

AS I SEE IT

The Misery in the Mines.
Political Action Needed.
The Socialist Plan.
Machinery and Progress.

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President.

IF ANY worker in America has more reason than any other worker to be a Socialist it is the miner. In most districts his lot combines the worst features of a feudal serf and a wage slave. He risks his life in the bowels of the earth and when he comes to the surface he has no cottage or garden he can call his own. He lives in a company shack often unfit for a pig and the company as landlord deducts excessive rent out of his meager earnings.

If or when he works—and that is but seldom in many of the coal fields—he is likely to be paid in scrip or token money good only at company stores where all prices run from 35 per cent to 200 per cent of normal prices. His children cannot so much as gather blackberries on the hillside without becoming trespassers. If he strikes or even organizes against such oppression he is blacklisted and may find himself reduced to living in tent colonies such as one that I know in West Virginia.

The Heroic Strikes

This is no exaggerated statement. In some places and at some times things have been better, thanks to the organized power of the miners. They are not better today in West Virginia, western Pennsylvania, Ohio or Indiana. In these regions misery is broken only by the heroism of strikes not all of which have been crushed. In Illinois a settlement at a tremendously reduced scale has forced the miners to defy the union whose officials assented to it.

What and who are to blame? This is not the place to discuss union victories or union failures. The decline of the great United Mine Workers of America due partly to internal feuds is one of the tragedies of our time. Vigorous union we must have.

But the best union is virtually powerless unless and until it redeems a chaotic industry from the waste and tyranny of private ownership. That means that we must use the power of nation and state to transfer coal miners from private to public ownership. We can not so use the power of nation and state unless we have a party of the workers to compel and control such action. Socialization in the interest of workers will never be carried out by parties belonging to the bosses.

A Practical Plan

What is the Socialist plan for coal mines? First, social ownership of them. Second, administration of them under a directorate representing not absentee owners but workers, technicians and consumers. Third, recognition of the union especially to represent the interest of the workers in matters of pay and working conditions. Fourth, a national plan for coal in relation to oil, power, etc., prepared by a national economic council.

Some mines would be closed until needed. Surplus miners who could not immediately be put to work by shortening the working week would be paid unemployment benefits until they could be absorbed into other industries.

That program would require brains and power behind it. It is practical and nothing else! The difficulties in the way are not primarily economic or even legal. They are in the minds of workers, fooled into defeatism by loyalty to the two old parties.

Is Machinery a Curse?

Recently I was taken to see a great anthracite mine in Pennsylvania. Everything in it was planned and co-ordinated. The chaos began in the marketing end under the profit system. I saw a big breaker with machinery worth, they said, \$1,200,000. It cleans and sorts coal by ingenious machinery. When it runs full blast 60 men do easily what 400 men and boys used to do.

Is this machinery a blessing or a curse? Now it is a mixture of both—maybe mostly a curse for the unemployment it causes. Yet there is nothing fine or noble about picking out slate from coal by hand: It ought to be good and only good to free men and boys from such tasks (8-year-old boys used to work there). It would be fine if this and other machinery were owned and controlled for the use of all of us and not for the profit of the few.

AMERICA FOR

No. 4

AUGUST 27, 1932

JOBLESS NAME THOMAS FOR PRESIDENT

(See Story on Page 3)

"SOUTHERN TEXTILE MILLS STARTING UP. NIGHT SHIFTS BEGIN TOMORROW."—This was one of the items the newspapers played up last week in another attempt to coax "prosperity" back again. The factories which opened didn't even make a dent in the army of unemployed textile workers. By now most of the plants are shutting down again.

The important angle on this story is not that it was part of the ballyhoo which has falsely heralded "the return of prosperity" every second and fourth Thursday in the last three years. The "night shifts begin tomorrow" is the insane part of it. An industry more than 70 per cent idle, with its workers by the hundreds of thousands jobless for most of three years. Suddenly a week's or two week's orders come in—and the factories start night shifts. The workers burn themselves out, on the stretch-out by day, by wracking toil through the night. And the factories close again. Until the next mad spurt.

Who called this a system? It's the most crazy, planless, inhuman device ever conceived to keep a nation of workers in the terror of starvation and poverty.



"TOMORROW'S AMERICANS —Give Them a Chance—"

WE ARE proud of our children. We want the best in life for them. Parents sacrifice all so that the boy and the girl can grow up with every chance.

You may be beaten yourself. You may have worked years at a "steady" job, keeping your nose to the grindstone—all for the sake of the children. You have saved for that little home and tried to keep it going so that the kids could have a clean, happy place to grow up in. That overcoat of two years ago,



CAPITALISM'S CHILDREN. 200,000 homeless, living on garbage, in packing boxes. Hundreds of thousands beg in breadlines. Over a million toil in mill and field.

that worn dress of last year could be made to last another winter—so long as the kids could be kept in shoes.

Children are "The Hope of America." "Tomorrow's Citizens." "The Strength of the Nation." Oh, yes. They are "The Hope of America"—and we consign them to the clutches of a system that robs them of any decent chance. We grow proud and sentimental about the boy and the girl—and we stand by while millions of them are put through the mill of starvation, homelessness, broken-bodies and death.

We're not talking now of the gas from President Hoover's brave troops that killed 12-week-old Baby Bernard Myers. No doubt the trio of heroes of the Battle of Anacostia, Gen. MacArthur, War Sec. Hurley and President Hoover, would have spared Baby Myers if they could have. But the gas that put him to death couldn't stop when it came to babies. No fault of Hoover's and Hurley's and MacArthur's. They meant the gas or

for the veterans.

But we come now to a more horrible fact that gives the lie to all our proud boasts about the "Americans of Tomorrow."

It is too late for Hoover to suppress it. The children's bureau of the Department of Labor reported last week that 200,000 boys and girls are tramping the highways and cities of the nation—homeless, hungry, unwanted. "The Hope of America!"

