

For President



NORMAN THOMAS

# AMERICA FOR ALL

No. 3

AUGUST 20, 1932

Chicago, Illinois

For Vice-President



JAMES H. MAURER

## REPEAL UNEMPLOYMENT!

**U**NEMPLOYMENT has become a law, the regular order of things in the United States. Unemployment hit the country hard in 1873 and stayed until 1879; it came back **again** from 1893 to 1896, it threw millions out of work **again** in 1908.

Within the memory of all of us the plague swept through the states **again** in 1914, and **again** in 1921.

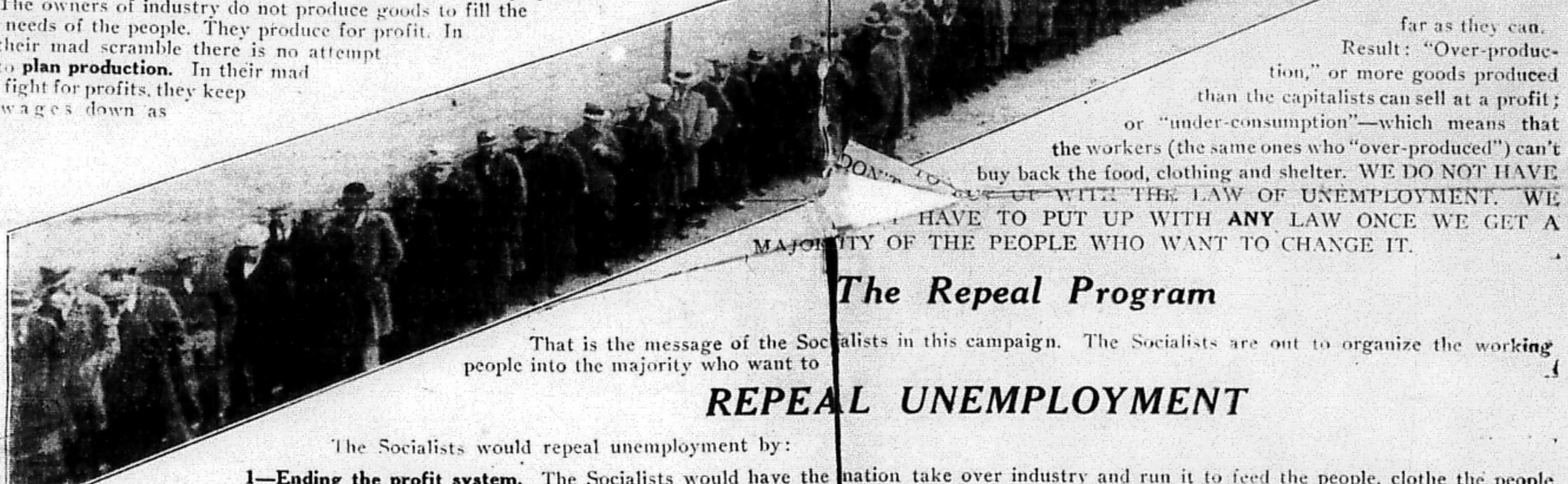
Now the law is working once **again**, more deadly, more devastating than ever before. 12,000,000 men and women out of work today. 12,000,000 breadwinners out of work—means 36,000,000 men, women and children feel the blow. Many millions of them homeless and hungry. For the others—the fear of tomorrow, the faces of anxious mothers, the cry of innocent children.

Anything that happens so often must be a law. It's not written down in any law books. But it is the unwritten law of American capitalism. Capitalism is the name of the industrial system we live under. The capitalist system is a **profit system**. The only reason it operates is to make profit for the owners of industry, the owners of the natural resources and the bankers. When there is no profit to be made the capitalist system stops working. When shoemakers produce more shoes than can be sold at a profit, the shoe factory wheels stop. When the miners dig more coal than the mine-owners can sell at a profit, the mines shut down. When there is no more profit market for automobiles, the auto factory gates swing closed. The same all down the line.

### We Don't Have to Put Up With It

Can this capitalist system right itself? It can not. Just as long as industry is run for profit—just so long will we have unemployment.

The owners of industry do not produce goods to fill the needs of the people. They produce for profit. In their mad scramble there is no attempt to **plan production**. In their mad fight for profits, they keep wages down as



far as they can.

Result: "Over-production," or more goods produced

than the capitalists can sell at a profit;

or "under-consumption"—which means that

the workers (the same ones who "over-produced") can't

buy back the food, clothing and shelter. **WE DO NOT HAVE**

**TO PUT UP WITH THE LAW OF UNEMPLOYMENT. WE**

**HAVE TO PUT UP WITH ANY LAW ONCE WE GET A**

**MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WHO WANT TO CHANGE IT.**

### The Repeal Program

That is the message of the Socialists in this campaign. The Socialists are out to organize the working people into the majority who want to

## REPEAL UNEMPLOYMENT

The Socialists would repeal unemployment by:

**1—Ending the profit system.** The Socialists would have the nation take over industry and run it to feed the people, clothe the people and house the people. Profit would be abolished. The people would own industry. It would be stupid of them to want to make profit

from themselves. **2—Planning production to meet the needs of the people.** Example: If the nation needs ten million pairs of shoes a year, we'd produce ten million pairs of shoes, and enough over to provide for any emergency. The coal, the clothing, the steel industry would be organized the same way—to fill the needs of the people without making any profit out of it.

