chamber of Commerce who give them confidence and authority. It is well to ascertain why this reign of lawlessness has been let loose upon the community.

With every state in the Union, California is in the trough of a tremendous industrial depression. Realty values have slumped 50 percent since 1929. Every town and city in the state is facing bankruptcy as a result of their several efforts to care for the unemployed. Two hundred thousand men and women are out of work in Los Angeles, and, destitute, they are on the verge of starvation.

Bankers, business men, realty operators, industrialists—all well-to-do men and women—are panic-stricken over conditions and are desperately resolved to try to do something to change the prospect. Unable and unwilling to honestly and accurately analyze the situation and initiate a remedy which will really count, the bankers and business men—all members of the Chamber of Commerce—have decided to inaugurate a characteristically capitalist procedure, which is one of fraud and graft.

They are going to capitalize the international Olympic games which are to be held in Los Angeles next year, and out of this capitalization retrieve their depleted fortunes at public expense. They propose to inflate the value of their real estate holdings and unload them on gullible admirers of California scenery whom they expect to flock here from every quarter of the globe. They intend to promote fraudulent corporations of every plausible character and sell worthless stock to every sucker who will buy. Mines, oil, orange land, and sea-view resident sites are some of the basic enterprises they propose to incorporate and from which they expect to reap huge fortunes. These basic enterprises, be it remembered, have been incorporated and promoted many times heretofore, and the stock sold to credulous new-comers who invariably lost everything they invested; but that makes no difference with the present members of the Chamber of Commerce. With Barium they figure that not one sucker but a thousand suckers are born every minute around this mundane sphere, and they are planning to entrap and skin a measurable number.

Looking for Moneyed Suckers. Already alluring advertisements are being placed with eastern and European newspapers and magazines. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are being spent to advertise the glories of California, and special emphasis is placed upon the advisability of all who can afford it to be present during the Olympic games. This money is being handled by the All Year Club, a subsidiary of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. In these advertisements care is taken to warn propertyless workmen to keep away from California, as the state already has her quota of men out of work. Only the well-to-do are invited.

In furtherance of the general scheme it is proposed to make of Los Angeles a wide-open market for every character and woman of every virtue who is permitted to play their respective callings, subject, of course, to the necessity of dividing their swag with the promoters and profiteers of the Olympic games. The Chamber of Commerce gentlemen, to guarantee the success of the biggest financial killing of their lives, also intend to dominate the city and county authorities. They expect to own and control, as they do, the mayor and police department, the sheriff's office and the district attorney of Los Angeles county. Already, they have the governor on their side, and through the agencies of the state, a grand saturation of graft, corruption and crime in Los Angeles during 1932 is the program deliberately projected by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce—a program which they expect to carry through to success, and which they can and will carry through but for one thing: public exposure and condemnation by liberal and radical agitators, whose respect for the federal Constitution and whose love of law and order and the plain, common decencies of life certainly will impel them to cry out against the whole damnable infamy.

Most of the priests and preachers and virtually all of the newspapers and other local agencies of expression right now are intimidated and silenced. The only persons who dare to combat the machinations of the Chamber of Commerce and let the people of the United States and the world know what is afoot are the liberal and radical speakers and writers in Los Angeles. Therefore, the Chamber of Commerce has decreed that these speakers and writers, too, must be silenced and, if necessary, crushed.

Reiding the private home of a well-known radical night before last, Capt. Hynes, in his "search for evidence," said:

"I am going to crush you damned agitators if I have to wade through blood to do it!"

What is just related is the first reason for and explanation of the present crusade to suppress free expression and drive from Los Angeles those who engage in it. This reason and explanation are given with a local color. The second reason and explanation have to do with the national situation.

The American Plunderbund, aware of the presence of 10,000,000 unemployed men and women and the existence of millions of others whose jobs are insecure to the point of severance, and fearful of the education which radical agitators might convey, has determined to stop that education by jailing and otherwise silencing every conscientious agitator in America. To that end the Plunderbund is forcing the active cooperation of the press, the pulpit, the radio

and every other capitalistic medium of information by means of which public opinion is formed and aroused.

Los Angeles is not the only center of free speech suppression in the United States. For the moment it is merely the cynosure of every radical eye. Harlan, Ky., is another plague spot where the hirelings of the Plunderbund have extinguished the spirit of true Americanism and nailed to the cross of avarice and greed the Constitution they no longer obey. To all intents and purposes neither Los Angeles nor Harlan has any present place in the original American scheme. The high-handed procedure of the owners and rulers of both communities has placed them in a position where real American principles have ceased to operate. Unscrupulous men of wealth and design are controlling both the city and the town, and the purpose and idealism of the founding fathers of this Republic have departed.

American Fascism Being Organized. From one end of this country to the other the machinations of the Plunderbund are manifest. Slowly at first, but quickly now, the slimy serpent of plutocratic despotism is coiling itself about the Goddess of Liberty, and every principle and every ideal for which for a century she stood is being strangled to death. The Fish Commission was but one factor of many whose mission and purpose are to nullify the federal Constitution and make the laws thereunder operate only and wholly to safeguard and perpetuate the interests and the power of the Plunderbund.

A Fascist movement of the American Legion, whose leaders are either plutocrats or have been subsidized by the plutocracy, is being organized by the Plunderbund. Today this organization is almost complete. Into every center of social disturbance, or where the plain people assemble to demand their rights, the Plunderbund expects to throw the American Legion, and with it grind to powder every patriot who seeks to awaken and arouse the workers to their peril. The American Legion, therefore, is being projected into the arena of unrest as the iron heel of the Plunderbund in its determination to keep its stolen wealth and hold the workers down.

Capt. Hynes and his Red Squad are the immediate agents of the Los Angeles Plunderbund. When the Red Squad feels itself unable to handle the situation members of the American Legion are called upon for assistance. Workers, all for the most part, they have degenerated into the servile mercenaries of capitalism. Every raid they make upon the headquarters of liberalism or radicalism, or into the private homes of liberals and radicals, reacts against them, if they but knew it, much more powerfully than against the objects of their official wrath.

Brewing War on Soviet Union.

The last and possibly the greatest reason for the nullification of the Constitution of the United States respecting free speech and free assembly, and the virtual abrogation of the rights of American citizenship by brute force at the hands of Capt. Hynes and his Red Squad, aided and abetted as they are by members of the American Legion, is the open secret in the councils of American diplomacy that this country is preparing to precipitate itself into the cauldron of international war. The Soviet Union is a thorn in the side of international capitalism. So long as the Workers' Republic endures in the Land of the Soviets, the American Plunderbund is not safe. Come war, or woe, whether victory or destruction, the interests of the Plunderbund demand that the nationals of this country pit themselves upon the field of battle against the nationals of the Soviet Union to decide the issue and fate of capitalism vs. communism.

War is the natural expression of capitalism, wrote Scott Nearing in a recent letter. So long as the capitalist system of private ownership for private profit continues national antagonisms will exist, and these antagonisms always generate and produce war. International war is the only solution of the domestic depression the Plunderbund knows or will countenance. Of all the great nations of earth, as already indicated, the Soviet Union is the nation the American Plunderbund most hates. Therefore war against the workers of the Soviet Union will be declared by the aristocrats of privilege to be fought by the workers of America to their own undoing and for the preservation of the privileges of the Plunderbund.

To allay suspicion, to put down discontent, to thwart a possible uprising of the working classes, to mold public opinion and whip it into shape for war endorsement, to carry out the damnable conspiracy against the workers of the Soviet Union, to drive the workers of this country unrelentingly to the shambles, it is necessary that the Constitutional rights of American citizens shall be abolished. The Plunderbund has decreed it; Capt. Hynes and his Los Angeles Red Squad are executing the decree in southern California.

A VOTE for a capitalist politician is a vote for unemployment, breadlines, mass poverty, violence toward protesting workers and—climax of capitalist insanity—the ravages of war.

"INCENTIVE" under capitalism: Starve for a few years and you may have a job, provided you still have enough strength to work.

"Highbrow Grafters"

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee, addressed the members of the Chicago Real Estate Board a few days ago in their meeting room on Monroe street. I had a back seat and listened with thrilled interest to Dan tell these gentlemen just what is the matter with Chicago.

"The world is pretty familiar with the lowbrow grafter," said Hoan, "and there is much noise made in the newspapers when the city or national government goes after him; but the real trouble is caused by the highbrow grafter. He is the fellow who is doing the real hurt to state and nation."

And then out of his experience in helping administer the affairs of Milwaukee for over 20 years, he told these real estate men how to get "a dollar's worth of value from each taxpayer's dollar." He traced the struggles of Milwaukee, under the former Rose administration (which finds its counterpart in the misadventures under which Chicago has suffered for years) to the present. He stressed the limitations of the Socialist administration under the laws of the state and nation, pointing out that after all there was little that could be done other than an honest administration of these laws, and the honest expenditure of the money collected in taxes from the city of Milwaukee.

The fact that Milwaukee is known as the best administered city in the nation, that its financial credit is of the highest, that its police force actually suppresses crime, and that it pays its way as it goes, is eloquent testimony to the success of the Socialists in office, none of whom had any experience in city affairs until called upon to take over the reins of a city bankrupt after years of Republican Democratic misrule.

"How did you get rid of the gangsters?" asked someone in the audience, after the mayor had finished his remarks. There was dead silence for a moment—this looked like a poser.

"We have 65 playgrounds," said Hoan, "and these playgrounds are administered by men and women trained to look after children, not by red-nosed politicians. And we have succeeded in taking the boys and girls off the streets, and have given them something to do. If you keep the boys busy at work, you destroy the gang before it has a chance to get a foothold. And we keep our schoolhouses open day and night, if necessary. Meetings of all kinds are encouraged and politics is discussed by the growing boys and girls along with their parents. There was a lot of opposition to opening the schools of Milwaukee to political meetings. But if politics is so rotten it can't be discussed in the schoolhouses, then politics, as we know it today, should be thrown into the discard. Another factor in getting rid of the gangster is that we have a police force that does not work in collaboration with the gangster boss. Let me tell you something, and here Dan was impressive, 'the gangster can't exist anywhere on this earth if he hasn't a pull with the politicians in control of the city's affairs!'"

Milwaukee got rid of losses in city work by abolishing the contract system, and doing the work direct. This was a sad blow to the hangers-on around the city hall, but it suited the citizens of Milwaukee so well that they have continued to reelect the Socialist mayor and a sufficient number of aldermen to give the city a decidedly socialistic slant for nearly 20 years.

Emil Seidel, Socialist, was elected in 1910, and defeated by a coalition candidate in 1912. The politicians, in full control, went gleefully to the legislature and had the mayor's term stretched out to four years. It looked like the gang was back in power again, and how they licked their chops!

At the close of Dan's speech, an elderly member of the Chicago Real Estate Board arose and said: "I attended a banquet in Milwaukee celebrating the return of the Republicans and Democrats to power. The successful candidate on the combination ticket solemnly promised that if elected then on (this was 1912) Milwaukee would never have another Socialist mayor. You see how well he kept his pledge," and he smiled as he pointed to Hoan, while the crowd laughed heartily.

It was interesting to watch the expressions on the faces of some of the members of the audience, many of whom undoubtedly belonged to the highbrow fraternity!

Hoan closed his remarks by reading a letter from the executive committee of the hosiery workers, 1,600 of whom had been out on strike, thanking the city administration for the help that had been given them. The strike was settled without a single blow being struck by a policeman, or an arrest being made. Hoan contrasted this record with the record made by the police force in Philadelphia where more than 1,000 strikers were arrested during the textile strike in that city, and many heads were clubbed and men and women thrown in jail. This didn't go over so well with the audience.

