

Repeal  
Unemploy-  
ment!

# AMERICA FOR ALL

Vote  
Socialist!

No. 10

OCTOBER 8, 1932

Chicago, Illinois

## THOMAS URGES AMERICAN PEOPLE TAKE OVER NATION'S INDUSTRIES



A SMALL SECTION OF THE GREAT AUDIENCE of 16,000 who heard Norman Thomas, Socialist Candidate for President, when he spoke in the city of Milwaukee.

### Text of Thomas Address Urging People Run Industry

The text of Norman Thomas' address dealing with Socialist proposal to have the nation take over the principal industries.

AS THIS campaign goes on, it becomes clearer and clearer how intellectually bankrupt is capitalism. It is dying, but still has a tenacious hold over men's deeds and thoughts in spite of a complete lack of outspoken intellectual defense.

President Hoover is in the ridiculous and inconsistent position of defending capitalism (as against Socialism) in terms of a rugged individualism which is the direct opposite of his acts. For no man alive outside of Soviet Russia has so completely flouted "rugged individualism" of the old-fashioned economic sort, as has Hoover by his doles to sick banks and railroads, and by his tariff and farm program. He differs from Socialists principally in this vital respect: He puts government in business to help sick business; we would do it to further the co-operative commonwealth.

As for Mr. Roosevelt, only an amiable liberal could talk such impossibilities. He is for the gold standard, but would like to give silver a hand; he wants the farmers to get the help of a tariff without encouraging overproduction, dumping, or increased prices to consumers!

While politicians talk the men who want an American fascism to save capitalism are sawing wood, but they are saying little. They have nothing to say which can

arouse anything but bitter opposition among intelligent workers.

That leaves the field of theory and plan to us Socialists. There are few workers nowadays who argue our theories with us. But some honest questions about their application I still get. With one of these honest and oft-repeated questions, I want to deal. It is this: "Granting that the workers with hand and brain should own natural resources, great industries and the rest of the things you enumerate in your platform, how will you transfer them from private to public hands? By confiscation? And do you think you can do it without wholesale violence?"

There is no one method of transfer which is THE right and the only right method regardless of time, place and circumstances. Unquestionably society has and should have the right to confiscate for the social good—a right exercised in America in the freeing of the slaves and the abolition of the legalized liquor traffic. Capitalist society also does a lot of promiscuous and cruel confiscating by its speculation, its inflations and deflations and its wars.

As against such confiscations, Socialist confiscation for Socialist ends would be a step in justice. It would be restitution! Socialists cannot renounce the right to confiscate what society should never have permitted to be alienated from social ownership. In case of blind and violent resistance by an owning class there will be no alternative to confiscation. If actual ownership of capital

becomes consolidated, along with control wholly in the hands of a tiny group, confiscation will be the answer.

But although we do not renounce the right of confiscation we want to use the method or methods which will arouse least opposition and least disturbance. Confiscation as a declared immediate program will invite the bitter and violent opposition of all who own or think they own something. That means that our plutocracy will rally to themselves farm and home owners, and holders of life insurance and saving bank deposits. They are numerous and collectively strong. What could be done to unite them, Ramsay MacDonald shamefully but successfully showed in England in the last election when he raised the cry that a labor victory would wipe out postal savings bank accounts.

Moreover, we cannot successfully confiscate everything at once today and have a smoothly running Socialism tomorrow. All experience shows that. We shall have to begin with key industries. To confiscate them, leaving other owners little touched, will be inequitable and demoralizing to any sort of conduct of industry. We should have immense disorder and confusion.

Prof. Charles Beard and others have shown that interruptions in the economic order, to say nothing of war and violent revolution, cost far more than a reasonable purchase price for socialized industry.

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Spurred on by enthusiastic multitudes in city after city, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for the presidency, is sweeping through the western part of the nation sowing the seeds for one of the greatest political revolts the nation has ever seen. The Socialist candidate's fight in the middle and far west follows swiftly on a tour through the industrial east, where jammed halls and great overflow crowds called for four and five addresses a day.

While straw votes in the Literary Digest, Hearst and the Republican national committee polls gave the Socialist candidate percentages which indicate votes of between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000, Thomas carried forward his fight on fundamental issues.

#### 16,000 Cheer Milwaukee Address

Thomas opened his western invasion in Milwaukee, where he was greeted by a three-mile long parade and a meeting of 10,000 that night. Fully 6,000 men and women could not gain admission but heard Thomas' inspiring address through electric amplifiers. Before this huge audience, Thomas sounded the keynote of the last month of his campaign:

Thomas urged the workers of hand and brain, in cities and on the farms, to take over the industry of the nation and run it for their common use.

With merciless logic, Thomas portrayed in his Milwaukee and subsequent addresses the tragic breakdown of capitalistic industry as the only way out, a declaration for the people through the organized political strength of the workers.

Industry and reform it from its present sorry mess into a planned, socially owned machinery.

Only such drastic action, Thomas urged, will bring the permanent repeal of unemployment.

The Socialist candidate went into careful detail on the subject, speaking with a refreshing frankness that contrasted sharply with the hedging statements of Gov. Roosevelt on power and agriculture and the comparative silence of President Hoover.