And in the meantime—what of the 12,000,000 out of work today? While we are re-organizing industry on a profitless and planned basis—the Socialist party would feed the hungry, and put millions of men to work on public works projects, mostly the building of new homes. If we gave any relief at all to railroads or other industries, we would see to it that in return part-ownership and part-control of these industries would go to the nation—until we got the power to take over **entire ownership** and **entire control**. Where would the government get the money to feed the hungry, to start up public works and to buy out industry?

The Socialists are radicals. That means people who go to the root of things. The root of our trouble today is that a small group of people own

the vast industries and resources that all the people need. **We would transfer this property back to the people by taxation**—by heavy taxes on those who can stand it; by heavy income taxes; and by even heavier inheritance taxes.

Never mind the cries of big business against taxation. We have paid tribute long enough to big business. In 1930, when the depression was already upon us, the owners of industry collected more in dividends than they did in 1929, and almost twice as much as they did in the rich year of 1928.

**It's more important to keep unemployment down, than it is to keep taxation down. If you are for this program, your place is with the Socialists.**

**Work for Socialism! Vote for Socialism!  
REPEAL UNEMPLOYMENT!**

## President Hoover's Falsehoods on Unemployment

By NORMAN THOMAS

**R**UNNING through Herbert Hoover's radio speech are two assumptions, both false. The first is that the crisis has been adequately met. Says the President: "We have provided methods and assurances that no one shall suffer from hunger and cold among our people." As he spoke those words, did no vision of the bonus marchers driven to Washington, by hunger and cold and harried out of Washington by military force float before his eyes?

Has he been so isolated in the White House that he does not know

ers have built a little city around one of the municipal dump heaps and live on garbage which they forage from it?

Has he not heard that men sleep in subway exits and parks in New York City and that the latest figures of malnutrition among school children show an increase from 12 to 21 per cent since the depression began?

The second of Mr. Hoover's assumptions is equally false. It is that we are on the way out of this depression. As a matter of fact in New York state, July recorded the greatest drop in employment over June in any year's record. Employment fell by 5.3 per cent and the factory pay rolls by 7.1 per

Mr. Hoover begins his speech by a long explanation of the present depression in terms of war and its aftermath. There is truth in what he says. The war itself was one of the products, however, of the capitalist nationalist system which he so staunchly defends. Its ill results were already apparent in terms of world depression in 1928 when Mr. Hoover was making his fatuous prophecies of a "chicken in every pot" and "two cars in every garage." For eight months after he took his high office the speculative orgy which he now denounces was at its height and he used none of his great power and greater influence to stop it. After it began he wholly underestimated its seriousness and whatever steps he took

when they were right, were always too late.

Indeed, Mr. Hoover's own eulogy of what he did through the Federal Reconstruction Finance Corp. and otherwise is in amazing contrast to that gospel of rugged economic individualism which he still professes. Repeatedly he insists upon "that dominant American spirit which has produced our enterprise and our individual character."

What has become of that spirit in a country where the 200 largest business corporations control 50 per cent of the business wealth and are controlled by fewer than 2,000 directors?

What is there of rugged individualism in the immense doles that he

highest tariff in our history or to agriculture through the farm loan board, or to banks, railroads and the like through the Federal Reconstruction Finance Corp.?

These are extraordinary examples of the type of governmental interference in business which he theoretically criticizes, but which the exigencies of the time and of these latest years of capitalism force him to use.

The difference between Socialists and Mr. Hoover is not a question of collectivism versus individualism or of the government in business versus no government in business. It is a question of the kind of collectivism, and for whose benefit government shall act—the profit takers or the workers; speculators

# The Choice Before America SOCIALISM OR FASCISM?

By HAROLD U. FAULKNER

SPEAKING broadly, there are two economic civilizations in conflict for supremacy or survival—capitalism and Socialism.

The one is based upon the private ownership of the means of production and distribution and is expected to work because of the desire for profits and the beneficence of competition. The other is based on the social ownership of these means of production and distribution and the elimination of the profit motive, thus bringing a more equal distribution of wealth and opportunity and greater economic security for mankind.

Toward these two conflicting conceptions it is difficult to logically take a middle course. One is either in favor of capitalism and opposed to the Socialist conception or the other way around. You are either for or against the existing economic order. The two systems are so fundamentally opposed that there can be no middle ground.

### The Liberal Fools Himself

The "liberal" who dislikes the present system with its injustices and inequalities, but who thinks it can be modified sufficiently to produce a decent and workable civilization, is deceiving himself. History shows that capitalism has been undergoing some modification for a century without greatly improving it. As long as competition, the profit system and the private ownership of the great essentials of life continue it can not be otherwise.

