

Declaration of War!

We declare uncompromising and militant war on the capitalist system. War on the profit system. War on the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. War on an insane social order that punishes its workers with starvation because they have "produced too much." War on Wall Street's death grip on the useful people of the world. War on militarism. War on both old political parties. War on Hooverism. War on the exploiters of the farmers and the workers. War on "economic individualism." War on the political tools and hirelings of the great corporations. War on the enemies of socialized industry for the common good. This is a fight to the finish. It is the liberation war of humanity. There will be no compromise and there will be no surrender.

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Socialism or Capitalism? This Is the Big Issue, Mr. Hoover!

Hoover's "Remedy"---Wait and Hope for Better Days Hoover Defends the System That Means Social Injustice

The fatuous—or the callous—optimism of President Hoover was exhibited in the acme of its insolence by his opening statement in his Indianapolis speech about the business depression. For months the President followed the policy of issuing periodical denials that a depression existed. He tried to smooth over the troubles of the nation by denying these troubles, then by making them appear slight or temporary (when the suffering masses knew only too bitterly the brazen falsity of such an assertion) and now, finally, admission of the terrible facts could no longer be dodged. It was thus a political necessity for Hoover to display a new brand of optimism. After mental operations that were so faint as perhaps to have been imperceptible even to himself, the President offered the following reassurance to the country:

Depressions are not new experiences, though none has hitherto been so widespread. We have passed through no less than fifteen major depressions in the last century. We have learned something as the result of each of these experiences. From this one we shall gain stiffening and economic discipline, a greater knowledge upon which we must build a better safeguarded system. We have come out of each previous depression into a period of prosperity greater than ever before. We shall do so this time.

Depressions Inevitable Under Capitalism
What a recommendation for the system which President Hoover defends! Major depressions are a characteristic feature of this system.

Depressions are not new nor unusual nor surprising under capitalism. The President tells the American people that they are now getting precisely what they ought to expect under the regime of "economic individualism."

It must have struck millions who read this significant paragraph from the Indianapolis address that Hoover chose an odd way of defending this system and encouraging its victims. The workers are being cruelly punished by the system of "economic individualism"—but their punishment will not last forever—they will have a breathing spell (but when, Hoover does not say) of "prosperity" (in which the workers, as usual, will share meagerly) during which they can prepare their patience for the next period of punishment.

Thus President Hoover attempts to minimize the sufferings of the people by saying that their distress will not be eternal but, in its present extreme phase, will be periodical. The American people, says Hoover, must have "courage and confidence"—so that, after the buffeting of this brutal economic crisis (brutal because needless in a civilization which has the scientific means of general welfare), they can wait confidently and practice self-denial courageously for the endurance of another depression.

Hoover Has No Plan
For he it noted that President Hoover did not explain at Indianapolis how or when the present depression will be ended and that he did not suggest, even vaguely, any plan for avoiding future depressions.

He did not deny that the capitalist system creates depressions and that they grow worse—the one, he had to admit, is the worst of all—and that they will inevitably recur as a consequence of the system which by its very nature prevents a fair balance between production and consumption.

What hope does such a system hold out for the workers? The President cannot say, except that it will leave free the American workers' private initiative. The emphasis, however, is rightly placed by the realistic critics of the system upon the capitalist's private initiative which compels the worker to suffer the alternating conditions of economic wage-slavery and economic exclusion from the opportunity to produce even the barest living for himself.

Logic is not, of course, to be expected from a President whose happiest comment on hard times is that they will end *someday*, without saying *when*, and *somehow*, without saying *how*. We are not surprised, therefore, that illogically the President said, in discussing the depression which even he must admit now exists, that "We have learned something as the result of each of these experiences [of fifteen major depressions in a century]."

Capitalism Has Learned Nothing
Indeed, Mr. President! And what, may we ask, have we learned? More specifically, Mr. President, what have you learned and what have the capitalists of America learned from these fifteen major depressions? We are faced with the painful knowl-

edge that capitalism has not learned enough, from a century of recurrent depressions, to prevent the depression in which we now suffer and which the President admits is the worst of all. It would seem, on the contrary, that what capitalism has learned from depressions is how to go on creating more depressions.

In saying that capitalism will learn something rationally beneficial from this depression, although it has learned nothing from previous depressions, Hoover resorts to the feeblest generalizations. There is even a clumsy irony in his statement that from this crisis the people will "gain stiffening and economic discipline." Yes, they will gain and are gaining the stiffening of empty bellies and of bodies that are unemployed and unfed. They are being given the stiffening of economic paralysis.

As for economic discipline, they have Hoover's counsel to suffer patiently and do nothing. They must be economically disciplined slaves of capitalistic industry, to be exploited or to be kicked out into the streets and alleys at the word of industrial masters whose only consideration is expediency of profits to swell their already plethoric fortunes.

A System to Safeguard Profits
But Hoover says that "we must build a better safeguarded system." To safeguard what? Profits? There is nothing in the machinery of the capitalist system to safeguard anything but profits. It will not safeguard the

workers, because it is founded on the exploitation of the workers. It will not safeguard the middle classes, because its inexorable monopolistic tendency is to reduce them to the condition of the workers.

How can capitalism safeguard the interests of any but the privileged owners of industry? Hoover does not say. His remarks are too generalized to be genuine. It would be stretching credulity to the point of folly to believe that the man is sincere in talking about a "better safeguarded system." This system is safeguarded well enough for him and his kind. Hoover and his Wall Street friends do not wish to tamper with the processes of exploitation, except, if that were possible, to make them more cruel and complete and relentless.

The fact is so plain that capitalism offers, nothing to the workers that even Hoover cannot give capitalism the false face of hope. In such times as these the workers are crushed. Those who survive may be given jobs temporarily in another period of specious "prosperity"—jobs for which most of the workers get barely a miserably doled wage of poor animal subsistence. And, fated in the structure of capitalism, there will come another period of crushing depression.

But what assurance have we that there will be another period of "prosperity"? It is certain that capitalism must come to a final crisis. The system is doomed. Are we now witnessing the crisis of its collapse?

Capitalism versus Socialism! This, says the Kansas City *Star*, is the issue which President Hoover emphasized—not too clearly—in his Indianapolis speech. The *Star* commends Hoover for defending "the American system" and holding firm against the ideas of "bureaucracy" or "paternalism" or "state Socialism." There is a notable lack of enthusiasm in its commendation; and we observe that the newspapers friendly to the President and committed by their own immediate interests to the support of capitalism are far from being earnest or ecstatic in their comments on the Indianapolis statement of policy.

Hoover gave them such poor material for eloquent or even plausible appreciation. "The government can do nothing." "Wait and see." "Tighten your belts." "Times will be better if they are worse, and better will follow worse." "Forget your own troubles and think of the 20,000,000 additional inhabitants America will have within the next twenty years." Such was the thin and unenthusiastic substance of Hoover's address in Indianapolis and even one by nature very uncritical could not help seeing that the President had no real counsel nor encouragement nor assistance to offer the American people.

But at least the President did, in his own way, acknowledge the real issue—capitalism versus Socialism. He repeated his tiresome insistence that we must stand by the American system and that proposed remedies requiring government action for the nation's economic welfare are not to be considered, because (as we feel obliged to explain) however they might benefit the people such remedies would interfere with the capitalistic system of private ownership and initiative—a spasmodic, uncertain initiative, which is obviously not functioning at the present time and which never does function excepting in an acquisitive, dominating spirit which is anti-social.

WITHOUT A PLAN, HOOVER STICKS TO RUINOUS DOGMA

The President illustrated his position, in passing, by a sneer at Russia and its five-year plan. He made it sufficiently clear that he will never be favorable toward such methods of social planning and control. And he made it no less clear that he has absolutely no plan for the United States. He suggested nothing at all for the economic rehabilitation and security of the nation. His word to the American people is that they should continue to drift helplessly and planlessly with the American system, waiting Micawber-like for something to turn up, trusting that good times will follow bad, enduring the extreme privation of economic failure without seeking an intelligent formula—a common sense formula—of economic progress and prosperity.

The Russian leaders have been accused of sacrificing their people to an ideal. But it is an ideal of cooperation; an ideal of a society in which the workers are supreme and in which, indeed, all will be workers; an ideal which is visualized by a definite, heroic plan and which is bringing the Russian workers every day nearer to the fulfillment of their dreams and desires. Hoover's attitude is far worse. He is bent on sacrificing the American people, not to an ideal (if by an ideal we mean something better and a plan of hope for the future) but to the harsh, illogical dogma of adherence to an economic system that has demonstrated its failure with a bitter emphasis which exceeds anything Hoover might say in its defense.

It has been said that the Russian leaders are sacrificing the masses to an ideal—but that ideal at least includes secure employment for all and the means of life for all. President Hoover is cruelly insisting that the American masses must submit to a dogma of "economic individualism" which means unemployment and denial of the opportunity to live for 10,000,000 American workers. We are certain that history, in judging between Stalin and Hoover and the economic systems they represent, will count Stalin as the true benefactor and Hoover as the cruel, narrow, unenlightened punisher of his fellow men.

AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST FACE THE REAL ECONOMIC ISSUE

We know that Russia is actually doing something and going somewhere—and that the Russian leaders map their country's course with a carefulness that is social and scientific. America drifts, suffers, is bewildered, does not plan—and President Hoover, who is supposed to be the leader of our 120,000,000 people, has not the slightest idea what will be the condition of the country a year from now or five years from now: excepting that, from the present appearance of our affairs, he ought to infer the greater likelihood of a continuing depression for some indefinite, hopeless time to come.

There could be no better thing for the American people than to face squarely, fully, thoughtfully the issue of capitalism. They will not find in Hoover's addresses any intelligent, adequate discussion of this issue. The President's defense of capitalism is confined to wind-blown, specious generalities about private initiative. He puts this defense on the score of patriotism by calling capitalism the American system, although the system did not originate in America and although it afflicts today, in greater or less degree, every country but Russia.

The mind of President Hoover is plainly incapable of giving either a theoretical or a practical defense of capitalism that would have even the merit of a momentary plausibility. He understands nothing about the system, but can only repeat the stale and broken generalities of its least shrewd apologists. We have every reason to conclude, from his public utterances, that Hoover is ignorant of economics, whether it be the economics of capitalism or the economics of Socialism.

Can President Hoover tell the American people exactly how and with what firm assurance the system of capitalistic private initiative will solve the problem of unemployment? Evidently he cannot, for certainly he does not. He can only talk of growth in population, which only means that the difficulties and uncertainties of this sys-

Capitalism Is World Failure

Continuing the apologetic note he and his spokesmen adopted months ago, President Hoover said at Indianapolis that America is suffering from a world depression. "As we look beyond the horizons of our own troubles," he declared, "and consider the events in other lands, we know that the main causes of the extreme violence and the long continuance of this depression came not from within, but from outside, the United States." We would have been set right from our stock market tumble, said Hoover, and would have been enjoying prosperity months ago had it not been for world forces beyond American control.