Hoan pointed out pretty clearly that a city administration can do little in times of industrial depression in obtaining jobs for the unemployed. A little extra work and a careful conservation of the city funds will help, but if we are to abolish unemployment and all its evils the working class must take over state and nation.

We Have the Facts!

We have the facts completely to prove everything we shall tell about Hoover's record in our Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26. We fully appreciate the astounding character of the stories we shall publish. These stories will be hard for the average American to believe—and they couldn't gain credence if it were not that we do have the facts. To prove our sincerity and the strength of our position, we are sending to President Hoover by air mail a set of the page proofs of this edition and giving him a chance to disprove these facts if he can. We don't want a general denial. We challenge President Hoover to be as specific in his disproval (if he should offer any) as we are in our proof. We repeat that we have the facts. Your job is to help us get these facts into the hands of the American voters. Make this the biggest edition of The Freeman, sweeping the country, finally and completely unmasking the fraud who sits in the White House.

as well as the city. Milwaukee is a sizeable city and I thought, as I heard Comrade Hoan unfold the story of the struggles of the Socialists, that they were getting some fine experience in the administration of city affairs, which can be used to good advantage when we move on to Washington.

It gave me a thrill to remember that the first job I did on the old Appeal, back in 1900, was to "make up" the Milwaukee edition of the Appeal to Reason, which was the first Socialist paper printed in the English language to be circulated in Milwaukee. Its columns were edited by Frederick Heath, who is still doing yeoman service in the cause of the working class.

WHEN WORSE WARS are caused, capitalism will cause them.

"TO HELL with war, to hell with all who crave it. When masters rule the world no more, we'll need no wars to save it.—Eugene V. Debs.

PERHAPS we shouldn't call capitalism a system. It's a delirium. When the world wakes up and becomes sane, it will have a real system—Socialism.

IT IS A disgrace to rob one's fellow men, and a worse disgrace to do of robbing them. Yet this pride-indisgrace is the outstanding ethic of capitalism.

Predicting another war, Maj. Gen. John F. O'Ryan in an Armistice Day speech in Chicago pointed out that in 1909 the U. S. government spent \$176,000,000 for armaments, while in 1929 it spent \$780,000,000.

IF YOU WANT to show your friends and neighbors how terribly crooked capitalism is, as seen from the inside, you cannot do better than to circulate our Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26.

HOW OUTRAGED the capitalists are at the thought of the workers getting "doles"! The capitalists want all the doles for themselves—doles of profit, doles of interest, doles of rent.

In the Bridgeport, Conn., city election the vote for mayor was as follows: Democrat, 17,886; Socialist, 15,084; Republican, 9,400. Two years ago the same Socialist candidate for mayor (Jasper McLary) received only 1,900 votes. The Socialists elected one alderman, two members of the board of selectmen and three city sheriffs in the late Bridgeport election.

THE WORKER invests his labor in capitalism. He gets only about half of what he produces—and then he loses his job. He invests his small savings in a bank. The bank fails and he loses his savings. And now it looks as if the worker is getting ready to revolt against the system which makes him a victim at every turn. We should teach him the intelligent way of revolt: namely, to work for Socialism.

What We Shall Prove in Our Hoover Racketeering Edition

(Dated December 26—Ready December 14)

In its Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26 The Freeman will prove—

- 1 That Herbert Hoover and a group of unscrupulous hi-jackers of finance stole an amount estimated to have been a hundred million dollars from the English investing public, by means of fraudulent reports of rich tin lodes in Nigeria, Africa.
- 2 That Herbert Hoover and his racketeering associates played fast and loose with reports about the values, from time to time, of various gold mines in West Australia; using secret reports for their own dealings in stocks of these mines, while causing to be published untrue reports, excessively bad or excessively good according to the purpose which the gang had at the moment of running stocks up or down.
- 3 That Herbert Hoover and his various pals in the mining stock game were in the habit of using the assets of rich mining companies under their control to float strings of wildcat companies, thus profiting for themselves through the deliberate mishandling of the ordinary shareholders' investments.
- 4 That Herbert Hoover and his confederates ordered mines under their control to be skimped in material necessary for the safety of the miners—that they caused these mines to be made death traps for the miners—and they imported cheap Italian labor into West Australia, under the notorious contract system, with the aim of beating down the wages of English and Australian mine workers.
- 5 That Herbert Hoover and a group of fellow rogues and bloodsuckers engaged in an infamous slave-trading deal, luring Chinese coolies into crowded ships and selling them to slavery in South African mines, among these mines being certain properties controlled by Hoover's company.
- 6 That Herbert Hoover, throughout a 20-year career of racketeering, had for his intimate "business" associates in one brazen swindle after another as vicious and heartless and unprincipled a gang of scoundrels as ever conspired to perpetrate highway robbery in the world of capitalist finance.

This is only a partial outline of the amazing facts which will be disclosed fully in our Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26. Other true revelations about Hoover's career will be published in that edition. More inside facts will be given about the Chinese mining swindle—verifying and adding to the information published in past issues of The Freeman. We shall also make it clear that in his 20 years of racketeering Herbert Hoover was simply playing the crooked game of capitalism. This is why capitalism wants to keep Hoover in the White House. This is why Hoover defends capitalism. This is why we should do our utmost to expose Hoover and thus effectively expose capitalism.

And remember—Hoover will receive by air mail a set of page proofs of the Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26 and thus will be given in advance the opportunity to deny or to refute the statements we make—if he dares or if he can!

Use the order blank below to get a tremendous nation-wide circulation for our Hoover Racketeering Edition.

ORDER BLANK FOR HOOVER RACKETEERING EDITION OF DECEMBER 26

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas

Here is my help in getting 100,000 circulation for the Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26. I am using the method marked below.

Method No. 1. Send me a bundle of copies of the Hoover Racketeering Edition, at 2c per copy, minimum order 50 copies, for which I am enclosing \$.....

Method No. 2. Send copies of the Hoover Racketeering Edition to the enclosed names and addresses, for which I am enclosing \$....., which pays for the papers and the mailing at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$....., which is to pay for your mailing copies of the Hoover Racketeering Edition to good names in your possession, said copies being paid for at the rate of 2c a copy.

Name

Address

City State

TOUR OF AMERICA SHOWS
THAT CAPITALISM IS
IN COLLAPSE

BY GEORGE H. SHOAF

A feeling of helplessness on their part to do anything that will end the present economic depression—this, with a vast amount of ignorance among the people concerning the causes of the depression, together with widespread unemployment and bitter personal poverty, constitute the outstanding phenomena observed and experienced on a recent auto tour which included the Pacific Coast region and the western middle states to and through Ohio.

The fact that the people everywhere want to know why it is that the blight of unemployment and economic distress has come upon them, and the further fact that so little is being done anywhere by anybody to give them real enlightenment, constitute another phenomena of equally outstanding importance.

Times are hard, undeniably hard, from where the waves of the Pacific beat upon the shore lines of California, Oregon and Washington to the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers at Pittsburgh, Pa., and beyond, and unemployment is general and immense. I have visited these sections this past summer and fall, have observed conditions with my own eyes, and I know whereof I write. The depression is not a fictitious situation concocted by imaginative Democrats who wish to plague Hoover Republicans; it is a shameful and damning fact.

Poverty Stalks the Land

Large numbers of men are angry and desperate. Many of them are openly advocating revolution and civil war. They know nothing of the system which grinds out the inequalities of wealth and poverty—all they know is that they are without work and starving, and that in a land of plenty with millions and billions of dollars being spent at the top, disinherited families in dilapidated autos roam the country searching for work and something to eat. The hunted, haunted look which featured the faces of the masculine heads of these families, and the despairing appearance of their withered wives and undernourished children, combined to make a picture the itinerant observer cannot soon forget. Ragged men and boys tramping from here to there looking for work they will never find add to the impressiveness of a situation that is full of possibilities.

In Medford, Ore., a man of some local consequence predicted that if something is not done by somebody SOON to alleviate the situation the "dirtiest war this country ever saw would surely come." Another man, a small merchant in Poplar Bluff, Mo., declared he was ready right now to take his gun and join in an armed uprising against Wall Street. A gasline attendant at a station in Col. Tenn., Ohio, a young man and a college graduate, in discussing the depression said he did not see how civil war could be averted.

These declarations and statements, made over and over again by white native Americans in every state through which I journeyed, are outspoken expressions of the unrest and rebellion which rage in the hearts of large numbers of men and women in this country today. They were not uttered by men out of work and hungry; they were made by small merchants, small farmers, professional men and women and by wage earners on the job, all of whom, however, are conscious of their economic insecurity and are fearful of the future.

People Are Ignorant of Real Issue

Not once, save for a few Socialists and Communists, did I hear voiced a single principle or proposition which cut through all the surface phenomena of hard times and unemployment down to the basic cause of the depression—which, of course, is the capitalist system of private ownership for private profit. As a matter of fact the rank and file of the people are ignorant of the meaning and significance of the capitalist system. They do not know whether or not there is any system or lack of system to the American method of producing and distributing necessities and luxuries of life. The workers know simply that they were out of work and starving; the small merchants knew they were near the vanishing point in their efforts to compete with the chain stores; the farmers were conscious that they were losing their farms and ranches to the banks and mortgage companies; and the plain people everywhere felt that they were the victims of circumstances over which they had little control.

Precisely what is the matter, whom or what to hold responsible, and what might be done to remedy or improve conditions, are questions concerning the understanding and solution of which the people generally are at sea.

Illustrative of a scene typical of scores I encountered, wherever there was the promise of a job, is the following story, the setting of which is laid in Oklahoma. As I drove down the main street of Stroud, a town of 800 population, halfway between Tulsa and Oklahoma City, I observed at the principal street intersection a large crowd of men. Thinking that

possibly a crime had been committed or an accident had occurred, I stopped and asked a bystander why the men were gathered. If I live to be a thousand years old I shall never forget the man's tone of voice and my reaction when he answered:

"They're tryin' to hire out!"

Further interrogation revealed that an oil company was preparing to lay a pipeline through that district and had advertised for 40 laborers. Three hundred men responded. I surveyed the scene and studied the faces and appearance of the applicants. They were all white and ranged from 18 to 40 years. Splendid specimens of physical manhood, they were a credit to the country which gave them birth. From their youth each of them had been taught that their country was a land of liberty and opportunity, that their government was the finest and best that could be devised, that a millionaire's fortune or the presidency of the United States awaited him who took the liberty to seize opportunity and energetically went forward to success, and that if failure was his portion no one was to blame but himself.

Placing the car at the curb further down the street I returned on foot and mingled with the throng. Quite a number of the men, I discovered, were experienced oil workers out of jobs; most of them, however, were farmers and farm laborers who had failed at farming. There was no opportunity to make a speech, although I did engage many of them in conversations. I found that the sentiment of the men was distinctly against the receipt of charity, and that what they wanted was work. While good nature apparently was their common characteristic, nevertheless it was equally apparent that they were in no mood to be trifled with, and that if they could not get work they were not going to starve standing still or lying down.

Aside from an armed uprising of the people, measures of relief proposed by those with whom I talked were as amusing as they were futile. The popular opinion seemed to prevail that if President Hoover could be replaced with a Democrat, conditions would improve. Others thought that a restoration of the liquor traffic would bring good times again. Among other measures advocated were a tariff change, international disarmament, a stiff foreign war that would put the unemployed into the army, and two or three were outspoken for an acceptance of the situation with Christian resignation, claiming that the depression was sent by Jehovah as a blessing in disguise.

Are Friends to Soviet Union

Curiously interesting is the fact that I found quite a number of the men sympathetic toward Soviet Russia and plainly anxious to see the Soviet experiment succeed. Despite the lying propaganda by the capitalist press to discredit and misrepresent the activities and purposes of the Russian workers, these sympathizers informed me that news of Soviet success was breaking through; and the news that the workers of Russia were all working while ten million Americans were without jobs contributed no little toward increasing the disaffection with present conditions which existed among men of their acquaintance.