Socialism, as seen in the public schools or the postal system works; modified capitalism, as seen in the effort to regulate railroads and other public utilities fails. "Modified capitalism," "planned economy under capitalism" and the other propositions which have so long attracted liberals are but will-o'-the-wisps; they are but "cocks crowing at midnight, announcing no dawn."

Modified capitalism to be sure is better than unrestricted laissez-faire, but it is still essentially capitalism.

### Where the Parties Stand

The conflict between the philosophy of capitalism and Socialism is too fundamental and too pressing to warrant an indifferent or supercilious attitude.

If capitalism is so beneficent and efficient and has created an economic order which works, if it has produced even a modicum of happiness and security for the average man, if it has produced a decent and wholesome civilization, one ought not to be afraid to defend it against the attacks of its opponents. If it has failed to do this, it ought to be actively opposed.

Under a form of government democratic in nature, important changes are usually effected through political party action. If you believe in capitalism, join the Republican or Democratic party. They are essentially the same, identical in all but name. Representing no real difference in philosophy or policies, their chief business is that of upholding the present economic system. Every two years, they stage a sham battle to see which crowd will gather in the plunder, and the voters fall for the bunk.

If one is opposed to the present

Prof. Harold U. Faulkner, foremost historian of American social forces, utters a warning to the working people of America.

Prof. Faulkner sees two great forces in a race for mastery in America—the forces of orderly yet thorough-going social change through Socialism, versus the forces of desperate capitalist greed which expresses itself in the violence and slavery of Fascism.

Here is a warning for Americans who hold life and liberty dear to take heed—and act.

economic order, his place, politically, is in the party advocating Socialism. The Socialist party offers a program based on American tradition and American methods. It is realistic. Discarding the idea that revolution by force is a practical procedure in America, it advocates change by peaceful means through political action. It presents the idea that decent personal liberty needs to be sacrificed to obtain a reasonable and scientific economic order.

Economic security and personal liberty? What finer ideal could there be? This is not the millennium; it is plain practical Socialism.

There is another important reason why any critic of the existing order should join the Socialist party. The Socialist has always gone on the assumption that capitalism, like other economic systems, would some day give way to another and better system.

The indications today point to the fact that capitalism has passed the meridian and is in a period of decline. It has fallen dangerously ill, and appears to be rapidly disintegrating. The evils inherent in its own system are destroying it.

In such a situation it is particularly necessary to build up a strong

## The Republican Soviet

STEEL, copper, banking and power stand out in the empires represented by members on the Republican national campaign committee. There is a good sprinkling of plain old party politicians, with all that goes with that in the way of corruption, small or respectable. A glance over the executive committee of the national campaign committee should leave no doubt—if there is any left—that the Republican party is carried around in the vest pocket of big business.

Steel is represented by Lawrence C. Phipps of Colorado, formerly vice president and treasurer of Carnegie Steel. In 1929 his fortune was estimated at from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000. Banking and politics for what there is in it has an able representative in R. B. Creager. In June, 1929, Collier's magazine accused Creager of selling federal offices and running the courts in his domain (Texas) so that he couldn't be tried for his crimes. Collier's also declared that he was in collusion with the Democratic machine to deliver them Republican votes and keep the same machine in office to hand out highway and bridge contracts to the right people. "Philadelphia was never like this," said Creager. (Philadelphia is celebrated for the close crooked collusion of the G. O. P. and the Democratic party.) Birds of feather, etc.

WANTED—Men and women to work for Socialism; against unemployment, against war, against tyranny; for plenty, for peace, for freedom. Wages, the satisfaction of being part of the greatest crusade in modern times. No experience required. Fill out this blank and mail it today.

Socialist party of America, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

I would like to become a member of the Socialist Party. I would like some literature and information about the Socialist Party. (Check the line you are interested in)

Name ..... Address .....

body of public opinion with a definite philosophy and a definite plan to take its place.

### No Fascism Wanted

This Socialism offers. The old order must give place to new without the chaos that would otherwise ensue. We want no disintegration of a civilization like that which befell the Roman empire. The only hope is for a better civilization to take the place of an outworn and decaying order.

Life can be artificially kept in the body of capitalism for a while longer, perhaps by Fascism, and unfortunately millions of people are gradually being won to the idea of committing the American Democracy to a Fascist state. Such a development would be intolerable. Fascism is contrary to American ideals and to all that, theoretically, Americans hold dear.

A change in our economic system is inevitable, and the change will be to the Socialist state. Let that change come, if possible, by constitutional and peaceful means. The Socialist party provides, it seems to me, the one opportunity to do this.

### Socialism Defined

"Socialism is a theory of civil policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the collective management of all industries. Its motto is everyone according to his deeds."—the Standard Dictionary.

## A PICTURE OF AMERICA

By Charles Cross

A camera looks at America. And the astounding results are set down in a book called "A Picture of America." Here is a picture-study of capitalism—and of its remedy, Socialism. By kind permission of the publishers, Simon and Schuster, New York, we present every other week a series of articles from the book, arranged by its author, Mr. Cross.

