

Repeal
Unemploy-
ment!

AMERICA FOR ALL

Vote
Socialist!

No. 12

OCTOBER 22, 1932

Chicago, Illinois

CROWDS FIGHT TO HEAR THOMAS

(See Story on Page 2)



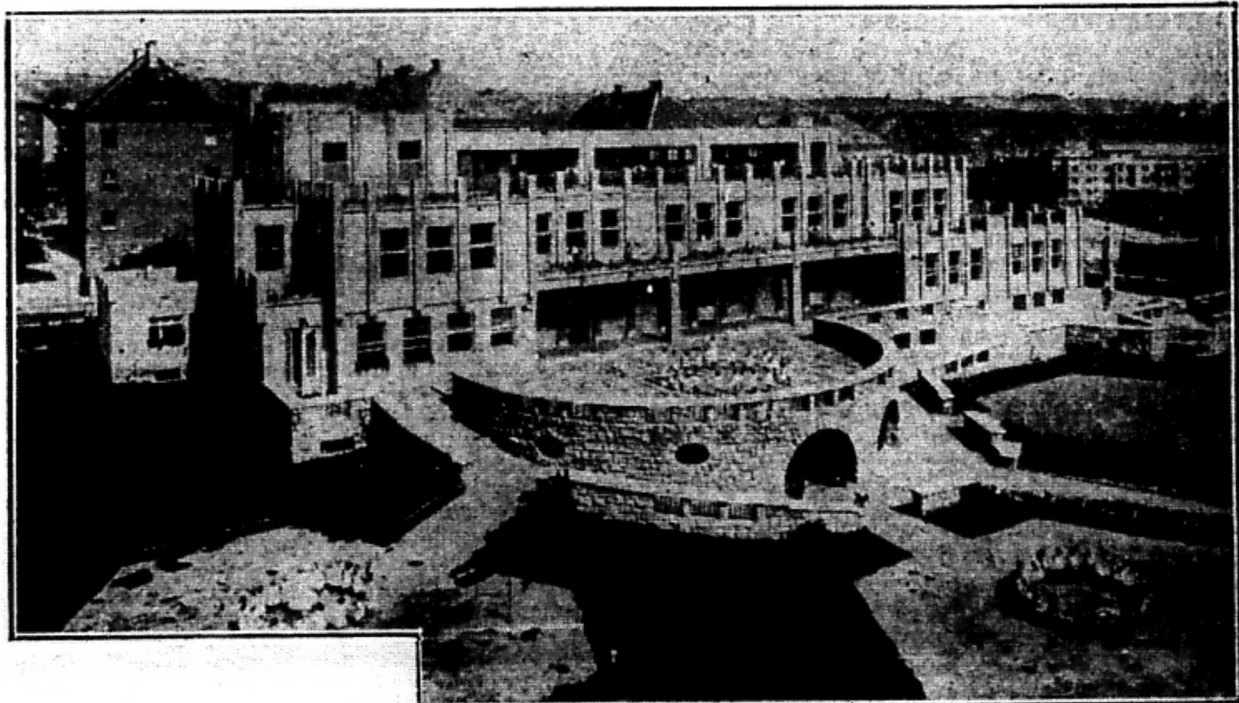
BUDDIES. GOV. ROOSEVELT AND Mayor Cermak of Chicago, prominent insider on Insull's list of favored stockholders who cleaned up 25 per cent on their investments and then pulled out in time to let others get caught. Photo taken during Cermak's recent Chicago reception to Roosevelt.



HUGE CROWDS CHEER NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for president, on tour of nation. Great parades welcomed him in Spokane and Milwaukee, where the above was taken. 10,000 heard Thomas in Denver last week. Police reserves had to quell a riot among those who couldn't get in to his Los Angeles meeting.



READY FOR ELECTION DAY.—Socialists to distribute millions of loaves of bread facsimilies as last minute reminders to voters to vote against unemployment. (See story on page 3). Above Elden La Mar, circulation manager of "America For All," shows the bread and poll workers' badge. She has an easy job in the picture. The voter she's approached is Clarence Senior, Socialist national campaign manager. But she's only practicing.



SOCIALISTS BUILD HOMES FOR WORKERS in city of Vienna while Hoover and Roosevelt PROMISE better homes which they have had plenty of opportunity to build in recent years. This is one of the model apartments built by Socialist Vienna and rented to the workers' at the cost of production and upkeep.

TUNE IN

NORMAN THOMAS

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20th

8:15 P. M., Eastern Standard Time—from Columbus, Ohio.