Diligent inquiry failed to unearth a solitary man who had ever heard of The American Freeman, or who had ever seen or read a Socialist publication. One man told me his father was a Socialist and used to subscribe to the *Appeal to Reason*. Every one with whom I talked had heard of Eugene V. Debs, but not one man had an intelligent conception of the Socialist philosophy, program or objective. The few more knowing ones were quite sure that Soviet Russia was a country in which the working class had come into their own through revolution, but they were totally ignorant of the economic foundation whereon the Soviet Republic is being built.

At Shamrock, Texas, a crowd similar in size and character to the Stroud aggregation was trying to muscle in on jobs of road construction. I was pitifully witness to the sight of big strong white men underbidding each other in the matter of wages in order to secure jobs whereby they might live. Various subterfuges were resorted to by men who sought to persuade the bosses to give them work—and what common menial work it was after it was secured! Actually, I discovered that influence and pull and occasionally bribes were necessary to land a job of working with a pick and shovel!

Cotton picking through Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and states farther south and east brought the pickers 35 and 50 cents a hundred pounds. A new recruit, by working from daylight to dark, might pick from 75 to 100 pounds of cotton a day—and it is tedious and back-breaking slavery beneath a shadless sun. In my younger days I used to pick cotton, but I never could pick more than 150 pounds in a 12-hour day. A man, wife and children, all working laboriously, can average one person's wages. I asked one picker what he was going to do with his savings at the end of the cotton picking season. He grinned.

ingly, replied that there were not going to be any savings.

Are Treated Like Cooles

The Timken Roller Bearing Company in Columbus, Ohio, has adopted the rotating process of giving its men two days' work each week. Scores of industrial plants in Indianapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City and smaller industrial centers are closed down completely, with their former employees wondering what next to do. Wage reductions, commenced more than a year ago, are proceeding apace, the effect, of course, being to diminish the purchasing power of the working classes, with the consequent lowering of living standards. To the matter-of-fact observer it looks as if the Chinaizing of the common people of the United States is well under way. In the Galena district in southwest Missouri I was informed that common laborers at fifty cents a day could be had in abundance.

Conditions in Kansas and Nebraska are truly deplorable, and how the people are going to weather the winter is a mystery. Prices for all sorts of products are the lowest in the history of these states. Many farmers have their wheat piled high on their farms in the open, unable to sell it at the amazing price of 25 cents a bushel. The cantaloupe growers in Colorado and western Kansas were forced to market their crops at a loss. Through these states the smaller restaurants and country hotels serve fairly good meals at 25 cents a meal.

Good crops of fruit and vegetables helped the situation in Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio; but the people cannot live on fruit exclusively through the winter. It is an interesting commentary on the operation and integrity of the capitalist system that this year, when the fruit growers had the most bountiful crops, those who grew and owned them are experiencing poverty more terrible than any they ever knew before. A fruit grower in southern Illinois told me that he went \$3,000 in the hole as a result of the huge crop of peaches, apples and grapes he had grown, and the probability was he would be compelled to relinquish the ownership of his farm. His experience, he said, was general among all fruit growers in his section of the state.

Idle Freight Cars Everywhere

Significant of the curtailment of railway freight traffic is the large number of empty cars on every siding of the Santa Fe tracks from San Bernardino, Calif., to points in western Kansas. These cars, 90 to each siding, were placed where they are in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Kansas, presumably because the dry weather in these states is conducive to their preservation. However, an old railroad employe of the Pennsylvania system, residing in Coshocton, Ohio, pointed out to me that traffic conditions on his road are just as bad, and that idle freight cars are everywhere on every siding.

Need I mention or describe the bread lines that met my horrified gaze? From Seattle, Wash., to Los Angeles, to Columbus, Ohio, and on to Pittsburgh, Pa., it was one continuous bread line, replete with men and women of American origin, in the veins of many of whom flowed the blood of patriots and fighters who died to establish and preserve this Republic. Many of these charity applicants were unshamed as they took the bread and soup handed out so condescendingly; others swallowed their pride with difficulty as they drove their miserable bodies to accept the food necessary to sustain life. Stories galore came to me en route of families starving almost to death and acknowledging their need. I arrived at Columbus, Ohio, three days after a woman relative by marriage attempted to kill her children and herself by turning on the gas. Her husband without work, she could no longer endure the agony of seeing her four children slowly starve, and so she resorted to suicide. Timely discovery by a neighbor prevented a tragedy.

Hoover's "Rugged Individualism"

To preserve the fiction of "rugged individualism," the slave-driving, millionaire president of the United States urges each community, "in the name of Christ," to care for its own poor. Such preaching exactly suits the Beverly Hills community in Los Angeles where dwell the plutocratic rich; the residents of Beverly Hills boast their ability to easily care for their own poor, for they have none. In the Los Angeles East Side, however, a different situation exists. In this section none dwell but the poor. A few have work; large numbers are without work. It is fair to say the working poor to divide their meager earnings with the workless poor, and let the rich escape their burden of responsibility? Yet, just this proposition has been put up to the people of this country by the political executive of the ruling class in an effort to compel the impoverished poor to care for the victims of the capitalist system, while the beneficiaries of the system go free. Could offhandedness be more brazen? Could official gall be more sublimely supreme?

Evidences of the breakdown of capitalism are on every hand. The cry of "prosperity around the corner" echoes the hollowness of its own mockery. In all the history of this nation never was poverty more acute or distress more distracting. The exactions of the community chests throughout the land are a damaging admission of the fact. The concentration of wealth—greater than any nation ever knew—before into the hands of a special class is of the essence of capitalist infamy, and is the sure forerunner of capitalism's fall.

Comrades of the working class and gentlemen of the plunderbund, this crisis reveals not only the intellectual bankruptcy of plutocracy, but it discloses the inability of capitalism to stage a comeback. Capitalism is limping because it is hurt. Let radicals everywhere unite and belabor the fool thing with blows until it is completely down and out. Not its life, but its death, is what is most needed now! Our immediate need is a strong press, in order to enlighten the victims of capitalism. This work

must be done today—immediately. It is the duty of all comrades to work hard and fast in the great task of bringing new readers to the radical press.

Who Is Stalin?

By Marcell Haldeman-Julius

Leningrad, October 28.

To the Readers of The American Freeman

Dear Friends:

If I ask you, "Who is Stalin?" most of you will answer promptly, "The dictator of Russia." Some of you qualify this by saying, "The proletarian dictator of Russia."

This is not accurate, as I shall show you shortly. What is Stalin's official position? It is a point every reader of The American Freeman should clearly understand.

Stalin is the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stalin means steel and is not his family name, which is Vissarionovich. He comes from the Caucasus.

He is not the formal head of the government of the Soviet Union as such. The chairman of the Soviet government is elected by the All-Union Congress of Soviets in this way: The Congress elects a Central Executive Committee, which elects a Chairman and Secretary. Kalinin is the chairman and Yenukidze is the secretary.

Representation in the Soviet Kalinin is the formal chairman of the Soviet government.

He held this office while Lenin was still alive.

How, then, does Stalin come to be the leader of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia?

I shall explain. Each village in Russia is controlled by its local soviet, to which representatives people in the community are elected. Local soviets are Communist. But usually the majority in the soviets are Communists because, in the Soviet Union, the Communists are now the most active and the most representative men and women in the community.

These local soviets elect in turn to the county soviets. The county soviets elect to the district soviets (and the Russian district virtually means state). The district soviets elect to the different republics in the Soviet Union. Then these republics—the Ukraine, White Russia, the Caucasus and over one hundred others—elect to the All-Union Congress of Soviets which, as I have explained, elects its Central Executive Committee.

The Position of the Commissars

This Central Executive Committee has full powers, legislative and executive, between sessions of the All-Union Congress of Soviets. Its chairman, Kalinin, is therefore in a very powerful position. He is like a President.

This Central Executive Committee also appoints the heads of departments that correspond to those presided over by the different secretaries in our President's cabinet. They are called commissars and the whole cabinet or group of secretaries is called the Sovnarkom, which is short for Soviet of People's Commissars. The chairman of this commissariat is Molotov. This was the office Lenin held.

The official position Lenin held and that Molotov holds now is comparable to the office of Prime Minister in other European countries.

You must realize that there are over one hundred and fifty different nationalities represented in the All-Union Congress of Soviets, which has over fifteen hundred members.

Now keep in mind that—Kalinin (the peak of the Soviet pyramid and corresponding quite closely to the President of a European republic) is the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Congress of Soviets—Molotov (like a Prime Minister) is, as was Lenin, the head of the Soviet of People's Commissars.

Head of the Communist Party Now let us go back to Stalin. The Communist Party in Russia also elects delegates, as the soviets do, from local and district organizations to the All-Union Congress of Soviets, which elects its Central Executive Committee, which in turn elects its Political Bureau—called the Politburo.

This Political Bureau formulates the policies of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and the Communist Party here is so highly organized, so strictly disciplined, that all party members must help carry out these policies or be expelled from the party.

This Committee, to a large degree, reflects the sentiment of the party as a whole and usually the party has discussed these policies at its local organizations before the Committee formally adopts them. But once they are adopted they must be carried out by every member of the party.

You will remember that the majority of the members in the Soviets—local and district—are Communists. Therefore the majority of members from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics who sit in the All-Union Congress of Soviets are Communists.

All of these Communists must follow out the policies formulated by the Central Committee—that is the Politburo—of the Communist Party, of which Stalin is the head.

As you can now see for yourselves, it is the policies of this Committee that inevitably prevail. Also it is inevitable that Stalin, who is the head of this Committee and an outstanding personality, should leave the stamp of his convictions and judgment on these policies.

But other members of this highest Committee of the Communist Party—of the Political Bureau—are strong characters with brilliant directing minds and far-reaching vision.

For instance, Molotov who, as you now know, holds the office in the government that Lenin held, is also on

this highest Committee of the Communist Party.

Kalinin himself, who is the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Congress of Soviets, is also on this highest Committee of the Communist Party.

And Stalin is the chairman of this Committee.

The Communist Party Rulers

All of these men on this Politburo are there by the will of the workers and peasants of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

Do you see how intertwined the government and the Communist Party are in Russia?

Do you understand how and why the Communist Party here dictates the policies of a country of one hundred and sixty million people and at the same time is technically entirely separate from the government?

For, unbelievable as it may seem to you, Stalin has no position in the government proper.

He is too busy with his political duties in the Communist Party. On the highest committee in that party he holds the highest place.

In short, he is the head of the nerve center of the party, through which is effected the proletarian dictatorship of all Russia.

Next, Russia—the Soviet Union—let me remind you, extends over a sixth of the earth's surface and is the largest country of white people in the world.

It is the only country in which, instead of a capitalist dictatorship (open or disguised), there is a proletarian dictatorship led by the Communist Party.

[This is Marcell Haldeman-Julius' first article from the Soviet Union. Later issues of The Freeman will contain articles dealing with the actual rule of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, how various programs will apply and the results that were obtained.]

SOCIAL OWNERSHIP WILL
SOLVE THE RAIL PROBLEM

It seems that the railroads are rapidly heading toward a situation in which government ownership will be the obvious, unescapable solution. The Interstate Commerce Commission refused a general 15 percent increase in freight rates, but suggested an arrangement whereby some rate increases could be made and the proceeds (estimated at an additional 100 million dollars) divided among the roads, with the purpose of helping the weaker roads—although the strong lines would get the bigger share of the added income.

