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11/13/38

THOMAS TO BE HONORED AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER

NEW YORK - (LSP) - On Nov. 20 Norman Thomas will be 58 years old. To observe the occasion 350 prominent and representative Americans from all over the country are sponsoring a testimonial dinner to him to be given at the Hotel Edison in New York City.

"We feel that this is the time to break through the modesty which has characterized the public service Norman Thomas has rendered for so many years," said members of the provisional committee for the testimonial dinner. "On Nov. 20 we wish to bring together all of those who want to show their personal regard for him and their appreciation of the unstinted contribution he has been making for 20 years to the cause of social justice."

Thomas was the Socialist candidate for president three successive times. He has assisted in the formation of over 50 unions. During the past year he broke martial law in Terre Haute by defying it. He publicized the plight of the southern sharecroppers and helped them organize in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. He exposed the revived K.K.K. in Florida. He was arrested several times for picketing during strikes. In addition he found time to write six books, a weekly syndicated column and magazine articles and has made extensive lecture tours throughout the country.

He has been described as "a brilliant orator, a keen observer, a scholar and a man of action."

Among the members of the committee arranging the dinner are Devere Allen, editor of the "No-Frontier News Service;" Harriet Stanton Blatch, noted woman suffrage leader; Professor Morris R. Cohen of the College of the City of New York; Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Freda Kirchwey, editor of the "Nation;" Isadore Laderman of the Pocketbook Makers Union; Professor Robert Morses Lovett of the University of Chicago; James Myers, executive secretary of the Federal Council of Churches; Bishop Robert L. Paddock; Kirby Page, author; Oswald Garrison Villard, contributing editor of the "Nation," and Julius Hochman of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Reinhold Niebuhr is treasurer of the Norman Thomas Educational Fund which is being raised in connection with this dinner.

Delegations are expected from all over the middle Atlantic seaboard. Those not able to attend are sending greetings and contributions by mail and wire.

The address of the arrangements committee is room 1212, 270 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

* * * *

SENIOR SPIKES OLD GUARD LIES

CHICAGO - (LSP) - Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the Socialist party, sent the following registered letter to JAMES ONeal, editor of the "New Leader."

"I demand a public retraction from the 'New Leader,' prominently displayed about my alleged resignation from the Socialist party," Senior said.

"I do not intend to resign from the Socialist party.

"My resignation as national executive secretary of the Socialist party is only because of ill health. I shall continue to be a member of the Socialist party and be as active as my health will permit.

"As a matter of fact, James Onell, the editor of the 'New Leader,' as a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist party until last May, knows that I announced my intention of resigning as national secretary at the meeting of the N.E.C. in January, 1936, I promised at that time to remain until after the campaign. The campaign is now over and I intend to take steps to regain my health."

* * * *

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



CC-287

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

KM:talo'd

Date: October 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

Attached hereto is photostatic material concerning the captioned matter obtained by the Washington Field Office from the files of Walter Steele of the National Republic Magazine. This material was made available gratuitously by Mr. Steele and was forwarded to the Bureau by letter from the Washington Field Office dated August 27, 1942.

Respectfully,

K. R. McIntire

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

Enclosures

MEMORANDUM ON
BURNING ISSUE
MAY 2ND, 1927.

Norman Thomas was born in Marion, Ohio, in 1884. He was educated at Princeton University and the Union Theological Seminary following which he was pastor of several Presbyterian churches. He was formerly editor of "The World Tomorrow" and was associate editor of "The Nation". He is an editor of "The New Leader" (official organ of the Socialist Party of America); executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society; member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; director of the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund); chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (organized to raise funds for the Communist strikers of Passaic); contributor to "The New Student" (radical inter-collegiate weekly). He was socialist labor party candidate for Governor of New York in 1924; member of the executive committee of the Pioneer Youth of America; a contributor to the "New Masses" (a lascivious radical publication which was barred from the mail); one of the original labor defense Council which was organized by the Communists for the defense of the Communists arrested for their participation in the Bridgman, Michigan raid. He is chairman of the recently organized Debs' Memorial Radio Fund Committee; member of the Central Committee of the International Committee for Political Prisoners; member of the General Committee of the International Committee for Political Prisoners; member of the executive committee of the recently organized Citizens Committee of One Hundred to Aid the Pullman Porters; member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Committee of the Russian Reconstruction Farms; Committee on Academic Freedom; general committee member of the People's Legislative Council; lecturer at the Rand School of Social Science; member of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and Committee of the People's Freedom Union.