Over the national network of the Columbia Broadcasting System

Coolidge Addresses America's Serfs

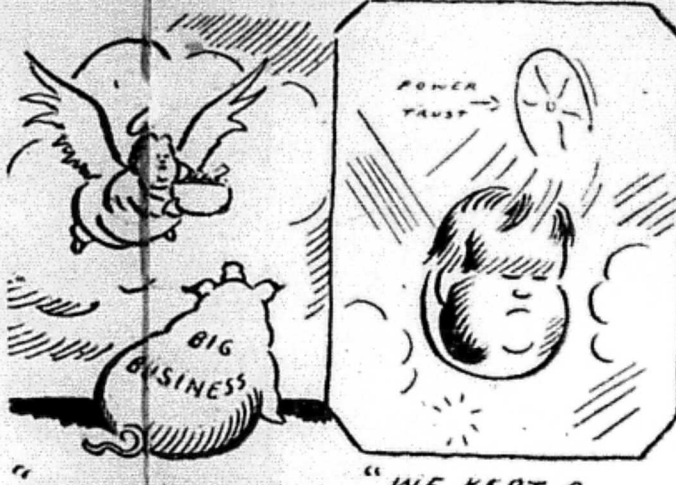
Article
on Page 4

Hoover's
Speeches
Reviewed

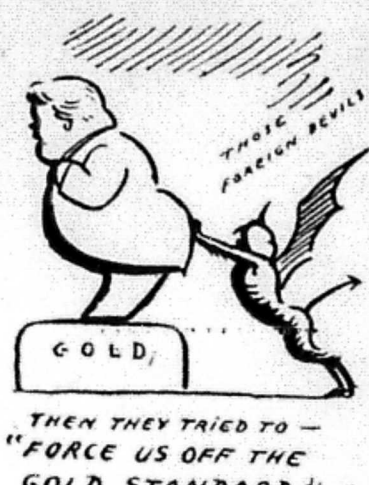
By
ART YOUNG



"WE HAVE FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT"



"WE KEPT A COOL HEAD"



"THEIR TRIED TO FORCE US OFF THE GOLD STANDARD"



"LET NO MAN TELL YOU IT COULD NOT BE WORSE"



"THE SPIRAL IS MOVING UPWARD"

Socialism and Farming

Thomas States 4-Point Program to End Poverty of the Men and Women of Agriculture

By NORMAN THOMAS
Socialist Candidate for President

THE campaign waged by the two parties of capitalism has again revealed that capitalism and its spokesmen have no plan for workers or farmers.

A quarter of the land in Mississippi is or was for sale for taxes; twelve million acres are delinquent in Mississippi; dairy farmers in the New York milk shed would almost all be in the red if they properly figured depreciation; the wheat farmer still needs to use from four to five times as much wheat to pay interest on his mortgage as he did in 1920.

What's to be done? Particularly, now what's to be done for the farmers?

Driven from the Farms

Let me begin by saying that the fact that Socialism wants to drive the farmers off their farms, it is capitalism that has been doing that! In human terms Socialism wants two things: efficient, non-wasteful production of the cotton and food stuffs of which all of us depend and the happiness and prosperity of the producing farmers.

These two are not incompatible. The key to their harmony is recognition of the fact that the farmer is primarily a worker, not a land owner, bound up with all workers.

In a cold and hungry world the farmer is especially the victim of a cruel and crazy system where efficiency in production curses the groups even though it may help the individual among less efficient neighbors. The more extensively our schools improve agriculture the worse off the farmers are likely to be!

What Is the Remedy?

The remedy or remedies for agricultural misery? First: We must plan, through land utilization boards, for the most efficient use of land. There are, for instance, millions of acres of land where the soil has been mined out and ought not to be used for cotton or wheat. Most of it should be put back in timber, not just in park lands, but in profitable, publicly owned forests to curb the predatory lumber barons, control floods, and avert the lumber famine experts predict in forty years. This is the best use for much land now reverting to states for unpaid taxes and for other land which the national and state governments can acquire for a song. Reforestation



—Drawn by Art Young.

will not cure unemployment or sick agriculture; it will help both. And it's only one example of planning for use of land.

Second: We must lighten the load of debt which now crushes the farmer particularly, and help him get back to farming as a way of life, not a speculative money-making business. Partly the load of debt can be lightened by controlled inflation such as the Socialist program on unemployment relief and banking will help bring about.

End Oppressive Taxation

Controlled inflation means bringing back by national and international action the price level, say of 1927. It does not mean a repetition of Germany's orgy of paper money. But whatever is done with money and credit the federal government through its power to tax incomes and inheritances and through socialized land banks should deliberately lighten the burden of debt on the farmer by at least giving him a rate of interest on his part consolidated indebtedness no higher than the interest on government bonds. The difference between this and the present rates, as Mr. Lawrence Dennis has pointed out, is a legitimate charge against society.

Third: There should be federal marketing agencies for staple agricultural crops with closely related co-operatives and co-operatively owned elevators, packing houses, etc. Milk should be declared a public utility and should be marketed in great cities either by bona fide consumers' co-operatives or socialized, non profit making public agencies.