Needless to say, this doesn't satisfy the owners of the railroads and investors in railroad securities. They will take it, but they want more. One way of getting more—and a very agreeable way to capitalists—is to cut the wages of railway workers. It is generally agreed that this will be the next step in the economic drama of the railroads. The workers are preparing to resist a wage cut, although it is reported that the leaders of the rail unions may be willing to accept a temporary cut for their members if the rail owners will agree to a six-hour day as a permanent settlement. It is not likely that such an agreement can be reached. The rail owners and the bankers heavily interested in the railroads doubtless feel that they are in a position to dictate terms. Certainly they own the railroads. They own the jobs. The workers have little financial reserves.

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VOL. 7. The Reformation. Wycliffe, the Morning Star of the Reformation.

Our Job and Yours

Our job, in preparing the Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26, is to put into your hands a paper that is a complete and blasting exposure of Herbert Hoover's twenty years of racketeering. We are performing this job thoroughly. You will be amazed at the material we shall give in that special edition—and we are ready to back up every word of it. But we don't want to go to a great deal of labor and expense in publishing these facts, only to find ourselves reaching a small number of people. That is where your job is necessary. It is upon our loyal readers whom we depend to circulate this Hoover Racketeering Edition of The Freeman. We shall give you the facts. You circulate them!

Freeman Circulation by States

have the strike weapon, but to find it extremely difficult. In a strike, the newspapers would be against them, the ministers would be against them, and the government would probably step in to keep the railroads running and break down the strike.

Under capitalism, the workers are at a disadvantage. This is because the workers are not organized to demand that if they were, they would be both industrially and politically to end capitalism. They would be trying to cajole or demand a raise from capitalism, but they would act with full and good sense by taking strike the jobs themselves.

Expirations for week ending Nov. 21, 1934: 247
New subs for week ending Nov. 21, 1934: 238

Gain for week 168

November 11 was Armistice Day and it was also the anniversary of the hanging of the Chicago "anarchists" frame-up victims of the notorious Haymarket riot. The victims—August Spies, Albert Parsons, Adolph Fischer and George Engel—were executed on November 11, 1887. None was charged with actual violence, but only with radical writings. A memorial meeting for the victims was held in the Masonic Temple, Chicago, on November 11, 1931.

PROSPERITY will come again, say the prophets of capitalism. When did the mass of the workers ever have prosperity under capitalism? Never. All they ever had was a chance to be exploited, to turn the sweat of their hard labor into profits for the capitalist owners of industry. Now millions of workers have a chance to starve absolutely.

ONE STORY ALONE in our Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26—the story of Herbert Hoover's slave trading deal in 1904—will utterly destroy his chance of being reelected President in 1932; if we can get a big enough circulation for that story. Help us cover the nation with this greatest of all exposures of Hoover and of capitalism.

"I see no reason why a man with an income of \$10,000 should not be made to give up half to the government," declares Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Democrat, of Montana.

erator of Spanish America. Robert Owen, Leader of Social Reform.

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VOL. 17. Dawn of the Era of Accomplishment. Nietzsche, the Destroyer of the New Dogmatism. Pasteur, Symbol of the Humanism of Science. Lester F. Ward, the Sanest of American Thinkers. Haeckel, the Scientific Iconoclast. Burbank, the Scientific Creator. Anatole France, Prophet of the Modern Spirit.

As you can see, these names cover the whole range of history, from ancient to modern. Some names you will miss; and these, though famous, McCabe judged not to be creative. Other names will be new to you; they are creative names which general history overlooks or barely mentions. You will learn many new, interesting things in this historical series by McCabe.

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Fighting in Manchuria May Threaten World War Between Capitalism and Communism!

It is not safe to regard the Manchurian trouble between Japan and China as merely a minor, local clash. Events are shaping ominously there; the strife continues and grows worse; and one of the possibilities which we cannot afford to ignore, and which we should weigh carefully, is that we may be witnessing the origins of another terrific World War.

It is significant that, despite their polite protestations, none of the great powers has genuinely and firmly attempted to halt the aggressions of the Japanese militarists. China appealed to the League of Nations; and the League acted with what, on the surface, appeared to be singular timidity and irresolution. It can hardly be said that the League acted. It simply went through a few superficial, formal and unconvincing gestures.

Under the surface of secret diplomacy, perhaps the League (dominated as it is by the great powers, especially by France) is well aware of the plans for a new World War and does not wish to interrupt these plans. After a good deal of palaver (the real talk being

in secret), with reports of optimism one day and pessimism the next, the League did say that Japan should evacuate Manchuria by November 16. Immediately Japan declared that she would not do so; and November 16 actually found more Japanese troops in the war zone and a more belligerent and dangerous situation than when these events were first officially called to the attention of the League.

The spokesmen of the great powers, including our own Secretary of State Stimson, have persisted in saying that a state of war does not exist in Manchuria; yet the Japanese and Chinese soldiers go on fighting and each day's newspaper has a big story about the hostilities. If this is not war, can it be called peace?

We are being treated to the usual hypocrisy of statesmen. It is well for American citizens to note that our government has taken a secret part in this crisis. Aside from the proposals that have been made openly—or that have been revealed to the public, whether in their full and true character we do not know—

Secretary of State Stimson has sent secret communications to the Japanese government and has held secret conferences in Washington with the Japanese ambassador, with Premier Laval of France and now with Premier Grandi of Italy. President Hoover has ordered these secret conferences and has participated in them.

And, finally, the most sinister development of all is the effort to drag the Soviet Union into the Manchurian strife. It seems that the Japanese have deliberately tried to provoke Soviet interference or some sign from the Soviet government that could be interpreted as hostile. We have an acute fear and suspicion that Japan, with the encouragement of the United States and France, is maneuvering to begin a World War which will involve the Soviet Union while it is in the very midst of the five-year plan.

Our suspicion is not lessened by the fact (which will be explained fully in our Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26) that one of President Hoover's big mining stock deals—based not on property owned in Russia by his

companies but on Russian concessions—was spoiled by the Russian revolution. Does Hoover, the racketeer, want revenge on the Soviet Union for stopping his particular racket along with the entire system of capitalistic racketeering as formerly pined in Russia?

This would lead a World War between capitalism and communism. The workers of the capitalist nations would be ordered to sacrifice their lives in a gigantic conspiracy to destroy the first workers' republic in the history of the world. Recognizing that the Soviet Union is already demonstrating the economic superiority of its collectivistic system, the nations of capitalism may even now be planning a desperate and relentless military warfare against the workers' republic.

It is well known that the Soviet government does not wish war, but on the contrary is exceedingly anxious for peace. The Soviet government is engaged in the tremendous, useful enterprise of building an economic system for the workers. Its whole aim is constructive,

not destructive. Do the capitalist governments, frantic in the face of their own economic failure but determined to hold their powers of misrule and exploitation, intend to throw all their strength into an onslaught upon the growing structure of communism before that structure, promising new hope for the world's workers but foreshadowing the doom of capitalism, can be completed and made too solid for successful attack?

Our readers are urged to bear these things in mind and to remember also that war is the historic means of getting rid of a capitalistic "surplus" and of submerging, beneath patriotic enthusiasm and military dictatorship, the threatening discontent of an economic crisis.

The world is passing through intensely critical times; and it was never so important that the true meaning of events should be made wholly clear to the people. In defense of civilization, we must act quickly and spread our messages rapidly and widely to educate the people.

Freeman Army

When you send a list of subs to The Freeman please mark those you know to be Socialists with an "S" after the name. This name will be added to our Army list, and a new helper will be in the ranks to push the good work along. Don't overlook this important matter.

Comrade Erickson, from out in Western Kansas, dropped in on us last week in person, bringing a nice list of subs. Erickson is one of the old-time cattle and sheep men, and still knows the business. Incidentally he thinks he ought to help convert the state to Socialism. The list already sent in is just the beginning—more to follow, which is mighty good news to the blue-eyed scribbler who presides over the subscription desk.

Orders for sub cards were received from: Alex Appl, Kans.; Adolf Korn, Fla.; Ed Danielson, Conn.; W. H. Wright, Ill.; Louis Boss, Mo.; Vincent S. Vitti, N. Y.; C. V. Wiloughby, Calif.; O. S. Samuels, Okla.; B. N. Freeman, Ill.; Chas. Cunningham, Pa.; J. F. Miller, Pa.; W. E. Stambaugh, Pa.; John Salatin, N. Y.; Chas. S. Gause, Pa.; Stanley Geda, Pa.; Norman W. Frost, Mo.; F. B. Wood, Ore.; Dr. J. E. Miller, Ida.; Thos. Tangney, Ida.; Albert C. Miller, Conn.; Ellisworth Rice, S. D.; A. W. Lillendahl, Mex.; Nathan Paul, Minn.; Frank C. Metzger, N. Y.; Ralph F. Watson, Ill.; O. H. Opsahl, Minn.; J. A. Lundquist, Minn.; H. U. Jamison, Ill.; L. O. Breitenbuecher, Mo.; Jerry Pryor, Colo.; John M. Work, Wis.; N. S. Kant, Neb.; B. J. Prichard, W. Va.

We feel confident that the Dec. 26 Hoover Racketeering Edition will be widely circulated, judging from the early response to our announcement. The first order came from D. T. Snyder, Mo., who sent \$1 for a bundle of 50 and \$1 to pay for sending copies to good names in our possession. T. C. Haller, Mo., 91 years old, comes in with the second order, contributing \$1 under Method No. 3 to help boost the circulation of the Hoover edition. The following each gave \$1 under Method No. 3 to help boost this great special edition: E. J. Brand, N. Y.; J. A. Day, Mich.; Henri Letord, Tex.; G. A. Norris, Iowa; John Erben, Jr., Pa.; \$2 from Claus Ernst, Neb.; Julius Janowitz, N. Y.; W. T. DeCoster, Minn. \$5 from John Marleman, Colo.

Clubs of subs, ranging in size from four to 30, were received from: J. A. Shown, Okla.; E. B. Dailey, W. Va.; W. Denaldson, Pa.; Ed. Johnson, N. Y.; J. E. Whitmore, Pa.; R. C. Sanders, La.; C. J. Spears, Ind.; Mint Nauta, Mich.; Mrs. P. T. Brookdale, Ill.; J. H. Allen, Tex.; Bill Krepps, Calif.; F. H. Shuler, Kans.; Kate A. Gardner, Kans.; Geo. H. Shoaf, Calif.; Frank H. Lynch, Iowa; J. A. Hardman, Tex.; W. Henry Thompson, N. Y.; Mrs. J. W. Blair, Kans.; Robt. L. Biggs, Ind.; E. O. C. Calif.; Gilbert Gunderson, Calif.; Fred Benko, N. E.; J. E. Bresina, O.; W. W. Walker, Ky.; A. E. Trues, Calif.; N. S. D. C. H. E. Per, Ill.; Clinton Bowen, N. Y.; Jos. Koukal, Conn.; H. D. Landes, Mich.; S. P. Stevens, Neb.; W. J. Nelson, Mich.; F. C. Stumpf, O.; E. G. Nelson, Calif.; Chas. Cunningham, Pa.; E. L. Badger, Calif.; Hans Holden, Minn.; Raymond P. Myers, Ill.