This great army of youth in rags was driven from homes where frantic parents could not feed them. The freight trains are full of them. Seventy-five to a train, the labor department estimates. They sleep nights in "jungles," by railroad tracks, by garbage dumps where they can salvage a piece of bread or a bone with a trace of meat left on it. Cities and towns keep them moving. "Get out of town," is the order. Let the next town worry about feeding these weak, stunted bodies. They can't go home. Many have letters telling them to stay away. No food. In many cases, no home.

That is the depression's army of unwanted children. 200,000 of them and the ranks grow every week.

And in normal times more than a million of "Tomorrow's Americans" slave from dawn to dusk in mills, factories and fields. The picture here of "capitalism's children" shows one



SOCIALISM'S CHILDREN. Play, recreation, education. Strong bodies, bright minds in beautiful homes made possible by year-round work and good pay for their parents.

tot from a New England bread line, another child from a southern town spraying a mixture of arsenic and lime over a tomato patch; and two of the 200,000 who sleep nights in packing boxes, old wagons or filthy sheds.

But President Hoover says he loves children. When he

(Continued on Page Two)

Miners' Only Hope

First Plan to End Low Wages and Unemployment

By POWERS HAPGOOD

Socialist Candidate for Governor of Illinois.

COAL miners in the United States, as in all other countries throughout the world, go without sufficient coal in winter-time to heat their homes and cook their meals.

Like all other producers under the capitalist system they not only go without the necessities of life manufactured by workers in other industries, but they even go without the thing they produce themselves.

The attack on the wages and conditions of miners begun by the owners as soon as the world war was over has increased in the last few months. Even in such union strongholds as Indiana and Illinois the coal operators have recently attempted to operate mines non-union and reduce wages still further.

It is only by the heroic struggle put up by the rank and file of the miners in these states against injunctions, state troops, and all the forces brought to bear on them by governments controlled by capitalists that the miners have saved even the last remnants of their once powerful union.

Plenty of Courage

The thousands of miners on the picket lines in Indiana who closed down every mine into which the operators brought scabs surely have demonstrated their courage and militancy. Miners all over the country in similar struggles have shown that they can fight. It is high time that they become just as militant on the political field and just as loyal to the working class movement as they have been on the industrial front.

For generations the miners have been attacked in illegal, murderous and unAmerican ways every time they have tried to get what belongs to them.

In the unorganized fields especially, such as Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, the killing of our

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or attempt at organiza-
a. the daily work in the mines
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ar and wounds and maims for life
ousands more. By the deaths and
accidents in the coal mines the
miners have paid the high cost of
private ownership.

What Can Be Done?

In the midst of all the misery and suffering in coal mining communities, every one is asking the question, "What can we do to get even the necessities of life for ourselves and our families?"

Miners, there is only one way out. The mines must be publicly owned. Like the post office, and operated for use and not for profit.

Every intelligent person knows that the cause of unemployment is the fact that the workers who produce the goods do not receive enough for their labor to buy back the goods they produce. The fundamental cause of low wages, poverty, and unemployment in the coal industry, as in all other industries, is private ownership. The private owners take profits out of industry by paying the workers less than they produce.

The owners can't spend all their profits themselves because they get too much and the miners get too little. That keeps them from buying.

Because the passion for profits is an essential part of private ownership and because profits cause unemployment, there is only one possible way for the sick industries of the country to get well and that is by public ownership. That is what we mean by NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES.

Four Good Reasons

Why will the conditions of the miners be better under nationalization than under private ownership as at present?

In the first place, wages will be higher. The government, owning all the mines, will not suffer from the cut-throat competition which causes one private operator to cut wages

service, will reduce accidents to the minimum.

In the fourth place, the union will be recognized everywhere, just as the government recognized all the railroad organizations during the war when it managed the railroads. The miners then for the first time will have a 100 per cent organized union.

Don't Scab on Election Day

There is only one possible way to achieve this solution for our difficulties and that is under the banner of the Socialist Party.

Coal miners would not belong to a company union financed by the coal operators. They have always insisted on having their own union, financed by themselves.

Why should any of them wish to support a political party financed by the coal operators as the Republican and Democratic parties are?

It is just as bad for a worker to scab at the ballot box on election day by voting for parties financed by his enemies as it is for him to scab in a strike.

The Socialist party is not only pledged to the principle of nationalization of coal mines and democratic control, but it is financed by the working class and consequently controlled by it. All miners who do not wish to remain in the misery and degradation that surrounds them today must support the Socialist party in its program of nationalization of the mines so that coal will be produced for use and not for profit.

"Tomorrow's Americans"

(Continued from Page One)

asked for re-election the other day he said his administration has given leadership "for stimulation of the protection and health of children."

Hoover said, "This is a land dedicated to the sober and enduring satisfactions of family life and the rearing of children in an atmosphere of ideals and religious faith."

If a merchant puts a fake label on his goods he can be punished. If an old party president makes false statements he keeps press and public. If a man deserves another it let ... the true."

This is a land in which unemployment and capitalism have made the American home of any of its enduring satisfactions, where children are reared in atmosphere of child slavery, vagrancy and a constitution which destroys all ideals and religious faith.

Don't blame it all on Hoover and the Republicans. Don't blame it all on Roosevelt and his party, although they helped kill the child labor amendment and stand for the same rotten capitalist system that Hoover does.

If you go on voting for this damnable system that makes tramps out of 200,000 young boys and girls—you'll have yourself to blame. If you go on voting for this system, you ought to have the decency not to be hypocrites about it. Face the fact: You'll be an accomplice in driving your children and the others to join this miserable army of youth that never had a chance.

There IS a way out. The Socialist party offers it. Socialists would place the home on a sane, happy, healthy basis. It would repeal unemployment and give every bread-winner a real chance to earn a salary by which he could keep his boy and girl growing stronger and smarter every day until they were ready to take their part in a world of free men and women on an equal basis with every other child.