### 2. Our Curious Contrasts

How do YOU explain them? You hear of "over-production," of "readjustment." Of some strange law called "supply-and-demand." Who passed the "law"? What do such vague words mean to the freezing man in the picture? To the homeless couple? To the debt-ridden farmer? But, if the system under which we live can not explain itself, Socialists can.

It begins in 1776. (A handy date to remember.)

Before that date, no coal could be mined, no field could be plowed, no wheel could turn without the strength of some man's, or some beast's muscles.

Nature was hard. The earth was stubborn. Often men plowed, women plowed, children plowed—but there was not enough food for all. Many times whole families starved.

But in 1776 a man made the most important invention in modern times. He made the first steam engine. He brought in the Age of Power. He made today's great machinery possible. Now the victory over Nature began.

### NEW ENGLAND GIVES ROUSING WELCOME TO NORMAN THOMAS

Boston.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, entered on the second lap of his campaign this week-end, with a series of Socialist meetings which promised to make his New England tour a record-smasher.

Opening Saturday evening at Northampton, Mass., Thomas spoke to a supper conference of all the Socialist localities in the vicinity. Fully 15 lively branches reported work being done where only three existed six months ago. Local Northampton, led by Mrs. J. B. Dickson, sponsored the dinner. The same night meetings at Holyoke and Chicopee city halls were jammed to capacity. At Holyoke, Paul C. Wicks, candidate for congress, and Joseph Bearzak, spoke with Thomas. Alfred Baker Lewis, Socialist nominee for governor; Glen Trimble, western Pennsylvania organizer, and Joseph Orr, legislative candidate, spoke at Chicopee.

Sunday, two more huge meetings swept Thomas on his way. With George E. Roewer, candidate for attorney general, and David Eisenberg, nominee for state auditor, Thomas stirred a great crowd in the afternoon at the Workmen's Circle camp, Framingham, Mass. Worcester turned out en masse that same night, and an overflow audience joined in the cheering, stirring addresses by Thomas, Lewis, Rabbi Olans and Tom Conroy, secretary of the Worcester Central Labor union, who presided.

Before leaving on the New England tour, Thomas spoke in New York city, at Wall and Broad sts., the center of the financial district. Before 2,000 persons gathered at the steps of the U. S. subtreasury, Thomas indicted the Wall street system as "glorified racketeering." Here, as well as at his New England meetings, Thomas again sounded the Socialist slogan, "Repeal Unemployment!"



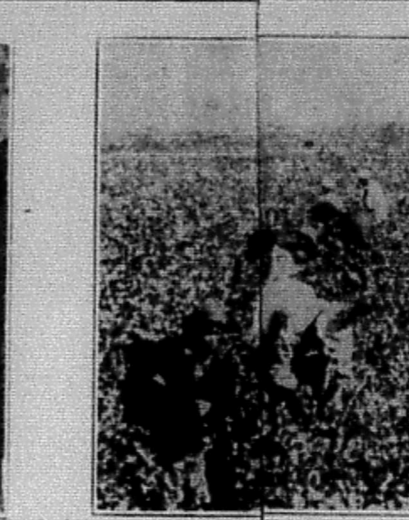
1. Wheat on fire! But harvesting hardly pays. So the farmers let it burn. While . . . 2. Men in breadlines beg for food.



1. Men freeze without coats. While . . . 2. Farmers have too much cotton, get government's famous advice: Destroy every third row!



1. Great scientists split up the atom—to get new labor-saving energy. While . . . 2. Men fight in job-lines to get work at \$15 a week.



1. Homeless! . . . 2. Too many "flats to let!"

## Our Curious Contrasts—Can YOU Explain Them?



thousands of bushels, fuel by the thousands of tons, energy by the millions of horsepower.

For the first time in the story of mankind, there is actually food and clothing and shelter enough for all.

But something somewhere has gone wrong.

Merely to have a tremendous flood of goods coming out of millions of machines all at once is not enough. There must be a way to control the flood. To organize it as a unit. To plan it for the good of all people.

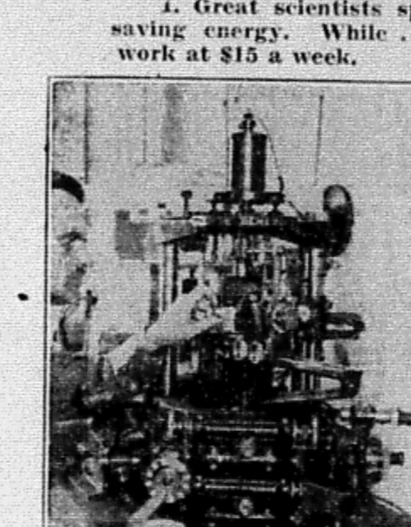


But, by the system under which we work, each group of machines—or factory—is owned by a different set of individuals.

Their interest is not in planning for the common good, but in profit. The profit system is called capitalism. Capitalism cannot organize itself.

Capitalism can have no controls except blind chance and cruel starvation.

Or put it another way: What happens when each new machine does the work once done



by a dozen men? What happens when all machines together at times produce more than all the world's workers—always poorly paid—can buy? The workers must be laid off—here in tens, there in thousands, everywhere in millions.