D. H. Ashley, Ind.; W. J. Sanderson, Ill.; Henning Paul, O.; P. A. Wingblad, N. Y.; Geo. A. Hoyle, Kans.; Geo. Klemade, Minn.; George Henry, O.; Alex. Richter, Kans.; E. Linden Draper, O.; Carl Bloedau, Wis.; J. Henry Stump, Pa.; Henry Busch, Wis.; J. W. Miller, Calif.; Charles L. Heller, Pa.; P. Louis Majors, Pa.; J. Solberg, Alaska; Geo. Marvill, Mass.; V. E. Gould, Ore.; Wayne Fisher, Wis.; D. E. Welch, Calif.; Chas. C. Krenson, Mont.; Harold G. Pratt, N. Y.; Luis A. Garcia, Porto Rico; R. R. Whitney, Minn.; James Martin, N. Y.; E. J. Jones, Ga.; O. J. Bouma, Wis.; L. E. Forrester, Kans.; S. F. Childs, Wis.; A. W. Hammerstedt, N. Y.; M. Bodamer, Calif.; N. T. Harris, Pa.; Mrs. Evelyn W. Evans, Calif.; Dr. Wm. A. Donovan, Mass.; John V. Whitehead, Calif.; S. H. Smith, Calif.; O. K. Enobe, Calif.; J. R. Ziglar, Can.; A. Holland, Ohio.

The Freeman's deficit is now being tackled seriously. The favorite methods at this time are as follows: Clubs of 25-week subs at 25c each, in clubs of four or more. Contributions to Method No. 3 to help pay for sending free copies of The Freeman to good names in our possession. Here are the latest under Method No. 3: \$1 from the following: Mrs. C. A. Carter, Calif.; W. S. K. Kelly, N. Y.; Ter Briggs, N. Y.; Stanley Greene, Iowa; P. C. Gassen, Calif.; R. A. Glick, Mo.; J. L. Gunn, Utah; L. D. Daniels, Kans.; H. G. Alexander, D. C.; Chas. A. Flint, Calif.; Dr. A. F. Green, O.; Max Curth, Calif.; Palmer C. A. Green, O.; Arthur Gonty, Canada; W. H. C. Canada; Harvey L. Burkhead, Colo.; Eric Fellman, Kans.; G. B. Freeman, Canada; B. S. Cox, Miss.; D. C. Drake, O. \$2 from Frank Favre, Ind.; Albert Smilgeff, Ill.; Dennis Coffey, Mass.; Chas. Hamblin, Mass.; Emil Eckhardt, N. Y. \$5 from Amber Groh, Mich.; Wm. P. Haisworth, Mass. \$2.75 from M. H. Foster, N. Y.

"Put me down for 50 copies of the Hoover Racketeering Edition of Dec. 26. Give him Hell. Yours for the Cooperative Commonwealth," J. M. Ketter, Ark.

J. Henry Stump, the Socialist mayor of Reading, Pa., joins the Army with a club of 13 reading of Freeman subs. He writes: "The Democrats and Republicans in a solid union defeated us by about 3,000 votes. We received the highest vote ever polled in this city by the Socialists, having received 2,000 better fighting mood than before the election when we were elected to office. We were up against all the forces of capitalism and capitalism. The church played the most important part against us. But the defeat has not affected us adversely as the comrades are in a better fighting mood than before the election. In fact, all the branches are taking in new members since the election."

H. R. Edward, Calif., joins the Bundle Brigade with an order for 60 copies of the Nov. 7 Freeman. C. V. Willoughby, Calif., also qualifies by ordering a bundle of five Freeman papers for six months, for which he remits \$1. The Bundle Brigade now grows to be one of the means to bring about a great and powerful Freeman.

Stanley Greene, Iowa, sends \$1 under Method No. 3 to help assist the deficit of \$106 per week and adds: "Here's a dollar oblige. I mitigate deficits, show loyalty, prove sincerity and aid in hastening the day of emancipation."

I wish I could do more. It may necessitate another patch on my overalls, but I am proud of each "Hoover Badge." When an S. O. S. is broadcast from the temple of Freedom I am all attention."

Louis Boss, Mo., sends \$2 for a batch of sub cards: "Am tired of this forced vacation under capitalism. I am hoping for a change and aim in my own little way to do what I can to help the Freeman hurry it along. Want to have the editor succeed in the senatorial race and let Charley Curtis have a vacation as we won't need him."

H. G. Cartwright, N. Y., sends \$1 for Method No. 3 and writes: "I am enclosing contributions to help make up the loss you are under for the Freeman."

J. A. Shown, Okla., sends in a club of four subs and says: "The enclosed four men are all old-time Socialists and want to get back into the harness again. We used to love the old Appeal and would sure like to see it come back. You will hear from me again."

William W. Walker, Ky., sends a club of four and writes: "Here is my help towards increasing the circulation of our little old Freeman. It is surprisingly easy to rustle a bunch of subs. I am in my early twenties and hope to see Socialism triumph before the best years of my life have passed away."

Frank H. Lynch, Iowa, is in with \$2.50 worth of subs and says: "Just a week ago I sent you five yearlies and here's another club of five yearlies. I expect to help boost the Freeman. You will hear from me again just as fast as I find a chance. My talk gets the subs."

"Although slightly delayed this week on account of moving, I aim to remain regular in my contributions toward the Kansas senatorial campaign of The Freeman editor, I am enclosing \$1." A Friend from St. Joe, Mo.

"Please use the \$1 enclosed for mailing 50 copies of the Nov. 7 Freeman to good Chicago names in your possession," writes H. E. L. Per, Chicago, Ill.

A. M. Reinhold, Calif., sends \$1 for a bundle of the Nov. 14 Freeman and adds: "It's a dandy number and most interesting to find we have to get our last Pasadena news from The Freeman in Kansas. We want to distribute these 50 copies among our Pasadena neighbors. Marce's articles are delightful, instructive and timely. May all good luck be with her."

J. J. Hawkins, Wash., sends \$1 for a bundle of five for six months. That makes him a member of the Bundle Brigade.

F. A. Johnson, Kans., is the week's best buyer of sub cards, his order being for \$10 worth.

H. E. L. Per, Ill., continues his consistent work for The Freeman. His latest is \$1 under Method No. 3 to send 50 copies of the Nov. 7 Freeman to Chicago names in our possession.

The Dec. 26 Hoover Racketeering Edition is going to be a big success.

If you don't want your name mentioned in the Army Column, don't hesitate to mention that fact when you send in your club of subs or help in other ways.

A. L. Conner, Iowa, orders \$7 worth of sub cards and adds \$1 for the Kansas campaign and \$1 for the Russian Tour. Thanks, Com-

rade Connor, and please keep the little old Freeman in mind for similar boosts.

WOMEN'S BRIGADE

Mrs. J. W. Blair, Kans., sends a club of four subs and says: "I am sending these to help along in a good cause. I wish you success and many long years of happiness."

Mrs. L. Treit, N. D., joins the Women's Brigade with an order of \$5 worth of sub cards and a club of four subs. That's a real beginning.

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA FUND
Freemanties are still sending their contributions to the fund to help pay Marce's expenses on her Soviet tour. We have received \$1 from each of the following: Geo. F. Engle, Calif.; Wm. Dwyer, N. Y.; Frank Ehrenfried, Ill.; J. S. Kellogg, N. Y.; P. C. Stumpf, O.; Arno Hartenstein, N. Y.; A. H. Warnke, Wis.; C. O. Ericson, Minn.; Eric Fellman, Kans.; John Lawson, Maine; N. S. Kant, Neb.; A. L. Conner, Iowa; Albert G. Wahl, Pa. \$1 from J. F. Wiedemann, Ill.

INFAMOUS! Astounding! Almost unbelievable! Yet every word of it is true—as you will see when you read our Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26. See that others, too, read this edition.

Question Box

Edited by John W. Gunn

Can Negro carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers and farm laborers get employment in Russia in the same manner as other people?—J. H. C., Md.

There is absolutely no discrimination in the Soviet Union on the ground of race, color, creed, etc. A Negro worker in Russia has the same opportunity, the same rights, the same treatment as a white worker. However, The Freeman's information is that at present no workers from other countries are being accepted by the Soviet government for employment in the Soviet Union.

Will you kindly tell us a little bit about Christian Socialism?—A. Genty, Winnipeg, Can.

Some years ago there was a group in the United States which took upon itself the peculiar and irrelevant, not to say misleading, brand of "Christian Socialism." This group made its Socialist appeal through its interpretation of some of the vague, sentimental sayings of Jesus: a very small and highly disputed part of the mixture of teachings and attitudes which is loosely known as Christianity. Socialism is a movement quite separate from Christianity or any other religion. It is a realistic economic movement, which has for its purpose the transformation of capitalist society into a cooperative society of the workers. Its teachings are not based on any religious tradition or theory, but are descriptions of the economic forces that move the modern world and explanations of how the economic principles of Socialism are essential in the reorganization of the world's social life. Adherents of any religion or opponents of all religion may work together for the economic program of Socialism.

Do the workers who refuse to join any organization to work for their own advancement disclose any more stupidity than do the leaders of the various movements who decline to strive for unity among the various groups that seem struggling toward the same goal, the destruction of capitalism and its attendant evils?—W. M. Rieder, Mich.

From stupidity or lack of economic enlightenment—and the latter is the sounder, as well as the more tolerant, explanation—it is certain that the worker who least understands his own interests is the one who supports the system of capitalism which exploits him. It is regrettable that the radical movement is divided by tactics into branches which are not only separate in organization but, in too many instances, unfriendly. The question of tactics is important; genuine convictions on vital points of the revolutionary program must be respected and it is well that they should be given the fullest consideration among radicals; these differences, however, should be reflected not in absolutely separate movements but in aspects (or discussion groups) in one united working class movement. The Freeman certainly will not permit its central purpose of Socialist propaganda to be confused or turned aside by arguments concerning tactics or fine-sometimes not so fine—theoretical distinctions. Our goal is a cooperative workers' republic. We believe that all who understand the injustice and the fatal unsoundness of the capitalist system should labor

with comradely earnestness and single-mindedness toward this goal.

Is the Boy Scout movement a movement on the part of or in the interest of organized capital? Is it a scheme on the part of the powers that be to miseducate the youth of the land so that there will be contentment with the present regime of capitalist production?—J. P. Sterling, Idaho.

The Boy Scout movement inculcates the attitude of loyalty toward the present order of society. Under a mask of cultivating the manly, self-reliant and obedient virtues (note the contradiction), this movement actually—and with little practical concealment of its aims—trains the boys of the working class and the middle class to be defenders of capitalist orthodoxy in social, economic and political life. Its militaristic color and tendencies are obvious.

Yes, capitalism is a "great" system. Herbert Hoover is its "great" exemplar. Show your fellow Americans just what kind of a system it is and what kind of an exemplar it puts in the White House. Circulate our Hoover Racketeering Edition of December 26.

PROTEST FOLLOWS FLOGGING OF UNEMPLOYED IN PONTIAC, MICH.

A demand that the chief of police resign and an order from Governor Brucker that the state attorney-general make a special investigation have followed quickly upon the beating of three unemployed workers in Pontiac, Mich., on the night of November 12 by a gang of masked men calling themselves "The Vigilantes." The demand for the chief of police's resignation is made by Harry Mitchell, a member of the Pontiac city commission.

"It is evident something is wrong," said Mitchell. "One of the strange things is that police did nothing until hours after the crimes were committed, and even now admit they have no clues." Perhaps this is not so strange, in view of the fact that a hunger march of Pontiac unemployed was recently dispersed by the police, attacking the workers with clubs. The march was broken on order from Chief of Police Allsbaugh.

The three workers were flogged because they had attended meetings of the local Unemployed Council, organized by members of the Communist party.

The Pontiac workers are aroused by this lawless violence and they resent not merely the actions of the unknown "Vigilantes" but also the attitude of the police department. Mass meetings are being held by the workers. Even leading citizens are frightened at the prospect of mob terrorism, and Pontiac attorneys, club women and preachers have denounced the flogging of the unemployed men. They say that charity rather than chastisement should be given to the unemployed.

