AS I SEE IT

Why the Army Was Spared.
The Dope of Fiscism.
An Invitation to War.
A Plan for Peace.

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President.

NATION with all the unrelieved misery of 12,000,000 unemployed doesn't deserve peace and isn't likely to set it. Both on the floor of congress and in hearings on military expenditures it was frequently and plainly sold that one reason for not cutting military expenditures was the danger of rlots. Even in so-called "prosperous" times a retired rear admiral in a debate with me said that the chief use of the army and navy, the R. O. T. C. and the reserves might be to pre-"order" at home. That is why the fighting establishments were bare ly touched by the process of balance ing the budget which has crippled some of the finest social services of government. And the Democrats, joined in keeping up appropriations to make us efficient for wholesale murder.

If you wanted any proof of the reason for capitalist enthusiasm for the army consider how President Hoover used it to disperse the unemployed workers who were veterans of the world war. For awhile some memory of their own war service protected these workers from the bullets and poison gas which the capitalist system bestows so freely on those to whom it can not or will not give bread. But not for long. What happened at Washington when the bonus army was harried out of the District of Columbia is another black mark on our national honor, a deep dyed infamy to the commissioners of the district and to the president of the United States who so needlessly and summarily used shocking force, driven by their irritation and fear to this equelty which they called 'preserving law and

But we shall miss the point of it if we forget that the greatest blame belongs not to any individual but to the system which creates class division and unemployed and war itself. The tragedy at Washington is a foretaste of what we may expect in city after city unless and until the workers themselves push forward the Socialist answer to unemployment; bread and work, not bullets and poison gas!

Nelther inside our own country nor in the world can there be true and lasting peace until we learn that more than ever before machinery has made our world interdependent. More than 30 things necessary to our true peace time prosperity are not to be found within our own borders. In such a world absolute national sovereignty, complete national isolation, is absurd and worse than absurd.

Even Mr. Houver who preached everlasting prosperity in 1928 now admits a depression which had something to do with the world war. Actually capitalism married to nationalism gave us the peace of Versailles which was no peace. Then, after a false gamblers' money lenders' boom in America they gave us this depression born of capitalism but made worse by war and its aftermath of debt.

But capitalism has not learned its lesson. Depression sharpens hates and mad competition for markets. It reduces resistance to war. It inclines American capitalists to turn to capitalism's last stand, that evil thing first popularized by Mussolini, namely, Fascism, And Fascism has to keep exploited workers drunk with the strong drink of jingoism. Thus it makes war more likely. That is one of the reasons we are so opposed to Fascism.

Socialism alone of the parties has a program for peace at home and abroad. We mean to make international Socialism the alternative to world war. We will not fight our fellow workers in other lands. Instead we say: Recognize Russia and trade with Russia, take the load of war debts off the backs of European workers which in their results crush all workers; that is, forgive war debts with the proviso that the act makes for disarmament, not armament—as for the American bankers, we will take care that they are not the principal beneficiaries of this forgiveness; end American imperialism in Haiti, Nicaragua and everywhere else; real disarmament; real cooperation with all forces in all lands working for peace. Read the Socialist platform and know that we mean all its planks. We were right about the world war. We are right in 1932 in preaching the only road to peace.

AMERICA FORALL

AUGUST 13, 1932 Chicago,

\$3,500,000 RELIEF TO J. P. MORGAN

(See Story on Page 3)



Gov. Moore and Militia Practice Gassing Striking Workers

The New Jersey national guard, with Gov. Moore playing the role of hero, gave a practice demonstration Sunday of how it is prepared to meet the demands of unemployed or striking working men.

The maneuver took place at Seagirt where luxurious summer home of Gov. Moore is located. Garbed in blue dungarees, 200 guardsmen played the part of strikers. They advanced toward the governor's mansion shouting "we want higher wages."

From the opposite direction came a platoon of infantry with gas masks and drawn bayonets shining in the sun. There was a clash. The tear gas candles were thrown. The "strikers" retreated.

When the breeze had carried the tear gas away, Gov. Moore and his wife emerged from their mansion. They stood on the porch surveying the scene of battle. They had won,—and he had given an idea of how he would treat such situations should they arise in his state.