Mr. Thomas is given a considerable amount of space in the Lusk Report for his pacifist and defeatist activities and his connection with un-American movements.

R. M. Whitney, in his book, "Rods in America" stated that when James P. Cannon, who is now executive secretary of the International Labor Defense Council (Communist legal bureau) was selling stock for what was known as the Labor Film Service Company, an organization which contained the following paragraph:

"Our enterprise bears the endorsement of such prominent leaders as Norman Thomas, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, Scott Nearing, Louis Waldman, I. H. Sackin, etc. We also have the endorsement of the Central Federated Union, United Hebrew Trades, Italian Chamber of Commerce, and other labor organizations."

R. M. Whitney, in his pamphlet, "La Follette, Socialism, Communism" quotes the following excerpts from the book, "The Challenge of War" by Norman Thomas: "The tap root of war is economic. Nationalism is in this day and generation the most powerful social emotion. It requires for its full fervor rivals to surpass or enemies to fear and hate. Patriotism is essentially war-like, invoked a hundred times to rally the nation against other nations, for every time it is mentioned as a reason for improving the lot of the downtrodden within the national borders.....

"The particular form of modern trade which tends directly to promote war is the trade of armaments by private interests. In time of peace armament makers know neither patriotism nor principle.

"Capitalism is still dominant. Yet capitalism, especially of the individualistic sort, has already passed the zenith of its power.

"Whatever may be said of the success or failure of the Russian economic experiment, politically the Soviet government has worked miracles. When one remembers the chaotic conditions of the Russia of 1917-18, the magnitude of the achievement becomes apparent. Russia already is a force to be reckoned with in world politics, and that not alone because of the appeal its communist government makes to workers in other lands, but because Russia as a nation has become strong, aggressive and powerful.

"Nicaragua is a fief of Brown Brothers and J. & W. Seligman. They control the government's railroads, its customs and its finances. Guatemala is a special preserve of Blair & Co. Our obliging State Department has marines on call to protect 'law and order' - that is, investments - in both republics." (There follows mention of Costa Rica, the Republic of Panama, Peru, Bolivia, Mesopotamia, Mexico, Philippines, Haiti and Santo Domingo.)

"The slogan 'No More War' is good, yet from one viewpoint it is misleading. We do not now have peace. Life is organized on a war basis. Diplomacy is a war game. War itself is only the acute manifestation of a chronic disease. We have been concerned with the clash between nations. That is not the only source from which war comes. It may ultimately prove to be not the chief source of danger. There is the growing anger of the brown and black races against their white masters and exploiters. There is the clash between those who own the resources and implements which all men need, and those who have only their labor of hand or brain to sell. Many of those who claim property rights are absentee owners who contribute nothing to the industry on which they live, but who exercise power over it....Can the world have peace under its present economic-political system?

"War cannot be outlawed as an isolated phenomenon, but only as part of a cooperative reorganization of society.

"The psychology of the profit system and the acquisitive society is not the psychology of peace."

"The Churchman" (radical weekly religious publication) of October 30th, 1926, in giving a resume of the conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, held at Watch Hill, R.I., stated:

"Norman Thomas emphasized the increase of violations at the heart of the industrial situation and laid on the group the necessity of active work to establish the validity of other methods.

"Then the conference broke up into four groups to work out in discussion how the Fellowship technique in those fields could be developed. Norman Thomas led one on the field of publicity through newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, radio and movies."