One jobless worker, who escaped a beating on the night of November 12 because he was not at home when the "Vigilantes" called to seize him, has received a typewritten warning, ordering him to leave the city. "If you value your hide, beat it. AND BEAT IT QUICK," the warning read. This worker, D. L. Holder, is 57 years old and the father of a family of eight. He is not a Communist but has attended meetings of the Unemployed Council sponsored by the Communists.

"A group of fair-minded citizens," reads the warning sent to Holder, "objects to your activities and the existence of a Communist party in Pontiac. We shall take the necessary steps to wipe you out."

Evidently the workers of Pontiac and even a number of the leading citizens are disposed strongly to question the fair-mindedness of masked mob brutality. There is protest against the fascist tactics of the "Vigilantes" in presuming to place themselves above the Constitution and laws of the United States, under which the activities of the Communist party are perfectly legal.

Pontiac is an automobile city, dominated by the General Motors Corporation, and thousands of workers have been shut out from the factories by the collapse of capitalist industry.

AS THE efficiency of American workers increases they are thrown out of jobs. As the efficiency of Russian workers increases they are kept at work with shorter hours and higher pay. One is the capitalistic principle. The other is the socialistic principle. Ask your fellow worker which principle looks better to him.

THE INSIDE STORY ABOUT HARLAN, KENTUCKY

BY ROLAND E. BURDICK

Starvation, disease, bullets, tear gas, dynamite, false propaganda, terrorism, and threats of the electric chair are all being utilized by the Harlan, Ky., mine operators.

In addition, 60 miners or their friends are now in jail under indictment brought against them by a jury chosen by operators' friends. Thirty of the men are accused of three murders each. "I am firmly convinced," stated Arnold Johnson, of the American Civil Liberties Union, "that not one of these men is guilty." He likened the situation to the frame-ups of Mooney and Billings and Sacco and Vanzetti.

Johnson himself was thrown into jail for "criminal syndicalism." As a matter of fact, the only proof the operators' deputies could muster was the presence on Johnson's person of several League for Industrial Democracy papers, and some of the Civil Liberties Union's literature on free speech and on the "Mooney-Billings case."

Soup Kitchens Dynamited
Immediately upon arriving in Harlan, Johnson was followed by the operators' hired thugs. One day, although he did not learn of it until later, he and two friends were followed by an automobile carrying several deputies with three machine guns. He was later warned that he would be shot if he came out of his house, and that the place would be dynamited if he stayed in it.

Already a soup kitchen had been destroyed by dynamite, cutting off a food supply which had been feeding 420 miners. Now an average of one person per day is dying of starvation or "flu" caused by malnutrition. At another soup kitchen, operators' thugs killed two men and shot a third, all of whom were unarmed, according to four witnesses.

The operators imported 28 gunmen, perhaps from Chicago, who had reputations of killing men for \$50 each. A Mt. Sterling, Ky., newspaper advocated the killing of Johnson and the three other "Communists" agitators down in Harlan county. "That is all right for them to say that," said Johnson, "but it would be a different matter were I to say the same about the operators or the judges that favor them."

All gatherings of miners have been forbidden, upon penalty of being shot or clapped into jail. Communists, I. W. W. members, Socialists, and union members have had to meet in secret, posting guards to prevent riots in the event of detection by operators' deputies. At one gathering, a woman, wife of a miner, was shot in the abdomen.

When in jail, Johnson found that the place was unclean, and overriden with bedbugs and cockroaches. The food, he said, was poorly cooked, unvaried, and, in the case of the cabbage, actually known to be unwashed.

Johnson was released from prison on condition that he would not continue "agitation"—really the securing of legal aid for the prisoners—in Harlan. He may go back for trial, he said, since he and the Civil Liberties Union wish to test the right of free speech there; in such a case he will be defended by Arthur Garfield Hays.

Thugs Go Unpunished
Johnson cited the following unpunished atrocities perpetrated against the miners and their sympathizers by operators' deputies:

Tom Connors, I. W. W. member, beaten up.
Homes of union leaders shot into. Miners entering U. S. Postoffice beaten up.
Bill Burnett shot, April 18.
Carl Richmond killed, May 5.
Union leader's car dynamited.
Communist soup kitchen dynamited.
Bruce Crawford, newspaper editor, shot.

Boris Israel, newspaper reporter, shot.
Henry Thornton, Negro leader, kidnapped, beaten up, falsely charged with intoxication.
Thornton's brother, tied to a tree, "beaten to a pulp."

Two hundred homes of miners raided without warrants.
Two men at soup kitchen killed.

Another man at soup kitchen, shot.
Woman shot in abdomen.

Though the blood of these people is on the hands of the operators who have committed violence through the medium of their deputies, no indictments have been issued, and probably never will be.

Allied against the miners are:

Operators.
Sheriffs.
Judges.
Laws of Kentucky.
Kiwanis Club.
Ku Klux Klan (recently revived).
American Legion.
Capitalist press.
Churches of Harlan.

Would You BELIEVE IT?

Under the Colorado sedition act, passed in the hysterical craze of 1921, it is a crime to pass out anti-war leaflets. Indictments against Timmerman and Michael Shantzeck face the prospect of 20 years' imprisonment for having distributed such literature at the Citizens' Military Training Camp at Fort Logan in the summer of 1921. At the time they were severely flogged by army officers at the camp and by members of the American Legion.

Two members of an arbitration committee of three voted that the St. Louis street car men should have their wages cut 10 percent. The plea was that the company could not "make ends meet." Charles D. Johnson, president of the company, gets a salary of \$30,000 a year. S. Greenland, manager, gets \$30,000 a year. One attorney representing the company gets \$18,000 a year.

After heading a committee of writers in a 3-day inquiry at Harlan, Ky., Theodore Dreiser said: "There ought to be prosecutions of the severest type against Harlan county officials. I think there should be a congressional investigation, but I fancy the first step will be a state inquiry. It is the usual American lineup of capital vs. labor, with everything on one side and nothing on the other but two bare hands."

Grocery prices at company stores in the Harlan, Ky., district (where buying is compulsory) are from 20 to 100 percent higher than at other stores, testified a lineup of capital vs. labor, with everything on one side and nothing on the other but two bare hands."

A Harlan, Ky., miner showed the Dreiser committee a pay statement, proving that when he drew a \$22 wage before pay day the company charged him \$2 interest, at the rate of 9 percent a month.

"The blackest spot in the American penal system is in the county jail," declared George W. Wickersham, of the Hoover crime commission, in a speech and 108 percent a year.

Before the West Virginia Bar Association, he also said: "Security of employment seems to be the major factor in reducing crime."

Defying the terrorism of Capt. Hynes and his "Red Squad," the Los Angeles Socialist party has announced that a Mooney protest meeting will be held in the Labor Temple Auditorium on December 4 at 8 p. m. for all workmen who were scheduled to address the meeting at the Philharmonic Auditorium, which was prevented by the brutality of the "Red Squad."

Hustled to a 30-day term in the workhouse without being permitted an attorney, Peter Gyanich had offended a Pittsburgh, Pa., masters by passing around leaflets containing the following demands of unemployed workers at the Helping Hand fophouse: Three good meals daily; warm meat at least once a day; full wages for all work; 50c a week for tobacco; a warm place to stay during the day.

Andy Mellon, "watchdog" of the U. S. treasury and the rich men's treasures, went to his home town of Pittsburgh, Pa., to speak in behalf of the "charity drive." Thousands of the unemployed come from such Mellon-owned enterprises as Pittsburgh Coal, Crucible Steel, Stuart-Mellon Construction, American Aluminum, Koppers Gas & Coke, Gulf Oil and American Ray Products.

The National Advisory Committee on Illiteracy reports that Texas has 254,099 men and women 21 years of age and over who cannot read nor write. The committee neglects to mention that illiteracy is a consequence of poverty.

After a six-months' strike against a 15 percent wage cut, 85,000 workers in Norway have agreed to a compromise reduction of 6 percent.

A fall of 6 percent in wages and 3.2 percent in jobs in New York state in October, 1913, made the payroll record 40 percent below that of October, 1929, and 22 percent below that of October, 1930, says the New York State Department of Labor.

Estimating that "over eight billions in wages have been lost by the workers of New York state within two years, and that doesn't take into consideration all the white collar, farm or railroad workers," Miss Frances Perkins, state industrial commissioner, adds: "It doesn't look very encouraging."

Police terrorisms, threats of removing mills to other cities, capitalist press propaganda and the strikebreaking campaign of Secretary of Labor Doak's agents, who are arrested aliens as well as American citizens and threatened them with deportation, finally broke the Lawrence, Mass., strike of textile workers. One severe handicap was that half of the striking workers were unorganized. A wave of panic broke through the National Textile Workers' Union announces that it will continue its organization activities.

As the Kellogg pact outlawed war, preparations for war are criminal and resistance to such preparations is the duty of good citizens, says H. G. Wells, internationally known English novelist.

Although a single Democrat-Republican ticket combined to beat them, Socialists of Reading, Pa., increased their vote by 15 percent.

12^{1ST} PRIZES of \$625.00 each!

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

FOLLOW THE AUTO TRAILS

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

W. M. CLARK, Manager, Room 278 52 West Illinois St., Chicago, Illinois

Warren's Page

By Fred D. Warren

You must use your own brains. All we can do is to give you the facts about capitalism, and the philosophy of Socialism. You must put these side by side, and evolve your own plan of action. If you do not use your brains, if you do not cultivate the power given you to think, you will always be a slave. Your only hope of deliverance, even under capitalism, is to use your power to think.

You can't be a drifter, and get anywhere in the world. It takes energy, foresight and a lot of hard thinking, plus work, to get yourself in a position of plenty and comfort. Under capitalism, you can do this at the expense of the many—at the expense of those who refuse to use their brains. Under Socialism, you can have all the things which capitalism gives to a few—of its thinkers! But you can have these things only when you have succeeded in bringing a majority of the working class of the nation to your way of thinking.

If you are content to be a follower—do not read Socialist literature—do not study the history of the human race—do not study the text-books of school and university. Slavery has always and everywhere been based on ignorance of the slaves. Enlightenment has brought this old world whatever of liberty it now enjoys. Education and study will lift the race out of poverty and misery and into full enjoyment of the natural resources so abundantly ready to hand.

Too long have we looked to leaders to bring us out of the woods—what we need is a race of leaders! Your brain is just as capable of development as was the brain of a Napoleon, a MacDonald, a Mussolini or a Lenin. The use you make of that developed brain is up to you. But, man, think—think before you pass off the stage, forgotten and unmourned.

It is a glorious thought to know that you have been instrumental in pushing the old world upward and onward in its struggle for better conditions. If mentally you stand out and away above your fellows, it is because some one made sacrifice to place Socialist literature in your hands which started your mind to work. It behooves you, therefore, to do the same for those you come in contact with. And you can do no better than to start a circulating library, using the 20 books which make up our FREE library of Socialism. It requires only a few hours' work to get four of your neighbors or shopmates to subscribe for The Freeman at the club rate of 50c a year. For this slight effort we send you these 20 books. These books will furnish you enough ammunition to keep twenty lamps burning the long winter evenings—will bring information and HOPE to those who today are without hope. And every recruit you secure to our cause brings YOU nearer a realization of your dreams of a new world. Step along, comrade, and do your part!

"THE main weakness of private ownership lies in the fact that the thing every man should own he doesn't own—his job!" writes one of our enthusiastic western comrades. Right you are, Eli. Incidentally, I might mention that a lot of the unemployed now own their job—they are selling Freemans on the streets, and making 4c net on each copy. It's a temporary job—but it helps keep the home fires burning and it brings food to the little ones in many instances—and it hastens the day when ALL men will own their jobs for life!