P. S. Gov. Moore is a Democrat.

The Average PAID Circulaion of the First Two Issues of AMERICA

FOR ALL Is 49,090

THE SPIDER WEB

Power of Empire Held in 8 Banks' Control of American Industry

By LOUIS STANLEY

1. This chart represents interlocking directorates on July 1, 1932, between the eight leading banking institutions in New York City on the one hand and 120 major corporations on the other. 2. Each line means that the com

pany and the bank or banks connected by the line have at least one director or similar official in common. The chart may look complicated but it is in fact a simplification of the actual state of affairs. No attempt has been made to indicate where there are two or more identical directorships between a company and a bank. Only a few of the total number of corporations with which the eight banking institutions symbolized by the legs of the Wall st. spider are interlocked appear in the chart. Five hundred corporations slone are connected with two or more of the eight banks by the same directers. Of this number approximately 160 have common directors in three or more banks. The web only indicates 120 companies which are most typical of American capitalism. They are found among railroads, public utilities, insurance companies, banks, investment corporations, manufacturing enterprises, chain stores, etc.

t. The main leg of the Wall st. spider is J. P. Morgan & Co. It is a private banking house, a partnership which does not publish a financial statement of its business. Three of the banks shown on the chart are dependents of J. P. Morgan & Co.: the Guaranty Trust Co., the Bankers Trust Co. and the First National bank. The two largest banks in the United States are close allies of the House of Morgan: the Chase National bank and the National City bank. The Centra Hanover Bank & Trust Co. and the Irving Trust Co. are also within the Morgan sphere of influence. All these banking institutions have common di rectors. Together they exercise control over some of the most important sections of economic life in the United

4. The Socialist party would break the grip of this mighty empire on the people of the country. Whoever owns the industries and capital of the nation, controls the lives of its people. While reformers talk of restoring government to the people, the Socialists would restore industry to the people and see to it that it is run democratically for service and not for profit.

GREAT CROWDS CHEER THOMAS DURING TOUR OF PENNSYLVANIA CITIES

Continuing his tour through Pennsylvania after a meeting of over 20.-600 in Reading, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, met with record crowds last week it Easton, Allentown and Lansford. Swinging over to New Jersey, Thomas addresed a record Socialist crowd of over 1,000 in Kearny on Saturday.

An enthusiastic audience of 2,000 gathered at the Public square in Easton Thursday where Thomas again stressed the "repeal" of unemployment through Socialist action. That night over 3,000 men and women heard him at West park, Allentown. Another audience of over 3,000 gathered to greet the Socialist standard bearer at Lansford, Friday night, Here almost a thousand were turned away when the last available space in the hall was filled.

A large and demonstrative open air 1 eeting at the industrial town of Birsbiro Tuesday was preceded by a big auto parade from Reading. At Pottstown Tuesday night 1,200 persons jammed the Thomas meeting in Moose hall while hundreds heard him at an overflow meeting.

Sunday Thomas addresed two big meetings at Peekskill, N. Y.

THOMAS TO TOUR IN NEW ENGLAND

WHERE YOU CAN HEAR NORMAN THOMAS, SOCIALIST CANDI-DATE FOR PRESIDENT

Aug. 13th-Northampton, Mass. Diner-meeting, at White Eagle hall, 5 - m; Helrey Mass., at city hall,

Bonbright & Co. Borden Co. Prudent'l Ins. Bowery Savings Postal T. & Cable Braden Copper Phelps Dodge Bush Terminal Case Threshing Otis Elevator Cerro Copper # Nor . Pacific* ∠Chese Securities Chrysler Corp.

:30 p. m.; Chicopee, Mass., at town Aug. 14th - Framingham, Mass.

Louis Stanley

cester, Mass., at Mechanics building. Main st., 8 p. m. Aug. 15th-Bennington, Vt., at the state armory, 5 p. m. Rutland, Vt.

Workmen's Circle camp, 2 p. m.; Wor-

at the state armory, 8 p. m. Aug. 16th-Barre, Vt., at the state armory, 8 p. m.

Aug. 17th-Lewiston, Me. Aug. 18th-Bangor

Aug. 19th-Portland, Me. Aug. 20th-Concord, N. H., and Manchester, N. H., at city hall, 8 p. m. Aug. 21st-Providence, R. I., at 3 p. m.; New Bedford, Mass., at the high

school auditorium, 8 p. m. Aug. 25th-Fairmont, W. Va. Aug. 26th-Brackenridge Pa.

Aug. 27th-South Bend, Ind., 2 p. m.: evening, three meetings in Chicago, one south side, one northwest side and one at Oak Park.

Aug. 28th-Nebraska state convention, Grand Island, Neb., radio address over KMMJ, Clay Center, about 3 p. m.; and over WCFK, Kearney,

Aug. 29th-Sioux City, Ia. Aug. 29th-Des Moines, Ia. Aug. 30th-Des Moines, Ia.

Aug. 31st-Kansas City, Mo.

MICH. AND WISCONSIN TO HEAR JIM MAURER

WHERE YOU CAN HEAR JAMES H. MAUER, SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Aug. 10 to 13-Michigan. Aug. 14-Milwaukee, Wis. Pinic, Pleasant Valley park, 2 p. m.

Aug. 15-Kenosha, Wis Aug. 16-Sheboygan, Wis. Aug. 17-Green Bay, Wis.

Aug. 18-Oshkosh, Wis. Aug. 19-Fond du Lac, Wis. Aug. 20-Madison, Wis,

Aug. 21, 22 and 23-Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.

