

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 a monument to a President of the United States whose administration was overwhelmed with 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 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 who were 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 has indicated by word or deed his opinion of the Harding scandals which constitute a most criminal chapter in the history of the American government.

Was Harding Asleep?

In expressing 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 unopposing member of Harding's cabinet, remained equally a quiet and unopposing 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 battlefield 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, 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, unopposing, 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; Hoover 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 unreflective 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 denuded 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 ballyhooing 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 Sticksney 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.

Socialism or Capitalism?

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tem—which President Hoover cannot analyze nor explain away—will involve a greater number of people.

CAN PRESIDENT HOOPER EXPLAIN THESE CONDITIONS?

Can President Hoover explain why in America we should have what is fantastically called "over-production" when millions of the American workers are going short of the things necessary to a comfortable life and millions, indeed, are suffering acute and awful want? President Hoover cannot—does not—offer an explanation of this insane condition. He can do no better than to ask these suffering millions to have "courage and confidence" in a system that has plunged them into this pit of despair. President Hoover is not only a poor economist but a poor psychologist if he imagines for a moment that such disgracefully unrealistic and indefinite talk will satisfy the just questions and protests of the American people.

Not being able to understand his own system of capitalism, it follows that Hoover is even less able to comprehend and to analyze the economic program of Socialism. He has never discussed Socialism with the slightest intelligence nor definiteness. He refers to it in vague, undefined disparagement as "bureaucracy" or a system "foreign to American traditions." We do not believe that the American people wish to commit suicide in behalf of alleged American traditions; and we believe that they will ask, concerning any plan of prosperity, not whether it is foreign but whether it will work.

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. 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 troubles, 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 trite 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 interminably accused of showing less than Lincoln-like 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 cannot 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 direst 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—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 with saccharine 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

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excepting Russia, and all the world (again, excepting Russia) has smashed. And excepting 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 expansion rather than 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 dictatorial 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.

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 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.

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.

It is, we suspect, a role that he would gladly make permanent. It is further true that Hoover, during 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 upon 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."

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 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 who are responsible for the 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, ease Hoover and Hoover will flatter God and both Hoover and God (the latter made of course in 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 jobsless 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!

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 under our 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!

Special bundle rates for The Freeman are: 10 copies a week for 10 weeks, \$2. 50 copies a week for 10 weeks, \$8. 100 copies a week for 10 weeks, \$15. 300 copies a week for 10 weeks, \$30. Join our Bundle Brigade and circulate extra copies of The Freeman at these rates.

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 employes 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.

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 the blank. Do not throw it away. Help The Freeman get a club of subs.

But cautious Cal, it seems, kept characteristically cool on that touching 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 all get so sorry now for Harding, Fall, Old Harry, Doheny, Sinclair, Jess Smith (who, by the way, did have the decency to shoot himself), Gratton Meador, Danby, 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 villains who betrayed Harding, another diabolical senator Dill of Washington, this time—was "betraying" Hoover himself! The New York Times in a Sunday edition—that of June 14—becomes accessory to this betrayal. According to Senator Dill:

Harry F. Guggenheim contributed \$25,000 to the Hoover campaign fund of 1928 and received a tax rebate of \$210,555—with the ambassadorship of Cuba thrown into the bargain. Jeremiah Milbank contributed \$25,000 and received a check for \$891,443. John N. Willys invested \$25,000 in Hoover Republicanism and received \$677,567. His virtues were further rewarded with the ambassadorship to Poland.

Herbert N. Straus dropped \$25,000 into the Hoover pot and fished out \$568,736. William Nelson Crowell slipped \$25,000 into the Hoover slot and pulled out \$222,652. J. R. Nutt invested the same amount but got only \$83,669. Charles Hayden placed \$25,000 on Hoover and got \$1,876,000. Not such a bad investment, you must admit, yet it yielded a very modest return compared with what some of the other boys got.

Harvey S. Firestone seems to know a Good Thing when he sees one. He risked \$25,000 and won \$2,960,000. Now, when something like that is going on in these states, would you expect our old friends of Ludlow fame, the John D's—father, son, and holy ghost—to be dozing on their rights? Not on your tintype. They slipped \$25,000 each into the Hoover slot, while no one was looking, and got away with \$8,545,909. But at this, it would not be reasonable to assume that those pious worthies were satisfied with such meager rewards for their thrift and enterprise.

George F. Baker, Sr., put \$20,000 into the venture and got \$97,388,915! The Worst "Betrayal"—Publicity Now, will you pretend to believe that the Lords of Ludlow were satisfied with the measly returns they got? You can't believe it. This doesn't exhaust the list, not by any means. But it is sufficient

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 "re-dedicate" 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 crisis 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. Oh, yes, 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, as President and representative of the rich, is to maintain unchanged the system which gives the main chance—essentially the whole chance or rather certainly—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



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

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 capitalistic 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 of 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 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 capitalistic exploitation, speculation and depression? Or will they be so many more beneficiaries of a social system of industry in which the workers will have constant security and will consume what they produce?