Democrats' "Eagle" Is Told to Keep Quiet

FOR the perfect illustration of the fake in old party politics, take Texas Jack Garner. Roosevelt didn't want to take Garner. But he had to or take a chance on losing the nomination. Roosevelt would have preferred a running mate who didn't give the show away so easily. Roosevelt "straddles all America," it is true. But he is a past-master at straddling, not clumsy and noisy like Garner.

Garner's Texas delegation, it is said, was financed by power trust money. Which ought to be answer enough to those who have the strange notion that the Democratic vice president nominee is some kind of a radical.

Texas Jack's friends say his face resembles the American eagle. His shriek is about all there is in common between the two birds. Roosevelt and Prize Fight Promoter Farley, new Democratic boss, have tried their best to put a silencer on the shriek but it's no use.

Garner blew off steam again in Washington this week. He was asked about his part in the campaign.

"Garner's friends say his face resembles the American Eagle..."



Drawn by Art Young

"I'm only the errand boy," he said. "I just do what they tell me. Besides we've got the election won. So why talk about that?"

Garner is so sure he's got the election won that he's running for congressman in Texas as well as vice president. "It'll only take me 30 minutes to switch from one office to the other," he said.

That would be slow time for Garner. He's been known to switch from "progressivism" to "power trustism," swing into "radicalism" and out again in 24 minutes flat. In Garner's latest interview he refused to answer questions about the bonus and the use of troops to sack the camp at Anacostia. He did talk about his trip to New York where he talked with Roosevelt. "So far as I could tell," he said, "I convinced them up in New York that I wasn't radical."

THOMAS CALLS NEW ENGLAND TO NEW REVOLT

New Bedford, Mass. — Through the principal cities of the five New England states Norman Thomas this week carried the Socialist message of revolt to cheering crowds of workmen and women. Small towns in rock-ribbed Vermont and New Hampshire challenged industrial centers of Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the enthusiasm with which they greeted Thomas and his slogan, "Repeal Unemployment."

Saturday afternoon Thomas spoke from the steps of the statehouse at Concord, N. H. Here, as in other cradles of the revolution of '76, Thomas sounded the call for a new revolt—this time against unemployment and poverty. That night a great overflow crowd listened in Manchester at the city hall.

Frank J. Gorman, secretary of the United Textile Workers of America, shared the platform with Thomas Sunday afternoon at a state picnic at Providence, R. I. Joseph M. Caldwell, cellmate of the great Eugene V. Debs when that Socialist leader

PAID CIRCULATION OF AMERICA FOR ALL

August 6th.....	58,000
August 13th.....	46,020
August 20th.....	49,377
Net gain last week, 3,357.	

was serving a jail term in Atlanta for opposing the world war as a "rich man's robber war," also spoke.

Two more addresses filled out Thomas' day on Sunday. One was over the radio in New Bedford, while the other came before a big audience in the New Bedford high school. Thomas took up Roosevelt's Columbus address of Saturday and challenged him to state his positive program for the unemployed.

The Maine tour reached its high point with a jammed meeting of more than 1,000 at the Portland city hall. Five hundred men and women heard Thomas at Lewiston and as many at Auburn. At Augusta Thomas took an opportunity offered to address several hundred Kiwanians and give them the first talk they had ever heard on Socialism. Rain failed to spoil a good meeting at Bangor, where Thomas also spoke over a local radio. Skowhegan and Waterville likewise turned out big and enthusiastic crowds.

Vermont told the same story. The small towns of Bennington, Rutland and Barre gave audiences of nearly 1,000 each. The village of Colchester turned out almost to the last man and woman.

Thomas will begin the third lap of his tour this week-end, when rallies are scheduled in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and Nebraska.

The Forgotten Man Advises the Vets

Dear Mr. editor: The soldiers sure did git crosses. over there they got the distinguished service cross. when they come home they git the double cross.

The trouble with them bonu fellers is they give their selve the wrong name. thy should'v said they wuz a lobby. no lobby ever got kicked out of Washington.

I guess you gotta be a ded soldier to be welcome in Washington. at least, if your ded ya can't ask for nothin'.

The reason the fellers who w. the war got kicked out'n mister Hoover's front yard is that this time they wuz fightin' their own battle.

mister Roosevelt and the dem-o-cracks don't forget the soldiers neither. their platform sez justice for the soldiers. that's what mister Hoover gave them—the whole department of justice.

I'll drap you a line next time 'bout liquer. MIKE WHITE, The Forgotten Man.

100,000 VOTES IS AIM OF TEXAS SOCIALIST PARTY

Organization of 27 new local organizations of the Socialist party was reported last week, bringing the total formed since Jan. 1 to 313. . . . Vermont Federation of Labor has endorsed Socialist state and national ticket. . . . Labor League for Thomas and Maurer has issued leaflet, "Don't Scab at the Ballot Box. . . . Farmers' League for Thomas and Maurer being formed. . . . Referendum vote of party membership has inserted prohibition repeal plank in Socialist platform. . . . WCFL, Chicago, and W9XAA short wave station, to broadcast Thomas talk 6 p. m. Chicago light saving Sept. 3. . . . "Referendum" movement—Vote Socialists. . . . public stickers issued by campaign committee. . . . Slavic Socialists in United States touring Speaker Joseph Owen. . . . Socialist national executive committee meets in Chicago Sept. 3, 4 and 5. . . . Kansas Socialist state council meets in state capital Aug. 30 at 11 a. m. . . . New York Socialists making vigorous fight for honest election laws. . . . Organizer J. G. Hodges completes good tour western Missouri. . . . Connecticut Socialist picnic at Bridgeport on Aug. 28. . . . Socialist Federation of San Joaquin Valley, California, will picnic at Roeding park, Fresno, Sept. 4. . . . From the national organizers: Amicus Most directed distribution 4,000 pieces of literature at Father Cox convention in St. Louis; Murray Baron, big meeting in Chattanooga during Tennessee tour. . . . William Busick addressing large crowd daily in Texas, where Socialists have set 100,000 votes as their mark. . . . J. C. Thompson, holding two and three good Oklahoma meetings daily. . . . Lena Morrow Lewis on speaking tour of Utah; in Colorado next week. . . . To get in touch with any of these organizers or activities, write Socialist Party of America, 549 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.