My Race for Congress

By Heywood Broun

(Extracts from the famous columnist's 1930 diary, selected by him for publication in AMERICA FOR



OF WALL STREET

UG. 13.-Why is it supposed to be screamingly funy if anybody but a professional politician runs for pub-

I used to hear exhortations from prominent men urring the average citizen to take an in rest in govern-mental affairs and participate in elections and at the end of these orations everybody used to applaud. But the minute I found myself nominated for congress on the Socialist ticket all my friends, and even comparative strangers, behaved as if it were the joke

of the month. I'm perfectly willing to admit the existence of humorous phases. Obviously. I am not superbly equipped by temperament or training to serve as a member of the house of representatives. But I can learn, and the

standard is not distressingly high. And then I have the advantage of not having to unlearn as much as most Democrats and Republicans.

The Sheep Vote It is well, I believe, for every candidate on whatever ticket to behave as if his election were assured. Concerning my own fate I have found some doubt even in the minds of stanch adherents.

Only the other afternoon I happened to remark to my friend, Edward J. MacNamara: "I hope it won't be as hot as this in Washington."

"Don't worry," he answered; "you'll

never notice it at all." If I know the boundaries of my distriet, it is not altogether strategically situated for a Socialist. For instance, I've got Central Park, One Socialist assures me that out of that section the only vote he got was that of the shepherd, who has since changed his residence.

Of course, there's not much hope of doing anything with the sheep or squirrels. The former are assuredly Republicans from the cradle to the grave, while the squirrels can be counted on to split between the Communists and the Democrats.

Throwing the Votes Away Another handicap of a Socialist candidate is that familiar cry, "Why throw away your vote?" And in that I think I see an edge of irony. A voter who casts his ballot for a Democrat or a Republican is supposed to get some practical benefit from his efforts. And this, it seems to me, is singularly

Take, for instance, the case of the jobless. The men and women who voted for Herbert Hoover for president and Jimmy Walker for New York's mayor received precisely the same amount of attention. Mr. Hoover gave them a few commissions and the mayor expressed the plous hope that the city might have a blizzard so that the snow

fund would go for outdoor relief. Yet possibly I am being unfair. take sides.

Washington did one thing more. The government dispatched census men to each home to ascertain whether the nouseholders were out of work. Uncle Sam also inquired solicitously whether each of us owned a radio.

I assume that # kindly great white father hoped that even if we did not eat well, we still might hear Amos 'n'

It's a dangerous thing to be dogmatic about unemployment. Yet there are definite things which can be done immediately.

Old-age pensions and unemployment insurance would certainly help. And even if a solution for the whole vexed problem does not lie just around the corner, it is time that a beginning was made toward amelioration. Mr. Hoover has been one of the most confirmed drifters ever to occupy the presidency. Certainly he has offered nothing in regard to the unemployment situation except a series of optimistic proclamations saying that everything was all right, and that even if it were not, it would be in a trice. But that trice has lingered and lin-

Once in an idle columnar moment I announced that if I ever became a candidate for anything, I would be a wet. The socialist party seems less moist than that. One can understand the logic of those who say that it is silly to get perturbed over the workingman who can't get a drink when attention might so much better be directed to the one who can't get a loaf of bread. But the question cuts deeper. The practice of prohibition has done more than any other issue to corrupt the integrity of political thinking.

This technique having been established, it has been employed by Republican and Democrats in regard 10 all the issues.

It seems to me that progress can not come from any quarter until there is an agreement on the part of all comtenders actually to face issues and

GETS 3 ± MILLION OF RELIEF FUND

A bill to permit the Reconstrucion Finance Corp. to loan funds o unemployed men and women was vetoed by President Hoover July 12, with the statement: "This bill would mean loans against security for any conceivable purpose on any conceivable security to any body who wants money. . . . at once throws upon the Reconstruction Finance Corp. all the doubtful loans in the United

The Reconstruction Finance Cerp., with the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has loaned another \$4,575,000 to the bankrupt Wabash Railway Co.

This brings the total loaned to the railroad by the government to \$13. 325,600 in the last six months.

Of the \$4,575,000 given the bankrupt Wabash last week, \$3,500,000 is to be turned over to J. P. Morgan banking interests. The Wabash had to promise to do this before the Reconstruction Finance Corp., with Democratic and Republican members in unanimous agreement, approved the

A Losing Road

The Wabash, latest beneficiary of the generosity of the Hoover administration, has a record of flouting the government and of unsound financial management. In granting the latest loan, the interstate commerce commission admitted that "the financial condition of the receivers has not improved." In 1927, the Pennsylvania Railroad started to buy into Wabash stock. By 1928, the Penn had enough to control the railroad. This process was carried through despite repeated orders by the interstate commerce commission that it be stopped. The Pennsylvania went straight ahead and two weeks ago the I. C. C. gave up the

The loan made last week to this railroad of doubtful financial standing and which has thus defied the federal government, will go into the coffers of J. P. Morgan & Co., a private banking house which publishes no reports of its transactions but which is, nevertheless, the king pin in the American bank empire. (See "Spider Wel

chart and story on page 2). Where the Millions Go

Of the \$4.575,000 loaned to the Wabash. \$1,550,000 will go to pay off loans to the Chase National hank banking ally of J. P. Morgan & Co .-One million four hundred and fifty thousand dollars will go to pay of loans to the Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co., dominated by J. P. Morgan and the Chase National bank-

Five hundred thousand dollars will go to the Bank of Manhattan Trust Co., which has been absorbed by the Bankers Trust Co., a J. P. Morgan

To complete the story-the Wapash was put into bankruptcy by the Pennsylvania Railroad which through the Guarantee Trust Co., is a Morgan institution!