NO ONE has ever attracted the attention of the whole world without at the same time attracting the ridicule of a few slickers. This is true of Socialism. Today it has attracted the attention of most of the civilized world, in spite of the gibes and ridicule of the fellows in silk hats. It is comforting to those of you who have for years been battling for the recognition of Socialist principles to know that Socialism is the dominant political thought in Europe, Asia and America.

FORD has reduced wages, and the Chicago Journal of Commerce says this is the only way to bring back prosperity. The Wall Street Journal, on the other hand, says that high wages are essential to business prosperity. These two financial authorities should get together on this important point. Otherwise the nation is going to have difficulty in determining which road to take back to the glories of yesterday.

ASK yourself this question: Why should there be shoeless boys and girls in the United States when the shoe machinery of the country can turn out three pairs of shoes for every pair sold?

THE HUMAN WORLD can be made better as rapidly as men use their combined intelligence to make it better.

If you do not wish to mutilate your copy of The Freeman by cutting out the subscription blanks, you may copy them or send your names in on ordinary paper.

It is now said on good authority that since the conviction of the Capones, no more liquor is obtainable in Chicago—unless you have the money to pay for it!

ELECTRICITY has multiplied the capacity of the worker many times, but it has likewise increased his difficulties in getting a job in order that he may demonstrate his increased capacity.

"A TRUE friend sometimes does venture to be offensive," says an old proverb. Meaning that if you like The Freeman, don't hesitate to criticize anything you see in its columns you do not like. Only in this way can its editorial staff determine what you want printed.

A SCOTTISH duke maintains a private army of 350 husky Highlanders. "It is thought," says Collier's, "to be the only one of its kind in the world." Perhaps the private armies of our super-bootleg kings have been overlooked by the National Weekly in its survey of the world's standing armies.

ASK yourself this question: With magnificent trains made up of palace cars, warm and comfortable, gliding over glistening steel rails at 60 miles an hour, almost empty of passengers, why should men and women, and even little children, be forced to trudge along the highways in rain, sleet and snow?

ASK yourself this question: With commodious church buildings unoccupied, scattered from one end of this country to the other, equipped with good heating plants, why should millions of men and women be forced to walk the streets or sleep in the parks on the bare ground in freezing weather?

SEND marked copies of The Freeman to those people you know will be interested in some of the articles you find interesting. You often have discussions with your neighbors, and often you leave them unconvinced. Then you run across an item or an article in The Freeman which just answers the question raised. Mark this article or paragraph and send or hand it to your antagonist. Just remember: You can't argue with the printed page!

THE chief objective of capitalism is to reduce labor costs. The chief objective of Socialism is to increase production and increase labor's reward. In the United States, accountants are working feverishly in an effort to curtail the costs of production, and every move in that direction reduces the number of men employed. Over in Russia, if we are to accept the stories printed in the capitalist press, vigorous efforts are being made to increase production, not to pay interest and dividends on stock in the Russian enterprises, but to increase the income of those who do the work. It might be well for you chaps that have recently been disconnected from the payroll in this country, to look into the two systems. President Teague, of the Standard Oil of New Jersey, says both can't exist side by side in the world, and that one must go. You'd better wake up and take a hand in the battle just ahead in order that the system best for you and your family is retained.

THE BUNDLE BRIGADE

Many Freeman readers are taking the advice of Comrade Kendall of Chicago who commutes to the Loop every day on the South Shore Illinois Central electric cars. He picks up a Herald-Examiner or a Tribune and drops in its place a copy of The Freeman. "I always make it a point to drop the paper so the title is in plain view—and then watch 'em nab it. It's like fishing for trout when the fish are biting good. In all the weeks I've been practicing this little plan, I haven't seen a copy of The Freeman overlooked. I save 3c on the capitalist sheet which a couple of members of my family still insist that I bring home—and in this way save more than enough money to pay for my bundle of Freemans." Mark these several hundred thousand Socialists coming out on the suburban trains that run into the big cities of the country every day, and if this plan of Kendall's were generally adopted it would get into circulation millions of copies of The Freeman, and it would be doing this at the expense of the capitalist press. Try it for six months. Five copies each and every week for that length of time will be delivered to your address for a dollar. Send the dollar today—and then collect it from the capitalist press!

The Freeman Wins!

Dear Warren: A friend has been handing me copies of The Freeman regularly the past five or six weeks. After reading the extracts on market conditions in 1929 from the Chicago press, I concluded I'd follow your suggestion and discontinue taking the Tribune which had been delivered to our back door for years. Three days later I went home and found the wife in tears—sobbing as though some terrible calamity had overtaken the household. After several attempts, I discovered that the cause of the outburst was the non-delivery of the Tribune. The wife said, between sobs, that she didn't know who was being murdered, nor whether Capone was in jail, and she had lost track of Uncle Jim's romance, and other items of similar character. We argued long over the matter, but in the end we compromised. When we pay the Tribune bill, we are to send a like amount to The Freeman for subscription cards. I have been a life-long Republican, and always voted the straight ticket, and this will be my first contribution to the Socialist cause. However, in view of my wife's stand for the Tribune, think you are going to have a hard time with you beyond the of the capitalist press. I wish you better success than you have had with my family.—Wm. Higgins, South Shore Drive, Chicago.

A LIMIT TO PATIENCE

Mr. Arthur Brisbane, who writes the comics for the Hearst syndicate, rejoices that New York gave evidence that it did not propose to throw off the "chains of capitalism" by giving the Communist candidate only 1,795 votes in the recent election.

Just below this paragraph, in the Chicago Herald-Examiner, Brisbane tells of the suicide of Mrs. Anna Nathan, 21 years old, because her husband had no work for over a year.

In the same column he tells of a young mother, 30 years old, of Delaware, Ohio, who shot her nine-year-old daughter and herself, "fearing destitution." Perhaps the capitalism that does this to the mothers of the country and returns an overwhelming vote for the capitalist candidates isn't so far from the brink as appears on the surface. Less than twelve months before the revolution in Russia, the Czar and his noble following counted confidently on the solid support of the Russians; and going a bit further back in history, King Louis XVI was sure France loved him devoutly just a short time before he was invited to make the acquaintance of the guillotine.

King George of England laughed heartily over Pat Henry's speech in the Virginia legislature when he mentioned something about a previous king losing his head.

The people, as history proves, are long-suffering and slow to change, but there is a limit to forbearance and I don't think they are going to stand much longer for a system that condemns mothers to a life of destitution or suicide.

Working Class Needs Own Press

"The man who owns the press rules the world." This is credited to a super-capitalist, in a story, purely fictional, printed in a popular weekly periodical several years ago. Nothing truer was ever said. The press today is owned by the advertisers, the advertisers in turn are controlled by the big banking interests. It is little wonder that in all controversies in which the working class is pitted against the capitalist class, the daily newspapers are for the capitalist. Until, and unless, the working class build a press of their own, there will be no change in the conditions which face us today. The working class, strange as it may seem, contribute more support to the daily press in the way of subscriptions than the capitalists. This is due to the fact that there are about 20,000,000 working-class families as against one million capitalist and near capitalist families. If the working class should withdraw its support from the capitalist dailies for sixty days there would be no capitalist press. Without subscribers there would be no advertising revenue. You follow me?

SOME few weeks ago, this plaintive howl was printed in the columns of the biggest and best booster for Big Business in this country, Business Week: "Steel markets have almost disappeared, and prices reduced below production costs, kept mills operating at only 30 percent capacity. Dividends have been slashed, salaries cut, costs lowered as far as seemed possible, but no improvement has developed." Since this item appeared, steel wages have been cut, and the forces still further reduced—last week's report showing that steel is working at 27 percent capacity. And in the face of these facts, the American workman, and his political teachers, seem unable to grasp the situation. How many more kicks in the pants will be required to wake him up? How many?

HERE is a bit of information that should prove interesting to all those jaspers who dashed into the stock market in 1929, and who are still hanging on their "gilt-edged" securities. In October of that year, at prevailing market prices, the stock listed on the New York exchange was "worth" 87 billion, dollars. Today the same stock is "worth" 32 billion. Somewhere between these two sums will be found the losses of the small stockholders and the profits of the big manipulators. So-called legitimate industry has paid handsome profits to the captains of industry, but nothing as compared to the profits made by the heavy boys on the stock exchange.

A COPYRIGHTED dispatch to the New York Times from Moscow tells of a factory just completed near that city to produce 1,800 motorless gliders annually, to be used by a chain of glider clubs throughout the country. This development is the result of a campaign to popularize gliding and make the Soviet youth air-minded. Gliding schools have been started and any trade union member over 16 is eligible to join. In the United States most of the effort of our public officials is to protect speakies where the youth of the land may be taught the noble practice of drinking bootleg liquor.

THE average man does not put in more than three minutes a day in constructive thinking—that is, thinking in a straight line on some subject of importance. Most of us think in circles. If you want to know just how little time you put in thinking worth while thoughts, have a notebook handy and jot down those thoughts you would like to have placed on paper and given to the world through the press. By this don't mean thoughts that you have copied from some book or newspaper or magazine—but original thoughts that, so far as you know, have never been given expression. Try it!

THE intensive development of electrification in Russia in recent years, says the Economic Review of the Soviet Union, has resulted in a great increase in the output of the electrical manufacturing industry. Since 1923 the output of electrical energy has more than trebled, amounting to over 8,800,000 kilowatt-hours in 1930. This development has been an important factor in stimulating the construction and expansion of electrical machine-building plants and those producing electrical supplies.

Now is the time to organize a reading circle among your neighbors. Thousands of men and women are just waiting for someone to come along and tell them what to do. Invite five or six friends over to your house, and start the ball rolling by reading a few extracts from a Socialist book or newspaper. Reports which we are receiving at the office indicate that hundreds of these circles are being held throughout the country. You can do no more effective preliminary work than this. Try it for a few weeks, and let me know the results.

ETHIOPIA, Africa, has two million slaves out of ten million population. The masters are hard at work trying to keep the slaves busy. There appears to be no unemployed problem among the slaves, and so far there are no records of any eviction notices served on the slaves. The slaves, being regularly like horses and cows, are fed properly, even though the master has to go without food. Chatel slaves seem to have some advantages over the free and independent working man of America, Europe and other points, north, south, east and west.

It has just been discovered that the president of twelve banks in Chicago drew out money just before the banks failed. Why shouldn't he draw out the money? He knew the banks were to fail. This has been done before by other bankers and will continue to be done as long as men and women put money in banks without requiring security from the bankers for their money. When Uncle Sam places the money of postal savings bank depositors in the private banks, he requires good collateral as security. If the government has no faith in the privately owned banks why should you be expected to risk your savings in them? The reason you haven't put your money in the postal savings banks is because many of you did not know of such an institution. It was organized in 1917 and has today nearly 500 million dollars in deposits in most of it deposited by the nation's poor, who read in the Socialist press that there was such an institution.

WHAT ABOUT AMERICA?

The Saturday Evening Post, which complained sadly a few weeks ago about the amount of space devoted to Russia by the American press, and which has since that time printed some six or eight articles of considerable length on that country, prints another Russian article in its issue of November 7.

This time it is written by Fannie Hurst, the novelist, and is undoubtedly designed to offset Mr. Shaw's recent statements after his visit to Sovietland. Miss Hurst is convinced that the Russians are hungry, very hungry, and that Shaw's report of plenty of food is a mistake—due doubtless to the fact that Shaw is a vegetarian, and therefore does not know what good food really is.

"Folks," says the Post writer, "are hungry in Russia, and underfed and uncomfortable and unbeautiful and reduced to a common denominator that is not on view from hotel and private-car windows." Perhaps Mrs. Hurst could find a counterpart to this picture in America. The letter, quoted last week, recently issued by the Chicago United Charities, would give her an illuminating picture of the common working man and his family lived in 1928 during the sublime heights of the prosperity boom. And to get a picture of the American working man as he lives today, I refer her to the letter from the same source sent out this summer. Doubtless these scenes are too commonplace in the United States to merit her attention.