MAURER TO INVADE MONT. FOR 6 RALLIES

WHERE YOU CAN HEAR MAURER (See local papers for place and time if not given here.)
Aug. 28—Fargo, N. D., St. hall, 613 1st ave. N.
Aug. 29—Aberdeen, S. D.
Aug. 31—Billings, Mont.
Sept. 1—Great Falls, Mont.
Sept. 2—Whitefish, Mont.
Sept. 3—Kalspell, Mont.
Sept. 4—Missoula, Mont.
Sept. 5—Butte, Mont.
Sept. 7—Couer d' Alene, Ida.
Sept. 8—Spokane.
Sept. 9 and 10—Western Washington.
Sept. 11 and 13—Oregon.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY is the party of big business and bankers. The Democratic party is the party of bankers and big business. Which ever one gets in, the working people are out. Don't throw your vote away! Vote Socialist!

TWO OLD PARTIES TRY TO SUPPRESS SOCIALIST VOTE

Along with their fight for economic justice, the Socialist party this year is also carrying on a battle for ordinary democratic principles which are supposed to be guaranteed under the constitution.

The Socialists are fighting in state after state for the elementary right of suffrage—the right to vote.

Reactionary election laws in many states, placed on the books by the two old political parties, are being used in an attempt to suppress the revolt which promises to express itself in a great vote for Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer.

Ohio seeks to disfranchise Socialist voters by forcing the collection of 300,000 signatures to a nominating petition. More than 30,000 signatures have been collected and the Socialist party is now pressing its fight through the courts.

Illinois old parties have enacted a law which requires the collection of 25,000 signatures to a nominating petition.

The state of Louisiana, dominated by the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt, goes far in the direction of political suppression. In 1924, despite the expenditure of thousands of dollars in the state, the La Follette campaign committee failed to secure a place for its candidate on the ballot.

Convention in North Carolina
The latest problem is raised in North Carolina, where, after months of delay, the state election board has ruled that 7,000 signatures must be gathered by Sept. 15 or the Socialist candidates will not appear on the ballot.

The Socialists have accepted this challenge. A state convention has been called to meet in the court-house at Winston-Salem, N. C., on Sunday, Aug. 28. Here names will be named and the fight to collect the 7,000 signatures. Hard-headed citizens in the state are urged to help this task.

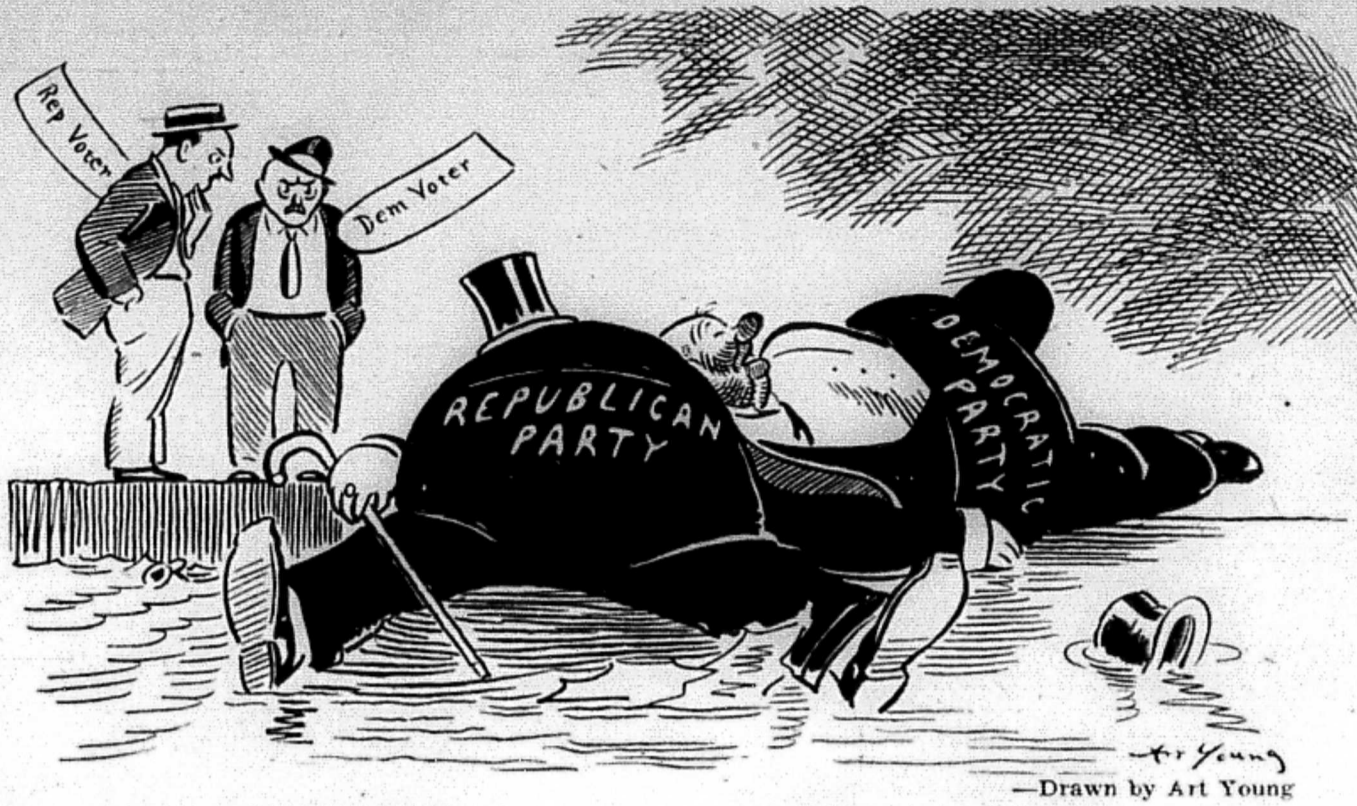
Despite these tremendous efforts of the reactionaries in both old parties to disfranchise hundreds of thousands of Socialist workers, the Socialist national campaign committee is surmounting most of the obstacles. Thomas and Maurer will appear on ballots in fully 44 states.