That one theme of a world depression, in which America is a more or less helpless victim along with other countries similarly blessed with the American economic system, did not satisfy Hoover altogether. He added to it the theme of American self-sufficiency.

Again referring to the problems of other nations, to the world character of the capitalistic debacle (although he wasn't candid enough to call it that), Hoover said: "The very first service to them must be to place our own house in order; to restore our own domestic prosperity. It is from increases in our reservoir of economic strength that has and must come our contribution to the development and recovery of the world. From our own prosperity comes our demand for their goods and raw materials. A prosperous United States is the beginning of a prosperous world."

Workers Forced Out of Markets

So we have the President declaring at one point in his address that the world character of the depression has prevented American economic recovery; and at another point saying that American economic recovery must end the world depression. In combining an alibi with a patriotic, boastful slogan, Hoover stumbled into an inconsistency; but, poor man, how could he discuss the economic situation of America or the world without being inconsistent? He dare not be candid and give a truthful analysis of conditions; therefore he must resort to inconsistency, equivocation, hypocrisy, false optimism and generalizations of swollen though empty bombast.

We might ask Hoover one or two pertinent questions. He says, for example, that from our prosperity comes our demand for the goods and raw materials of other countries. Where is Hoover going to find and how is he going to satisfy

this demand for the goods and materials of foreign countries when American goods and materials are piled up and not accessible to the use of the American people? The natural demand for the comforts of life is throttled in America as regards American products; so how will an American demand for foreign products be made effective?

Or let us put it this way: The workers of America have been broken and kicked out by capitalism and are not permitted to consume the fruits of their own labor in America. How, therefore, will they constitute a market for the goods produced by European workers, who have also been exploited and, by the cruel and senseless processes of capitalist business, have been forced out of the market?

President Hoover cannot explain these anomalies. His only honest course would be to admit them but that would be an admission that the system of "economic individualism" which he represents is an insane system, which is at the same time frantically searching for markets and constantly destroying the greatest market of all, namely, the market composed of the world's workers.

The Failure of Capitalism

Another question must be asked Mr. Hoover: How can the fact that capitalism has failed throughout the world lessen the significance and warning of capitalism's failure in America? This is simply the greater indictment of capitalism, in America and elsewhere. Bad methods fail wherever they are applied. Economic individualism carries its inevitable penalties in America as well as in Europe. Europe cannot succeed with an unsocialistic system. America cannot succeed with an unsocialistic system. Social injustice brings tragic consequences of her own social injustice.

This emphasis on the world character of the depression is an attempt to obscure the real issue, to make it appear that the American economic system is not at fault—yet it really makes the issue more clear and forcible, showing that at bottom it is the system which is to blame.

Capitalism is organized in local and national systems, but it is also a world system. It has happened in the past that trade advantages have enabled some capitalist nations to have "prosperity" so-called (that is, busy exploitation of the workers) while other capitalist nations have been commercially at a disadvantage. Even so, a serious depression in any one leading capitalist nation is bound to affect the other leading capitalist nations; and we see that demonstrated on a colossal scale at the present time.

Nor is it acceptable as an alibi for President Hoover to remind us

that the World War with its train of economic burdens and financial entanglements has intensified this depression. The World War was a logical and terrible result of world capitalism. It was at bottom a commercial war, a struggle among the leading capitalist nations for advantages of trade and economic power.

The so-called balance of diplomatic and military power, which capitalist statesmen are always talking about, is but the symbol and the extreme machinery for a balance of economic power.

American Capitalism in the War

And surely President Hoover doesn't imagine that the American people have forgotten that this country was deeply involved in the World War—and from the beginning too. American capitalism on the economic field was immensely engaged in the World War long before the American capitalist government, on the military field, participated in the War. American capitalism is chiefly responsible for the Versailles treaty which struck the final blow in dismembering Europe, dislocating its economic life and imposing upon the defeated nations such burdens of indemnities as have proved an economic disaster to the victors as well as the vanquished; so much that a few days after his Indianapolis speech Hoover expressed his willingness to join with our former Allies in declaring a moratorium on war debts and indemnities for the period of one year. It is true that Hoover acted as a dictator for only Congress has the legal right to make such an agreement. But the President—who in Springfield talked about law enforcement—would rather violate the law than call a special session of Congress that would vex him with a discussion of America's economic needs.

The World War, with its hatreds and its burden of debts and indemnities and its artificial disposition of European territory—a capitalist war; the European tariffs, and the American tariff in obstruction of trade with the madly illogical aim (so declared) of helping trade—tariffs inspired by the greedy nationalistic rivalries of capitalism; the economic system which, under the insane rule of profits, drives production disastrously beyond consumption, robbing the workers and then turning them out to starve—the system of capitalism; these are the forces, all capitalistic and deriving from the same system of social injustice, which have plunged the world into depression.

America, so long as she keeps these forces in control of her life, is as responsible for their havoc as any other nation that maintains them. There is no alibi for capitalism. It is in control of all the world. [Please turn to page two]

Hoover Looks Ahead, Sees More Capitalist Victims

At once the dishonesty and the intellectual shallowness of President Hoover was revealed in his glib allusion to the Russian five-year plan, "through which," he said, "Russia is struggling to redeem herself from the ten years of starvation and misery." Hoover knows that Russia suffered directly from the colossal devastation of the World War, that she struggled necessarily with the upheaval and transition of a social revolution (forced to violence by the worse violence and despotism of Czarism), that she was struck terribly by famine of proportions unknown in America—and all of these conditions Russia has had while America has not had.

Russia and America—the Contrast

Another thing which Hoover knows is that the new Russian government faced the task of building up an industrial economy in a country which was lingering in the industrially undeveloped, illiterate, abject depths of medieval feudalism. Yet the Russian leaders, with all these handicaps, have achieved tremendous results because they have worked with definite and far-reaching plans for the interests of their country and not a handful of profit-robbers, the principle of socialization.

Out of gigantic difficulties and in the face of almost every conceivable obstacle, Russia has made the rest of the world marvel at its swift and confident progress; and today Russia has a society that is sound economically, with all her workers employed and with a vastly yet carefully planned program of prosperity; while America, with mechanically the highest type of industrial organization known in the modern world, with all of the technical knowledge and almost fabulous means of wealth at its command, is now struggling and suffering in the depths of an economic depression from which it has no present hope of emerging and beyond which it has no plan of a future any more safe.

Hoover's "Plan" Which Is No Plan

That is a contrast between Russia and America which in the economic terms which concern us so vitally at present, is completely true—and it is a contrast which President Hoover must, for his own political purposes, evade or distort.

After alluding with such temporary terseness to Russia, Hoover exhibited his intellectual puerility by announcing the following so-

called "plan" for capitalistic America:

I am able to propose an American plan to you. We plan to take care of 20 million increase in population in the next twenty years. We plan to build for them 4 million new and better homes, thousands of new and still more beautiful city buildings, thousands of factories; to increase the capacity of our railways; to add thousands of miles of highways and waterways; to install 25 million electrical horsepower; to grow 20 percent more farm products. We plan to provide new parks, schools, colleges, and churches for this 20 million people. We plan more leisure for men and women and better opportunities for its enjoyment. We not only plan to provide for all the new generation, but we shall, by scientific research and invention, lift the standard of living and security of life to the whole people. We plan to secure a greater diffusion of wealth, a decrease in poverty, and a great reduction in crime. And this plan will be carried out if we just keep on giving the American people a chance. Its impulsive force is in the character and spirit of our people. They have already done a better job for 120 million people than any other nation in all history.

Obviously that is not a plan—it is merely another string of generalities, which Hoover offers in the place of that definite understanding of economics which he lacks. The hollow sophistry—indeed, the aimless stupidity—of that paragraph can be illustrated simply enough by imagining that Hoover had spoken the words in the panic year of 1907 and had then said: "America will take care of 20 million increase in population in the next twenty years." The fulfillment of such a prophecy, spoken at that time, would have landed us gloriously in the middle of the present depression.

President Hoover mentions no new economic principles, no superior economic methods, through which capitalist America will do a better job of giving prosperity to the increased population of the next twenty years than it did in giving prosperity to the growing population of the past twenty years.

Increased Population, Increased Misery
The hugely ironical fact is that we have a population of 120,000,000 which is in the depths of economic disaster and distress—millions of workers idle and hungry—factories only half working—commodities in abundance which the people are not given an opportunity to use for their better needs—the breakdown of industry and the demoralization of social life; and with this condition [Please turn to page three]

Hoover's Talk at the Harding Tomb Under A Dark Shadow

Hoover Did Not Explain His Eight Long Years of Silence About the Oil Scandals and Harding's Memory

After standing two years in uncelebrated, sardonic grandeur as the monument to a President of the United States whose administration was overwhelmed by graft and scandal, the Harding memorial was finally dedicated by President Hoover. The memory of Harding waited eight years for words of unctuous justification and extravagant praise from President Hoover. Eight years after Harding's death and the beginning of the revelation of the sordid, shocking oil, booze and veterans' bureau scandals, President Hoover—who has been a member of the government in Washington during those eight years—at last said that the grafting intrigues and operations of high Republican officials in the Republican administration of President Harding were a betrayal of public trust and as such censurable.

Hoover's Opinion Very Late
This opinion of Hoover's follows slowly, with strange, inexplicable delay, upon the opinion of hundreds of thousands of American which was clear enough eight years ago. Men prominent in public life—and even Republicans in the United States—denounced this graft eight years ago. Why has Hoover been silent during these eight years?

The Supreme Court of the United States denounced the oil land transactions several years ago and it found President Harding guilty of an illegal action which was the first move in making possible transactions which the Supreme Court declared were "tainted with fraud." It is only after years of delay that Hoover admits publicly that there has been fraud and that he does not approve of it—whether he did not approve of it at the time is a matter of conjecture, for Hoover never indicated by word or deed his opinion of the Harding criminal chapter in the history of the American government.

Was Harding Asleep?
In expounding his belated opinion, Hoover eulogized Harding as a man of "passionate patriotism." Yet that so-called "passionate patriotism" was not active nor vigilant to save the government from transactions "tainted with fraud"—transactions which were primarily helped and facilitated by President Harding's executive order, condemned by the Supreme Court, removing the oil lands from the jurisdiction of the navy department to the department of the interior, under control of the criminal fall.

If Harding was unaware of the high crimes against the government which were being perpetrated by leading, confidential members of his cabinet, then his "passionate patriotism" was strangely cold, idle or asleep. And President Hoover's patriotism? It was significantly quiet while the graft of a Republican administration, of which he had been and remained a part, was being investigated.