Real Help for the Unemployed

Many of the unemployed are selling copies of The Freeman on the streets at 5c per copy. These copies are furnished by members of The Freeman Army who buy the papers at 1c a copy and turn them over to some out-of-work neighbor. This does two things: It gets our literature into the hands of men who pay for it, and it helps the unemployed workman to earn rather than beg. It is a form of self-help that puts courage into the hearts of those who have been discharged and who can find no master to employ them. Those who are able should join our Bundle Brigade by sending \$3 for 25 copies weekly for a period of three months. The cost is nominal—only 1c per copy under this plan to help the unemployed, and will yield a profit of \$12 when sold at 5c per copy. Can you think of a better way to help your unemployed comrades?

Capitalism Is Destroying Itself

The Business Week is the outstanding champion of capitalist America. It tries, and with considerable success, to mirror conditions as they actually are in this country, as well as throughout the world. Describing the situation as it existed here last week, these are phrases taken from its leading article:

"The steady narrowing down of trade, 'the decline in check payments,' 'the slackness in car loadings,' 'the big basic construction and equipment industries show no signs of stimulation,' 'the steel markets have been unable to emerge from the soggy swamp of slow liquidation in which they linger.'"

There is much more of the same sort, and it was with a real thrill that I turned to the November 1 edition of the Economic Review of the Soviet Union. Here are a few of the headlines:

"Large Wage Increases in Coal and Steel Industries," "The AMO Truck Factory Completed," "Development of the Electrical Industry," "Soviet Union Will Meet All Obligations Promptly," "Large Gain in Soviet Purchases in England," "Recent Industrial Achievements," "Third Turbine at Dnieper River Hydro-Electric Plant Completed," "Increase in Lignite Production," "Kamov's Tool Plant Completes Five-Year Plan," "Forty-four Ginning Mills Opened,"

"Seven Large Refrigerator Plants Completed," "Development of Food Machinery Industry," "First Group of Tractor Workers Arrives from United States," "New Technical Journal Published," and others of like import.

The first part of this paragraph reports what is taking place in capitalist America after more than 100 years of struggle and effort. The other quotations are reports of progress made after fourteen years of effort in socialized Russia.

Truly, as Banker Norman of England said last January: "Unless something drastic is done, this whole capitalistic civilization will be destroyed." I should say from the evidence at hand that capitalism is destroying itself. We are merely watchers!

Edison and the Soviet Union

The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union in Leningrad sent a message of condolence to the family of Thomas A. Edison, expressing deepest regrets on the occasion of his death. Mr. Edison was an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences, and was deeply interested in the experiments in government being carried on by the Soviet Union.

In acknowledging a wreath placed on his grave by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, on behalf of the Academy, Mr. Charles Edison said:

"We are at the grave of one who watched with deep and friendly interest the tremendous laboratory of Russia. There is no one who had a more understanding and sympathetic comprehension of the immense scope and the far-reaching effect of the experiments that are being enacted there. In his own way he has done much to recast civilization. None can know better than he the demands life makes on those who seek to accomplish, the sacrifices exacted, the hardship endured, the ridicule and opposition of those of lesser vision. But to him, every success was a spur to greater effort and every defeat a challenge. He has laid down his pencil. But where his experiments end, those of the Russian people are beginning. Through them a civilization will be recast, not by war and bloodshed, but through the irresistible pressure of intelligent work well done."

Let's Go Back to Teaming

It was a hot day in the middle of summer. The streets of the little Missouri town were deserted—not even a dog was in sight. The sun beat down pitilessly on the main street which has been covered with cinders from the near-by smelter. The store buildings looked shabby and needed paint. It was typical of other days that this southwestern coal mining town had seen many times before. It was during the dull days of the 1893 panic, when business men and miners talked of the "depression" and hoped the situation would take a turn for the better.

Cleveland was President, sitting silent in the White House at Washington, striving with might and main to keep the slender supplies of gold in the treasury. Morgan was buying on the outside and selling to the government, and his action was hailed as a patriotic endeavor to keep the United States from bankruptcy.

Business was at a complete standstill, the mines were working one or two days a week, and the only merchants in the little town doing any business at all were the two company stores. I drifted aimlessly into the grocery store of an old friend. He was dusting a few cracker crumbs from the counter. It wasn't necessary for me to ask how business was—I could see—the store was empty of customers. In those days, before the telephone, the customers had to come to the store, and if they didn't come they were no goods sold.

"Pretty bad times, Fred," remarked the grocerman, as he mopped his perspiring brow.

"Yeah, pretty bad, Mr. Bussey," I replied, as he expected me to do. If I'd said anything else he would have thought I was crazy.

"You see, it's this way: If we didn't have these railroads all over the country, all the freight business would have to be done by wagon train. This would require millions of teams and men and it would give us plenty to do. There would be the wagon-makers, and the timber-cutters, and the farmers to raise the horses and feed, and the harness

makers to make the harness—why, boy, there'd be plenty of work for everybody. Yes, sir, it's the railroads that are responsible for the hard times we are having right now. Abolish the railroads and go back to the good old-fashioned way of hauling things by wagon, and you will bring back prosperity."

That was a good many years ago, and I have thought of the Old Grocerman's argument many times. Foolish as it sounded at the time, and foolish as it looks now, it is in line with a lot of "remedies" put forward today to solve the same old problem that bothered the Old Grocerman and his compatriots nearly forty years ago.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

All subscriptions reaching the office before December 1 will be sent ALL of Macey's articles on Russia—beginning with the first and running on throughout the series. Tremendous interest is being manifested in these articles, because of their intensely human quality. You will like every word in them, and you will wish to pass them on. Someone sent you a copy of a Socialist paper in the old days, and you should now reciprocate. And just think how much more interesting and encouraging is the material you can give your friends now than we had in the old days. We are nearer the goal!

The Engineer

Old Roman roads, aqueducts and magnificent ruins along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, furnish us with enduring evidence of the genius of the engineers and architects who lived and worked in days long ago. The concrete evidence of their genius is mute testimony to their skill and labor. While warriors marched over helpless lands and left desolation and waste in their wake, these men plodded steadily on in their work of building. Their names are unknown, but the influence of their work is apparent on every hand today, while nothing but a fading glory lingers to remind us that Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon lived.

Civilization is beginning, to recognize the debt it owes to these unsung heroes of industry. Today the world depends on its real engineers and recognizes to a greater extent than ever before the importance of their work and the part they play in industry. Ask any boy the name of America's greatest citizen, and nine out of ten will name Edison—all other names fade into insignificance when placed alongside that of this modern Aladdin.

I am confident that the future belongs to the engineer, and for that reason I feel that, as Socialists, we should do two things: Persuade the engineers of our acquaintance that they should join our movement, and second to encourage both boys and girls who display mechanical talents to develop those talents that they may take a prominent part in shaping the new civilization.

Where Wages Come From

A financial authority tells us that "wages are paid out of earnings and profits and from no other source." This is true under capitalism. There is no other place to go for wages; unless there are profits there are no wages. Taxes, likewise, come out of profits. It is well to keep these facts in mind. Unless capitalism can function and make profits, there can be no wages. Nor can there be any taxes levied to support the multitude of reform measures now being advocated by many well-meaning humanitarians. We have witnessed the collapse of the social services in England and Germany because of the disappearance of profits of the capitalist class. England's foreign trade has almost disappeared, and the campaign in the last general election was waged on the campaign slogan of "making things at home."

In view of these well-authenticated facts, it would be well for the working class of this country to look for some other means of relief than the uncertain doles dished out from capitalist profits. Referring to the table printed last week on this page showing the steady decline in profits, it is quite apparent that another two years and the bottom of the barrel out of which profits have been taken will have been reached.

Here are a few items clipped at random from the news reports on the financial pages of the daily newspa-

pers that will indicate how rapidly profits are disappearing. These figures are for nine months this year and nine months last year:

Stewart-Warner, this year, loss of \$1,012,000 as against profit last year of \$1,900,000.

United States Steel, this year's profit of \$17,000,000 as against last year of \$92,000,000.

M. K. & T. railroad loss this year of \$477,000 as against a profit of the nine months of last year of \$6,000,000. The Rock Island, one of the best profit-makers, shows a loss of over \$4,000,000.

If you are not satisfied with these figures, make some of your own. It should be well to keep these relative positions between wages and profits in mind, and to always remember that if there are no profits, there can be no wages for working men and no taxes for the politicians. Today we see capitalism crashing about the ears of its supporters.

Once you see clearly this point, it becomes plain that the capitalist system with its profits and wages, and its taxes and its doles, must be abolished and in its stead erected the Socialist industrial system, under which all forms of profits will be eliminated. The wealth produced will go to the working class as income.

Make the Facts Clear

About one year ago, Andrew Mellon, secretary of the treasury, issued a long statement to the newspapers in which he said, among other things, that he hoped "wages would be maintained at present levels, but that prices must be revised." This was a polite way of saying that wages would come down. Under capitalism there can be no revision of retail prices except as a result of a cut in wages. Wages may be cut in two ways: By a direct reduction in the dollars paid and by the more subtle method of introducing new machines and new methods which get more products with the same hours of labor.

Since Mr. Mellon's statement, re-iterating Hoover's pledge made two years ago that wages would be maintained, wages have been cut all along the line. The coal miners' wages have been cut, the cut dating back several years, steel more recently, and now comes the threat of a cut in railroad wages. The most drastic cut in wages comes with the curtailment of cutting time many corporations are cutting working time from six days a week to five and as low as two days a week. The output per man has doubled since 1919, with no corresponding increase in wages, except in some of the highly organized industries. Taking 100 as the output per man in all the industries in 1919, the increased output has been as follows:

1926 138
1927 140
1928 147
1929 152

In the electrical industry the increase has been 164 and in the automotive industry it is approximately 200. "And the end is by no means reached," said Owen D. Young before the Electric Light Association convention in San Francisco in 1930, from whose address the above figures are taken.

With such increases in the productive power of labor, and with a declining market for our goods both at home and abroad, it would appear that the working classes are face to face with a still further decline in their weekly wages.

I believe if we could get these simple facts before the men and women who do the work of the country that many of them would be willing to join the Socialist party and help us change the system from private ownership to collective ownership. It is plain that the change cannot be made without education, and it is also plain that this education can be carried on only by the Socialists themselves. I believe much time is wasted in denouncing the capitalist system—our most effective method is to EXPLAIN why it can't be made to work. After all the most effective weapon we have is an appeal to the reason of men. Simply practice on the other fellow the same tactics that were used by someone on you!

THE BALLOT is the most powerful weapon the common man ever had. Learn to use it to protect the common man fully in his right to the fruits of his labor—all of the fruits, without a cent of tribute to an owner-exploiter.

THE NATIONS will be disarmed when the capitalists are dislodged.

Twenty Sledge Hammer Blows for YOUR Freedom

The 20 books on Socialism which make up our FREE Library are 20 sledge-hammer blows for Socialism and for YOUR freedom, when started circulating in your neighborhood, in your block or in your shop. This winter, while the evenings are long, is a good time to start people reading our literature, and a Circulating Library is the best method to build our organization and strengthen our forces for the impending contest. These little books cover every phase of Socialist philosophy, each book written by a brilliant and capable writer, the whole forming a most complete and timely discussion of this subject. These books are sent to you FREE in exchange for a little work on your part. Get four yearly subscriptions to The Freeman at the club rate of 50c each and the books are yours. We want 10,000 of these circulating libraries at work before the winter is over. Will you help? It's your fight! Remember that education, consistently carried on, will bring victory!

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