At a ten-day conference of pastors and church workers held at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, Norman Thomas, as the guide, conducted a tour of these delegates which included the Rand School of Social Science, Workers(Communist) Party of America headquarters in New York City at 103 E. 14th Street, I.W.W. headquarters at 140 Broad Street and finished the tour at the Anarchist Hall at 219 Second Avenue.

In an article in "American Appeal" of February 5, 1926 under the caption of "Socialism", Norman Thomas states:

"I am opposed to the secular Jesuitism of Communism. I am opposed to its catastrophic theory of salvation, that is, the notion that we are inevitably headed to some sort of great disaster probably new world war, after which will come world revolution. So terrible are the consequences of modern warfare on so great a scale that a new Dark Ages would be a more likely consequence of such war than an orderly Communist dictatorship rising eventually to an emancipated world. Perhaps we cannot avoid the great catastrophe to which the working out of capitalism in these international aspects logically leads. I believe in trying. And in trying I am willing to cooperate with liberals or Communists."

The "New York Times" of February 23, 1927, in giving a report on the Washington Birthday Conference of the Church League for Industrial Democracy states as follows:

"Mr. Thomas said the United States could not long endure 'Half industrial autocracy and half political democracy'. He praised the work of the labor unions and said that another Gettysburg address could be written on the unknown heroes of labor who 'suffered calumny and exile so that their ideas of economic liberty might not perish from the earth'."

Mr. Thomas was also very active in the recent paper boxmakers' strike in New York which received much publicity because of the rioting and disorder in connection with it, and he, with a number of other radicals, made frequent protests to the police department on behalf of the strikers. This strike was largely Communistic.

At a meeting of the Chicago Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy held at the Y.M.C.A. headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, Mr. Thomas made the principal address. He stated in part as follows:

"No one believes that the old political parties will ever bring about the desired changes, and I am often asked what could be done. I believe that at present the great need is for workers to educate the people and awaken them from their state of apathy. There is an outcry now against the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union of which I am a member, because they have defended the rights of citizens which have been guaranteed them by the Constitution. Imperialism is rampant. No nation in history has ever been guilty of a more imperialistic policy than the United States is now pursuing in Nicaragua, in Mexico, and our other colonies, at the behest of the capitalists who have made investments in those countries.

"What is needed is a real labor party comprising all workers, the workers in the factories, on the farms, that will change our governmental system. We do not need a dictatorship such as that of Lenin, or of Mussolini. I do not believe in salvation by catastrophe and perhaps the dictatorship of Mussolini has been preferable to that of Lenin. What we need is more push, more workers to stimulate action along lines that we can follow to improve our present situation while educating our fellowmen,

of several strikers against the civil authorities for false arrest and atrocious assault. Among the members of the committee are Louis Budenz, editor of 'Labor Age', Rose Baron, secretary of the International Labor Defense, Robert Dunn of the A.C.L.U. Clarina Nicholson, secretary of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, Justine Wise, Norman Thomas. Arthur Garfield Hays, Morris L. Ernst and Susan Brandeis. Forrest Bailey, a director of the A.C.L.U., is chairman."

An article appearing in "Industrial Solidarity" of December 29, 1926, reports on a big strike meeting held on December 19th 1926, in Belmont Park Casino, Garfield, N.J. as follows:

"Dr. Norman Thomas, who was one of those arrested during the first weeks of the struggle, was present to congratulate the strikers upon their victories and praised the splendid spirit of solidarity which has made those victories possible. Louis Budenz, editor of Labor Age, was also present."

"The New Leader" of January 22, 1927, states that Norman Thomas, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Hubert Merring and either Senator Wheeler or Senator Dill were booked as speakers at the Lyric Theater, New York City, at a mass meeting held January 30, 1927, to protest against the occupation of Nicaragua by the Marines and to demand peace with Mexico.