President Coolidge notoriously attempted to interfere with this investigation and publicly denounced United States Senators who were uncovering the frauds and trying to protect the United States government. It was evident that Coolidge had more regard for Republican politics than for national honor, that he was more concerned with saving the reputation of the graft-ridden Republican party than with the steps taken for bringing official criminals to justice.

Hoover's Silence Not Explained
Hoover, who had been a quiet and unprotesting member of Harding's cabinet, remained equally a quiet and unprotesting member of Coolidge's cabinet. Although he now says, long after the event, that it was a shame to betray the public trust, Hoover was silent while that betrayal was a great public issue; he was silent while United States Senators were denouncing and exposing that betrayal; he was silent when those United States Senators were rebuked by the hypocritical Coolidge for their defense of the public trust.

The most significant thing about Hoover's address in dedicating the Harding memorial is that, in breaking his long silence, he did not explain that silence. It is known, however, that he was repeatedly asked by the Harding memorial committee to dedicate the memorial: according to custom, a memorial to a dead President can be dedicated by no less a personage than a living President. Hoover delayed; he put off the committee; he had excuses. He pretended not to have the time, although in the two years that the Harding memorial stood undedicated he made a number of speeches, addressing the bankers in Cleveland, the American Legion in Boston, the American Federation of Labor in Boston, and a patriotic crowd celebrating a Revolutionary War battle at King's Mountain, S. C.

The rebellious feeling in his own party ranks, among the friends of Harding, at length forced Hoover's hand. It was judged to be politically the lesser of two evils that Hoover should agree to the dedication. He said what he had to say, but he said it poorly. His eight years of silence muffled his few minutes of talk in the cloak of an ungracious hypocrisy. Hypocrisy or fear or selfish political calculations? Whatever the motive or the mental attitude of President Hoover, of Hoover the secretary of commerce

under Harding and Coolidge, of Hoover the Republican officeholder and politician and seeker of the Republican nomination for President—whatever his motive, it was not consistent with true patriotism nor with an active, instant sense of honor.

Dark Shadows of a "Dim Realization"
Fated to be a mummy, the dedication of Harding's memorial was made more so by Hoover's long silence, by his dodging of the occasion, by the political expediency which finally prompted him and by the unconvincing ineptitude of his remarks. "Warren Harding had a dim realization," said President Hoover at Marion, "that he had been betrayed by a few of the men whom he had trusted, by men whom he believed were his devoted friends."

When came this "dim realization"? Out of the blue? Was it intuition? Did a little bird whisper to Harding secrets which were the talk of knowing circles in Washington for months before Harding's death? Investigations had been started in the United States Senate some time before Harding went on his Alaskan trip. Yet Harding spoke no word, took no step, against the grafters.

Hoover, who was a member of Harding's cabinet and therefore one of his official advisers, did not insist that action be taken to remove the grafters from the Harding administration. Coolidge said nothing—until he denounced the United States Senate for investigating the grafters. Coolidge retained Daugherty as a member of his cabinet until public opinion forced Coolidge to let him go—and Hoover, unprotesting, continued to be a member of the same cabinet with Daugherty.

Whatever the nature of Harding's "dim realization" (which has all the appearance of a dim sophistry fished up from the deep silence by Hoover), it seems clear enough that Harding and his political-official colleagues had a specially keen realization that the Republican party must be protected. Politics first, patriotism afterward maybe. Harding was silent for political reasons; Coolidge was silent for political reasons; breaking his silence only to condemn the United States Senate for its temerity in probing the rottenness of a Republican administration. Hoover was silent for political reasons, breaking his silence for other political reasons—and his speech and his silence are alike shadowed by a scandal that is a dark rather than a dim realization.

STOCK MARKET RISE NOT JUSTIFIED BY DEBT PLAN

Big headlines on the front pages of the capitalist newspapers reported sensational rises in quotations on the stock exchange in New York City, following the report of President Hoover's proposal for a year's suspension of war debts and indemnities. On the front pages optimism was given the center of attention. It was said that Wall Street showed its faith in the future, that business had been "handed a needed bracer," and that Hoover had in one stroke solved a big part of the world's economic problem.

One might have thought that the depression was magically about to disappear—and unreflexive investors may have rushed to invest in stocks, if they had anything to invest—but a glance at the financial page would have cooled the ardors stimulated by the front page. The genuine market news, realistic and written by experienced observers of Wall Street, pointed out that the desperate condition of world affairs, as finally admitted by Hoover's proposal, was scarcely a cause for confidence and a business revival.

"Rarely has the stock market," said the Wall Street comment, "been away in small type on the inside pages of the capitalist papers." Experienced such a reversal as that of Saturday, continuing Monday, following the news of President Hoover's proposal for a moratorium on international war debts. Usually a moratorium means such trouble as can only be postponed, not cured, by a temporary suspension of interest on obligations. A railroad's defaulting interest on its bonds would not be considered a bull argument in stocks.

That is the cold truth about the big dealings in stocks, with rising prices, after Hoover's announcement—an announcement that logically reflected pessimism rather than optimism. And the same Wall Street comment added that "the value of stocks depends on profits in industry in the long run and not on sentiment."

The stock boom, however, made a sensational news story. Capitalist journalism repeated its old trick of ballooning confidence in an unsound economic structure. It suggested, for a brief moment, a revival of America's pre-panic mood of uncritical speculation. Yet back of it was simply the fact that Germany, near bankruptcy, had to let its bills slide. The moral is that the movement of stocks in Wall Street is not a safe criterion of economic welfare or common sense, as the expert commentators on Wall Street quietly admit.

Russia's Five-Year Plan Will Be Told at World Industrial Meeting

A full description of the Russian five-year plan and of the complete theory and practice of industrial organization in Russia will be placed before the World Industrial Relations Congress which meets in Amsterdam, Holland, during the week of August 23. Studies of industrial management (or mismanagement) in the leading countries will be made by the congress.

Big fortunes are the most flagrant "doles."

WANT TO SUPPRESS REPORT EXPOSING LAWLESSNESS OF MOONEY FRAMEUP

Wickersham Commission Divided on Question of Submitting Facts Officially

Secretly debating for weeks, a majority of the Wickersham Commission on Law Enforcement, appointed by President Hoover, insist upon excluding from the commission's official report to the President the findings of a subcommittee on the lawless frameup of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, in which sworn officers of the law were the guilty protagonists.

This subcommittee, under the direction of Judge William S. Kenyon, a member of the Wickersham Commission and former United States Senator from Iowa, had for its particular field of investigation "The Lawlessness of the Law." It found the Mooney frameup the most flagrant case of official lawlessness, which is so much more sinister and dangerous than the lawlessness of ordinary citizens.

In a full statement and analysis of the facts, the report of the Kenyon subcommittee calls attention to the Mooney case as a most important illustration of injustice, in which class hatred and a conspiracy of execution sent innocent men falsely to prison in the name of the law.

Would Make Report Indefinite
Although that report, officially included in the Wickersham commission's main report to the President, would have a vital bearing on the fate of two innocent workmen who are now suffering imprisonment, there is objection to it by the following members of the Commission: Chairman Wickersham himself, who has often appeared in the news as a speaker on law enforcement; Newton D. Baker, President Wilson's secretary of war and a one-time liberal who has become a reactionary corporation lawyer; Dean Roscoe Pound, of the Harvard Law School, who has also changed from a liberal to a reactionary; and who may reflect that a truthful report on the Mooney case will remind the people of the Sacco-Vanzetti case in which President Lowell of Harvard gave his respectable sanction to the killing of two innocent men by the state of Massachusetts.

It is argued by Wickersham, Baker and Pound, who have the support of four other members of the commission and thus represent the majority opinion, that no specific case should be mentioned in the report on "The Lawlessness of the Law." It would not, they argue, be polite to cite cases and name names. They

want the report to omit definite information and condemnation, ignore that most notorious American case of official lawlessness, and confine itself to harmless though no doubt high-minded generalities.

May Publish Separate Report
Judge Kenyon, who is known to have the support of two other members of the commission, insists that the report on the Mooney case is exactly the sort of outrage which the report on "The Lawlessness of the Law" should expose honestly and fearlessly. Others will agree with him that unless the report is thus honest and concrete it will be worthless.

The members of the commission who object to the report do not question its truthfulness. It is simply a matter of respectability and of protection for leading figures in the very kind of lawlessness the commission was supposed to investigate. Opposed by a majority of the commission, the Mooney report probably will not be included in the commission's main, majority report. It can be published, however, as a separate minority report.

EXTRA! POLITICIAN WARNS AGAINST POLITICS
President Hoover not only refuses to call an extra session of Congress, but he draws the next regular session of Congress which will convene in December, 1931. Embarrassing demands are sure to be made by progressive senators and representatives. Measures for the relief of unemployment will again be proposed and vigorously given publicity in Congress and before the country.

During the latest Congress Hoover and his party followers resisted efforts to bring governmental action for the relief of widespread distress. The President clung stubbornly to his theory that government is not an economic agent for the welfare of the people, although that policy gave him an even worse reputation throughout the country. This did not signify political courage but a refusal to depart from a narrow capitalist theory of government. Hoover has thrown in his lot with the big capitalists—his lot was always with that class—and he is in a position where he must stand or fall with this class support, regardless of the trend of public sentiment. With his beliefs and interests, Hoover cannot be other than the President of the rich.

Of course the President does not wish to emphasize this unpopular attitude any more than he can help. This is why he sets his face against the demand of progressive senators for a special session of Congress. He knows that he would have to resist the popular proposals of these progressive senators; the publicity would be unwelcome and, from a political point of view, harmful; let the country quietly endure its suffering and the less said about unemployment the better, is Hoover's feeling as we judge that feeling by his announced attitude.

But Hoover can't avoid the regular session of Congress in December. No doubt he would like to have that session skipped. He would prefer

that Congress did not convene again until after the 1932 election. (And don't forget that all of Hoover's thinking is done in terms of the 1932 election.) The suggestion is indeed made by Representative Eaton, Republican, of New Jersey that the country would be better off if Congress did not meet in December. His reason? That session of Congress, he says, will be dominated by politics. Isn't that funny? A politician warning us against politics!

That suggests some other questions. For instance, will Hoover not be dominated by politics in his actions between now and the 1932 election? Representative Eaton is suggesting in effect that Hoover should be left to do all the playing of politics. Congressional politics are bad but presidential politics are good—we don't think.

We might also inquire what session of Congress has ever been free from politics. Congress is a political body, so naturally it deals with political considerations. What interests the people is whether Congress is politically intelligent or the reverse, politically honest or the reverse, politically helpful to the country or the reverse. That applies to presidential politics also except that the country has long ceased to expect anything intelligent or helpful from Hoover.