The wheels must stop turning. People must starve and freeze and perish among the mountains of goods that they themselves have made—until such a time as the goods are used up. . . . Then the wheels may start turning again. . . . Another depression



passes. . . . Until the next one.

It is well over 100 years since Socialists began to explain the question of the machines.

Were they right? Look back over the strangest hundred years in the history of the earth. And you will see it at regular intervals—people suffering, and suffering, and suffering in the millions.

(NEXT IN A HUNDRED YEARS OF HARDSHIPS.)

## My Race for Congress

By Heywood Brown

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

AUGUST 19.—Any newspaperman is pleased when the editor finds it necessary to sit down and write a piece for his column. My gratification was double because in this case it gave me one more day of vacation. But, naturally, I am grieved to find Roy W. Howard, my employer, enmeshed in error. He objects to my running for congress on the Socialist ticket for four reasons:—

1. No Scripps-Howard are there who have ever gone to congress, and the odds seem to be overwhelmingly against my election. 2. The sion of journalism is more important than that of politics. 3. Independence of thought precludes membership.

Strange "Independence" The real sticking point is my affiliation. I am quite sure of the fact of its being Socialist, not enter into the problem.

Indeed, The Telegram says Thomas for mayor, and I think it will also endorse him there. But I don't know. Right here the weakness in constraining to the sidelines, in order to any coherence of policy it is necessary to make something more annual alliances. At times Scripps-Howard independence comes little more than whimsy.

A voter may be pardoned

## MAURER ENTHUSED AT GREAT PROGRESS OF CAMPAIGN TOUR

Tired of Cheering With all due respect to the cheering section, the man who gets down to the field and tries to split a few trick plays is doing a great deal more. I'm going to do all I can.

Since when did it become a reproach to tackle a job with the odds vastly against you? I'm tired of hearing all this talk about how the honest average citizen should get into politics and not leave it to the machine professionals. I'm tired of hearing this, because I am average and honest, and yet when I do get in, my own boss tells me that this is no business for me. It's everybody's business and nobody's business.

But I am even more tired of standing with well-meaning liberals weaving a daisy chain of good intentions. I want to break that chain and enlist for duration.

## OFFICIAL SOCIALIST CONVENTIONS AUG. 28 IN NEB. AND S. DAKOTA

Socialist conventions to be held Sunday, Aug. 28, in Nebraska and North Dakota, will determine whether the Socialist national standard-bearers are to have a place on the ballots. The Nebraska convention will be held at 2 p. m. at Liederkranz Hall, Grand Island. Norman Thomas will be the principal speaker. There must be an attendance of 750 qualified voters to give the party a place on the ballot.

The North Dakota convention will require an attendance of 300 qualified voters. Socialists in both states are requested to spare no efforts to be in attendance, and to bring with them all the supporters they can muster. James H. Maurer will speak at the North Dakota convention, to be held at 8 p. m. in Stone's Hall, Fargo.

The campaign itinerary covered by Maurer told stories of forcing a roaring West Virginia river at flood tide; of two-hour addresses in coal camps, in steel mills and textile centers; of addresses censored by radio stations; of days on end with but four or five hours' sleep; of never-ending streams of reporters and local comrades who all but wore out their welcome by their insistent friendliness.

Newark, Flint, Belle Island, Toledo and many other cities turned out capably audiences. Sunday afternoon Maurer opened a week's campaigning in Wisconsin. Maurer is accompanied by Mrs. Maurer, who to date has a 100 per cent record of fighting off newspaper photographers. She insists Maurer, not she, is running for vice president and wants all the attention directed at him and his message.

## 28 SOCIALIST PARTY BRANCHES FORMED IN A SINGLE WEEK

Twenty-eight new Socialist branches organized last week, bringing the year's total to 286 and the year's still young. . . . Emil Rieve, president, Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, becomes chairman Labor League for Thomas and Maurer. . . . "Don't Scab at the Ballot Box" is league's slogan. . . . Ohio Socialists plan court fight to force placing of Thomas and Maurer names on ballot. . . . Mayor Dan Hean to make 10-day October tour for Socialism. . . . Norman Thomas speaker at midwest conference. . . . Thomas for President clubs (colleges) in Chicago Sept. 3-4. . . . Three new Socialist leaflets available at national headquarters: "She Changed Her Mind," addressed to women workers; new edition "Belamy's "Parable of Water Tank"; and "Build for Socialism," an organizational manual. . . . Alabama state Socialist convention, Birmingham, Aug. 20. . . . Arkansas Socialists enthused by "most successful state convention since the war." . . . Thirteen counties represented at Mississippi state convention. . . . New York Socialists organizing public employees to fight wage cuts. . . . Carl Whitehead, for U. S. senate, heads strong Socialists ticket in Colorado. . . . Socialist legislator Mrs. Wilson (Pennsylvania) wins fight to make easier amending of state constitution. . . . Nyack, N. Y., Socialists to test free speech ban with meeting Saturday night. . . . South Bend, Ind., unemployed councils planning to make visit of Norman Thomas Aug. 27 gala occasion. . . . Socialist national headquarters, 549 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill., will be glad to answer inquiries about meetings, activities, or leaflets mentioned here.