The Socialist party would have the people take over industry peacefully, through a program of heavy taxation and a levy on capital, Thomas said. He warned, however, that resistance and the concentration of wealth in ever fewer hands might bring outright confiscation.

#### 6,000 at Madison

Thomas came to Milwaukee with the triumph of a great meeting in Madison, Wis., still ringing through the state. There an audience of 6,000 drawn from a city with a total population of 55,000, filled one end of the huge University of Wisconsin stadium.

As at Beloit, Racine and Kenosha, the Socialist leader dwelt on the recent Wisconsin primary. He invited the La Follette progressive out of the Republican party and into the Socialist ranks.

"Come home," Thomas urged the progressives, with the humor that is a rich part of all his speeches. "Come home. All is forgiven."

For the upstart, recent Communist now G. O. P. reactionary, John B. Chapple, Thomas reserved a biting personal scorn which he rarely uses in his campaigns. He pilloried Chapple as a lying recrudescence of Ku Kluxism whose election to the U. S. senate would bring that body to a new low level. "Which would be going some," Thomas added.

Over 2,000 heard Thomas in Racine, as many in Beloit and 3,000 in Kenosha. Before the meeting at Madison, Thomas spoke over some 30 radio stations in a hookup that was heard with particular interest in North Carolina to which he broadcast a successful appeal for the collecting of 10,000 signatures to give the party a place on the ballot.

#### Plain Words on Inflation

Thomas broke into his Wisconsin tour to make a flying trip back to Chicago to accept an invitation to

(Continued on Page 2)

**TUNE IN  
NORMAN  
THOMAS**

On the Radio  
**Oct. 20, 8:15 P. M.**  
(Eastern Standard Time)

Thomas Will Broadcast from Columbus, Ohio, Over the National Network of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

### Where You Can Hear Thomas and Maurer

- NORMAN THOMAS**
- Oct. 7. San Francisco, Cal., 12:45-1:30 p. m., Commonwealth Club luncheon, broadcast from KPO and NBC Pacific coast network.
  - Stockton, Cal., College of the Pacific auditorium, 5 p. m.
  - Oct. 8. Bakersfield, Cal., City Hall, park, 9:30 a. m.
  - Pasadena, Cal., 3 p. m.
  - Los Angeles, Cal., dinner, 6:30 p. m.
  - Oct. 9. Santa Ana, 9 a. m.
  - Los Angeles, Cal., Trinity auditorium, 2 p. m.
  - Hollywood, Cal., 8 p. m.
  - Oct. 11. Salt Lake City, Utah.
  - Oct. 12. Laramie, Wyo., 10:35 a. m., platform speech.
  - Cheyenne, Wyo.
  - Oct. 13. Denver, Colo., party dinner, 6 p. m.; mass meeting City auditorium, 8 p. m.
  - Oct. 14. Salina, Kas., train meeting, 11-11:10 a. m.
  - Manhattan, Kas., K. S. A. C. auditorium, 3 p. m.
  - Topeka, Kas., 8 p. m. Broadcast WIBW.
  - Oct. 15. Arkansas City, Kas., afternoon.
  - Wichita, Kansas, evening.
  - Oct. 16. Oklahoma City, Okla., afternoon. Unitarian church.
  - Tulsa, Okla., evening. Convention hall.
  - Oct. 17. Radio broadcast, afternoon. WFAA.
  - Dallas, Tex., evening.
  - Oct. 18. Memphis, Tenn., evening.
  - Oct. 19. Lexington, Ky., afternoon.
  - Louisville, Ky., evening.
- JAMES H. MAURER**
- Oct. 7. Indianapolis, Ind.
  - Oct. 8. Muncie, Ind.
  - Oct. 9. Evansville, Ind.
  - Oct. 10. Middletown, Ohio.
  - Oct. 11. Portsmouth, Ohio.
  - Oct. 12. Lima, Ohio.
  - Oct. 13. Youngstown, Ohio.
  - Oct. 14. Buffalo, N. Y.
  - Oct. 15. Albany, N. Y.
  - Oct. 16. Schenectady, N. Y.
  - Oct. 17. Ithaca, N. Y.
  - Oct. 18. Rochester, N. Y.
  - Oct. 19. Fall River, Mass., 7:30 p. m.; New Bedford, Mass., 9 p. m.

# THE NEW EMANCIPATION

## The Socialist Party Would End the Reign of Unemployment, Insecurity and Poverty

HARRY W. LAIDLER

BEFORE this presidential campaign is over, the two old parties of capitalism will have presented to the American people a thousand different promises for solving the unemployment problem.

They will say little, however, about the real causes of unemployment—the unjust inequality of wealth and income and the utter lack of social planning under the capitalistic system.

A few years ago in New York city a rich man died with an estate valued at \$187,000,000. What is \$187,000,000? If you were born in the year one and in that year put aside \$500; if you continued to put aside \$500 a year until the present time, you would still have to save some 68 years longer, until the year 2000, before you would be able to put aside one million dollars.