Handbook Is Reprinted

In response to orders for more than 5,000 copies, the Socialist campaign committee is reprinting "A Plan for America," the official Thomas and Maurer handbook. It sells for 10c a copy, with reductions for quantities.

CROWDS FIGHT TO HEAR THOMAS 10,000 IN DENVER

More than 12,000 men and women in and near Los Angeles cheered addresses by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, when he completed his far-western tour last week and started east for the final swing of his great campaign.

Crowds fought for admittance to the huge Trinity auditorium in Los Angeles after 4,000 had crowded their way into the large auditorium and an emergency hall. Police reserves had to be called out to quell an incipient riot when workers determined to hear Thomas' message of Socialism tried to force their way into the auditorium.

From Los Angeles and Pasadena east, Thomas, accompanied by Mrs. Thomas, was met by overflow audiences in every city he visited. Ogden, Utah, brought a more than capacity audience, and 1,700 from his Salt Lake City meeting, from which hundreds were turned away. Cheyenne, though a small city, brought 1,000 where but 90 heard the Socialist leader four years ago. The United Press estimated Thomas' Denver audience at 10,000. Topeka, Kan. gave Thomas an audience of 2,000 and Wichita about 4,000.

1,000 Stand in Main

In Los Angeles and Pasadena district for three days, Thomas spoke over the radio and before a cheering audience of 450 interdenominational ministers. In Pasadena more than 1,000 stood in the rain to hear Thomas at an overflow from an indoor rally which numbered 3,000 people. In his seven meetings Thomas gave the southern California audiences a full-sized picture of Socialism's plan to break the back of the depression by subsidizing consumption and reorganizing industry on a responsible social basis.

Upton Sinclair was among those who shared the platform with Thomas. Ogden and Salt Lake City were the next stops and the audiences repeated the enthusiasm of the California demonstration. In Utah's railroad policies as vague and thoroughly inadequate to meet the needs of the Democratic-controlled Oklahoma board of elections, which has ruled the Socialist electors off the ballot. Later in Kansas he made public a telegram sent to Gov. Roosevelt inquiring whether the Democratic candidate was willing to carry Oklahoma by disfranchising more than 50,000 prospective Socialist voters.

Questions to Roosevelt

After the Cheyenne rally Thomas headed for Denver. On his way he addressed an audience of 2,700 at the University of Colorado in Boulder. A luncheon, two broadcasts and a dinner of 350 preceded the giant rally in the evening at the Municipal Auditorium. Many came from miles about to hear the address, and "Thomas left the city with reports of a rapidly growing Socialist party organization. During the Denver address Thomas fired four questions at Roosevelt: "Have you a program on unemployment relief? Will you outline it? Where do you stand on the sales tax? Where do you stand on the bonus?"

In Kansas Thomas addressed good meetings at Salina and Manhattan before coming to Topeka for a meeting with 1,500. At Wichita, following a dinner attended by 300, Thomas closed the day with an outdoor audience of 1,000.

WHERE YOU CAN HEAR THOMAS AND MAURER

- NORMAN THOMAS
October 21
22. North Carolina, 9 and 10:30 a. m.; Winston-Salem; Greensboro High Point, noon; Raleigh, 8 p. m.
23. Wilmington, Del., 3 p. m.; Baltimore, Md., Lyric theater, 8 p. m.

- JAMES H. MAURER
October 21
24. Pittsburgh, Pa.
26. Philadelphia, Pa. Debate.
27. Philadelphia, Pa.
28. Newark and Elizabeth, N. J.
29. Boston, Mass.
30. Connecticut, Bushnell Memorial hall, Hartford, 3 p. m.; New Haven, 7 p. m.; Bridgeport, Central high school, 9 p. m.; WICC broadcast, 9-9:30 p. m.; Yankee network.
31. Buffalo, N. Y., Elmwood music hall.

- October 21
22. Haverhill, Mass., 2 p. m.; Lynn, Mass., 8 p. m.
23. Providence, R. I., 8 p. m.
24. Brockton, Mass.
25. New Britain, Conn.
26. Danbury, Conn.
27. Philadelphia, Pa.
28. Chester, Pa.
29. Lansford, Pa.
30. Scranton, Pa.
31. Sayre, Pa.

Roosevelt's Man, Long

Huey (pronounced "Hooley") is one of the men who put over the nomination of Gov. Roosevelt. If Roosevelt is elected, besides getting four more years of Hooverism, the nation will probably also get Long as a member of the cabinet.

Long went to see Gov. Roosevelt last week and emerged with some choice views. He helped to put another nail in the badly failing myth that Roosevelt and his party is "progressive." "I'm not a radical," said Long. "I'm a conservative, I'm in. The radicals are the fellows who are out."