## Walker Plays Strange Role of Innocence

By McALISTER COLEMAN

SEN. SIMON FESS OF Ohio, himself no mean songbird, has announced that he is practicing the effect of his political speeches upon the winged songbirds on his estate. He read somewhere (sure, some of the senators can read) that his distinguished predecessor, Henry Clay, used to try out his speeches on the livestock on the Clay farm and that the results were enheartening, especially as far as the horses and mules were concerned.

So Simon is now warbling his stuff in what lack of his regular "little house" back of his regular house. A touching picture, we call it, one that Mr. Chick Sale's "specialist" had never envisioned when he undertook to improve the architectural beauties of the rear yards of the statesmen of Ohio.

As a former member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Song-Birds and also a lover of humanity, we are divided in our allegiance. On the whole, however, we believe that we should enthusiastically endorse the noble senator's device, provided, of course, that he does not carry on beyond the trout. Little houses in Ohio, surrounded by admiring songbirds, constitute our idea of perfect forums of Republican orators.

## One More Recovery

Elsewhere in this paper, Norman Thomas deals with the speech that Mr. Hoover made when they brought the astonishing news to Old Dudge that he had been renominated.

So we don't have to go into that except to call your attention to the fact that in springing the Big Surprise, Rep. Bertrand H. Snell said: "Upon you, sir, depends the recovery of the United States." If Bertrand is right, we had better all get busy patching up the already overcrowded storm cellar.

## Thomas to Conclude New England Tour

WHERE THOMAS SPEAKS Aug. 19—Portland, Me.; Aug. 20—Concord, N. H.; Manchester, N. H., city hall, 5 p. m.; Aug. 21—Providence, R. I., 3 p. m.; New Bedford, Mass., high school auditorium, 8 p. m.; Aug. 25—Fairmont, W. Va.; Aug. 26—Breckenridge, Pa.; Aug. 27—South Bend, Ind.; Playland park, 2 p. m.; Chicago, Ill., Eagles' hall, 9231 Houston ave., 7:30 p. m.; Ivar's temple, 4146 Elston ave., 8:45 p. m.; Oak Park, Masonic temple, Garfield and Euclid aves., 9:45 p. m.

Aug. 28—Grand Island, Neb., Liederkranz hall, 2 p. m.; over station KMMJ, Clay Center, Neb., and over station WCPC, Kearney, Neb. See local announcements for radio times. Aug. 29—Sioux City, Neb.; Aug. 30—Des Moines, Ia.; Aug. 31—Kansas City, Mo., New Center theater, 15th and Throop sts., 8 p. m.

Sept. 1—Springfield, Mo., American Legion hall, 8 p. m.; Sept. 2—St. Louis, Mo., luncheon meeting; afternoon meeting in Illinois coal fields; evening, mass meeting, St. Louis, Mo.; Sept. 3—Waukegan, Ill., high auditorium, 8 p. m.; Sept. 4—Detroit, Mich., Workmen's Circle colony, 7:30 p. m.; Sept. 5—Detroit, Mich., picnic, Michigan ave., near Telegraph rd., 3 p. m.; Sept. 6—Indianapolis, Ind., Cadle auditorium;

Sept. 7—Dayton, O.; Sept. 8—Akron, O.; Sept. 9—Cleveland, O., public auditorium; Sept. 10—Erie, Pa., public auditorium; Sept. 11—Metuchen, N. J., state picnic.

But along came a bright young Jewish lad named Daniel, who showed the whole dirty business up. It is a bit difficult for us, here in New York, who know Jimmy pretty well, to figure him in the role of Esnau. The picture that we remember of Susanna and the elders, which was supposed to be real naughty back in the early eighties, doesn't look much like the mayor. In that picture, Susanna wasn't even wearing spats. She was just clutching a small shirt to herself and apparently yelling for help. That is the frame of reference, may be the ancient equivalent of the Equitable Bus franchise and Max Steiner, the modern Daniel gallumping to the rescue.

Not everything has been breaking so pretty for Franklin. This past week-end he has had the tough luck of being visited by John Nancy Garner. To revert to biblically to terms here, one more vision of us should prefer a visitation of locusts to spending a week-end with that bell-mouthed bore. Thanks to William Randolph Hearst and the late W. G. McAdoo, John Nancy has been wished on the long-suffering Franklin as a "running-mate" and in this political race, you run with a running-mate, not from him, dear Mr. Hoover. Mr. Roosevelt undoubtedly pines to do.

## Maurer to Speak in Middle West

WHERE MAURER SPEAKS Aug. 20—Madison, Wis.; Aug. 21—Minneapolis, Minn., picnic, West River rd. and 31st st.; Aug. 22—St. Paul, Minn.; Aug. 23—Superior, Wis., Union Labor hall, 8 p. m.; Aug. 24—Duluth, Minn., Moose hall, 8 p. m.; Aug. 25—Chisholm, Minn., afternoon; Hibbing, Minn., evening; Aug. 26—Bemidji, Minn.; Aug. 28—Fargo, N. D., Stone's hall, 8 p. m.