This gentleman died with 187 times that one million dollars. The Cause of Unemployment The average worker in the country in the prosperous year 1927 received a yearly wage of about \$1,200. If you gathered together nearly 4,000 ordinary workers and had them work for forty years, from the time they were 15, to the time they were 55, they would have earned, but would not have been able to put aside, as much as that one New York financier and sportsman was able to accumulate by the time that he died.

Under our present system of the private ownership of our mines and lands and electrical power and other necessities of life, the working people of the United States are forced to give a large part of the product of industry to the owners, while they keep for themselves hardly enough to keep them going. The rich spend a good deal on themselves and their families. They give some away. But they invest great sums in new factories to turn out more automobiles to sell out.

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### Thomas Urges People Take Over the Industries

(Continued from Page 1)

address the Chicago Bar Assn. "Chicago was never like this," Thomas declared as he stepped off the train at the Northwestern station into a cheering, swirling crowd of over one thousand Socialists, augmented by twice that many interested and sympathetic passers-by. A ten-minute address in the railroad station was followed by a talk before the largest audience the bar association has ever had at any of its luncheons. Some 900 lawyers crowded the dining hall.

Thomas here took as his text the Insull debacle and held it up as proof of the racketeering stage of capitalism in its dying years. The Socialist candidate did not mince words on the responsibility of lawyers in the game of robbery which the utility interests have been perpetrating on consumers and investors alike. He closed his talk with an attack on the futility of attempting to regulate the rapacious appetites of the private owners of public utilities.

Crowds Meet Train After Wisconsin came a trip through Minnesota, where the crowds again were hundreds of times as large as the audiences which had met him in his campaign for the presidency four years ago. Over 2,500 jammed the hall in Duluth and overflowed to the outside. Earlier in the evening he spoke before a capacity audience at the Workers' hall in Superior, Wis., where 32 people had gathered to hear him four years ago.

Minneapolis and St. Paul were next on the Socialist candidate's schedule. No less than five capacity audiences heard him in a single day in Minneapolis, while the St. Paul Labor Lyceum could not hold the crowd that gathered there. In St. Paul Thomas paid his respects to the Farmer-Labor leaders, and Mayor William Mahoney, in particular, who are playing the Roosevelt game nationally and the Farmer-Labor locally. The Minnesota Farm-Labor party has refused

### Wis. Socialist Vote Jumps 250 Per Cent

Although there was no contest at the Socialist primary in this state, the party's total vote increased 250 per cent over that of the primary of 1930. In Milwaukee county, this tremendous increase is hailed by party workers as an indication that the Socialists will carry the entire county ticket in the fall election.

other goods for the masses to buy. The masses of workers have need of food, clothing and shelter. They crave the good things of life. But their wage is small. Their purchasing power is limited. They can buy only a part of the goods that can be produced by our mass industries. There is a lack of balance between our power to produce and the power of the masses of the people to consume. This lack of balance means shoes and clothing and food piled up in stores, warehouses, factories, mills, farms, while millions who need these necessities are suffering for want of them. It means fewer orders for further goods, closed factories and shops, idle men and women, want, hunger, starvation.

The Cure for Unempl Under our present order, we put too much money in machinery; too little money

to be swept into an indorsement of Roosevelt, solely because of the great Thomas sentiment in the state.

Capacity Rally for Butte From Minneapolis, Thomas headed farther west. Farmers from miles about, as well as city workers, gathered around the railroad stations at Fargo, Jamestown and Mandan, N. D., where Thomas made brief but telling addresses. Crowds along the route in Montana also called for addresses from the end of the train and in Livingston and Missoula Thomas again gave his message of Socialist hope for the building of a workers' America and the repeal of unemployment. During a stop-over at Butte, Thomas addressed a capacity audience in the high school auditorium.

Seattle and the northwest brought Thomas new triumphs. An immense parade and reception in Spokane was followed by huge meetings. Big meetings were also held at the University of Washington and in Tacoma, where Thomas' address was broadcast. The size of the crowd that stormed the Seattle meeting necessitated a second rally. At Everett crowds at the station forced another meeting.

### Text of Thomas Address Urging People Run Industry

(Continued from Page 1) It would have been infinitely better if it had been possible—as it might well have been—to purchase the freedom of the chattel slaves with money rather than blood. Afterwards there would have been no such legacy of hate. Taxation, especially a capital levy which I shall discuss at greater length later on, will secure the legitimate object of friends of confiscation; namely that the workers shall not indefinitely be saddled with the costs of purchase of industry, far more smoothly and equitably than any conceivable piecemeal confiscation. In short, while there is reasonable hope of orderly, peaceful socialization we shall not announce a policy of confiscation which can be

in wages and salaries to be used in buying goods. From 1922 to 1929, real wages increased 14 per cent a year. In the same period, profits increased on the average of nearly 10 per cent (9.8 per cent) per year, and capital equipment, at the rate of 6.4 per cent. In the decade 1919 to 1929, the production per wage-earner advanced by some 43 per cent. Seventy men in 1929 could thus do the work requiring 100 men to perform in the year immediately following the war. Only a small part of this increased product went to labor. Tens of thousands of workers were discharged, while capital obtained wealth beyond the dreams of former organizations.