"Where do you expect to speak in the campaign?" Long was asked. "Wherever they tell me," he replied. "You know that old song: 'I'll go where you want me to go; I'll say what you want me to say; I'll do what you want me to do.' That's me in this campaign." Long added that he told Prize Fight Promoter Farley, Roosevelt's manager, he would like to make speeches in strongly Republican states "where I might do the tickets some good and could not possibly do it any harm."

The New England Humorist is somewhat more affable than former President Coolidge these days. As Cal got out of a train in New York the other day, before he addressed the families of 10,000 Republican officeholders and about 6,000 empty seats, he was approached by reporters.

"No questions," Coolidge twanged impatiently. "What do you think of the Republican chances?" one of the reporters insisted. "Didn't I say no questions?" Coolidge retorted. "Of course I think the Republicans are going to win, but that's no reason you should ask me questions when I said no questions."

Coolidge gets little joy out of life in his home town these days. Ralph Harlow, Prof. Harold U. Faulmer and Angelo Conz are putting up a Socialist campaign that is amazing the entire countryside. To add insult to injury, the Socialists have the largest campaign headquarters in the city—and it occupies the entire ground floor of Coolidge's office building. He can't go to and from his office every day without having huge Socialist and Norman Thomas banners flaunted in his face.

STRONG FIGHTS WAGED IN STATES BY SOCIALISTS

NEBRASKA— Nebraska Socialists, after waging a hard and successful campaign to place the national electors of the Socialist party on the ballot, are continuing the pace in a great effort to run up a record vote for the state candidates, as well as for Thomas and Maurer.

- John M. Paul of Harvard, Neb., is the Socialist candidate for governor and C. H. Wilson of North Platte for lieutenant-governor. For congress, the Socialists are running:
1. Daniel Hill District.
4. Peter Uerling District.
2. Art F. Stearns 5. A. E. Bell
3. Aug. Hoheke

Samuel Lerner is Socialist state secretary and the party's headquarters are at 218 Lyric bldg., Omaha.

NEW YORK— New York Socialists have nominated a complete congressional slate for the first time in party history. Heading the state ticket is Louis Waldman, for governor. Waldman is one of the most effective campaigners in the party and has won sympathetic attention from the press and the state's voters. Charles Tolson is the party's nominee for United States senator. Great emphasis is also being placed on the campaign for mayor of New York, in which Morris Hillquit is carrying the Socialist standard through a campaign which promises a spectacular vote. For congress the New York Socialists have nominated:

- Dist. 1. Eric E. De Marsh
2. James Oneal
3. Joseph A. Weil
4. Joseph G. Glass
5. Jacob L. Afros
6. Harry W. Laidler
7. David M. Cory.
8. B. C. Viadeck
9. A. I. Shipplack
10. Louis Sadoff
11. Walter Dearing
12. A. P. Conan
13. Evelyn W. Hughan
14. August Claessens
15. William E. Bohn
16. Bernth H. Mally
17. Alexander Kahn
18. E. Steinberger
19. Reinhold Niebuhr
20. Frank Poree
21. Frank Cross-walk
22. Tyrrell Wilson
23. Samuel Orr
24. Esther Friedman
25. Carl O. Parsons
26. A. W. Brower
27. Milo C. Myers
28. Allin Depew
29. Coleman B. Chey
30. H. M. Marrill
31. G. E. Brassard
32. James A. Manson
33. Otto L. Endres
34. Pierre Di Nio
35. Walter B. McMinch
36. Esther Wright
37. Edward A. Ott
38. W. H. Hillsdorf
39. Martin T. Cook
40. Herman J. Hahn
41. Robert A. Hoffman
42. M. R. Harding
43. John G. Cooper
At Large: Fred A. Gerber G. R. Sander

The New York Socialist state secretary is Herbert H. Merrill, with headquarters at 7 E. 15th st., New York city.

WEST VIRGINIA—

In one of the most vigorous states of American capitalism, West Virginia, Socialists are waging a proud and effective battle. J. H. Snider of Fairmont is the party's nominee for governor, and he is backed by a strong ticket of Socialist working-men determined to make the party a powerful factor in the state. For congress in the first district the West Virginia Socialists are running

World Without Salesmen, Amen!

Socialism Proposes a Planned Economic System to Meet the Needs of All Who Work

By ARTHUR WARNER

ONE of the peculiar quirks of the psychology of the depression (a polite term for what in fact is a disintegration) is our sudden revulsion against salesmen. In those cheerful yesterdays of the nineteen twenties the salesman was the most respected of our citizens. He must have been because he drew the biggest pay. Salesmanship—including, of course, advertising—was so completely the master idea of the age that one who questioned an iota of it was pilloried as a crape hanger or a dangerous radical.