We are not confident that a special session of Congress or the regular December session of Congress will act in a constructive way to remedy or to ease the distressed condition of the country. It probably will not, because the radical intelligence and determination are lacking. A few progressives in the Senate and the House can demand relief measures and reflect public sentiment and challenge the inaction and incompetency of Hoover; we believe that there should be a special session and that this demand should be made; the politicians should be placed on record again and again—possibly the people will be helped to discover that the average old party politician is their natural enemy.

We do respect the sincerity of men like La Follette and Norris as friends of the people and we respect their attitude on a number of leading questions, although we do not think the remedies they propose are fundamental. We believe it is right that these men should have the opportunity to demand their progressive measures on the floor of Congress—and maybe, in the face of a national campaign, Congress would play a little politics for the benefit of the people.

But that, of course, is the kind of politics which Hoover and his political supporters fear. "Let Hoover play all the politics" is the slogan of the presidential clique and the big interests.

No Strikes? But Hoover Didn't See West Virginia Conditions
One of President Hoover's favorite statements has been that "the country has been spared strikes" during the depression. Ordinarily (and this Hoover must know) a depression means lockouts by the capitalists instead of strikes by the workers. For example, the 10,000,000 unemployed workers in America are not striking. They have been simply kicked out of the ranks of industry.

Yet the industrial scenery is not all so peaceful and serene. On his recent trip, as he passed through West Virginia, Hoover might have learned something if he had seen true conditions instead of the political vaudeville of welcoming delegations. In that state, where the coal mining industry is among the leading industrial activities, plans for a possible strike are being announced by the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union, which reports that it has organized in its ranks 18,000 of the 23,000 coal miners in the state.

The West Virginia union (which is independent of the Lewis-dominated United Mine Workers of America) is denouncing the "yellow dog" contracts that have been thrust upon the workers by many coal companies; and, although it has nearly all of the mine workers on its side, the efforts of the union are being fought viciously—and illegally—by the coal operators' gunmen.

Recently President Keeney of the West Virginia Union addressed a meeting of miners at Stickney and company gunmen drove some of the miners away. But the union is determined, and as the operators seem to be violently hostile, West Virginia is apparently on the verge of a miners' strike.

President Hoover didn't learn about this situation when he passed through the state on his political speaking jaunt. There is a great deal that Hoover does not know—or will not admit—about the American industrial situation.

10,000 Los Angeles School Children Go Hungry When Private Charity Fails
Another pitiable instance of the failure of private charity (declared by President Hoover to be America's only hope in this depression) is the hunger crisis of 10,000 public school children in Los Angeles. Until recently these children had been served a midday lunch with funds raised by the Parent-Teacher Federation, allied with the city charities organization. Funds ran low and the lunches were stopped. About 10,000 poor children, who had been living on this single meal a day, were thus reduced to desperate hunger and stood around the school buildings crying in their hungry helplessness. And Hoover makes speeches saying that nothing is to be done about the country's distress but that the people (including these starving school children) must have "courage and confidence." Great is Hooverism, especially for little children who have nothing to eat.

IT HAS sometimes been declared that men have always believed in immortality. Even if the statement were true, it would afford no rational ground for believing it.

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM TO RUN THE NATION'S INDUSTRIES
The essential meaning of Socialism is that, indicting capitalism for its notorious failure to work, it proposes the steady, secure, planned working of the nation's industries. Socialism is the proposal that the nation shall run the industries, which the private capitalist owners refuse to run—and nobody doubts that the nation can run the industries. The capitalists do not doubt that the nation can run the industries. On the contrary, they fight this proposal with an earnestness which shows their belief that it is something that can really, practically be done.

The real issue of capitalism versus Socialism, which President Hoover dares not state plainly, is as follows: America has vast natural resources which are not being fully used, an abundance of machinery that is in great part idle, millions of workers who are forcibly unemployed—not permitted to create wealth—and, furthermore, huge stores of commodities which the people are not permitted to consume. In this situation we see capitalism's failure or refusal to function. In a word, the capitalists will not keep the nation's industries running. The proposal of Socialism is nothing more and nothing less than that the nation shall take over these industries from the non-functioning capitalists and start the wheels turning for the benefit of the people. Socialism demands that the nation use its natural resources; that the nation keep its machines busy; that the nation employ its workers; that the nation not merely permit but encourage the consumption by the workers of goods which the workers have produced.

The simple justice, the plain sense, the social necessity as well as practicability of this plan is beyond the limited, dogmatic, capitalist vision of President Hoover. The American people, struggling amid the wreckage of capitalism, should be able to grasp the economic common sense of this Socialist program. This is the issue of capitalism versus Socialism, which President Hoover dare not honestly face and cannot intelligently face, but which the people must decide in the most realistic mood of self-defense and survival in the midst of the evils, immediately distressing and indefinitely extending, of a falling capitalist system.

Lincoln Ideals Do Not Conceal Hoover Failure

Oratory about past traditions and glories is favored by politicians as an easy way of inducing the people to think less critically about troublesome, present conditions. Patriotism is always supposed to be the safest formula in a crisis. Thus President Hoover, in his address at Abraham Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, Ill., directed attention from his own failure to Lincoln's fame and martyrdom.

We do not believe that his speech had the effect he wished for it to have. Lincoln's fame is secure, of course, but the American people have been entertained with such endless eulogies of the Great Emancipator that Hoover's little bouquet of rhetoric, a mixture of the false and the platitudinous, was not really impressive.

As usual, Hoover had a few words to say about Lincoln's ideals and American ideals, just as a few weeks ago he tried for a bit of eloquence about Washington's ideals at Valley Forge. Ideals are a favorite subject with President Hoover because, more than suspect, this enables him to soar far away from the humble yet highly critical realities that are delivering their blows of pain and challenge and provocative thought to the millions of Americans at the head of whom he stands, uselessly, as President.

Patience or a New Emancipation?
It is scarcely a matter of importance what Hoover thinks of Lincoln. He made it plain at Springfield that he had nothing new or significant to say about Lincoln. It was merely his cue to go through the conventional gestures and utter the conventional remarks. Yet even here Hoover's words took on an apologetic and mocking tone, not intended as such, perhaps, but implicit in his subject when contrasted with conditions of our time.

Thus, in praising Lincoln's "transcendent qualities of patience, fortitude and steadfastness," Hoover probably had in mind his own barren counsel to the American masses that they should display these qualities by enduring, without complaint or demand for practical measures of genuine relief, the burdens and privations of economic collapse. Just what Lincoln's patience, etc., has really to do with the present sufferings of the American workers, Hoover forgot to explain. Unemployed workers who protest against a system that denies them the opportunity to earn a living are inferentially accused of showing less than Lincoln's nobility of character; or would it be nobler for them to follow Lincoln by demanding another Great Emancipation, this time from industrial slavery?

Absolutely lacking in a practical program to bring America out of the depression, Hoover is lavish with the quality of inspiration or with what, according to political criterion, passes for inspiration. Thus he told the American workers that our life has been "broadened and enriched" since Lincoln's day. The workers may agree that exploitation has been broadened and fastened more tightly upon the backs of the workers, and that monopoly has been broadened to include the whole of American life, but it can't fail to be remarked that only a minority have been enriched.

A Rich Country—for the Rich
Certainly it is not a happy style for President Hoover to affect eloquently about American progress and enrichment when ten million American workers are unemployed and reduced to the direct economic need. These workers can hardly be expected to admire the progress that has rewarded them with a place in the bread line. They will reflect that from Lincoln to Hoover is not such a grand improvement—the man out of a job cannot be blamed for refusing to see the alleged improvement.

The growth in the country's potential wealth, in its mechanical possibilities of wealth production, since Lincoln's time only makes the more severe and challenging the contrast between this wealth, controlled and paralyzed by a few monopolistic owners, and the grinding poverty of the people.

The years since Lincoln, said President Hoover, have "yielded rich treasures, material and spiritual." President Hoover and his fellow politicians and the capitalists whom they serve (and with whom they share the great fortunes of that piracy known as "economic individualism") have grabbed the material treasures and left the masses the "spiritual" treasures, which are not doing the masses any good that meets the eye.

There was no discernible benefit nor hope for the workers in Hoover's statement that "The eternal principles of truth, justice and right, never more clearly stated than by Lincoln, remain the solvent for the

problems and perplexities of every age and of our day." As politicians regard them, these finely complimented principles are always eternal but never contemporary and immediate. Or are we perhaps to believe that these principles are working now and that, under the eternal principle of truth, the facts and reasons of the economic depression are being distorted or evaded by Hoover and his supporters; that, under the eternal principle of justice, ten million American workers are starving in idleness while a few rich owners of industry have incomes amounting to millions of dollars a year; and that, under the eternal principle of right, the workers are robbed under Hoover's "economic individualism" and then, with empty pockets, are turned out into the streets to learn the meaning of empty bellies?

Principles with a Difference
Lincoln's principles, said Hoover (without clearly saying what those principles were as applied to present conditions), "serve the needs of mankind." These things we know with a bitter sureness: Hoover's principles will never serve the needs of mankind. The principles of the capitalist owners of industry have disastrously failed to serve the needs of mankind. The needs of mankind are not being served by any principles now visible in capitalist society.

For such principles we must turn, not to other times and other heroes and other conditions, but to the one country that Hoover hates—the Soviet Russia, where no Hoovers nor Mellons are permitted to grab huge fortunes and then insult the exploited workers by a brazen defense of the system of exploitation, sweetened about the sacccharine irrelevances about the glorious past and heroes long dead, whom starving men are asked to worship in forgetfulness of their present miseries.

And we may add this pertinent reminder: Hoover, not Lincoln, will be the Republican candidate for President in 1932. So we ask, not what were Lincoln's principles, but what are Hoover's principles? The condition of the American masses reflects Hoover's principles with a meaning that is tragic and complete.

Capitalism World Failure

Concluded from page one
excepting Russia, and all the world (again, excepting Russia) has smashed. And there can be no alibi for capitalism, so there can be no alibi for President Hoover, the defender of capitalism.

No Depression in Russia
Finally, the mention of Russia throws light upon another point of inaccuracy, if not of dishonesty, in Hoover's talk about the world depression. Whatever Hoover may think of the Russian system, he must know that Russia does not share the depression of the capitalist world. He must know that in Russia all the workers are employed and there is room for the employment of 2,000,000 more workers (whereas America has 10,000,000 workers who are forced to remain idle and for whose welfare neither the capitalist owners of industry nor their political agents in control of the government admits responsibility).