Also Robert Dunn and Curley Flynn.
Curley Flynn shall act as permanent secretary.

2. Joint Committee to act as clearing house and agency to coordinate the work of the cooperating organization and to signify united action.
3. ILD to have full charge of all strike cases. Civil Liberties Union to handle all free speech and civil rights cases.
4. Each organization determines policy of cases it handles.
5. Each organization ~~suecessfully~~ raises funds, conducts publicity, routes speakers under their own auspices by authority of the joint committee.
6. We hire all lawyers and pay all expenses on our cases with the cooperating organizations helping financially.
7. We issue at once a well illustrated pamphlet by Mary Heaton Vorse and begin a nation-wide appeal for funds."

A pamphlet, "What is the American Civil Liberties Union" issued by the American Defense Society, states as follows:

"Norman Thomas, member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union said that he had taken part in hundreds of strikes and that none of them were like the one now going on in Passaic, that this strike not only had the makings of a good strong union but that later on they would not bother with strikes but that they would run their own cities, and, later on, run the State of New Jersey and then the Nation. Statement on March 4th, 1926".

A Federated Press Labor Letter under date of June 30, 1926, contained the following statement:

"We can assure all those who give to the relief of the Passaic strikers, whether out of understanding of the importance of their cause or out of pity for the hunger of thousands of little children, that any money that they may give will be administered economically, efficiently and honestly and applied only to the legitimate purposes of the conduct of a strike in which relief is almost the sole item of expense. ELIZABETH CURLEY FLYNN. NORMAN THOMAS."

In the October, 1926 issue of "The World Tomorrow" appears an article by Mr. Thomas entitled "So this is Nationalism". In this article he reviews Carlton J. H. Hayes' "Essays on Nationalism" and states that nationalism "is patriotic snobbery."

In American Civil Liberties Union bulletin #215 of November 18, 1926 states as follows:

"A joint committee for the defense of Passaic strike leaders and strikers has been formed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense. This committee will assume the direction and the financial support of cases now pending in the New Jersey courts. Included are the cases of Albert Weisbord, under indictment for seditious utterances, and

Rev. Thomas was very active in the Communist-instigated and conducted Passaic textile strike. The Chicago "Tribune" of April 16, 1926, states regarding his arrest for deliberately violating the riot act at Garfield, N. J., as follows:

"Norman Thomas, New York Socialist leader and former Presbyterian minister, who was arrested in Garfield when he sought to test the riot act, was released on \$10,000 bail today by Justice of the Peace Louis Hargreaves after an effort was made to send him back to the Bergen county jail for another night on a technicality. Bail of \$10,000 was furnished by a surety company prior to Mr. Thomas' arraignment. When he was held to await the action of the grand jury, Thomas started to leave the office under the impression that he was free on bail. A deputy sheriff, instead, told Thomas to accompany him to the county jail, explaining that the first \$10,000 bail did not cover the arraignment."

In the June, 1926 issue of the "New Masses" appeared an article by Mr. Thomas captioned "Lessons of Passaic". In this article he stated: "The Passaic strike will serve a doubly useful purpose for it impresses upon the workers one of the most flagrant evils of the capitalist system. I refer to the concealment of profits by strike dividends and the capitalization not of the savings of investors but of the legal right to exploit both consumers and wage workers. The whole woolen industry has been the greedy beneficiary of the subsidy that all of us have helped to pay by reason of tariff rates. The industry pays tragically low wages and expects the brunt of industrial depression to be borne by these underpaid workers. Yet in these years of prosperity the botany mills alone increased their stock from 34,000 to 497,000 shares by a clever process of reorganizing the industry and dividing up its past surplus. It is on this swollen capitalization that the bosses seek to pay profits wrung from the workers."