And now... we slam the door on the man who proposes to let us have a car on credit (taking a mortgage on the house merely as a matter of form); we hang up the telephone receiver on the voice which suggests that we buy an oil furnace on easy installments (the radio on which we had made twenty payments having just been "repossessed"); we have even begun to doubt the value (and the advice) of the millions of dollars daily expended in touting the multifarious jimcrackery of modern so-called civilization.

How come? Have we all become dangerous radicals? Unfortunately not. Many of us are just frightened mice who will vote for Herbert Roosevelt in the hope that some day we shall again have a fat pay envelope, and then (By gum!) we will salt it away in a savings bank for our old age—except, of course, that first we will

invest in Bonanza Common for a start.

And yet we might have a world without any sellers or any sold! We might have a world in which the incredible waste and the inevitable dishonesty of existing business would be superseded by a planned industry conducted co-operatively and non-competitively, in which everyone could buy (because everyone would be assured of employment and income) but nobody would need (in the sense of applying pressure) to sell anything to anybody. There would be no over-production because merchandise would be ordered as needed by single agencies of control. When demand for production fell off, or handicrafts eliminated by machinery, workers would not be left jobless and moneyless outside the farm or factory gates, but would have their hours reduced while their income continued, or else they would be transferred to some industry in greater need of workers.

A pretty picture but impossible, say those who expect to vote for Franklin Hoover; put the Socialists in power and they would soon be come grafters like the rest; government business always is run at a loss; besides you've got to hold the club of starvation over a man's head or he won't work.

Socialists, to be sure, are no more incorruptible than Republicans or Democrats, but Socialism by doing away with the profit system of industry would dislodge business

from the control and prostitution of politics. Where public ownership has been expensive, it generally is in maintaining necessary enterprises which private business already had renounced as unprofitable. And when has it ever been true that fear of starvation made all men self-supporting or that hope of money reward was the incentive leading to the great contributions to human welfare?

Socialism impossible? Not half so impossible as our present world. The incredible fact is that the human race has not long since annihilated itself by its cutthroat, haphazard, unco-ordinated industry. Nothing could be more unbelievable than bread lines due to overproduction of wheat, ragged children in consequence of too much cotton, and heart-rending poverty in a nation glutted with the world's gold.

It is not Socialists who are dreamers and theorists, but those who hope to go on as we are doing. For a generation which has beaten the birds at flight, dug the Panama Canal, reared the Empire State tower, and routed yellow fever it should not be impossible to turn from the jungle of modern industry to a planned, co-operative, and social basis of livelihood. In such a system the fantastic overhead of salesmanship would have no place, the talents which go into it would find other expression. We should not in successive decades alternately exalt and decry men for hypnotizing, overreaching, and bankrupting us. World without salesmen, amen!

X-Rays—Vote Socialist—or Throw Your Vote Away

By JOHN M. WORK

THE campaign is drawing toward its close. How will you vote? The Republican and Democratic parties have drenched the people with words—only words, vague words, empty words, hypocritical words.

In all my observations I have never seen anything more pitiful than the political antics of Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hoover has made a miserable failure of the presidency. He has not the disposition to do what the conditions demand, and, if he had, he could not do it without breaking with the Republican party. He wants to be re-elected. He is impossible. He is not any more impossible than Roosevelt, but he has the handicap of being in. There is denunciation of him on every hand, but his backers are making strenuous efforts to elect him. He is satisfactory to the wealthy social parasites. The horde of appointive Republican officeholders naturally are for him—they stand to lose their places if he is defeated. The Republican elector officers are also for him—they stand to lose the appointive spoils if he goes out. He and his followers are keen for the continuance of the present capitalist-social order which has emphasized

ically proved itself to be impracticable. Roosevelt has gone about the country dodging the issues. Because he is on the outside looking in, he has an advantage. He is apparently in deadly fear lest he should lose votes by revealing his views on various questions. He talks in more or less glittering generalities. He and his party are also satisfactory to the wealthy social parasites. He has the support of all "deserving Democrats" who would like to be in office. He and his party likewise are keen for the continuance of the present social system which has demonstrated its impracticability by plunging the people into poverty and many other evils.

The Republican and Democratic parties are in reality one party. There is no difference in principle between them. They are separate organizations merely because they fight over the spoils of office. Under either of them the profiteers are in the saddle, and the working masses are either robbed of most of their earnings or deprived of jobs altogether.

How Roosevelt and Hoover can muster up the gall to face the voters is more than I can understand. It can be done only on the theory that the voters are boobs, and that it is all right to play them for political suckers. should think any self-respecting man would be ashamed to do it. I pity any man who can do such a thing just to get an office, no matter how high the office is reputed to be. The higher the office, the worse it is to try to gain it without high principles and high intentions. Honors, so gained, turn to ashes in the long run. Witness how history has deflated hundreds of highly-placed

persons.

I urge you to vote for a man who would not have the presidency on such terms. The Socialist party does not stand for the continuance of the present capitalist social order which has proved itself to be impracticable.