Hoover and Morgan Let us check on Hoover's statement

of July 12th-He opposed loans on any conceivable purpose-but loans to swell the coffers of J. P. Morgan are easily conceivable

He opposed loans on any conceivable security-but the security of a bankrupt railroad is not only conceivable but completely acceptable.

He opposed loans to anybody who wants money-but J. P. Morgan is not anybody to him. In fact, the belief is widely held,

nd growing stronger every day, that J. P. Morgan is everybody to the president and the Democratic and Republican leaders who make up the Reconstruction Finance Corp. "Seventy-five men, women and chil-

dren, many of them weeping, appeared at the Town Hall just before noon . . and demanded food. . . . The town officials explained that they could do nothing. . . . The applicants . . . then left the hall." No, not lines out of the tragedy of

famine year in the Middle Ages. Merely a news dispatch from Clinton, Mass., dated July 7, in this year 1932 of the Machine Age, of overproduction and of a surplus in wheat, cotton, coffee, copper,

J. P. MORGAN How the Disarmament Conference Almost Started a New War

By JAMES H. MAURER Socialist Candidate for Vice President

FTER five years of intensive work A by a preparatory commission; after six months of continuous conference at Geneva; after the expenditure of \$6,000,000 by the 60 nations represented, the Geneva Conference on Limitation of Armaments has adjourned in complete failure.

Yet we were lucky to have the asserted diplomats and militarists who came together to prepare for peace go home without starting a new war. There were some tense days at Geneva after President Hoover made public his now famous but much misundertood proposal to cut armaments "onethird," In the months to come we will hear much of President Hoover's great disarmament proposal so it may be worthwhile to analyze it a bit here at the beginning.

Wanted Bigger Army

President Hoover did not really pro oose to cut armaments. Far from it He did propose to cut armaments of that type in which the United States is out-classed. On the other hand, he proposed to increase the size of the American army and navy.

The president told the Geneva conference that an army was needed for two purposes; for defense against foreign attack, and, second, for maintaining internal order. He urged that the size of the German army, fixed by the broken down treaty of Versailles, be taken as a standard and that cuts of one-third be then applied. On this basis, the United States would increase its present army of 140,000 to 200,000 for "police" purposes alone, and in addition keep an unspecified number for purposes of "defense" against foreign attack. Judging from the use the president put the troops to at Anacostia, to rout the starved and jobless veterans, he may need an internal policing army of 200,000. But what hypocrisy to try and call a stunt like that disarmament.

Reducing-for the Other Nations The president's proposal to abolish tanks was of a piece with his proposal on the army as far as the cause of peace is concerned. The United States has only 25 tanks in its entire army. The French and British armies, on the other hand, count heavily on their tanks. Therefore, Hoover was ready to abolish them. With similar false generosity, the president proposed a reduction in the treaty tonnage of na-

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., SOCIALISTS WINNERS IN FREE-SPEECH FIGHT

Huntington, W. Va., Socialists won

clean-cut victory in free speech fight

last week. Following insulting refusal

by chief of police to permit meetings, C. R. McNeil brought Central Labor Union in a body to meeting of Citizens' Committee, which was considering anti-free speech ordinance. The gag law was defeated, 15 to 2, and Socialists proceeded to hold a big meeting with Dana Harper, Jack Gillespie and Miller helped see the fight through. . . National Campaign Manager Clarence Senior reports nine locals chartered last week, bringing year's new ones to 258, . . . New Mexico Socialists hold state convention, Clovis, August 15. Frank Crosswaith to run for congress in New York City instead of lieuten ant governor in state. . . . Herman J. Hahn, Socialist radio minister, up for congress in Buffalo, N. Y. National organizers report: Murray Baron-State convention in Kentucky prepared for big campaign; now touring Tennessee. J. Biemiller-Rousing good meetings for Maurer in New Jersey and Delaware Lena Morrow Lewis-Thousands at meetings in 14 Nevada towns and cities. Amicus Most-Formed 5 new local in Dakotas, and has filed twice as many signatures as needed to get ticket on South Dakota ballot; preparing for North Dakota state convention in Fargo, Aug. 28th, with Maurer chief speaker. Paul Porter-Helping arrange state convention Grand Island, Nebraska, Aug. 28th; Thomas address to go on air from hall. Donald Smith -New Hampshire towns hearing first Socialist speeches since the war. John Taylor-Assisted Ohio in filing 30,000 inating signatures; now back in Illinois. J. C. Thompson-Big state convention at Gillian's Landing, Ark.: will tour 14 Oklahoma towns and cities Aug. 12 to 25. . . To get in touch with any of these organizers or activities write Socialist campaign committee, 549 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.