Official conventions are to be held this Sunday, Aug. 28, in Grand Island, Neb.; in Fargo, N. D., as well as in Winston-Salem.

THOMAS OPENS FIGHT IN THE MIDDLE WEST

- WHERE YOU CAN HEAR THOMAS
- Aug. 27—South Bend, Ind., Playland park, 2 p. m. Chicago, Eagles hall, 9231 Houston ave., 7:30 p. m. Chicago, Ivar's Temple, 4146 Elston ave., 8:45 p. m. Oak Park, Masonic Temple, Garfield and Euclid, 9:45 p. m.
 - Aug. 28—Grand Island, Neb., Liederkrantz hall, 2 p. m.
 - Aug. 29—Sioux City, Ia.
 - Aug. 30—Des Moines, East high school, 8 p. m.
 - Aug. 31—Kansas City, New Center theater, 15th and Troost, 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 1—Sedalia, Mo., 2 p. m. Springfield, Mo., American Legion hall, 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 2—St. Louis, noon luncheon, American Annex hotel. Granite City, Ill., 3 p. m. St. Louis, Odeon theater, 8 p. m. Station KMOX, St. Louis, Mo., 7:45 to 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 3—Speech over WCFL (970 kilocycles), 6 p. m. Waukegan, Ill., high school auditorium, 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 4—Workmen's Circle Col- three miles north of South Mich., 7:30 p. m.
 - 5—Detroit, socialist picnic.
 - 6—Indianapolis, Cadle tab- nacle, 326 E. Ohio st., 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 7—Dayton, Memorial hall, 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 8—Akron, the armory, 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 9—Cleveland, public audi- torium, 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 10—Erie, Pa., public audi- torium, 8 p. m.
 - Sept. 11—Metuchen, N. J., state campaign rally.

YOUNG WORKERS AND STUDENTS: Don't be muddleheads! Join the Young People's Socialist League. Write to the national office, 549 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill., for information.



DEAD DRUNK ON POWER, PLUNDER AND APATHY
The Bystanders: "Say, have we got to help those old bums up again?"

My Race for Congress
By HEYWOOD BROWN
Extracts from the famous columnist's 1930 diary, selected by him for publication in AMERICA FOR ALL.

AUGUST 23.—I see that the Republican Business Women, Inc., have made public the results of a symposium among their 600 members. Forty-five per cent of the membership stated, according to the newspapers, that they chose their party membership because of "family affiliations—they were born into it— their fathers and brothers belonged.

Wouldn't this be a good time for women to break off and decide on their own? It is certainly time for women in politics to make their decisions for good or ill without respect to the tradition which lies behind them.

Wouldn't it be more satisfactory to be first Socialist in the family rather than the 10th Republican?

August 26.—Politics has brought this columnist one peculiar thrill which otherwise he never would have experienced. I have appeared in cartoons. It is true that these were published obscurely in the leading communist organ. It must also be admitted that their tone was decidedly hostile. But an unfriendly cartoon is better than none at all.

I was pictured as fat beyond all belief and attired in a clown's costume. Borrowing an idea from the late Homer Davenport, the artist provided the suit with checkered squares, but, unlike the clothes attributed by Davenport to Mark Hanna, the design within the squares consisted not of dollar marks but whisky bottles. Gin would have been more appropriate and more welcome.

One hand upheld another bottle and in the other was a microphone. In front of the oafish oagre, easily to be identified by the label, stood workmen expressing disgust in manifold balloons. Behind stood the Four Marx Brothers.

It seemed to me a sprightly sketch, but one man in our group wrote an angry letter to the artist inquiring the basis of this attack. The cartoonist replied that he had left Socialism and gone over to the communist camp because the Four Marx Brothers were listed on a non-partisan committee. That explanation puzzled me. I wonder if he felt that they usurped the place of Karl, who was, I believe, no relative at all. Or maybe he felt that a Socialist with such a wealth of Marxes should consent to split them up.

The next day I was a baby in a carriage being indulgently regarded by capitalism—a large, old lady with a lorgnette.

Naturally, anybody would be pleased to act as model and inspiration for the graphic arts in whatever alley, but hard is the lot of a candidate who is pictured on the left as a smug reactionary and from the right, as represented by Mr. Franklin Ford, the broadcaster, as a red menace.

The Woman's Point of View If Hoover Spoke Honestly

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

HIS passing, the baby boy's, was on the day President Hoover ordered troops to clear the capital of the bonus army. Against the veterans, ill-fed, ill-kempt, unarmed, marched the regulars equipped with arms and modern instruments calculated to overwhelm protesting citizens carrying stones and bricks at most.

The large majority of these veterans had been in the expeditionary force sent across seas to save us from the Huns. Every man in that ragged army of 1932 had been from 1917 until long after the world war the target of one of the most intense, unceasing onslaughts of propaganda that ever beat on heart and brain. They were convinced that all Germans were bar-
trians as tricky as their Hapsburgs, all Turk and Bulgarians—the dregs of humanity.