Thus we find, as the years advance, an increasing proportion of the product of industry is plowed back as new capital, while a decreasing amount is advanced as wages and salaries to be used in buying goods.

The result is severer crises as the years go on. Even in periods of so-called prosperity, millions are unable to find jobs. That condition will last until the farmers and workers of the country decide to combine their overwhelming voting power and to support a party dedicated to a social order under which the nation owns its great industrial plants and runs them for the electrical and welfare of all. The only party standing for such a co-operative system is the Socialist party. It is the party of the New Emancipation—emancipation from the slavery of insecurity, unemployment, poverty and starvation.

Will you join that great army of the New Emancipation by voting and working for Norman Thomas, James H. Maurer and the whole Socialist ticket?

There is no time to lose if we wish to save ourselves from chaos, achieved only by violence. What will we do?

Let me illustrate. In the case of the banking system we shall completely socialize the Federal Reserve and make all commercial banks join it. We shall forbid banks to have affiliates which market securities by selling them to the banks. Then we shall engage the postal savings bank into a general banking system with segregated commercial and thrift accounts. We should expect this publicly owned bank rapidly to win the field from privately owned banks but without catastrophic suddenness and without requiring the purchase or confiscation of private banks.

In case of public utilities and trusts, we should acquire them, at a price not fixed by the greed of the owners and with water and false values squeezed out. We should pay in bonds, not of the government but of the stock industry, let us say the oil industry. These bonds should be amortized in 30 years. The income from these bonds and the inheritance of them should be subject to the same drastic, graduated taxes we should lay on all wealth.

These bonds should also be subject to the graduated capital levy which, I am increasingly persuaded, we shall have to lay on wealth to wipe out or at least reduce the burden of war and other non-productive debt under which we stagger. This capital levy of itself would facilitate the actual ownership of industry.

But would not this also mean violent resistance of the owning class? Not necessarily. It has not rebelled against the British taxes which are driving down great landed proprietors. Besides, an owning class only fights if it can fool a great many workers into fighting with and for it.

Striped of the cry of confiscation to alarm the man who has a little something, they cannot arouse the farmers and workers.

United in the Socialist party, backed by our unions and co-operatives, we shall have power not less effective and far less destructive than any reckless appeal to violence to restore industry to the people.

### Socialists Win North Carolina Petition Battle

The Socialist party accomplished what seemed at first to be an impossible task when it filed 10,000 signatures to a nominating petition in North Carolina last week. The petitions were accepted by the election state authorities and the names of the Socialist candidates will appear on the ballots of the state for the first time in many years.

Thomas and Maurer, Socialist nominees, will appear on the ballots in 44 states, it appears at the present writing, with the great likelihood of being on in the 45th. Over 40,000 signatures were attached to a nominating petition in Oklahoma. On technical grounds, authorities of the state have refused to accept the petition. If necessary, the Socialist party will undertake to win favorable action through the courts.

Due to the stringent, discriminatory state laws in Nevada, Idaho and Louisiana, the Socialist candidates will not appear on ballots in those states. In Idaho and Louisiana the names of Thomas and Maurer may be written in on the ballots. The party was on the ballot, in but 42 states in 1928. States which did not carry Socialist nominees four years ago which will have them on their ballots this year are North Carolina, Rhode Island, Arizona and Vermont.

Mussolini Likes Ford Benito Mussolini, hangman of Italian liberty, has conferred on Henry Ford the Cross of the Grand Officer of the Order of the Crown of Italy. Ford was given this honor, said Mussolini to him, "because you are the world's fairest and most humane employer of labor." For comment, see any Ford employee—or ex-employee.

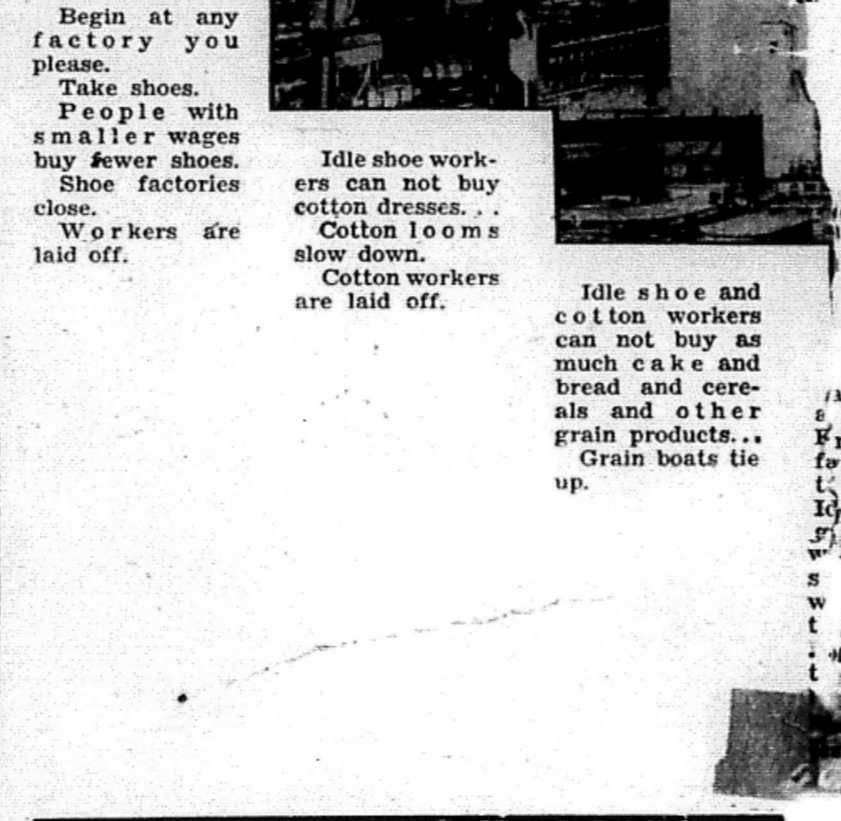
SOCIALIST STUDENT MAGAZINE. The Intercollegiate Council of the League for Industrial Democracy announces the forthcoming appearance this month of "Revolt," a magazine to be addressed to college men and women. It will be published at 122 E. 19th st., New York city, and edited by Joseph P. Lash.