vies; but since the United States has not yet built, with the exception of battleships, up to the level provided for in the London and Washington treaties, Hoover's proposal here would result in new machinery of destruction in the shape of new cruisers and airpopulations during the next war and invite the aircraft of other nations to do the same to our homes and fami-

There were rumblings of protest when Hoover's proposal was made public. I am making no attack on the president with any idea of praising the diplomats and spokesmen of the other nations. They were all present, with the exception of the Russian representative, to make the best bargain they could to keep their armies and navies intact-and reduce the other fellow's. They would have been against Hoover's proposal if it had been a genuine disarrament scheme instead of a clever disquise. They un derstood each other and would probably have been glad to go home and end the comedy, prepare for the next war and in the mean me pull wires for alliances and positions of advan-

More Comedy Next Year

But the misleading tone of Hoover's arms increase proposal had put them in a hole. Tokyo's diplomats and warmakers, who, like all others, leave the actual fighting and self-slaughter to the workers and peasants who make up the armies, cabled flat orders to their peace delegates to oppose the Hoover scheme. The British, through Sir John Simon, did the same only a bit more cleverly. France kicked, and so did Germany. The representative of Fascist Italy, arch-hyporrite of the post-war world, made believe he was for the Hoover program, and tried to keep up the myth that it proposed real disarmament, Only the representative of Soviet Russia, Litvinoff, stuck to the fight for real disarmament as he had all through the six months. When the vote came on adjourning the conference, Litvinoff voted "for disarmament and against adjournment

The conference adjourned until 19.3 with nothing agreed on the the way of disarmament except that it might be a good idea. Britain and France forced the adjournmen in a tense situation which came periously near bringing the undercover hatred out on the surface there to spread its poison into the minds of the peoples of the world. The wily simon got Ambassador Gibson to agrie that the best thing to do was to adjourn. As a sop to Hoover, Simon proposed a lip-service resolution "welcoming heartily the initiative taken by President Hoover." Then beautiful plans for disarmament were detailed, with ro figures given nor any dates fixed when these reduc-tions are to take place. All that was promised was a repeat performance of

the farce next year

Wouldn't Listen to Gibson When Gibson wanted the floor to speak at the closing session, the Dutch and German delegates refused to listen unless they could speak too. When the patient Arthur Henderson, pre-

By MAYNARD KRUEGER

OME of the Wall Street big-wigs

got together the other day and de-

cided that this depression thing had

gone far enough. It must be stopped.

They went down to the Market with

grim determination, and within a few

days had bid stock prices up half

again as high his they were at their

lowest point this year. Stocks were

up and the kept press crowed like

a bantam rooster. The depression

was over-temporarily-in the stock

That was the only place where Wall

What they forgot was that bank

clearings were 12 per cent less in July

than in Jung; that exports dropped

off from \$1,31/6,000,000 during the first

six months of 1931 to \$841,000,000 in

1932, and imports accordingly; that

General Motors sold only 33,000 cars

in this country in July as against 57,-

That "Upward Outlook"

The capitalist newspapers were

too busy explaining that the market

ness to notice the announcement that

in August Chevrolet would make only

20,000 units, two-thirds as many as in

July, and that other General Motors

lines would be closed down almost

The New York Times carried a story

that "within the iron and steel in-

dustry there are few developments

always for casted the future of busi-

Street knew there was a depression.

market.

000 in June

Rigging a Sucker Market

TRADE.

siding over the conference, had finally gotten the floor for Gibson, Litvineff de ided it was high time he had the floor. Gibson decided to forego his statement. He was finally coaxed out of his reticence and made a meaningless statement saying he believed the maximum of possible achievement had been made. This did not satisfy the conference and further protests came from Germany and Russia. Finally Henderson got the floor for Herriot, and the French premier in a smooth speech talked the conference into adjourning and the delegates into going home without making any more

It would be funny if it were not s tragie. War is not as far away as it ought to be. In fact a good many of us believe it is nearer than that prosperity Hoover has been promising us since 1929. The commercial rivalries are greater today than ever before, what with millions of unemployed prodding the leaders of their nations to feed them, provide them with jobs. or make way. The rulers may try to ose war to divert the minds of the workers from their demands for bread. The United States expenditures for war today total over \$694,000,000. which is \$82,000,000 more than we spent in the comparatively more prosperous year of 1924, and more than \$400,000,000 more that we spent for so-called "national defense" in 1914.