Aug. 29—Sept. 5—Montana; Sept. 7—Coeur d'Alene, Ida.; Sept. 8—Spokane, Wash.; Sept. 9 and 10—Western Washington; Sept. 11-13—Oregon.

THOMAS ON WCFL.—Station WCFL, the "voice of labor," station of the Chicago Federation of Labor, will broadcast an address by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, Sept. 3, at 6 p. m.

**AMERICA FOR ALL**

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**X—  
Rays**

By JOHN M. WORK

A LIBERAL is a person who is vaguely dissatisfied, but does not know what he wants nor how to get it.

I am speaking of liberals in the narrow political sense. Of course, all of us Socialists are liberal in the broader sense of the term.

The political liberal gropes about in a dense fog. He has no destination and does not know which way he is going.

The Socialist, on the contrary, has emerged from the fog. He has a definite goal. He keeps the goal always in view and seeks to make progress toward it, whatever the obstacles in the path.

These remarks are prompted by a review of Norman Thomas' book, "As I See It." The review is written by Harry Elmer Barnes and appears in that stimulating little magazine, Unity, edited by John Haynes-Holmes.

Harry Elmer Barnes apparently attempts to tone Norman Thomas down to the point where he will be perfectly satisfactory to the gropers in the fog.

He writes: "Thomas is very bitter at those critics who find in him only a robust liberal. But I doubt if this proves... on the part of his commentators. He claims he is a 'genuine Socialist.' Socialism is a broad term, covering everybody from Bismarck to Stalin. . . . Personally, I see little in Thomas' platform which a courageous liberal would reject."

I don't blame Norman Thomas for being bitter at those critics who charge him with being a liberal. To do so is to charge him with being a nebulous-minded groper in the fog—and he is anything but that.

Norman Thomas stands squarely on the Socialist platform. That platform pledges him and all the rest of us to do our level best to secure the collective ownership and the democratic management of the industries that are now used by the private owners for the purpose of gouging the people.

If any "courageous liberal" can stand on that platform unreservedly, all I have to say is that Harry Elmer Barnes is mistaken in the identity of the gentleman—he is not a liberal, courageous or otherwise, but a Socialist from whose mind the liberal fog has lifted.

I have not concealed my contempt for the liberals—they deserve it. Woodrow Wilson was their patron saint. Need more be said?

But I have hopes for liberals and for everyone else who is groping in the fog. It is possible to dispel the fog by letting the sun shine upon it.

Liberals and others can readily find out where American Socialists stand. There is not a Socialism "covering everybody from Bismarck to Stalin." It is a Socialism which is very definitely set forth in the Socialist party platform, written in plain English which anyone but a moron can understand if he wants to.

Liberals will get nowhere so long as they grope around in the fog.

I advise them to forget their fear lest someone should persuade them to be too radical. Let them make an earnest and thorough investigation of Socialism. They will find that it is the natural cure for the ills of society, and that it is wholly desirable. Then they will be glad to go forward to the Socialist position which Norman Thomas really occupies, instead of trying to fool themselves regarding his position.

**LINED UP FOR INSPECTION**



Drawn by Art Young

"WANTED.—A strong man, who will obey his superior and understands Fascism. Good salary, four-year job assured." At present Hoover seems to have an advantage over his rival because of his heroism just before the battle of Anacostia when he so valiantly issued orders to put down the Bonus Rebellion. It should be noted that old man capitalism is barely able to sit up. Any disturbance to his system may develop serious complications.—A. Y.

**Where Socialists and Communists Part Ways**

IT IS a curious thing that the bitterest enemies of Socialism in America are the Communists. Our ideas and theirs have grown out of the same soil; we are bound in the same direction; the expressed aim of both parties is to overthrow capitalism and greed, and to establish a better social system in its place. You would think, naturally, that they would come up to us, shake hands, and be friends. But they don't; and the experience of the last five or six years has proved to many Socialists—to me, for one—that it is impossible to make friends with them.

They hate us like poison. I do not mean that they hate us, personally, though even that may be so in some cases, but they hate our methods. They think—or so they say—that we haven't any courage, any guts. We're a lot of softies—so they say. Well, they are mistaken.

Our courage is mixed with common sense, in about the right proportions. But if there is any common sense hidden anywhere in the Communist party in America it is certainly buried pretty deep. I have never discovered it, although I say this with regret, as I have a few friends among them.

They can't get the Russian revolution out of their heads. In Russia, under the czars, neither Socialism nor Communism could exist openly. The mere fact that a man belonged to any part of the radical movement made him a public enemy. Mild philosophic Socialists who had no aim except the good of humanity were looked upon by the ruling classes in Russia as Americans today look upon Al Capone.