Freeman Army O. E. Bannister, Wash., sends in a bunch of 10-week subs and has this line of approval: "The Freeman is doing fine." S. Andrew Pappas, Mass., orders a bundle of the Truth About Russia Special Edition of June 27 and adds that in his opinion The Freeman's work is the kind that will promote better understanding and cooperation.

Johnson of Fort Scott BEATS HIS RECORD! F. A. Johnson, Fort Scott, Kans., will not be held down to any record, however good. He has been ordering 250 and 500 copies of The Freeman each week. But he ordered 1,000 copies of The Freeman of July 4—and these papers will be given housings of his own distribution in Fort Scott. Wouldn't it be great if we could have 100 Army members who would order 1,000 extra copies of The Freeman each week! Right there would be a circulation of 100,000! Remember that The Freeman is a propaganda paper and, aside from its regular reading list, it should be put to special propaganda use.

John E. Swanberg, Pa., sends \$5 for Haldeman-Julius trade coupons. This means that he is credited with \$5.50 in these trade coupons, good at any time for any books or publications of the Haldeman-Julius Company. C. Gardelle, N. Y., liked our Truth About Russia Special Edition and is sending a bundle of 50 copies. T. E. Saxton, Okla., sends a bundle of 50 copies of the Truth About Russia Special Edition and wishes The Freeman success in its work of bringing the truth to the people. Our success is measured by the extent to which our loyal readers bring us new readers.

Mrs. P. Armand sends a dollar for 50 copies of the Truth About Russia Special Edition (June 27) and says: "Congratulations on your fine work for truth." And here's another—Anton Pinter, Texas, who orders a bundle of the Truth About Russia Special Edition of June 27. The way to make the truth known is to circulate it in this persistent way. W. F. Ries, Toledo, Ohio, sends a dollar for 50 copies of the Truth About Russia Special Edition and \$2 for The Freeman's subscription to The Freeman. Many of our readers will remember Mr. Ries, who is an old-timer in the Socialist movement, and of that very popular booklet, "Men and Mules." He retains his active interest in social problems.

Durand Pywell, Calif., orders a bundle of 50 copies of the Truth About Russia Special Edition and says enthusiastically: "This is by far the

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. Atterbery, New York City, sends in a bundle of 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 people 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 Special 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 progress, 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.

Olaf Frenstad, Wis., sends a list of ten 10-week names, which means that much more intelligent reading in the state of Wisconsin.

L. J. Kalvin, Iowa, orders bundles of the Max 30 and June 6 editions of The Freeman and sends a list of ten 10-week names. He tells us that he likes The Freeman, but we should know that anyway from his manner of supporting it—still, we do like to be told.

Axel Ahlgren, Minn., orders a bundle of 50 copies of the Truth About Russia Special Edition of June 27. That's a fine edition. Keep it rolling. L. A. Olson, Minn., orders a bundle of 50 copies of the Truth About Russia Special Edition. Here's good news for the Army—we are getting out another special edition, All About Russia Special Edition, for July 25. It ought to have a much greater circulation than our first Russian edition.

Harold Bunge, Ill., sends 50 names to whom we shall send the Truth About Russia Special Edition. That issue of The Freeman will open their eyes.

Dr. A. C. Arnold, New York, orders bundles of the Hoover Exposure Special Edition of May 30 and the Curtis Scandal Special Edition. These special editions contain amazing material that the American people should know about. J. W. Harvey, Jr., Mich., orders a bundle of 50 copies of the Truth About Russia Special Edition. There is no country that the world can study with such immense benefit today.

Elmer E. Coy, Wash., helps to swell The Freeman's audience with a club of four 25-week subs. Irving Kaplansky, Toronto, Can., is helping the cause of free speech in that medieval city by boosting The Freeman. He sends us a club of four 25-week subs.

M. Sarzfeld, Ore., sends a list of 10 names. Every little bit helps in spreading the influence of The Freeman.

John Weyer, Chicago, helps educate the citizens of that widely if not well

"Help Wanted" Ads Run 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 number of 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 and adds a dollar for a bundle of 50 copies of the Hoover Exposure Special Edition of May 30.

Jackson C. Staples, Mich., steps this way again with a club of ten 10-week subs. Come again and often, Reader Staples.

H. Kasser, Calif., orders a bundle of 30 copies of the Hoover Exposure Special Edition of May 30. Keep that edition circulating—it's the real material against Hoover.

Paul Z. Hebert, M. D., Calif., sends an order for 50 copies of the Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30. The proof of a good edition is when it keeps on drawing orders. We hope our Hoover Failure Special Edition (of this week) does even better. Right now our Truth About Russia Special Edition of June 27 promises to be the most attractive to our readers, judging from the many orders that are coming in.