Hoover must know that Russia has a strong, fully working economic system, a system which combines American large-scale production with social control over both production and distribution, a system that is proving its success by its expansion rather than by demonstrating its failure by depression. Those critics who, a few years ago, scoffed at the Russian system, declaring that it would not work, now find themselves facing the crucial contrast: a Russian system that is working at full speed and with clear and complete planning and an American system that is not working and that has no plan.

The world depression is a capitalist depression. Russia, rejecting capitalism in favor of the economic principle of collectivism, running her industries for the nation instead of leaving them to be run or shut down to serve the private interests of capitalist owners—Russia, by following an exactly opposite policy from Mr. Hoover's "economic individualism," has escaped the depression. No wonder Hoover only mentioned Russia peevishly in a passing phrase. He dare not discuss fully the Russian system which in its practical operation exposes, more eloquently than even the plainest theoretical analysis, the failure of capitalism.

History may yet regard Hoover's Indianapolis speech as the swan song of capitalism, the requiem of "economic individualism," the dying and doomed folly of another ruling class, which would not learn.

UNDER capitalism warehouses packed with clothing mean millions of ragged workers.

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Hoover Assumes A Dictator Role

**Offers Financial Plan to Europe
Without Congress, Thus
Acting Illegally**

President Hoover stepped into the role of a dictator Mussolini when, without calling Congress into special session to pass legally on such a measure, he pledged America to join with European governments in a year's suspension of war debt payments and war indemnities. Only Congress—the representatives of the people in legislative action—can constitutionally commit the country to such a course. Hoover had no more authority to make such a proposal than any citizen of the United States. His constitutional duty, in confronting such a situation, was immediately to call Congress into special session, acquaint it officially with the facts and submit to its judgment in the matter.

There are two reasons why President Hoover did not follow the legal and democratic course and thus himself most sensationally violated the law, which he has time and again urged other citizens to obey. One reason is that Hoover has the mind of a dictator, resents the powers of Congress and wants to act without hindrance from the Constitution or the people or the people's representatives. Hoover wants to be the ruler rather than the representative of America.

Hoover Prevents American Relief
The other reason why Hoover did not call a special session of Congress is that he is determined to prevent the progressive members of Congress from proposing measures for economic relief so bitterly needed by the American masses. A special session of Congress would mean the agitation of measures of government relief, unemployment insurance and other urgent domestic policies, which would be embarrassing to the President. Legislation by a special session of Congress could do much to avoid extremes of suffering in the coming winter; but President Hoover does not want Congress to discuss the problem and the remedies of unemployment and economic collapse in America. Hoover wants to rule alone, even though his rule means ruin.

Hoover had and still has plenty of time to call a special session of Congress to act in a legal manner on the European financial situation. The next payments of war debts and indemnities are not due until December. Within a week Hoover could have Congress duly assembled in Washington—but Congress would discuss other measures not pleasing to Hoover. Under the circumstances Hoover chose the rule of a Mussolini. It is, we suspect, a role that he would gladly make permanent.

It is further true that Hoover, desperate after the 1932 campaign material, seeks to make political capital out of the European situation while persistently refusing to do anything about the American situation. His action, hurried by the reported imminence of a German social revolution, could as justifiably have been taken a year or two years ago.

Delays, Then Acts Illegally
The danger in Europe is not new. For that matter, economists have been saying ever since the World War that adjustment, suspension or cancellation of war debts and indemnities was necessary to Europe's industrial recovery. Hoover has known or should have known this from the day he entered the White House and in the years before, when he was secretary of commerce; yet he delayed even the suggestion of action, while the situation grew constantly worse, until Germany is said to be dangerously on the verge of a revolution, provoked by the sufferings of the German masses under the terrific burden of war indemnities.

When he did act, President Hoover acted illegally, acted as a dictator, acted in the role of a Mussolini. He talked with a few Senators in Washington and then decided to exceed his authority and take steps which Congress only has the right to authorize. It is said that Hoover was frightened at the prospect of a Fascist or Communist revolution in Germany—the special fear being that a triumph of Communism in Germany would result from the continued refusal of America to join in a financial arrangement which is expected to ease the situation at least temporarily.

Hoover would do anything to stop a social revolution, and he is especially willing to take the role of a Mussolini for that purpose. But while Congress would doubtless have helped Hoover to avert social revolution in Germany, it would also have insisted on measures to prevent social disaster in America; but to this prospect of disaster Hoover is blind; he can only see that it would be politically embarrassing to have American conditions discussed in Congress.

Snatching for political prestige and violating the law to stop revolution in Europe, President Hoover deliberately blocks the possibility of government relief for the economic distress among the American masses.

Baptists Report Church Trade Low in a "Spiritual" Depression

Gloomy reports of the "soul-saving" industry were made to the Northern Baptist convention held recently in Kansas City, Mo. The convention was informed that 10,000 Baptist churches in the nation had made no gain in membership and that ministers of the denomination bring into the fold only an average of six members each. Rev. M. E. Dodd, sorrowfully impressed by this decline in the holy trade, declared that the Baptist church "seems to be committing spiritual race suicide." We didn't know the Baptists were a "race."

UNDER capitalism full granaries mean empty stomachs.

FOR "AMERICAN IDEALS"

The ten million unemployed workers of America, who have been wondering why they should starve in a land of plenty, were given a glad, clear, beautiful explanation by President Hoover in his Indianapolis speech. "If, as many believe," he said, "we have passed the worst of this storm, future months will not be difficult. If we shall be called upon to endure more of this period, we must give ourselves to steady effort, to fail at no point where humanity calls or American ideals are in jeopardy."

The American workers are kept out of their jobs because humanity calls! The call of humanity, according to Hoover, is not that this depression should be remedied by a resolute government program but that it should be endured by uncomplaining workers. The American workers are to feed alike their hunger and their despair with the notion that they are striving for "American ideals!"

Thus are the workers mocked in the high places. They are given the cold comfort of flimsy, hypocritical rhetoric. Fine words are used perversely to glorify vile conditions and a stubborn, callous refusal to remedy these conditions. But these conditions cannot be glorified nor can the ugly facts be concealed by any such insultingly ridiculous talk.

If unemployment and starvation are "American ideals," then the American workers will prefer a brand of realism that will assure them economic comfort and security.

"GOD WILL TAKE CARE OF YOU," SAYS HOOVER

President Hoover admitted at Indianapolis that he couldn't (or wouldn't) do anything about the economic depression. But the President didn't intend to leave the American people entirely helpless. If he couldn't help them, he could and did recommend that they turn to God for help. Although President Hoover is the head of the American government and although God, as far as we have been able to learn, holds no office nor authority in the American government, Hoover told the people, "Take your troubles to God, not to me!" In these words of religious cant, ghastly under the circumstances, did President Hoover close his Indianapolis speech:

In conclusion, whatever the immediate difficulties may be, we know they are transitory in our lives and in the life of the nation. We should have full faith and confidence in those resources, those intellectual and spiritual resources, which have impelled this nation to a success never before known in the history of the world. Far from being impaired, these forces were never stronger than at this moment. Under the guidance of Divine Providence, they will return to us a greater and more wholesome prosperity than we have ever known.

Let God do it—but how? Hoover gives no hint. His own policy is to let the depression solve itself. He advises the American people to wait in patience and let Time be the mystic, slow healer of our economic wounds. If Hoover himself has put this matter up to God, probably he has advised God in the same vein. So that God will, we suppose, advise Hoover and Hoover will flatter God and both of them will God (the latter made Hoover's image) will bless the suffering of the American masses by saying that it is noble to suffer and that nothing can be done except to hope that the suffering will end in some uncertain future time.

And this suffering is only philosophy, says Hoover, the would-be philosopher of futility and fatalism. Even a hundred years of this depression would be only as a fleeting moment, philosophically speaking, years compared with the millions of years that are ahead of the human race. You jobless American workers will all be dead one of these days—so why should you worry about your condition while you are alive? Be a philosopher like Hoover! (But perhaps you will say that his ten million dollars encourage him to be philosophic about the suffering of others.)

Another wonderful thought comes from Hoover. America's "intellectual and spiritual forces," he declares, "were never stronger than at this moment." This really is a wonderful thought when you reflect that these forces were never weaker in practical operation than at this moment. Our intellectual forces may be great, but they are concentrated in the wrong place. They are not operating in the vicinity of President Hoover and the big capitalists, whose intellects (or whose inclinations?) are not equal to the task of keeping American industry on its feet and at work. There are intellectual forces in America which see plainly enough that the solution for the problem of idle machines and idle workers is to let them work—but those forces are not running our government nor our industries.

"Spiritual" forces are different. Their operation consists in telling the American workers that their bodies are not important, after all. They can starve and yet save their "souls." Wonderful indeed are these "spiritual" forces. But it would help more if our intellectual forces were able to get action and put an end to this economic insanity of Hooverism.

JUST to show how insane capitalism is—if we could destroy tomorrow all of the food, clothing, furniture, automobiles, and endless other commodities that exist so abundantly in the country, we should have another spell of capitalist "prosperity." The workers would all be employed and then it would only be a few years until they would again work themselves out of jobs. Isn't it a grand and glorious system!

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Fairyland Picture of the U. S. Is Given by Arthur Woods to English Paper

A fairyland of tender consideration for the workers—that's our own unfamiliar America as fantastically pictured to the English people by Col. Arthur Woods, who for a time served on the front pages of the capitalist newspapers as President Hoover's expert director of publicity for unemployment relief that didn't relieve. Now Woods is in Europe studying the unemployment situation and he "explained" in an interview with the London *Daily Herald* how beautifully American capitalism is dealing with unemployment.

"The new idea of American employers," said Woods, "is for a company to keep every man it can. If some employees must be discharged, those who will be least hurt are picked out first. Those whom it is found absolutely necessary to discharge are helped in every way. They are granted loans, to be repaid only when they get back to work, and the firm will back their credit with local tradespeople."

Hoover has said that we must "work" our way out of the depression; but officially and politically the more popular course has been that of lying ourselves out of the depression. It has not been successful, although Woods told the *Daily Herald* in London that American workers in the northern states could at least "beg or borrow" an old car and go south, thus escaping the cold.

RICH CONTRIBUTORS TO THE HOOVER CAMPAIGN GET BIG TAX REFUNDS

**When Hoover Talked of Harding's
"Betrayal," He Ignored
Own "Betrayal"**

The lightnings of his wrath and the thunders of his denunciation were just simply terrible, judging by the Associated Press report of the President's declamation at the Harding Memorial to do at Marion, Ohio, the other day. Uh-huh, Herb got all het up over the "betrayal" of the martyred Harding. The papers say he didn't call names but most of us well remember Senators Walsh and Wheeler—not to mention Nan Britton.