Each member of the B. E. F. had been called upon in 1917 to march forth and save democracy from such as these. He was to march beside the czar in whose hands democracy had proved so safe, beside Belgium who had protected human rights so nobly on the Congo, in short he was to march with all virtuous nations, and against all the wicked. Every man in the B. E. F. had been soaked in this propaganda back in 1917. To be a fighter was to be a saviour.

At the close of the war adjustments of compensation to these heroes began. In 1930 it was agreed that in 1945 should come the final settlement. But by 1931 a bird in the hand looked much better than two in the bush, even to a veteran. Even the holder of a gilt-edged mortgage is trying to cash in on his security. "Pay me now," he cries, "and I'll knock off 10 per cent, 20 per cent of the sum you owe."

"When cash down on the bonus began to be talked of, I recall the argument supposed to be a knock-out blow for the veterans: "The total sum for the depleted U. S. treasury is huge, while the sum for each soldier is so small that it wouldn't do him any good. He'd blow it in a week." You women know how big little sums look in 1932.

An Imaginary Meeting
No paper carried the story, but the last breath of the baby boy made difficult by the rasping tear-gas, summoned the veterans to the White House grounds, and commanded the president to meet them there.

The spokesman of the ragged army said: "We believed all we were told in 1917. We got out to save the world. When our work was finished, the U. S., whether too soft-hearted or from a long-range hard-boiled view did promise to pay us something years hence.

"Today we are down and out. Less likely to get work than a year ago. Lots less likely than when we agreed to wait. Gosh, man, you who get your three meals a day, who get your pay from us regular, do a good turn and meet your I. O. U. a bit ahead of time."

And then the President: "I am

glad to meet you. Something has changed me. I seem led by the hand of a child. I profoundly regret that order to drive you from the capital of our country. But when I look at the facts squarely I see that the order to the army but dramatized what I was doing all the time—shoving workless, hungry men out of sight, allowing their ownership in farms and homes to be wiped out by the flames of foreclosure, their miserable shacks in city slums to be wrenched from them by the torch of dispossession notices. The troops, the conflagration, your resistance overcome by blinding you, dramatized scene by scene the hidden facts gnawing at the vitals of America. You as foil, I as counterfoil, staged a great play. The climax of our adult life was reached in one ocean of a child.

Throughout your stay at the capitol I closed my eyes to the truth that widespread unemployment is a national calamity needing nationwide effort under the federal government to meet it.

"The United States with its rich soil, its fertile waters, its natural resources, its fabricated but idle machinery, its shamefully inadequate housing for workers, can use every man and woman in wealth production. But thought is needed, plan is called for. It will not hurt our executive brains to stretch themselves a bit.

"My final word is this. You, as soldiers, know that camping in a city won't do. It is not sanitary. It is fraught with danger to yourselves—to the local population. We must not lend ourselves to a solution of your problem so unintelligent.

"You want to influence your congressmen. The place to do that now is in your representative's constituency. Tell your story against the Republican administration there. Tie the Socialist and Democratic candidates to written promises. Go, and as one of your converts I will see that you are taken on at the government enterprise nearest your home. My eyes are open to the folly of much we have achieved in 'saving expense.' Let us have done with all such humbug.

"A little hand tugs at my sleeve. It brought us together. It wishes now to lead us on our separate ways to work for a better America."

JOBLESS NAME THOMAS, MAURER THEIR NOMINEES

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—The national headquarters of the Unemployed Councils made public a resolution this week enthusiastically endorsing Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer as the candidates of the unemployed for the presidency and vice presidency of the United States.

The Unemployed Councils, a national organization chartered in the state of Indiana, was organized by a federation of more than 30,000 unemployed workers' councils in South Bend, Indianapolis, Gary and Hammond. Negotiations are now under way for affiliation with scores of jobless groups in other states.

William Getzell, national president, and John T. Markle, national secretary, made public the resolution, which was adopted last Saturday at a special session of representatives of the affiliated councils. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

A resolution unanimously passed by Unemployed Councils at a special joint session at the national headquarters in South Bend, Ind., Aug. 20, 1932.

Having considered the political and economic situations of our beloved, but misruled, mismanaged and abused country, and fully realizing the unspeakable plight of the workers and farmers, and our people generally, caused by capitalism and its instruments—the republican and democratic parties, the parties of the cruel, oppressive, exploiting, greedy, inhumane, unjust and outlived system of economic and social order, we, national officers of Unemployed Councils, at a special session jointly, with duly elected representatives of all the sections, after serious deliberation and respectful respect—

unanimously nominate as our candidates for president and vice president, respectively, of the United States:

We likewise in the same spirit accept and endorse the Socialist Party platforms and Socialist teaching, which are both the solution of our deplorable conditions and salvation of our beloved country and its people.
South Bend, Ind., Aug. 20, 1932.

WM. GETZEL,
National President.
JOHN T. MARKLE,
National Secretary.

Official notification of the action of the Unemployed Council will be given Thomas when he arrives in South Bend Saturday morning, Aug. 27.

For Every Labor Day Rally a bundle of
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August 27, 1932. No. 4

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FOR President **For Vice-President**

NORMAN THOMAS **JAMES H. MAURER**

What Socialism Is—

"Socialism: A theory or system of social reform which contemplates a complete reconstruction of society, with a more just and equitable distribution of property and labor."—Webster's International Dictionary.

Pity the Poor Rich

WHO said depression? Mrs. Richard M. Cadwallader of Philadelphia never heard of it. Last year she had a new boat built for her. Just a modest little thing. The N. Y. Times said Mrs. Cadwallader's sea-going hack, "The Savarona," was the "finest private sailing vessel the world has even seen." It cost \$5,000,000.

If you ask H. L. Doherty about the depression, he'll just give you a laugh. He threw a party for Washington, D. C., reported million dollars, or And Mrs. Ed- "kinson of rding to per- few . . . like \$0,000,000 worth of jewelry, \$128,000 in gowns, \$64,000 in hats, and a measly little sable wrap that cost \$60,000. And Mrs. Solomon Stanwood Menken of New York's smart set, reported in 1931 she had \$200,000 worth of jewels. Life sure is tough these days.