The Only Party of Peace You will say war is "unthinkable. You will say that the last war was so horrible we will never have another. If you do, you will be fooling yourself adly. Not only is war possible, it is being talked about in government circles. Recently a "War Policies Commission" completed its hearings. This ommission mapped out plans to run the next war most efficiently, not how to stop it. It was no wonder that Secretary of War Hurley, who sent the troops against the vets at Anacostia. tried to keep Norman Thomas, our Socialist leader, from appearing before

the commission. Not only are the old party leaders, who led us into the "war to end war" planning another war, but they have gone so far as to assure big business heir profit when the war comes. Before this same War Policies Commission, Republican and Democratic leaders, big business men and bankers, representatives of the American Legion, and, I am sorry to say, representatives of the American Federation of Labor, all agreed that in the event of another war, a 7 per cent profit

guarantee to industry would be fair! Workers of America! There is only one way you can strike a blow for peace in this coming election. Presilen Hoover does not stand for peace. He has shown it. The Democrats have backed him loyally in his fight to keep our expenditures on militarism as high as possible. The Socialists opposed the world war and oppose war now. On this record, and on our detailed peace program, we urge you to vote for us. And more than that, we urge you to join our party and help make it a stone wall of peace over which the militarists shall never pass.

which can be counted upon as indicat-

ing a turn in the tide . . . the rate

of production in the automobile in-

dustry is declining . . . steel produc-tion declined this week to 15 per cent

from 16 per cent." But the headline

that the Times put on the story, in

order to play its part in the big gyp-

game, was one which might just as

well describe the forced outlook of a

man sunk in quicksand up to his neck

and still sinking. The headline was:

UPWARD OUTLOOK MARKS STEEL

moment, for which a reporter was

probably fired, the Times indicated

powerful forces determined to push

In another story in an unguarded

VINCENT ASTOR TO RAISE FUND FOR ROOSEVELT

By McALISTER COLEMAN

MIGHTY important discovery has 1 been announced by Franklin D. Roosevelt in his first long campaign speech-and that is that economic are an issue.

Roosevelt's radio speech stamps him as the forgetting candidate. He denounced high tariffs, although it was the Democrats (including Keynoter Barkley) who forced the most recen ariff jumps on oil, lumber, copper an oal. He deplored G. O. P. failure ! reduce debts more rapidly, althour) his own party attacked the administ tion for reducing debts so fast. And the latest white hope of "liberalism" got that it was his own senators who fell all over themselves to help the president reduce the 1929 income tax

Baruch Not Frightened

In the meantime, the so-called "strategists" of both parties are busy as one-armed paper hangers with the itch, getting up the designs for the mythe which they wish the public to accept as the realities of the campaign. Thus the Roosevelt managers are harping on the 'liberal' string but not loudly enough to offend the sensitive ears of Mr Vincent Astor Mr. Barney Baruch or Mr. Owen L

Both Mr. Astor and alr Barnel wo of the wealthlest men in the cour try, joined in giving Roosevelt testi monials last week. In keeping with that part of Roosevelt's strategy which aims to remove whatever fear Wall Street may have of him. Astor denied that Roosevelt is a radical, er needed to be feared by big business, As proof of how "sound" wealth regards Roosevelt, Astor necented as a member of the finance committee of his national campaign committee. The appointment of Frank C. Walker as "treasurer" is intended as a smokescreen to hide the directing hand of

Roosevelt further sought to si astride both "liberal" and the Wail St. steeds through an inspired interview at which he adopted the "snokesman" attitude and refused to be directly quoted. This gives him an opportunity to repudiate anything he said should the public reaction indicate he had gotten himself in wrong, According to the interviewer, Roosevelt "does not envisage public ownership of utilities." The furthest he would go is to have the government own some power sites, but no transmission lines. He disapproves of bad holding companies, but thinks the principle is a reasonable one. He assured his interviewer that his policies need not frighten utility interests.

Curtis, the Big Feed Man

Mr. Hoover, from the storm-cellar where he is seeing reds, issued loud squeaks about insurrections and revolutions, und so weiter, while his press agents announced the latest return of prosperity as evidenced by the fact that 238 operatives have been taker on at a mill in Fitchburg. Mass.