# A PICTURE OF AMERICA

A camera at America. And the astounding results a book called "A Picture of America," a study of capitalism—and of its remedy, and permission of the publishers, Simon and Schuster, New York, we present a series based on the book, author, Mr. Cross.

By CHARLES CROSS

### No. 6—Why the Depression Deepens



Begin at any factory you please. Take shoes. People with smaller wages buy fewer shoes. Shoe factories close. Workers are laid off. Idle shoe workers can not buy cotton dresses. Cotton looms slow down. Cotton workers are laid off. Idle shoe and cotton workers can not buy as much cake and bread and cereals and other grain products. Grain boats tie up. Main workers are laid off. Farmers and hands feel the pinch. Idle shoe, cotton, and farm workers begin to slip up the wheels of industry everywhere. The slower wheels, the slower the whole machine slows down. Electrical appliance factories slow down. Electrical workers are laid off.

Idle shoe, cotton, grain, farm, mine, electrical, bank, office, and auto workers can now buy scarcely anything. Those that are not idle are having their wages cut. Which further increases the number of people who can not buy shoes, cotton goods—or anything! Still more shoes, cotton, etc. workers are laid off—have their wages slashed. And the vicious firing and wage-cutting process goes on in an endless circle. UNTIL . . .

Finally, 10,000,000 people are looking for jobs! 10,000,000 people—the bread winners for 40,000,000 people—one-quarter of the nation!

(Next Installment—The Dark Picture)

Well, the Stock Market has crashed! But what of it? After the first shock, only a few pessimists can see how the depression can possibly last longer than 90 days. But somehow conditions are not fundamentally sound. Prosperity is not just around the corner. Customers, by the thousands, decide not to "buy now." Factory wheels slow down. Business is badly frightened. Thousands of workers are fired. Wage-cutting begins. . . . Now follow the economic toboggan slide.

Idle workers go to the banks to draw out their savings. Banks—if they do not fail—sell their stocks and bonds to get the necessary cash. The Stock Market goes down. Banks sell more stocks and bonds. The Stock Market goes still lower. Panic days on Wall Street.

The weaker banks fail. Industry becomes still more unsettled. More businesses fail. Others slow down. More workers are discharged. Idle farm, factory and office workers can not buy automobiles. Auto parts factories shut down.

### 6,637,684 Leaflets Sold by Socialists Since Fight Opened

A mighty feat of political education is represented in the current sale of Socialist campaign literature. Tabulation made at campaign headquarters in Chicago this week shows 6,637,684 pieces of Socialist literature sold to local subdivisions or mailed free by the national office from June 1 to Sept. 27. And the six most fruitful weeks of Socialist campaigning are still to come.

Some 50 pieces of literature or books are included in the list. The national platform, near the million mark, "America For All," with a total sale of 490,000 for the first nine weeks, Edward Bellamy's "Parable of the Water Tank," and Norman Thomas' "Why I Am a Socialist," are among the best sellers.

The 6,637,684 pieces of literature sold do not include the millions of leaflets, books, pamphlets and local newspapers sold or distributed by state, city and county subdivisions of the party. The grand total would probably be twice that number.

The job of keeping the literature moving to all parts of the country falls on the capable shoulders of Jack Jaffe, traffic manager of the Socialist literature department; and Fabio (Matty) Mattocci, manager of the Italian Labor Printing Co., a Socialist non-profit-making printing plant in Chicago, which has been the party's standby through the hard days of the past and the great days of this campaign.

The Day of Reckoning. Election day is the one day of the year when every man and woman is the equal of any other. Use your ballot for yourself and your class—vote Socialist!