But Herb and Cal, who divided between them the honors of the occasion, certainly could congratulate each other on having kept mum while they were a part of the Harding administration. Neither of those worthies had reason to reproach themselves, or each other, for spilling any beans; on the contrary, they both proved themselves masters of discretion in the midst of a national pinch. Certainly, they proved faithful to the Ohio Brotherhood of those hallowed days.

But cautious Cal, it seems, kept characteristically cool on that touchy occasion; it is doubtful that he had drunk anything stronger than hard cider. Herb, however, he just upped and said what he thought. He denounced bitterly the men who "betrayed" Harding. Of course we feel so sorry now for Harding, Fall, Old Harry, Doheny, Sinclair, Jess Smith (who, by the way, did have a decency to shoot himself), Graham McLean, Denby, Forbes, Miller, Nan and the baby that many of us, caught under the divine spell of a presidential oration, would feel more or less like booting the inconsiderate fellows who so unfeelingly "betrayed" them.

We should remember, too, that the press of the country, particularly the radical press, played an important part in the Great Betrayal.

Investors in Hoover's Campaign
Strangely enough, and as a striking illustration of the ironies of life and of the proverbial ingratitude of republics, at the very hour when His Innocency, the President, was denouncing the villainous "betrayal" of Hooverism! If twenty years from now the American workers are to have the same chance they now have, then are the American workers hopeless indeed!

Hoover does not care about giving the American people a real chance—or rather not a chance but the far sordid system of security under a plan and program of social welfare. That phrase, "the American people," Hoover did not really mean in all its obscure largeness. His interest, his President and representative of the race, is to maintain unchanged the system which gives the main chance—essentially the whole chance or rather certainty—to the capitalists and leaves the mass of the American people out in the economic cold and darkness.

The fallacy of Hoover's childish stuff and nonsense about growth in population is made apparent when we reflect that a system which will not work—which has demonstrated that it will not work—cannot be made to work better simply because it brings more victims under its power. It will only treat those additional victims as it has treated the victims already caught in its trap of exploitation. Capitalism's scheme of exploitation works remorselessly. Its destructive economic processes are unescapable, being essential to the system, which thus produces the very conditions that will destroy it.

Profits, Surpluses and Depressions
The machinery of industry under capitalism is in private hands. For the privilege of working (when the capitalists need them) the workers must surrender to the private owners a large share of the products of their labor. Waste as they will, display luxury as they will, the capitalists cannot personally consume more than a relatively small part of the wealth which they take from the workers in the form of profits (profits which are not taken as the wages or salaries of management but as tribute for the unjust fact of owning). It is clear that the workers themselves cannot purchase what they have produced, as the difference between their wages and the value of their products makes this impossible.

The essential, vital, tragic fact of capitalism is that a surplus is created, capitalistically speaking, out of the toil of the workers which

to indicate how our Herb has been betrayed—while he was out sacrificing his life, almost, as it were, in our service.

Now, don't be surprised, dear sinner friends, to see in your favorite newspaper an account of Senator Dill's being indicted by a federal grand jury on a charge of false-branding mavericks or of violating the Mann Act. Remember what was done to Senator Wheeler for the part he played in "betraying" the martyred Harding.

And, by Godfrey, men and brethren, why wouldn't that be a capital way of getting this damned depression off our hands?—invest in the next Hoover campaign! But this is a digression.

Finally, to cap the grotesque climax, old Herb, while he was out on this trip, showed the cock-eyed world that he had the brass, right in broad daylight, to "rededicate" the tomb of Abraham Lincoln! What ironies of fate may be heaped upon the dead!

Hoover Looks Ahead

Concluded from page one

afflicting our 120,000,000 population, President Hoover's amazing way of meeting this extreme is to declare that in another twenty years we will have another 20 million population! Taking a real lesson from our present situation, what will this 20 million increase of population mean? We can only judge that it will mean 15,000,000 unemployed instead of 10,000,000 unemployed. It will mean more workers for capitalism to throw on the scrapheap when the expediency of profits no longer requires that their labor be used and its fruits robbed. It means that we will have that much more alleged "over-production" and actual under-consumption. It means that America's suffering under capitalism will be increased numerically but not altered in nature or degree.

We are not satisfied—we are far from satisfied—with President Hoover's irrelevant and pointless chatter about 20 million growth in America's population. We are not interested in the size of America's population but we are interested in the nature of the system which is to determine the conditions of life for America's population, whatever its size. We ask President Hoover this definite and important question: How will capitalism succeed in taking care of 130,000,000 people when it has so prodigiously failed in the job of taking care of 120,000,000 people?

More Victims for Capitalism
Hoover says that "we must just keep on giving the American people a chance, uh, keep on giving them the kind of chance they are so painfully not enjoying at this moment under the drastic regime of Hooverism! If twenty years from now the American workers are to have the same chance they now have, then are the American workers hopeless indeed!"

Hoover does not care about giving the American people a real chance—or rather not a chance but the far sordid system of security under a plan and program of social welfare. That phrase, "the American people," Hoover did not really mean in all its obscure largeness. His interest, his President and representative of the race, is to maintain unchanged the system which gives the main chance—essentially the whole chance or rather certainty—to the capitalists and leaves the mass of the American people out in the economic cold and darkness.

The fallacy of Hoover's childish stuff and nonsense about growth in population is made apparent when we reflect that a system which will not work—which has demonstrated that it will not work—cannot be made to work better simply because it brings more victims under its power. It will only treat those additional victims as it has treated the victims already caught in its trap of exploitation. Capitalism's scheme of exploitation works remorselessly. Its destructive economic processes are unescapable, being essential to the system, which thus produces the very conditions that will destroy it.

Profits, Surpluses and Depressions
The machinery of industry under capitalism is in private hands. For the privilege of working (when the capitalists need them) the workers must surrender to the private owners a large share of the products of their labor. Waste as they will, display luxury as they will, the capitalists cannot personally consume more than a relatively small part of the wealth which they take from the workers in the form of profits (profits which are not taken as the wages or salaries of management but as tribute for the unjust fact of owning). It is clear that the workers themselves cannot purchase what they have produced, as the difference between their wages and the value of their products makes this impossible.

The essential, vital, tragic fact of capitalism is that a surplus is created, capitalistically speaking, out of the toil of the workers which

is taken in the form of profits by the capitalists. Unable to sell this surplus to their own exploited workers or to consume it wholly themselves, the capitalist owners of industry in each nation must go hunting the world over for foreign markets.

As the nations have all become capitalistic on the large modern scale of profit-greedy industrialism, there is an intense and at times desperate conflict for the dwindling foreign markets; and this conflict sometimes leads to that concentrated war of militarism which is symptomatic of the wider, incessant war of capitalistic commercialism.

With all of the world's capitalistic nations having a surplus from the private profit point of view—a surplus which is, in fact, the brutal withholding from the workers of the wealth they have created—what is the insanely logical result? The result is the depression from which we are now suffering. The meaning is that millions of workers must be denied the opportunity of working and making a living—they must suffer impoverished idleness and anxiety and bitterness—until this surplus is exhausted and trade revives and the workers are needed again to create another surplus and pile up more profits for the capitalists.

The Real Social Question
That is the mathematical course of alternate "prosperity" and depression under the system of private ownership. It needs only the reasoning faculties of a child (which are evidently far superior to those of President Hoover) to understand that this process will be exactly the same with an increased population: the process will simply injure a greater number of victims.

Twenty million more population in the next twenty years? But what is the plan for assuring the economic welfare of these twenty millions and of the hundred and twenty millions of the hundred and twenty millions which now populate America? Will they be so many more victims of capitalist exploitation, speculation and depression? Or will they be so many more beneficiaries of a socialized system of industry in which the workers will have constant security and will consume what they produce?



Maxim Gorki, world-famed Russian novelist, is smiling at a welcoming throng who greeted him on his recent return to Moscow from Italy.

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best issue ever and we hope it gets the circulation it deserves."

M. P. Anderson, Mass., orders 50 copies of the Hoover Scandal Special Edition of January 3. The facts of the Hoover scandal (the past of the Great Engineer), as published in that popular issue of The Freeman, are of steady and growing interest to the American people.

Richard H. Atterbury, New York City, sends in a bundle order for the Truth About Russia Special Edition of June 27. He adds this interesting information: "Today I met a farm delegate from Montana—a friend of Senator Wheeler—just returned from Soviet Russia. He is going home to sell out and beat it straight back to the Caucasus. He reports a big influx to Leningrad of skilled mechanics from Germany and Bohemia and another boatload of mixed trades left here Monday. A big party from Utah sailed recently."

Harry Melvin, Alaska, orders 50 copies of the Hoover Scandal Special Edition of January 3 and says: "The love of Alaska are not in favor of Hoover." That's a tribute to the intelligence of Alaska.

V. E. Gould, Ore., considers it his patriotic duty and joy to spread the truth about Herbert Hoover among his fellow citizens. He orders a bundle of 50 copies of the Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30.

J. Amos, New York City, orders a bundle of the Truth About Russia Special Edition. It looks as if this is the most popular special edition we ever issued—and there's the reason, because Russia, with its immense social program, is the most interesting country in the world today.

F. H. Flack, Pa., gives us a hearty jolt of inspiration by sending us a dollar with four names of new Freeman readers (25 weeks for 25 cents each) and he adds another dollar for four more sub cards. This is the kind of work that will make The Freeman victorious.

Charles Loettel, Pa., gives us a real boost by sending in \$2 and 8 names who are to receive The Freeman for 25 weeks.

P. A. Smith, Calif., orders three sub cards, adds the name of a friend who is to receive a 25-week subscription to The Freeman and winds up with 25c for five copies of Little Blue Book No. 1612, "Hoover's Record Before He Became President."

William J. Morris, Minn., stands by us with a club of four 25-week subs. How can they read The Freeman that long without wanting it forever?

Abe Antin, Milwaukee, clearly thinks The Freeman is a real fighting paper. He sends us a club of four 25-week subs.

Dr. H. I. Morehead, Kans., sends us a list of ten 10-week subs, and by the way, five of them are for barber shops in his home town—which, we judge, covers the barber shops one hundred percent. There are a million ways of propaganda and all of them good.

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"Help Wanted" Ads Ran As Threat to His Employees

A New York City employer placed "help wanted" ads in the newspapers.

Desperate for employment, 500 men came to apply for the jobs.

They were calmly told that the boss had thus advertised only as a threat to his present employees—to show them how easily he could replace them if they expressed dissatisfaction with their work and wages.

This grim, cruel "joke" of capitalism angered the workers. The police were called to the scene. "The police rode over us like Cossacks," said one of the workers who had been lured by the fake ads.

To satisfy the crowd of crowd of workers, three of them were given jobs—but what the boss gives, the boss can take away.

advertised city by sending us a list of 10-week subs.