On the contrary, the Socialist party proposes to replace the deplorable capitalist system with a co-operative system in which everyone will be guaranteed employment, everyone will receive his or her full earnings, and poverty and the other social evils will be abolished. Nothing less is sufficient to meet the existing crisis.

Please do not throw your vote away on such futile candidates as Roosevelt or Hoover. Vote for Norman Thomas and all the other Socialist candidates.

Millions of "Breads" Will Remind Voters to Vote for Socialists

Millions of last-minute reminders to voters will be distributed near polling places by the Socialist party. The reminders are printed in the shape of loaves of bread and will carry the slogans: "Feed the Hungry! House the Homeless! Repeal Unemployment! Vote Socialist!"

The national campaign committee of the Socialist party, 549 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill., is selling the reminders to Socialist branches and others interested, at 25c for 100, or \$3 for 1,000. Pollworkers' barges, also for use on election day have been printed and may be ordered from the committee at 1c each in quantities of 25 or more.

SOCIALISTS DEFY TERROR EFFORTS OF OLD PARTIES

By McALISTER COLEMAN

Those of us who went through the La Follette campaign of 1924 recognize all too well the rough stuff both old parties are pulling in these last weeks of the present campaign. Now they are turning on the economic pressures, using the threat of the loss of jobs and homes upon those workers who don't vote "right."

Voting "right" means of course voting the straight, old-line machine ticket. If you live in Boston, there is Mayor Curley threatening a cut in the pay of the city workers if Hoover is elected. If you work in an upstate New York factory, you are told that it will be unhealthy for you to vote for Roosevelt. If you are a member of one of the Tammany trade unions in New York City, there's a delegate to let you understand that you are supporting John Patrick O'Brien for Mayor, a man you never heard of up to the time he was pushed over at the steam-roller convention of the braves.

Thanks be to Socialist idealism, there are a great number of New York workers who did not fall for this dirty political trick of endorsing the Tammany candidate for mayor of the city and who indignantly repudiated the deal, pledging themselves to work wholeheartedly for the election of Morris Hillquit. But by and large, all over the country, the bosses are using economic black-jacks upon the political heads of the workers in just as crude and brutal a manner as they send their national guard in Illinois out to throw tear gas bombs at the miners and their women and children.

Well, boys and girls, it's up to you. The ballot is secret, you know. Any time you want, you can end this skullduggery. It's a question of guts. If enough of you have enough of them, we mean guts, you can walk right in on November 8th next and fling your deft in the faces of the bosses by rolling up such a vote for Thomas and Maurer as will give the Big Boys blind jitters. It's the old struggle; your class of working people, lined squarely up against the other class that's sitting on the working people's backs.

A Popular Song There's a song riding the radio waves of these parts, "No more money in the bank. No cute baby we can spank. What to do about it? What to do about it? Just turn out the light and go to sleep."

That's the to-hell-with-everything idea that seems to hit a lot of people these black days. It's human enough and understandable. But it also is the deadliest poison that can corrupt the body politic. Suppose things do seem to be in a hopeless mess. It's a man-made mess, isn't it? The cause of the mess is man. Men then blame the systems of rent, interest and profits. No supernatural forces swooped down from the skies bearing Capitalism on their wings. And what group of men devised, other groups can revise.

When Mr. Roosevelt says that the American economic system is "everlasting" rise and give him the old Bronx cheer. When Mr. Hoover talks about our "divine institutions" as though they had come to us out of some American Sinai, never, never to be changed, ask him when, in the long history of the human race, any system of government or of the production of goods remained any length of time unchanged.

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 a series based on the book, arranged by its author, Mr. Cross.



THE PICTURE DARKENS

NO. 7. THE DARK PICTURE

... And now as the camera's eye closes, imagine a dim figure appearing in the glass.

He stands like a lone traveler lost in the middle of the road at night.

He is the average American. He is bewildered. It is dark. There are three forks in the road ahead of him. He can just barely spell out the signs.

He looks down each road, not knowing which to take.

One sign reads: "To the factory." He is afraid to take this road. He is afraid of the huge, new labor-saving machines that may at any moment reach out and pick him up and toss him aside. Another sign reads: "To a business." But the chain stores lurk along this road. Chain stores strangle and feed on little businesses. An-

other sign reads: "To the farm." But on this road, men are crushed under loads of their own wheat and cotton. And machines—new and ponderous and fiendishly clever machines—pluck farm hands by the thousands from their time-honored tasks.

He is cut off. He does not know where to turn.

He looks back along the road on which he came, back into the past. The old depressions: How did we come out of those? A man went West. There were forests to clear. There were railroads to build. There were public lands to be given away. A man could carve out his own future, out of the earth—with his own hands.

He followed the frontier.

He grew up with the country.

He helped build new industries.