L. F. Crum, N. Y., makes us smile happily with a real order—\$2 for two yearly Freeman subs, \$1 for four new 25-week subs, \$1 for four sub cards, and \$1.50 for the five volumes of "The Story of the Human Race."

Geo. Perask, Pa., signifies his agreement with The Freeman's work of enlightenment by sending a list of ten 10-week subs.

C. R. Boss, New York City, sends us a list of names who are to receive copies of the Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30 and the Truth About Russia Edition of June 27. This reader believes in double-barreled propaganda.

E. T. Switzer, Calif., encourages us doubly with a dollar for a year's subscription to The Freeman and a dollar for 50 copies of the Hoover Exposure Edition of May 30.

S. Andrew Pappas, Mass., orders 50 extra copies of the June 6 issue of The Freeman and says: "I like the Socialist idea. I am going to spread that idea around."

A. E. Wulff, Calif., sends two 25-week subs and orders two 25-week sub cards. The main thing is to help The Freeman grow steadily and surely.

W. W. Schatz, Okla., tells us that it is difficult to reach the American masses with our message—and don't we know it?—but he has the right spirit and actively helps with a club of ten 25-week subs.

Palmer Overgard, Ill., sends us a list of ten 10-week names. Every increase in The Freeman subscription list gives us better heart for our work. We love the work but we want it to be more and more widely effective.

Robert F. Jones, Calif., sends in a list of eleven 10-week subs, so we know he isn't superstitious about an odd number. On the contrary, he depends on The Freeman to knock the superstition out of his fellow citizens or surprise it out of them or coax it out of them or get it out of them somehow.

Do You Agree With Us?

Do you agree with us that Herbert Hoover has failed to help the American people in this crisis? Do you agree with us that Hoover's Indianapolis speech and his other remarks on economic conditions were glaring fallacies and mockeries of the notorious truth? Do you agree with us that Hoover is entirely without a plan for American industry and that a socialized plan is necessary for the nation's welfare? If you do agree that this Hoover Failure Special Edition contains the important truth about conditions, then help in the work of enlightenment by ordering extra copies of this edition. Use the blank below.

ORDER BLANK FOR HOOVER FAILURE SPECIAL EDITION (July 11)

The American Freeman, Girard, Kansas I agree with you that the Hoover Failure Special Edition correctly analyzes the situation and exposes the incompetency of Hoover's utterances and alleged "policies." I am helping to circulate this edition, using the method marked below.

Method No. 1. I am enclosing \$..... for which send me a bundle of copies (minimum order 50 copies) of the Hoover Failure Special Edition, at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 2. I am enclosing \$..... and a list of names (minimum list 50 names) to whom you will send copies of the Hoover Failure Special Edition, at the rate of 2c a copy.

Method No. 3. I am enclosing \$..... which will pay for sending copies of the Hoover Failure Special Edition (minimum order 50 copies) to good names in your possession, at the rate of 2c a copy.

Name Address City State

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 a 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 were 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 faintly 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 Bitten 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 Anconio. Strikers who ran into Anconio's store (and home) were followed and driven out with clubs. The daughter and the sick wife of Anconio were forced out of their own home by the troopers. The wife was ill in bed. Pete di Nardo, rooming with the Anconios, 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.

"Great as have been our difficulties," says Hoover, "no man can contrast them with our experiences in previous great depressions or with the condition of other important industrial countries without a glow of pride in our American system and a confidence in its future."

Yet Hoover, in the opening paragraph of his speech, admitted that this depression is more widespread than any in the past; this means that it evils afflict a greater number of people; therefore, it is the worst depression we have ever had. It is bad enough that it has thrown ten million workers out of jobs—thrown them upon the humiliating uncertainties and inadequacies of private charity—denied them that very opportunity to earn a living, which Hoover falsely asserts is a principal feature of the so-called "American system." The President's fatuous mind is revealed quite characteristically in his statement that we should feel "a glow of pride" in a system that has brought mass unemployment, poverty, planlessness, distress and fear upon the American people! And he says that we should have "a confidence in its future"—in the future of this system which in the stern and undoubted present has reduced the American economic

scene to a picture of tragic wreck—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

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 in 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.

In one 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 work-ers 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 orator. 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

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This issue is being stuffed with large-sized order blanks for 10-week stubs 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 capitalistic 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; that 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.

FIRED 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. Governor 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 Union 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 Union Trust Company declared its regular quarterly dividend of 50 percent on its \$100 par stock. This means that owners of the Union 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.

All About Russia Edition

Russia is the most interesting country in the world today. We want the American people to know fully the facts about Russia's amazing social program and to know the meaning of these facts. Our Truth About Russia Special Edition of June 27 was so popular that we are glad to announce that, since publishing that edition, we have brought together more interesting facts about Russia which we will print in our All About Russia Special Edition, dated July 25. We intend to make this the best special edition we have ever published—and you'll agree that's going some! Don't miss ordering extra copies of this special edition, but sit down at once and send in your order on the blank below.

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