A. B. Winey, Wyo., knows what is good for his fellow citizens—and he sends ten of them The Freeman for ten weeks.

L. C. Schummyer, Mo., sends a list of 10-week subs and says: "I read a few sample copies of your paper and I like it fine."

"Yours for a mounting subscription list," says Carl Carbone, Wis., as he sends us a club of four 25-week subs.

Elmer Foster, Idaho, sends \$2 and a club of seven 25-week subs and instructs us to use a good name on our book lists for the other 25-week sub.

Orin H. Peterson, Kansas City, Mo., keeps up his record as a good Army worker. He sends another list of ten 10-week subs

Grim Industrial War Gives the Lie to Hoover's Talk of Labor Peace

Conditions of industrial struggle in Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, West Virginia—the very territory through which Hoover traveled in his recent political speaking tour—are ignored by President Hoover when he says that during this depression the country has been fortunate in the absence of strikes.

Had the President cared to know, he could have learned readily enough that twenty-one striking miners are jailed in Harlan, Ky., charged with murder as the result of a fight precipitated by company guards and state militia. It is reported that about eighty miners are in jail on various charges. Suffering from degraded economic conditions, the coal miners in that Kentucky district were organized secretly by W. B. Jones, working himself as a coal digger and representing the United Mine Workers of America. In four months 12,000 miners joined the union. Jones and other leaders of the union movement are held without bond.

The state militia was quickly called out, in defense of the coal operators, when the miners showed signs of organization. Quick suppression of discontent was the method of the coal operators—only the discontent has not been suppressed. It is true that the miners face superior power of violence in company and state gunmen. Twenty-one mining towns are being patrolled by national guardsmen. The miners are being starved and brutally bullied, thus showing what is meant by Hoover's talk of industrial peace. Around Harlan there is the atmosphere of war. And it is war—industrial war.

Law Sides with Employers
Leading miners, most active in the effort to improve labor conditions, are charged with murder, banding, confederating and criminal syndicalism. Frank Martin, a local Baptist preacher, is charged with criminal syndicalism because he spoke in behalf of the striking miners.

Peaceful meetings of the miners are met with violence. Recently when 2,000 miners met in Harlan, not for violence but to discuss their condition, tear bombs were thrown from the top of the courthouse to drive away the crowd of workers. The meeting was then held outside the town.

Evarts, where fighting occurred between the strikers and company gunmen, was miners' town and the local officials were friendly to the workers. Immediately the militia, dispatched to help in the struggle against the miners, arrested the Evarts chief of police. Blood has been shed and starvation and terror reign in the Harlan district. Yet President Hoover continues to talk of industrial peace. His Indianapolis speech was made almost within sound of the industrial war that is raging in the three states of Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and is threatening in West Virginia.

Strikes among coal miners and steel workers in Ohio have recently been met with violence, the power of the law siding with the employers. A few days before President Hoover spoke at Marion, Ohio, there was a demonstration by 2,000 miners and their families in St. Clairsville, Ohio, demanding the liberation of eleven miners held in the county jail for their strike activities. These protesting miners—who were using the power of public demonstration rather than the power of guns—were met by local policemen and members of the American Legion, armed with tear gas bombs and machine guns. The workers persisted in their demonstration. The sheriff arrested Leo Thompson, leader of the demonstrators.

Clubs Break Workers' Meeting
In Youngstown, Ohio, a peaceful demonstration by the workers—mostly employers of the steel mills—was broken up by the police. A permit for the demonstration had been refused, but, insisting upon their legal rights, the workers went ahead with their plans. Sixty-four workers have been charged with inciting to riot, although the police made the real rioters.

Cruel treatment was the lot of the illegally arrested workers, beatings were administered to the help-

less prisoners, one Negro worker who had been shot in the leg and beaten severely on the head receiving additional beating, in jail, over his wounds received in the break-up of the demonstration. Yetta Land, attorney for the International Labor Defense, requested to see certain workers held in the jail; but her request was denied, on the ground that these men were leaders of the workers and therefore had not the simple legal right to be interviewed by an attorney preparing for their defense. Cars and trucks used by the workers in the violently dispersed demonstration, having been seized by the police, were destructively handled, their windows smashed, their wheels broken and their tires removed.

The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, which has been slashing the wages of its workers, was active in planning to prevent the demonstration. The steel workers recently won a strike in Mansfield, Ohio, and the discontent of the workers in the steel towns is frightening the industrial masters. This fright is exhibited in violence against the workers.

And while President Hoover falsely talks about industrial peace, the federal government is supporting the steel masters in their effort to intimidate and punish the workers who dare to signify their spirit of independence and their resentment of conditions. F. E. Bangs, an immigration inspector, at once got busy trying to discover aliens or workers who could be accused of violating the immigration laws and thus deported. This representative of Hoover's government asked the Youngstown police to keep leaders of the demonstration in jail while he looked up their records, hoping to discover some ground on which they could be deported for the convenience of the steel magnates.

Industrial War in Mine Fields
In eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania a miners' strike is spreading, led by the National Miners' Union. The officials of this union report 20,000 miners on strike affecting 45 mines, while the United Mine Workers of America reports 10,000 miners on strike from 31 mines. Six mines in Jefferson county, Ohio, have been closed by the strike and this industrial war is spreading both in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The state constabulary in Pennsylvania are being used to break the strike and disperse meetings of the strikers, while in Ohio, as in Kentucky and West Virginia, the forces of "law and order" are officially thrown to the side of the mine owners. It is reported that in Liberty, Pa., seven miles from Mellon's city of Pittsburgh, thirty-five industrial policemen (company gunmen), fourteen state policemen and fifteen deputy sheriffs are assembled for war on the strikers, who number 1,600 in that one town.

Sheriff Cain of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, has issued an order that women and children shall not be present at miners' meetings nor parades. He admits the condition of industrial war by his explanation of this order. "I've seen a lot of women with babies in their arms," he said, "and young girls in these parades and if anything happened it would be mighty bad for them. I don't want to take that chance." Armed officers of the law and company gunmen are, however, grimly prepared to make it "mighty bad" for the men who are on strike.

The strikers have already felt the violence of their industrial masters allied with the state constabulary. The miners regard the state policemen as their worst foes. A parade of 1,000 men, women and children near Canonsburg, not far from Pittsburgh, was brutally attacked and pursued and broken up by state policemen, and company gunmen. Workers who sought shelter in houses and stores were followed by the state troopers, dragged out and beaten.

Workers Clubbed and Ridden Down
"I saw about two hundred men, women and children running up over the hill," said Henry Kirk, a farmer. "There were a couple of state policemen on horses behind them. When a state policeman caught up with one of the people he hit him over the head with a club, leaving a trail



Gov. Gifford Pinchot (center) of Pennsylvania has the coal strike put squarely to him as a Pittsburgh judge issues a sweeping injunction while Pinchot has his own anti-injunction bills on his desk, still unsigned.

of people lying on the ground. Several men and a woman ran up on the porch of my home and a state policeman on a horse came after them. He herded them into a corner of the porch and beat them with his club until they jumped over the rail and ran."

Perhaps it would not interest President Hoover to know that this is the district in which the Pittsburgh Coal Company operates and that this company is controlled by the family of Andy Mellon, Hoover's secretary of the treasury.

This battle—which was one-sided, with the state troopers and company gunmen committing all of the violence—started when the policemen attacked the marching workers as they were passing a store owned by Lorenzo Anconelli. Strikers who ran into Anconelli's store (and home) were followed and driven out with clubs. The daughter and the sick wife of Anconelli were forced out of their own home by the troopers. The wife was ill in bed. Pete di Nardo, rooming with the Anconellis, ran into the cellar, where two of the troopers cornered him, as he was escaping through the cellar window, and clubbed him until he fell bloody and unconscious.

It appears there is to be no cessation of violence, as state troopers are being moved from eastern Pennsylvania into the strike region in the west. Governor Pinchot, alleged to be a progressive in politics, has significantly refrained from interfering in this trouble. There have been vain appeals that he refuse to let the state troopers be used in breaking the strike; evidently Pinchot's progressivism is chiefly for ornament and does not extend to protecting workers in their legal rights when they are striking for better living conditions.

Industrial Peace a Hoover Myth
In Allegheny County the capitalist court has obligingly granted an injunction to restrain the strikers from picketing, a court decision being regarded as a heavier and more sweeping club against workers who are struggling for justice. Anti-injunction bills passed at the latest session of the Pennsylvania legislature, and prepared by the attorney general of the state, are awaiting Governor Pinchot's signature—but he has not signed them. He has not explained his delay, although it is obvious that this delay is playing into the hands of the mine owners. It will also be remarked that an injunction issued by the court merely ratifies the use of clubs, tear gas bombs and guns by the state troopers.

Another parade of 1,500 miners, led by a woman holding aloft an American flag, was attacked by state troopers and deputies under the command of Sheriff Seaman of Washington County, Pennsylvania. Ordered to go back to their homes, the workers refused and continued their march. Fifty tear gas bombs were thrown into the crowd but, in spite of the distressing and almost blinding fumes, the marchers kept on. The mounted state troopers, with drawn clubs, charged the workers. The workers replied with stones and clubs and fists. Then the state troopers fired on the crowd, which was finally dispersed, with two wounded. Twenty of the marchers were arrested.

West Virginia is also facing the prospect of industrial war, with the coal miners demanding better working terms from the mine owners. The West Virginia Miners' Union is very strong, having in its membership 18,000 of the 23,000 coal miners in the state. The extreme violence witnessed in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky has not yet reached West Virginia, although a meeting addressed by President Keeney of the union was interrupted by company gunmen, who drove some of the miners away, although no blood was shed. President Keeney is the head of a militant union and indications are that the future of West Virginia will not be so quiet as President Hoover, in many addresses, has declared the workers are throughout the country. Industrial peace is another Hoover myth and it seems that conditions

will grow worse rather than better. It is certain that Hoover is doing nothing and is suggesting nothing to make conditions better. In wide and important districts, which are realistically regarded as battle fronts, American industry presents alarming features of violence and oppression, and the armed powers of government used in support of the owning class. Yet Hoover, whether with ignorance or insolence, declares that the country has no industrial troubles and that our economic wounds are being healed. If he would go to the strike fields—to the battle fields of industrial war in Pennsylvania—he would learn that new wounds are being made. But he prefers to sit in Washington and talk peace when there is no peace and when the conditions of Hooverism make industrial peace a futile dream.

INDIANAPOLIS SPEECH MARKS NEW RECORD IN FALSE STATEMENTS

President Hoover's Indianapolis speech marks a new record in false statements, designed to conceal the facts of a depression which cannot be concealed because the American people are suffering all too harshly from the direct, insistent pressure of these facts. Let us glance at a few of Hoover's, notoriously untrue assertions.