All that is over. There is no frontier to follow. Our railroads are all built; we have too many; they cover the country like a vast net. Our new industries grow by new labor-saving devices, not by the strength of many men's hands. A farm is a factory: it is ten, twenty, thirty, sixty thousand acres big. It is a corporation: its huge new machines spew out thirty-cent wheat by the hundreds of thousands of bushels. Our stores? A successful store is a tiny fraction of a corporation: one ten-thousandth or one sixteen-thousandth part of a chain. A little business is a little business until it closes up and dies—or fails.

No light from the past. No hope from the future.

But voices break through the dark. They are loud and boastful voices: "Have we not always recovered?" Yes, we have always recovered. "We will recover again." Yes, we will recover again.

Let us suppose that we do. To what, then, will we recover? To develop more new industries and more new labor-saving machinery, to take work away from willing hands. To starve again in the midst of plenty. To suffer again through the dark days of a new depression. That, too, we may learn from the past.

Suppose that the bewildered man in the dark road is not satisfied with such "recovery?"

The picture darkens. The camera shuts.

It is 1932.

And now a great wave of protest rises up from all over America. And a new voice, a voice of hope, makes itself heard above the sorrow and the suffering and the confusion. And a ray of light breaks through the dark.

People begin to look now into a different kind of future. The light grows brighter and a new road spreads out before those with the vision to see. At the end of it are labor-saving machines, too. But they truly save labor. And there is no poverty and no unemployment. A steady stream of goods flows from the machines and everyone has enough. There is never any break in the stream, no depression nor misery nor fear of any misery. . . . A strange land? Strange, yes. Improbable, no!

It is America—As-It-Might-Be.

How shall we travel along the road to the new America?

Clearly we shall have to abandon the old trails, the old paths, the old ways of living built around the cruel and outworn methods of the past.

We shall have to strike out boldly.

But the new way is ready for us. It is Socialism.

Socialism faces squarely the great problem of the machines—the machines in the factories, the machines on the farms, the machines for the selling of goods—the machines that will bury us and our civilization under a flood of those goods unless first we control them.

Socialism faces this, now the basic problem of mankind, and solves it!

NEXT INSTALLMENT: A PICTURE OF THE PROBLEM, ITS SOLUTION.

AMERICA FOR ALL

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For President



NORMAN THOMAS

For Vice-President



JAMES H. MAURER

Three Positive Reasons for Voting Socialist

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

IN A previous article, addressed to independent liberals, I undertook to suggest the negative reasons for supporting Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party in the present campaign. Republicans and Democrats alike have long since forfeited the allegiance of all citizens who are free of party bonds and seek the realities of political, economic and social progress. There can be no reasons for supporting either one of the two old parties which are not a betrayal of every liberal policy and ideal. We should vote for Thomas and the Socialists if only in default of any other refuge.

But there are positive reasons for casting our ballots for Socialism. These are three in number—the candidate, the platform and the party itself.

The candidate, Norman Thomas, is a man of commanding intellectual and moral stature. I have seen him grow from a young and obscure Presbyterian clergyman, bravely opposing the great war, to a mature statesman whose grasp of facts and policies, especially in the present emergency, rivals that of any other contemporary public leader. No man in my acquaintance has so mastered every problem encountered in a period of years, and therewith so developed in character and capacity. I place Norman Thomas second to no other American in the political field today. Furthermore, in addition to exceptional personal qualities, he has a contact with the common people employed and unemployed, a belief in the basic principles of liberty and justice long associated with the life of our re-

public, and a moral conviction of a new and better social order, which are unique.

The Socialist platform is the only platform before the citizens of this country which reveals any intelligent understanding of the forces now at work in our civilization, and any intelligent program for the control and direction of these forces in the interest of all the people. The Republican and Democratic platforms are, as usual, mere catch-alls for the passing whims of popular ignorance and fear. The platforms of other smaller groups are either statements of curious mixed ideas or formulations of dogmatic economic creeds. Only the Socialist platform embodies a living tissue of ideas grown from the needs of the present hour and vital with the processes which can alone develop a healthy social organism. In this platform are planks, perhaps, which some of us can not accept. Thus I can not accept the antiprohibition plank. But, taken as a whole, the platform challenges support as at once the plan and the prophecy of the America of the future.

As for the Socialist Party, it has its weaknesses and faults, like other organizations of human beings. But alone among minority political groups in this country, it has kept steadily and sturdily to its task for a period of half a century, and more and more during this time has learned to adapt itself to the American scene. In the beginning an importation of thought and purpose from abroad, the Party is today a genuinely native product. It is no longer a group apart, but a true rallying center for the political and social idealism of the nation.

Coolidge Lectures the Serfs

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

SELDOM has the pure percolator theory of Hamiltonian government been as boldly and baldly stated as it was by Calvin Coolidge in his Madison Square Garden speech.