The Horn of Plenty 150 PIECES OF SOCIALIST AMMUNITION FOR \$1 150 copies of "America For All"—150 pieces of ammunition to stir the on Election Day. from The Socialist Party, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

### Socialists Defy Ban on Rally in Illinois Coal Mine District

Defying a high-handed order by the sheriff of Christian county, Ill., Roy Burt, Socialist candidate for governor, and John Taylor, Socialist national organizer, invaded Taylorville last week and held a stirring campaign rally. Taylorville is in the heart of the soft coal region, where the county authorities, state militia and the coal interests are banded together with repudiated officers of the old miners' union, in an attempt to break the insprising fight of the coal diggers against reduction of the wage scales. Troops have been in Taylorville to keep miners intimidated and at work at reduced pay, despite the fact that the mayor of Taylorville has declared no reason exists for their presence.

### HEAVY SOCIALIST DRIFT ALARMS ROOSEVELT CAMP

Behind the theatrical confidence with which Democratic job-holders voice assurances that their party will carry every state in the union there is great fear. The hallowness of the Roosevelt program is more clearly revealed with each of his "major" addresses. A situation made to order by the supine subservience to big business of the Republican party, is being lost by the Democrats who have their own bankers and capitalists behind the screen where the wires are pulled.

Seized by fear lest their twelve-year hunger for public office is to be unappreciated, the Democrats have resorted to a whispering campaign the falsehoods of which adequately typify the ethics of a former prizefight promoter Paul Y. Anderson, non-Socialist, famed and authoritative Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, revealed this whispering campaign

in a recent issue of his paper, the stream of poison is directed at the Roosevelt party whose reform campaign is painting clearly the similarity of Democratic and Republican political degeneracy. Here is Mr. Anderson's comment: "Thomas' Attacks Alarm Democrats"

"Democrats are genuinely alarmed over the effectiveness of the attacks which Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, is making on Gov. Roosevelt. Some of them have gone to the length of hinting that the Republicans are subsidizing the Socialist campaign—an idea which will hardly find lodgment with those who appreciate the dreadful time the Republicans are having in financing their own campaign. Privately, however, the Democrats comment rather bitterly on the advantage which rests with a candidate who knows he cannot be elected, and consequently is free to say exactly what he thinks."

"The governor, they contend, could be just as frank and forceful as the Socialist IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE NECESSITY OF AVOIDING ANYTHING THAT MIGHT ALIENATE VOTES."

Young Socialists' Program Young-workers numbering 270,000 from 28 countries, celebrated International Socialist Youth week this week with meetings and an intensified propaganda and membership campaign. The week marked the 25th anniversary of the founding of the International Socialist Youth Union in Stuttgart during 1907.

The Young Socialists' program calls for: 1. Abolition of Child Labor. 2. Elimination of Military Training courses, such as ROTC and CMTC. 3. Living wage and unemployment insurance for young workers. 4. Total disarmament and abolition of causes of war.

New Book by Thomas During the trying months of the great Socialist national campaign, Norman Thomas has found time to publish the finishing touches on a new book, "What's the Matter with New York," written by Thomas and Paul Blanshard. It is an analysis of the recent Tammany scandals and a statement of municipal Socialism applied to New York city's problems.

### ROOSEVELT MEN PROMINENT ON INSULL'S LIST

By McALISTER COLEMAN

When Franklin D. Roosevelt read off his cautiously guarded speech about power, written for him the obliging Basil L. Smith, who sometimes plays around with radicals, but who most of the time is well within the "Progressive" play-pen, did you boys and girls notice how careful he was to avoid naming and citing instances? He walked softly as his distinguished namesake once suggested but there was no sign of the Big Stick of the specific in anything that he said about the public utilities.

Small wonder that this newly-red candidate was chary of tramping on anyone's corns. There are too many close friends of the governor's political family mixed up with too many utility scandals for Franklin to go stepping high. There for example is Tony Cermak, one man above all others responsible for the governor's nomination. There is Owen D. Young, that knight of the shining armor, without peer or reproach, according to the worshipful Ida Tarbell, Owen's latest biographer. And Joe Tumulty, Woodrow Wilson's secretary and quite a scoundrel of others, all insiders on the dirty work of the utilities.

### Why Frank Was Vague

You will find their names and the names of some Republicans too, like old Sam Insull's favorite public service commissioner, Frank L. Smith, now Illinois Republican National committeeman, on the list of favored investors brought to light in the investigation of the Insull go-bang last week. These boys and Dave Shanahan, Republican, speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives and Mel Traylor, Democrat, president of the First National bank of Chicago and Elmer Schnackenberg of the Illinois legislature, were chosen, because of their beautiful eyes no doubt, to receive what the late James J. Walker of New York called "beneficence" in the shape of being let into the sacred precincts of the Insull two billion utility empire, getting stock at fifty bucks a share when the market price was \$59.25.

Just one little side-light on why Franklin D. Roosevelt is so lyrically vague when it come down to brass tacks on utilities. He did say something about the necessity for more publicity for the utility go-ons but he somehow overlooked all the publicity the kilowatt boys got when the federal trade commission was going good and showing up one crooked piece of propaganda work after another put over on us suckers by the utility press-agents.