Kind Bankers

HAVING robbed American labor of a chance to earn a decent living for itself, an assortment of big business men and bankers have now set out "to save America's soul." Newton D. Baker, high-priced power trust lawyer, and J. Herbert Case, New York banker, sponsor the movement. Hoover blesses it.

Any time power trust men and bankers start giving things away it's time to look that horse in the mouth. We don't have to look far.

Power Trust Baker and Banker Case are busy organizing their fellow hi-jackers in "The National Citizens Committee for the Welfare and Relief Mobilization of 1932." The object is to pass the hat for local relief funds.

In other words, we're in for a new charity rash. About 18 of them have been organized since the depression started. Each one was going to see to it that nobody went hungry or homeless. Now we've got No. 19. And more people starving than ever.

Big business men make up the national council. There's Owen Young, Thomas W. Lamont, Felix M. Warburg, Mrs. August Belmont, Walter S. Gifford, and so on.

Have they gotten kind-hearted all of a sudden? Yes, kind-hearted to themselves.

The object of this new ballyhoo drive for doles is to smother the demand for increased taxation on the rich.

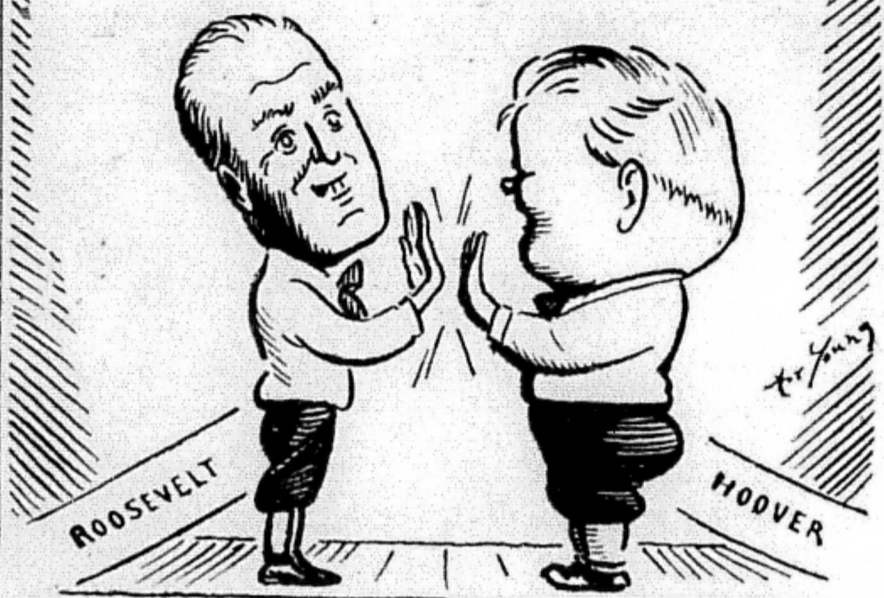
As long as the unemployed are willing to keep begging for aid, they'll get what they have been getting—nothing. When they get up off their knees and fight for what is theirs by right they'll look so big the old parties will start begging.

Gratitude

A WALL street banker has left enough money to keep his dogs and horses in comfort until they die. That's gratitude. If the unemployed were only horses!

FOR PROHIBITION AND AGAINST IT.
FOR IMPERIALISM AND AGAINST IT.
FOR WORLD COURT AND AGAINST IT
FOR HIGH TARIFF AND AGAINST IT
FOR ARMAMENT REDUCTION AND AGAINST IT
FOR AND AGAINST
AD INFINITUM

THE DEMOCRATIC—REPUBLICAN
"POLICIES"



—Drawn by Art Young.
"BEAN PORRIDGE HOT—BEAN PORRIDGE COLD"

Ballots Are Bullets

By W. E. WOODWARD
CAPITALISM, through its spokesmen and advocates, was generous in promises. We should all have work, happiness, money and comfort. All we had to do was to let the great minds and money-getters run things. They had business brains—so they said—and we Socialists did not know what we were talking about. "Business is conducted in the interest of all," said Charles M. Schwab. "When I make money my workmen make money. When all employes make money—then everybody makes money."



these things, then he is a failure as a capitalist.

It is not a matter of individuals, it is a matter of system. Capitalism destroys ordinary human decency; that is the fundamental and vital argument against it. It houses men and women like beasts, it deals in human cattle, it does not pay its workers the value of their product. The capitalist himself cannot remain decent and fair, even with the best intentions.

The trouble is that the capitalist mind is not a mind that can continue to function in a democratic, modern society. It is as out of date in the modern world of large scale industry and intelligence as a Pope of the Middle Ages would be in London or New York. Yet the capitalist mind—and the capitalist system—will run up just as long as it can.

We've got to put an end to it. We must vote it out of existence. We must be ruthless, courageous and uncompromising. We must get rid of this dead limb that the world is dragging around.

Don't forget that both the Republican and the Democratic are capitalist parties. Neither of them stands, first and foremost, for the worker. When you vote for any Republican or any Democrat you simply vote to enslave yourself.

It may take a long time to free America from the heavy burden of capitalism, but you can strike a blow for your own freedom—and for the freedom of all of us—if you vote for every name on the Socialist ticket in November, from Norman Thomas down.

Fight capitalism with votes. Every vote is a bullet.