En route to the Los Angeles Olym piad. Curtis stopped at Las Veras. N. M., long enough to denounce the bonus marchers. Flanked by 15 special railroad police, a corps of secret service men and a detail of local police, Curtis had no trouble in silencing heckiers who asked him about the attack on the veterans in Washington, "You cowards, I'm not afraid of any of you.' Curtis shouted. "I have fed more neo ple than you have, you dirty coward, he added. He then went on to speak of the blessings of the nearby Hoover dam where men are toiling in jungle heat at starvation wages, with brack sh water and bad food to feed on.

that "the market is in the hands of What Mr. Curtis really had in mind no doubt, was the number of deserving the price level upward." We know Republicans that he has fed from the

that. But why? Behind the Flurry

Is it because of the tremendous enthusiasm engendered in the hearts of the unemployed by the knowledge that the wholesale price index has gone skyrocketing from 64.5 away up

Is it because booming the market will give Herbert Hoover material for better campaign speeches to pull more

suckers to vote G. O. P.? Or are these "powerful forces" "determined to push the price level upward" and stage a pretty flurry because the old supply of suckers is exhausted and it is time to dryw in the more cautious ones?

public treasury. Altogether after reading the straddling and pitifully childish doings of

the old party candidates, it is like coming out of the confines of a home for the feeble-minded into a sane world again to listen to the forthright speeches of Socialist Norman Thomas and hear his summons to the workers to make a world of their own, founded on the firm realities of a true economics. Mark Sullivan, one of the shrewdest and most conservative of political reporters, predicts in his syndicated articles that Thomas will receive the largest vote ever cast for a Socialist in this country,

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X— Rays

By JOHN M. WORK

N WISDOM, sincerity and ability, Norman Thomas stands head and shoulders above the four old party candidates for the presidency and vice

In the same qualities, James H. Maurer likewise stands head and, shoulders above the four old party

This is just a plain statement of fact; it is not here worship. I do not believe in heroes nor in hero worship, I do not believe in leaders, except in the sense that representative men and women have to be designated to take the responsibility of the various positions. I do not believe that leaders should tell the r at of us what to do, but that they should do what we tell them to do.

In other words, I believe that the rank and file of the people ought to develop themselves to the point where they will know what they want and how to get it. Then they won't need lenders.

It is dangerous to depend upon leadership instead of depending upon their own intelligence.

Gene Debs always disclaimed being a leader. He said he was not a Moses to lead the people out of the wilderness, and, in his terse way, he added that if he could lead them out of the wilderness, someone else could lead them in again. They must be able to lead themselves out of the wilderness -then they will stay out.

It is not strange that James It Maurer and Norman Thomas are head and shoulders above the old party can-

They are not politicians looking out for their personal interests. Either of them could have been a millionaire. or a high public official, long ago, if they had been willing to waste their lives in the pursuit of selfish ambition. Instead of seeking self-aggrandizement, they have sought to make the world a better place for their having lived in it.

How such a life shines by comparison with the life of an old-party poli-ger sticks, and in his spick and span fician who schemes and squirms and outfit he looks aldodges, in order to keep himself in office!

Thomas and Maurer stand for prin-

They stand for the principles of Socialism.

They do not want to be elected un which, if it, does

say that they are not seeking votes merely in order to get votes. They want the votes to have Intelligence back of them. They want in the history of to be elected by men and women who understand that Socialism is the cure for the ills of the world, and who want Socialism established as soon as possi-

What a contrast with old-party methods!

The old parties do not want intelligent votes. They are shrewd enough to know that intelligent voters who are also honest do not vote their tickets. They want to keep the voters in ignorance. They bend every effort, and spend millions of dollars, not to educate but to fool the voters. That's their only chance to win. It is an insult to the voters, but hitherto most of them have not been bright enough to know it.

The Socialist party and its candidates appeal to the intelligence of the voters. They ask them to study Socialism and to understand that the public ownership and operation of the industries affords the only way to bring universal and permanent prosperity.

Once this is understood, a voter knows he would throw his vote away unless he votes the Socialist ticket.

BIGGER TYPE NEXT WEEK. America For All will be set in eight point type next week, instead of the of the last two issues.



-Drawn by Art Young

It' Hell How Much Longer Will the People Vote for Misery?

The World War Veterans Reap Their Reward

By W. E. WOODWARD, Author of "George Washington,"

wears a handsome uniform. He arries one of those dinky little swag-

most as good as an actor playing a part. He cosses the army, Last ed a heroic deed less the principles are elected, too. | not win a medal should give him. at least, a place the Great De-



He led the United States army against the war veterans camped in Washington, and won a victory,

Most of the members of the Bonus MacArthur's companions in arms. Like him, they had served in the that we were a little too hasty in enworld war, and had helped make the world "safe for democracy." That did not prevent Gen. MacArthur from burning their camp and driving them out of Washington,

It was very different 15 years ago. That was when we went into the war, At that time the allies were on their last legs; they couldn't have kept up fore taking off our coats. the fight three months longer without our help. We didn't know it then; they lied to us-but we know it now.

In the inner councils of Wall Street with a knife. Something had to be done to save the loans made by Ameriean bankers to the allies. The only people into the war. They got us in it, all right.