"Leaders of industry," said Hoover, "have cooperated in an extraordinary degree to maintain employment and sustain our standards of living."

Oh, yes, we see the effects of the mythical cooperation in the real extent of unemployment—ten million workers exiled from industry—and in the bread lines, the inadequate charity handouts, which "sustain our standards of living." The result of this alleged "cooperation" of the American capitalists has been the worst economic suffering America has ever known.

"We are fostering," said Hoover, "the slow but positive processes of healing our economic wounds."

We might remark, in the first place, that Mr. Hoover with his fortune of ten million dollars has no economic wounds. The capitalists, with their enormous wealth stolen from the people, have no economic wounds. The American people, however, are economically crushed and bleeding—and the blows have been dealt by the capitalist system which Mr. Hoover defends. And what is being done to heal these economic wounds? Exactly nothing is being done. Hoover can show no action by the government nor by the capitalist class which is healing America's economic wounds. In this very speech Hoover declared that nothing could be done to heal these wounds, but that the people must wait patiently for the cure to effect itself in an unspecified way after an indefinite time.

scene to a picture of tragic wreck—

Should the ten million jobless workers of America feel a glow of pride in the system that has kicked them out?

Should the ten million jobless workers in America have a confidence in the future of a system which now, in the immediate present, has kicked them out and offers no plan for their welfare and exhibits not the slightest concern for their welfare?

BUNK! That's the stuff of which President Hoover's Indianapolis speech was made.

BUNK! We have never seen a worse exhibition of it.

American Workers Get Russian Jobs

Soviet Government Takes Care of Thousands of Unemployed From the U. S.

"If you don't like this country go to Russia" is no longer a cry of derision but is becoming a slogan of hope and genuine emigration to the land of the Soviets for thousands of American workers who cannot find jobs in the wreckage of Hooverized America. In the year 1931 no less than 14,000 American workers will leave this country to accept employment in Russia. These workers are no doubt as to which is better, the American or the Russian system. They recognize that a system under which they can work is superior to one under which they are compelled to remain pennilessly idle, starving to uphold the delusive theoretical virtues of "economic individualism."

The emigration of workers from this country to Russia in 1931 will include 3,000 engineers, 3,000 foremen and between 7,000 and 8,000 skilled mechanics. Early in June 220 coal miners from the fields of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Illinois stepped out of the ranks of America's gigantic army of the unemployed and sailed for Russia, there to find security of employment at the Vostokugol mining center.

Seventy skilled auto mechanics have said good-bye to the Statue of Liberty (which has nothing to do with economic liberty to work and prosper), bound for the Russian city of Nozhni-Novgorod. About 450 more auto workers, including 35 foremen and 30 engineers, will depart from America for jobs in Russia within the next three months.

The Attractive "Menace" of Bolshevism Leningrad will welcome and employ 470 building workers during the three months from May to July, while between 300 and 400 American workers are among those employed in building the Magnitorsk steel plant; additional hundreds of emigrating workers from the jobless land of Hooverism will be employed in the running of the plant.

Although the Hoover administration has not established employment bureaus for American workers (and Hooverism has no employment for 10,000,000 American workers anyway), the Russian government has an employment bureau in New York City—the Amtorg Trading Corporation—which receives an average of 200 applications daily from American workers who, recognizing that the United States government and capitalist industry have failed them, turn to the "menace" of the Bolsheviks for the safety of employment.

On the day the Amtorg received 400 requests for jobs from American workers, victims of Hooverism who seek relief in Bolshevism. Russia is especially in need of more skilled mechanics. The greatest demand is for workers in the heavy industries: i. e., industries which produce basic materials and machinery for industrial production.

Steel plants in America are running at only 42 percent of their capacity, whereas Russia is carrying out a large program of expansion in this industry and is eager to employ American steel workers. Hoover says that the workers should stand by—idly and hungrily by—American principles; but the workers are indicating that they prefer Russian jobs.

Greater Opportunities in Russia
Thousands of American workers are employed in Russia through contracts with American firms, chiefly in the metal, chemical, electrical, mining and fuel industries. These American firms employ their workers in Russia at labor for which there is no demand in broken-down capitalist America. America's industrial skill and brains are being given a better opportunity in Russia than in America.

At present there are 1,500 American engineers and technicians who are finding that Stalin as an employer is more satisfactory than Hoover as an employer. Individual engineers and skilled workers also make contracts for employment directly with the Russian government, through Amtorg, while many other workers are simply emigrating to Russia, without previous arrangements, because they know that the prospect of employment in Russia is brighter than in the United States. The situation today is that Russia has employment for 2,000,000 more workers, while America has 10,000,000 idle workers. Unfortunately Russia is not able at the present time to take care of the entire number of America's unemployed workers. However, when Russia completes her first five-year plan and starts on her second five-year plan, the American industrial emigration may become greater. There may indeed come a day when, with Russia attracting American workers in the hundreds of thousands, the United

States government will pass laws restricting emigration instead of, as now, laws restricting immigration.

What Would They Do with It? If Russia could arrange to employ all of the American workers, wouldn't it be poetic and practical justice for the workers to leave the country entirely in the hands of

USE THE ORDER BLANK

This issue is being stuffed with large-sized order blanks for 10-week subs at 10c each in clubs of 10 or more. Use that blank. Do not throw it away. Help The Freeman get a club of subs.

Hoover, Mellon and their capitalist pals and let them enjoy an isolated dream of "economic individualism" in the abandoned fields of capitalism?

More and more, Russia is competing with America not only in the more efficient production and distribution of goods but in greater attractions—greater security—for the workers. Just now America doesn't seem to care much for her workers. She has turned them adrift—and thousands of them are going to Russia.

"If you don't like this country go to Russia." That sounds very, very good to thousands of American workers in these lean, hungry and hopeless days of Hooverism. They are taking that advice and so what was once a sneer has become a promise and a hope.

Strike-Breaking Charged as Aim of Larger Illinois State Police

Springfield, Ill.—"Wages are about to be generally reduced in Illinois and these highway police are going to be used as strike-breakers," declared Representative Sol Handy in opposing a bill before the state legislature to enlarge the Illinois state police force. These police patrol the highways in Illinois but the labor element fears that their duties will be far more serious and sinister than merely the ordering of traffic. It is feared, with good reason, that they will repeat the tactics of the state constabulary in Pennsylvania, devoting their efforts to clubbing and suppressing the workers in the event of industrial struggles.

The new Illinois measure, which has been passed by the lower house of the legislature, also provides authority for the state police to operate in all cities; thus they could help to break strikes in Chicago and other industrial centers of the state. Representative Reuben G. Soderstrom, who also is president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, said of the bill: "It will make the highway police a rough-riding, strike-breaking, union-busting organization."

After passing through West Virginia and Ohio, where strikes are increasing and are being met with official violence, Hoover in his Indianapolis speech congratulated the country on its few labor troubles and then in Springfield was formally met by the Illinois legislature which is apparently preparing for violence against the workers.

FIRE FOR REFUSING TO FALSIFY TRADE FIGURES

Refusing to alter figures in a report of America's international trade relations, Dr. Ray Ovid Hall, financial expert in the United States commerce department, was fired. His discharge came while President Hoover was telling his Indianapolis audience that America would help the world to recover its prosperity. One of the conclusions in Dr. Hall's report was that high interest rates in America, the world's leading creditor nation, have accentuated the depression.

Dr. Hall's report was "too sensational," according to Dr. Grosvenor Jones, chief of the finance division in the department of commerce and Dr. Hall's superior. Dr. Hall, who is recognized as an expert in the compilation of trade statistics, said that the change demanded in his report would have compelled him "to make a forced

Here's Why Mellon Opposes Higher Income Taxes on the Rich

Andy Mellon, secretary of the United States treasury, has taken it as his chief duty to protect the rich from higher income taxation. There is really nothing mysterious about this Mellon conception of duty. It is very clear, for example, when we learn that the Mellon Trust Company of Pittsburgh, a Mellon institution, pays dividends of 206 percent. A depression? The Mellon interests don't know there is one. The other day the Mellon Trust Company declared its regular quarterly dividend of 50 percent on its \$100 par stock. This means that owners of the Mellon Trust Company are handed \$50 every three months on each \$100 share of stock in that institution. Each year they more than double their money. The stock is quoted as being worth \$3,000 to \$9,000 for each \$100 share. So it's easy to understand why Andy Mellon, beneficiary of this and many other sources of stupendous income, is vigorously opposed to raising the income taxes on the millionaires and multimillionaires and billionaires. Tax himself? Oh, no, Andy would much prefer to tax the common people.

use of figures leading to a wrong implication."

The displeasing features of Dr. Hall's report on "Balance of International Payments" were his figures on war debt payments, on the value of American imports and on American security purchases in foreign countries. One item of three billion dollars, which Dr. Hall included in America's total as a creditor nation, was condemned by Dr. Jones. Another item that was unwelcome and that Dr. Hall was requested to omit was 175 million dollars, which, according to Dr. Hall's calculations, represented the decline in value of 1930 imports during shipment, a decline which had not been allowed for in the customs bureau report.

While Dr. Jones accuses Dr. Hall of being "disrespectful and insolent," most Americans will wonder why expert economists and statisticians are employed by the government when their reports are to be tampered with for political reasons. The discharge of Dr. Hall for making an honest report that did not suit the Hoover administration reminds us that Dr. Parsons, another expert and honest statistician, resigned last summer from the census bureau in protest against a juggling of figures concerning unemployment. Evidently the Hoover administration has more interest in propaganda than in expert information; and a statistician who refuses to alter his figures is accused as "insolent" for being conscientious.

Cooperative Saving on Insurance

Fire and casualty insurance at a saving of 20 to 30 percent is furnished by the Cooperative League of the United States. The league deals with sound insurance companies, which are not popular with the private insurance dealers because of the low commissions paid. The saving of the commission—the insurance middleman's profit—means cheaper insurance. One insurance society with which the league deals is the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society of New York, a cooperative organization. The league does not sell insurance directly but arranges for an insurance service with existing firms. This service has been so favorably received in New York that requests are being made for its extension to other states. Cooperation pays for the rank and file, although it doesn't pay heavy profits to a few private commercial firms.

UNDER capitalism we are so efficient that we have to let our factories stand idle.

Banking Scandal Edition

The facts about bank failures in the United States will be printed in the Banking Scandal Special Edition of The Freeman, which will be dated July 18. The amazing story of the collapse of capitalistic banking in this country will be told in that special edition. The Freeman will also explain the remedy—a protected system of national banking, designed to protect the savings of the common people rather than to make profits for private bankers who have proved inefficient and untrustworthy. Sit down and order extra copies of this special edition, which will be of vital interest to every American citizen. Use the blank below.

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