What could be done? Some So-

cialists met in cellars, and threw bombs under the carriages of the asinine and contemptuous Romanoffs. If such conditions existed in this country today I would be a bomb thrower myself, and there is nobody in the Communist party, from William Z. Foster down, who would excel me at the sport of killing.

But we don't have to do that. You can throw ballots instead of bombs. In every Congressional district in the United States the labor element—men who work with their hands, mechanics, farmers, factory employes—are in a majority. It is our business to teach these people Socialism. If we convince enough of them of the soundness of our ideas, there will be nothing else necessary.

We do not have to get even a majority of votes to make Socialism a vital force in political and economic life. If we had one hundred Socialists in Congress, they would hold the balance of power. You would find that, with our hundred Social-

ists in the national legislature, both the Democrats and the Republicans would begin to put Socialist planks in their platforms with the idea of capturing our votes. Then our real trial would come. We would have to stand together and not be led astray by their offers.

That is the Socialist program. I can express it in two words: *Elect Socialists. And don't be discouraged if you fail to do it. Every Socialist vote helps, even if the Socialist candidate is not elected.*

A communist came to see me the other day. I count him as a personal friend. We have known each other for years. He talked of violent revolution. "Most of our work is done in secret," he said. "We are preparing for the coming revolution."

"Why not let your preparation include the election of a few communist mayors, or congressmen, or governors?"

"We shall probably never have enough votes to do that," he replied.

"Then how do you expect to be strong enough to sweep away the whole capitalist civilization by force?"

To this question there was no reply.

In the meantime, they are doing us—and the cause of labor—incalculable harm. They went to Gastonia, and before they left that cotton-mill town they had messed things up so thoroughly that it will be years before labor can be efficiently organized. With the same spirit they destroyed all hope—for the present—of organized labor in the coal mines of Harlan county, Ky.

The communists in America have no constructive ideas, no program except that of little boys who throw stones through windows and put cow dung in the milk.

**NEXT WEEK  
IN 'AMERICA FOR ALL'  
A Socialist Plan  
for Coal**

by Powers Haggood

Orders for bundles should reach the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, by noon of Tuesday, Aug. 23rd.

**The Woman's  
Point  
of View**

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

LET us take down those three platforms we have thumb-tacked over kitchen table or business desk. You have no doubt, copies of all three. I have not. I sent a request to each party campaign headquarters for one official copy of its platform, inclosing 10 cents in stamps. The Socialist party acceded to my request. From Democrats and Republicans, no response has come. I am an involuntary contributor to the tune of 10 cents to their campaign funds. It is a good measure of what I think of them.

In any case we loosen the thumb-tacks. A glance convinces that the Republicans win in the face of mere length. Naturally, for they are in office and have been in every one of the 70 years from the first presidency of Lincoln save the two Wilson and the two Cleveland administrations. Besides promises, the Republicans have to rationalize 55 years of failures. That takes space.

There is one encouraging feature about both old party platforms—some of the truths the Socialists have been hammering on year after year, are at last accepted. The Democratic platform makers are apparently converted to our sound obligation. Without solemn warnings such as they formerly gave against state interference with free competition, both old parties advocate the shorter week and work day. The Republicans grow enthusiastic over the "principle" of high wages. Because of pressure in their ranks, old party leaders are taking their baby steps toward Socialism. Let us keep hammering.

All three platforms propose great outlays of money—e. g., unemployment insurance, old age pensions by Socialists and Democrats. Only the Socialists introduce a plank that offers a sound method of meeting these outlays. We alone would have the government take over and run for the benefit of the people the great wealth producers—mines, oil wells, forests, water power. The keystone of Socialist economy is to have the American government, in the name of the American people, possess America's natural resources.

Great Britain's experience gives warning. The Labor party and the Liberal party before it, both made the error of adopting pensions and insurance schemes without first acquiring the solid riches flowing from government ownership. In other words, the debtor side of the national ledger was socialized, but not the credit side.

There's a good old adage savoring of the woman's sphere which meets this situation—you must catch your hare before eating it. (The saying is faulty, I admit. The copy sent in by waterfamilies read, before some man edited it, "you must catch and cook your hare before eating it." But don't let's split hairs. Even in abridged form the adage is sound.) The American Socialist party makes no bones about its intention to catch in the government reservoir the whole flood from the national watershed, and then feed it out for the welfare of the people.

The Socialist platform is alone logical at this point. The Republican platform goes only so far as to advocate that the Federal Power Commission be given the right to regulate the price of electric service transferred across state lines. The Democrats screw their courage to a slightly higher pitch, advocating the "strict regulation" of holding companies. The Socialists demand the government ownership and control of all natural resources. The profits from coal, from oil, from water-power must flow into the public treasury and then the overflow for the well-being of the people can be counted upon to be steady and lasting.

Women, you are the presiding geniuses of the most ancient and persistent co-operative group in the evolution of homo-sapiens. With the richness of your experience make a stand for the wisdom of universal co-operation.

Socialism is not slushy sentimentalism. It is hard-boiled common sense.

**YOUNG WORKERS AND STUDENTS:** Write to the Young People's Socialist League, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill., for information about a militant, class-conscious youth organization.