### Power Crowd Liked Speech

So no wonder that there was a great sigh of relief around the national headquarters of the power trust in New York when the press-releases on the much-heralded power speech of Franklin's were received. The gang broke out into a loud halletujah and one of the mob, a bit smarter than the others, legged it to the phone and called up their house-organ The New York Herald-Tribune and told the editors to be sure not to say anything snooty about Mr. Roosevelt's nice, pretty talk as it was okay by them. What an out! Suppose he had got up and in an unguarded moment blurted out the truth about the power trust and what they have been doing to us all the last fifteen years! That would have been a pretty kettle of fish! Thank providence and the Democratic convention that in spite of some forebodings on the part of the more timorous, Franklin is guaranteed not to bite the utility hand that feeds him.

Who says that Herbert Hoover doesn't come clean on issues? Shame on him who accuses the heavy-jowled one of trimming. Here he comes right out and, over the radio, tells a lot of ladies that, all things considered, he is against child labor. He thinks it might be better for our little ones to go to school than to go to work. No doubt in his next fearless public utterance he will denounce rape and premeditated murder.

# AMERICA FOR ALL

Published Weekly By  
The Socialist Party of America  
549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.  
Edward Levinson, Editor

October 8, 1932. No. 19

Subscription Rates, \$1 a Year  
In Bundles, 70 Cents a 100  
\$6 for a Thousand



Entered as second-class matter August 3, 1932, at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

For President



NORMAN THOMAS

For Vice-President



JAMES H. MAURER

## Wanted: Men and Women to Vote for a Principle

By W. E. WOODWARD

YESTERDAY I had lunch with a friend of mine whom I had not seen in two years. During most of that time I have been in California, and he lives in New York. He is a vice president of a concern of considerable prominence. Both he and his company have been hit hard by the depression.

While we were at lunch he said, unexpectedly: "I'm going to vote for your darned old Socialist party this year."

I am well aware of his conservative views, so all I could do was to gasp, and say: "How come?"

"Why, it's a vote of protest," he explained. "I don't believe in Socialism, as you know, but I think the old parties ought to be taught a lesson; and, as far as I am able with my vote, I'm going to help give them one. So I cast my vote this year for Thomas and Maurer and the Socialist platform. Aren't you glad?"

Well, I wasn't especially glad, and he saw it in my face.

"No," I said, "I can't say that I am. Naturally, we want all the votes we can get; but look here—you don't believe in Socialism. Then why vote for it?"

"It's a protest vote," he repeated. Speaking for myself, as one Socialist, I don't mind saying here in print that all the protest votes can go to the devil so far as I am concerned. They make a showing—it is true—if there are enough of them, but they are as slippery as mud. They vote for us this year, because it's a bad year for business, and

they want to show their resentment. When business improves they will forget all about Socialism and be good Republicans or Democrats again.

A protest vote is merely negative. There is no constructive idea behind it—while Socialism is wholly constructive. In our minds we have a picture of a new civilization, a higher order of human society; and where can we find a place in that picture for a man who is with us simply because he is mad at stocks going down?

We want the votes of men and women who actually believe in Socialism during prosperous times as well as in the days of depression.

However, there is another side to this. Many of these voters will stay with us if we take the present opportunity of telling them what Socialism really is. They don't know, but they could learn. Therefore, every effort should be made to teach the "protest voters," so they may become real Socialists instead of temporary soreheads.

Most of them consider us a lot of visionaries. Well, as to that, it is not difficult to prove to any sensible person that Socialism is the one political belief that is founded on realities—on the true relation of men to each other, and to things.

Do that first. Take the event of today to show them that capitalism is a cloud of dreams, without system, or direction. You'll find plenty in the news of the last few years to prove your case.



—Drawn by Art Young.

### Liberalism

Gov. Roosevelt: "Then you mustn't mind if I slap you on the wrist now and then and tell you to behave?"  
Power Trust: "Why of course not. I'll know you don't mean it—and it will help fool the public."

## Power and Big Business Have Nothing to Fear from Democrats, Mayor Frank Hague Promises

Take the testimony of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City on the Democratic party. Mayor Hague is one of the elder statesmen of the party. He is its national committeeman for New Jersey. And he is staunchly for Gov. Roosevelt. On Wednesday Mayor Hague returned from a pleasure trip to Europe which he managed to take despite the hard times.

Mayor Hague, Democratic national committeeman, said:

"It's out of the window that the money interests of this country should fear a Democratic victory. That goes for the power people, big business and industries generally. Radicalism went out of the window with William Jennings Bryan. There is no room for it in the Democratic party."

## Overcoming the Fear of Labels

By KIRBY PAGE

ON NOV. 8 upward of a million American voters will for the first time cast their ballots for the Socialist candidates. That number would be swelled many fold except for an unreasoning antipathy and deep rooted fear of the word "Socialist."

For a century reactionaries in this country have carried on an unceasing propaganda against social change, and the most effective weapon in their arsenal has been that of vituperation. Conservatives have found that it is not necessary to answer arguments advanced by their opponents if they can succeed in pinning unpopular labels upon them.