Our Daily Bread

"Give us this day our daily bread—Give us our right," the hungry said. Walking along the darkening way. "Give us our bread and work—today!"
Hark to the tread of the sullen feet, Marching down the sleety street; Hunger staggers along the way. "Give us our bread and work—today!"
Swaying banners overhead— "Give us this day our daily bread." Masses of men and women throng— Living witnesses of living wrong. Buffeting through the wind and the rain. They will pass again and again, Menacing all who are sleek and fed: "Give—or we'll take—our daily bread." Reads like a story of long ago: "Driven by want, driven by woe, Peasants arose and began to slay," But it all happened yesterday. Reads like a tale from some far-off land. Countries we do not understand, "Where there will be the devil to pay." But—it all happened across the way.
RITA BENTON.

Crazy Capitalism

— This Week's Fact —

WHO OWNS THE NATION'S WEALTH?

1% of People Own 33% of Wealth
10% of People Own 64% of Wealth
25% of People Own 3 1/2% of Wealth

Repeal Unemployment

THE Socialist program to repeal unemployment:
1. Five billion federal appropriation for direct relief. 2. Another five billion for public works. 3. Government acquisition of factories and land to put the jobless to work producing the things they need. 3. Six-hour day, five-day week. 4. Unemployment insurance. 5. Pension needy workers over 60. 6. Abolish child labor. Moratorium on payments of mortgages and taxes on homes and farms of unemployed.

X-Rays
Stop Voting for Failures

By JOHN M. WORK

NOTHING fails like failure.

This thought first ran through my mind, and through my fingers out into print, when Woodrow Wilson went to Versailles, in 1919, the most powerful man in the world, capable of compelling the allies to yield to anything he wanted, and came back with his "ideals" dead and buried. His whole administration was a lamentable failure.

The administration of his successor, Warren G. Harding, was a failure.

The administration of Herbert Hoover is a failure.

If Franklin Roosevelt should be elected, which God forbid, his administration would be a failure.

If Hoover should be re-elected, which I also call upon the people, whose voice is said to be the voice of God, to forbid, his second administration would be a failure.

If Norman Thomas should be elected—and that's something I wish the almighty voters to decide in the affirmative—his administration would be a success.

These predictions can be made confidently for the reasons outlined below.

Both Hoover and Roosevelt have a certain amount of knowledge and ability, but they are the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties which are owned body and soul by the beneficiaries of the present capitalist system of industry. They are not at liberty to know anything or to do anything except that which is inside the capitalistic circle, for they and their parties are wedded to the maintenance of capitalism.

The vital internal problems which affect the people of this country, and the vital international problems which affect the people of this and all other countries, cannot be solved by approaching them from the standpoint of the present capitalist system.

This is the pregnant fact which accounts for the failure of the W-

son, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations, and which makes it inevitable that a Roosevelt administration or a second Hoover administration would be a failure.

Any president during the past few decades could have written his name on the pages of history with indelible ink if he had had the vision and the courage to lead the way toward Socialism. As it is, history will record all of them as futile failures.

A Norman Thomas administration would be a success because his party and he are in favor of replacing capitalism with Socialism.

Instead of standing for the maintenance of the spirit of competition and "ragged individualism," which effectually prevent the solution of national and international problems, they stand for the development of the spirit of co-operation and brotherhood, which will promote the solution of these problems.

For this reason, every honest and earnest voter, man or woman, should vote for the complete layout of Socialist candidates for public office.

To do otherwise is to throw one's vote away.

To vote for the Republican or the Democratic ticket is to vote for the existing chaos and misery, or perhaps for worse chaos and misery. No matter whether all of the Socialist candidates are elected or not, the only way to make one's vote count is to vote for them. Every Socialist vote is an added influence for good legislation and social betterment. Every Democratic and Republican vote is a vote for continued failure. Nothing fails like failure. Vote for success.

The Blood on the Coal

ONCE more the miners of Illinois are the vanguard of the labor movement.

Once more the Illinois coal operators have shown themselves brutal exploiters whose lust for profits employs murder and wholesale violence to accomplish its ends.

And once again the Democratic and Republican politicians of Illinois and its coal towns have shown themselves spineless lackeys of the coal lords.

The miners are fighting against reduction of their scale to \$5 a day. Few miners ever work five full days a week. For the miserable pittance they would receive under such conditions, they are asked to be good, docile workers and dig the coal.

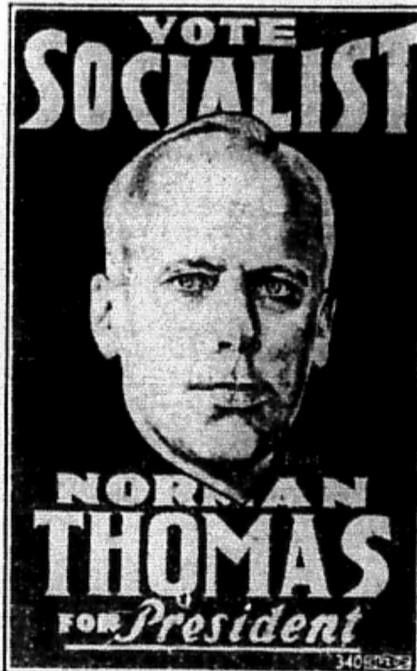
The miners have refused to take the wage cut lying down. Their march on Christian county was a magnificent demonstration. Despite the killings by hired gangsters known as "deputy sheriffs," they are carrying the fight further south.

The Socialist party will help the miners' fight against wage cuts in any manner it can. The Socialists are against the Peabody and other coal interests who are ready to spill any amount of blood as long as they can continue to pile up their profits.

The Socialists stand for taking the mines of the nation and turning them over to the people, to be operated by the miners and the government for the service of all—and for the private profit of none.

That is the only way we can wash the blood off the coal.

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Yes, but WHICH shall I read?

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- 25c Each: Socialism, Utopia to Science by Engels; Unemployment by Laidler; Case for Socialism by Henderson; Collapse of Capitalism by Merkel
- \$1.00 Each: Library of Socialism (20 Pamphlets); Walls and Bars by Debi; The Road Ahead by Laidler; Looking Backward by Bellamy

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