Mr. Coolidge spoke as a master patiently explaining the depression to the serfs of our new industrial feudalism, bluntly telling them that if he can't make a profit from their labor they must starve.

Consider this frank declaration: "The Republican party has never believed that they (the wage-earners) can be furnished with permanent employment unless someone can derive a reasonable profit from employing them."

The best Calvin Coolidge can do for Herbert Hoover is to offer the alibi that "no government has ever yet been devised that could make the people prosperous all the time." This, it is to be assumed, is an endorsement of the man who promised the abolition of poverty four years ago. It is, in fact, capitalism hanging on the ropes and begging for mercy. It is an admission that similar periodic collapses are an inevitable part of capitalism. Mr. Coolidge, well-fed and warmly housed at Northampton, euphemistically terms these collapses periods of readjustment.

Where He Was Right

Mr. Coolidge was correct in one respect—the Democratic Party is without constructive leadership. Beyond that, his speech is devoid of merit. It deserves notice and reply because the glaring misstatements were solemnly broadcast throughout the country as the words of a political sage.

To Mr. Coolidge, the extension of credit is the one way to revive business. His assumption is that prosperity ceased because business was without funds with which to nurse industry. This is utterly false. Among the great reasons for the present severest depression of the last century lies in the fact that profits increased during the reign of Calvin the First out of all proportion to the increase in the purchasing power of the masses of the people; that American industry was attempting to run without a plan and that we pursued a policy of selfish nationalism rather than enlightened internationalism.

Coolidge the Silent was coaxed out of his golden silence on the theory that his presence would be symbolic of the frenzied Coolidge prosperity and paper profits of the late twenties. Those were prosperous times for the inner group in industry, but these years meant little prosperity for the great mass of the nation's farmers. If the average farmer in 1927 attempted to give himself a wage of \$10 a week and to put aside 4 1/2 percent interest on his capital assets, he would have been in the red at the end of the year to the extent of \$285. The bituminous coal industry, the textile industry and other basic industries were desperately sick, while, during the years 1920 to 1927, there were anywhere from a minimum of 1,400,000 to a minimum of 4,250,000 out of jobs.

In 1928 the Republican party urged the American people to keep it in office on the ground that the continuation of the policies of the Republican party was fundamentally necessary to the progress of the previous years and to the further building up of this prosperity. The American people elected Herbert Hoover, and under him we have enjoyed unparalleled adversity. After the severe depression during President Harding's administration, industry depended upon a great building boom following the war, purchases from Europe out of the American loans to Europeans, the building up of the automobile industry and installment selling to lift them out of the doldrums. We can't depend on these to the same extent now. And even though we did enjoy slightly better times within the next year, we are bound, under the present system, to toboggan downhill again into another depression. Mr. Coolidge suggests no way of avoiding this. There is no way under the present social order.

A Broken Pledge

Mr. Coolidge declares that the policy of the Republican party is that of giving permanent employment, rather than "doles." What has the administration done directly toward such employment? What did it do to carry out Hoover's pledge before the Governors' Conference in New Orleans in 1928 in behalf of a great public works program? In 1932, according to the Labor Bureau, Inc., appropriations for public works, fed-

eral, state and local, are not only no larger this year than usual, "but are even some \$2,000,000,000 below normal." For this situation both Republicans and Democrats must bear their share of responsibility.

Mr. Coolidge denounces the "dole." He apparently refers to unemployment insurance. He believes that this would destroy the spirit of independence of the American citizen. His solicitude is touching. What price independence of this sort? People are dying of it daily. Great Britain has unemployment insurance. The unemployment insurance fund is contributed to by employer, employe and the government. It is unemployment insurance, not a dole. Possibly one-sixth of the funds given out have been given out as a pure gratuity by the government and might be referred to as a dole. We in the United States compel our workers to stand for hours on the bread line and receive a hundred per cent dole. And yet we put up our hands in horror at the regular, self-respecting insurance system adopted by 10 great European countries, in order to prevent the individual worker, unemployed through no fault of their own, from having to choose between a hand-out on the breadline and starvation. Whether Mr. Coolidge likes it or not, we are coming to such insurance as an alternative to chaotic revolution.

The address of Mr. Coolidge, like the addresses of his Democratic opponents, is indicative of the fact that the old parties have no realization of the fundamental changes which our machine civilization necessitates if we are going to avoid industrial chaos. He is living mentally in the 18th and 19th century. His philosophy might have been applicable to the primitive form of civilization of his forefathers. It is not adapted to the technological civilization of the 20th century. That civilization requires a social planning which is impossible under capitalism.

MILLS CANCELS DATE TO DEBATE THOMAS

Sec. of the Treasury Ogden L. Mills has been withdrawn as participant in a campaign debate scheduled for Philadelphia on Oct. 26 with Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, as his opponent. The debate was arranged three months ago.