### Abuse Used Before

A vivid example of this practice is found in an attack made upon gentle Susan B. Anthony, the famous suffragist, by a Seattle editor in 1871, who warned his readers:

"She is a revolutionist, aiming at nothing less than the breaking up of the very foundations of society, and the overthrow of every social institution organized for the protection of the sanctity of the altar, the family circle and the legitimacy of our offspring, recognizing no religion, but self-worship, no God but human reason, no motive to action but lust. . . . The whole plan is coarse, sensual and agrarian, the worst phase of French infidelity and communism."

For decades the abolitionists who sought the immediate overthrow of slavery were called all manner of names. In 1850 in the course of a debate with another clergyman, Rev. J. H. Thornwell said: "The Parties in this conflict are not merely abolitionists and slaveholders—they are atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, jacobins, on the one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other."

Red Republicans! Socialists! Communists!  
Don't Be Intimidated!  
The real objection of the present day reactionaries is not to the word "Socialist," but with the ideas behind it! The Socialist party stands for a social and economic order which is radically different from the present capitalist chaos.

There are undoubtedly many mil-

lions of American voters who are in substantial agreement with the Socialist ideal and program, but who allow themselves to be intimidated by old myths and fables and who harbor a fear that by voting Socialist they will be supporting atheism, free love, the abolition of the family, the Red Terror, materialism and what not. Or they may say that they do not want to throw their votes away by casting their ballots for a candidate who can not win this election.

If all such persons would get a copy of the Socialist platform, read it carefully and compare it with the platforms of the Tweedle-dee-dum parties, and would vote on a basis of real convictions, Thomas and Maurer would poll upward of 5,000,000 votes.

Nothing could put as much reality into American politics and offer the American people as much promise for the future, as the emergence of a really powerful Socialist party. To stand back for fear of being labeled is to adopt a policy of impotence. The middle class, as well as the working class, has long been victimized by capitalism, and for it as well the way of escape and redemption lies up the road of Socialism.

## AMERICA FOR ALL

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by J. B. Matthews

To Appear in Issue of Oct. 15th

#### SOCIALISM AND THE FARMERS

by Norman Thomas

To Appear in Issue of Oct. 22nd

Order Special Bundles at Once from the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois.

70c for 100 copies; \$6 for 1,000

## End the Wages of the Idle Rich

By JOHN M. WORK

SOCIALISTS are asked if they believe men should have a fair return on their legitimate investments. There is no such thing as legitimate investment. Not when the word "investment" is properly used. Of course, if you speak of having money invested in property which you yourself use for the purpose of earning a living, without exploiting anybody else, such "investment" would be legitimate, although "investment" would be a poor word with which to describe it. You own the property, but strictly speaking you do not have your money "invested" in it.

To invest is to put money in property, tangible or otherwise, for the purpose of drawing a profit from it.

Profit is never earned by the person who receives it.

Moneyed men have a way of saying that they put their money to work—that the profit is earned by their capital.

But that is merely a verbal method of covering up the facts. Language is frequently used for the purpose of hiding the truth.

Money does not work. Money does

not earn anything. When a man receives money in the form of profit, such money was earned by others. If those who earned it got it, he would not get it. And if those who earned it got it, it would not be profit, because they earned it instead of getting it for nothing.

Since profit is never earned by the person who gets it, but always comes out of the earnings of others who are entitled to have it themselves, therefore there is no such thing as a legitimate investment. It is never legitimate to take the earnings of others without giving value received, although in the nature of things, some men have to do it under the present system.

Capitalism is the era of investment—the era of profit-taking.

In the nature of the capitalist system, many men work, and a few get most of the earnings of those who work. The system is often called the profit system, as profit is its most conspicuous feature.

That is what makes the system wrong. That is the economic reason the system must be abolished and replaced by a system which will permit men to receive what they earn, instead of handing it over to

others in the form of profit. So long as the capitalist system lasts, however, profit will be an inseparable feature of it. It can not be otherwise.

It is for this reason that we often say we blame the system, not the individuals who take profit. Somebody has to take profit so long as the profit system is allowed to stand.

Nevertheless, at bottom, profit-taking is wrong, because it is taking something for nothing. The individual who takes it should use his spare time and money for the purpose of helping to abolish the profit system. That's the best way to expiate the wrong.

Since there is no such thing as legitimate investment, there can be no such thing as a "fair return" on legitimate investments. All return on investments is unfair.

We Socialists want these unearned incomes kept down to the minimum while capitalism lasts. We want high income taxes levied upon them. And we want them abolished entirely by taking the industries over and making them public property. They will then be run for use, not for profit.

### Recapitulate

THIS is the season to pause and remember,  
Now it is autumn and summer is past,  
Swift do the bitter winds blow to December  
Bring our folly to winter at last.

Now are the fruitful fields barren of sowers,  
(The barns of their masters are bursting with grain!)  
Now are the empty husks tossed to the mowers,  
And poverty sits at the threshold again.

Come, let us go to the ranks of the toilers,  
Red is the dawn of our day in the east,  
March by their sides to defy our despoilers,  
Striking the mask off, revealing the beast.

Truth be a token to anodyne sorrow,  
Justice a watchword to silence our fears,  
—Pluck from this nettle a flower tomorrow,  
Food for our hunger and peace for our years.

MURRELL EDMUNDS