You remember that roaring summer, Every man who wore a uniform was nance that Mr. Hoover must be retreated lik, one of the lesser gods, elected. Six months ago they turned Ban'ls bla ed, speeches were made, their thumbs down on the famous en-

and pretty girls stood on corners with gineer in the White House. He had flowers and sandwiches for the boys shown himself such a sorry failure "Money for Tomorrow." in khaki. Liberty was in danger of that they were ready to disown him.
EN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR perishing from the three of the earth— Within the last few weeks this sentiso it was said-unless our boys would ment has changed to one of approval. save it. Nothing was too good for a

> Now, the soldier boy of 1917 is the veteran of 1932. He has done work and is not needed any more. Pretty girls do not hand him sandwiches, and all he gets now on street corners is a poke in the ribs from the nearest policeman.

The "Buttle of Anacostia" was a ne-sided contest from ets were 10 to 1 Hoover and Gen. MacArthur would trading among themselves, defeat the veterans decisively.

As the smoke from the burning of the veterans' camp floats in the airas these penniless men pick up their pitiful bundles and tramp aimlessly away from the nation's capital-as the president explains his action-and as Gen. MacArthur is photographed strid-Expeditionary Force had been Gen. ing among the ruins of the camp-the thought occurs to many Americans tering the world war, afte

> We intended to save democracy, but there is a well-founded suspicion that the only thing we saved in that fantastic adventure was the redit and cash of J. P. Morgan & Co.

> The next time democracy saved let us think about it twice be-

Stocks are rising. A month ago U. S. Steel sold at 21; today it is selling at 32. American Telephone and Telegraph could be bought for \$70 a share the gloom was thick enough to cut in June. If you buy it now you pay \$96 a share.

What has happened? Have economic conditions improved tremendously in thing to do was to get the American four weeks? No; conditions are about

> The reason for the rise is that word has gone out from the leaders of fi

and they have made up their minds to re-elect him. Why this change of heart occurred I cannot say. Perhaps the moneyed interests think that, after all, he is preferable to Roosevelt and Garner.

Hoover is to slide in again on a wave of rising prices and stocks are beginning to go up. The public is not again to push ahead and make habitin the market; so there is nobody to able one frontier after another. In the start. The take these rising stocks off their tiny vessels we have sailed across unthat President hands, but they put up the prices by

> My guess is that this maneuver will be effective; that it will make a strong impression on millions of voters-who never think.

> Next Week in America For All, a reply to Hoover's radio address, by Norman Thomas; "Socialism or Fascism," by Harold U. Faulkner, and other features. Orders must reach the Socialist national headquarters by noon Tuesday, August 16th.

The Woman's **Point** of View

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH RECENTLY I met a Vassar class. mate. By '78 she was nicknamed 'Emerson," because she entered college with an introduction from the Concord philosopher,

In our chat on college days, "Emerson" reminded toe that as president of the class I jammed through a resolution calling upon members to read the newspapers daily or pay a fine. I did the reading, "Emerson explained, "because I couldn't afford to pay the fine." If Ralph Waldo himself had commended me I could not have felt more awestruck than when my classmate added, "I am still reading and very grateful to you for giving me the start."

Here and now I want to gather another group of women pledged to keep abreast of public happenings, 'The fines for lapse of duty should go to AMERICA FOR ALL. One of the fixed rules of the game is that social gossip can't count as reading, nor reports of the local murder,

Please don't conclude that I highhat local doings. Far from it, on those you should center. Politically you are well placed if you live, let us say, in the region of Muscle Shoals, or where droughts and floods afflict the population. Ferret out the facts of the local news. Then turn to platforms of the three major parties and note how each proposes to deal with these matters which broaden out to national dimensions. (I assume, you see, that you have the platforms handy.)

It occurs to me you have not been hinking perhaps of platforms at all, but of the founding of a new party. Tired of all promises of Democrats, tired of 51 years of exploitations by Republicans, you may have been lisening systematically to proposals to ound a third party.

But the third party is already here. It has a network of organization, nation-wide, world-wide. Weak at points the Socialist party admittedly is, but it has taken money, energy, untold sacrifice to bring it to the present development.

Your object to this or that in the party-its personnel perhaps, its devotion to pedigree ideas. You dream of a party without a flaw. Be assured your new party won't exist a year without showing faults inherent in all systems of political organization. In any case, why not come into the Socialist party? Help to make aiterations. It won't require as much sand in your gizzard, nor money in your pocket to do that, as to build a new house from foundation to ridge-pole.

You murmur, "gizzards and all that, you are talking to men, not us." No. I'm talking to you women. If you haven't gizzards, get them. You will have need of them, and sand, too, before this fight is over. Mark my word, you will have not only the capitalist system on your hands, but your menfolk, too.

Let me take a matter in point: Women have been rooted up again and charted seas, in oxearts conquered continents and all to satisfy the restlessness of the male of the species.

Cry a half strike against his new parties and ever new parties. His declarations are exactly like the Socialist platform.

If you can not coax him out of his dilettanteism, can not shake him out of his fear of being in a minority, at least refuse to sit with him on the sidelines. Go down into the arena of politics ready to return blow for blow, Fear of defeat brings the timid to 1 standstill; it plays no part in the campaign of the wise and courageous.



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