A letter under date of May first, 1926, issued by the International Labor Defense Council over the signature of James P. Cannon, executive secretary, read in part as follows:

"As we have already informed you, a nation-wide campaign for the defense of the Passaic strike leaders now out on bail was being organized on a united front platform. Comrade Cannon has been in New York for a week toward the end of achieving this result. He informs the national office today that the joint committee has been formed, and that all the proposals were unanimously accepted. The following will be the basis of cooperation:

1. The joint committee shall consist of:
International Labor Defense - J. P. Cannon.
League for Industrial Democracy - Norman Thomas
Federated Press - Art Shields.
Civil Liberties Union - Forrest Bailey.
United Front Committee - Albert Weisbord.
Passaic Strike Relief Committee - Alfred Wagenknecht
Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief - Clarissa Michelson.

with a real labor party as our objective. We can work to stop war, for old age and ill health, pensions for workers, and to wipe out slums in which workers are congregated in our big cities. New York, which is my home, is probably the richest city in the world and yet, while European cities have spent millions of dollars to wipe out their slums and replace them with sanitary buildings at reasonable rents for workers, New York, which has, I believe, the worst slums in the world, does nothing but talk about it and takes no action. People should be taught to think of earnest constructive things and to get away from the jazz and set ago now existing as a reaction from the world war."

In concluding an article captioned "How the American Nation is Being Militarized" which appeared in the January 29th, 1927 issue of "American Appeal", Mr. Thomas states:

"Let us rapidly review the situation in America today. Economic imperialism is rampant. At any moment some untoward event in Mexico may set in train events that lead to war. The espionage laws are still on the statute books ready for use in time of national emergency. Under the hypocritical guise of urging that wealth be not allowed to escape in the next war a bill is now pending before Congress which seeks to 'control' wealth, but absolute 'conscripts' all workers in the event of war. Meanwhile pending the arrival of the great emergency our choicest young men are being taught to accept, if not to like, the war system with its cynical view of the possibilities of international cooperation and peace. Labor's progress is monaced as well as the hope of peace. A Munitions Battalion has been formed not to train soldiers in the field but to manage industry. As Assistant Secretary of War MacMilder told that great open shop organization, the National Association of Manufacturers, the graduate of this Munitions Battalion 'will always think of industry in relation to the army's problem.' Labor men who want to think of industry in terms of human problems see in such a boast a menace to all our hopes. Such is militarism in its American form. Who will fight it? How long will the farmers and workers be fooled into acquiescence or partial approval? Today American militarism menaces the poor folk of Nicaragua and Mexico. Tomorrow it will monace our own sons and brothers. Military training, as a labor leader approvingly told me, may teach the boys 'to walk straight', but at the last the spirit of militarism and imperialism, twin demons now abroad in our land, can only teach our boys to walk straight along the road that leads to a literal hell."

"A letter from Mr. Thomas was reprinted in the March 22, 1927 issue of "Illini" of Urbana, Illinois, in which he condemned the patriotic societies and their activities and concluded with the following statement:

"Because I prize the spirit of thought and inquiry in our universities I want to direct it to those prejudiced which stand in the way of the finest religion and patriotism and that loyalty to mankind which is the hope of peace."

In the "New Leader" of April 23, 1927, appeared an article by Norman Thomas captioned "Sacco and Vanzetti Must be Saved!" in which he states as follows:

"Governor Fuller of Massachusetts should be deluged with letters and telegrams urging him to appoint the impartial commission to hear the evidence in the Sacco and Vanzetti case which has been asked for by

their Defense Committee. On this request coming from those most responsible for the conduct of the defense we must unite. It is a tragic reproach to American Justice in general and Massachusetts Justice in particular that such an extralegal method must be taken. I still do not believe that the Supreme Court was rigidly required by the law of Massachusetts to make the decision which it made....."

It is noticeable that at the beginning of this article he uses virtually the same words as the Communists used in pamphlets circulated throughout the country namely. "Governor Fuller of Massachusetts should be deluged with letters and telegrams." Following the war, Norman Thomas wrote a book entitled "The Conscientious Objector in America". The preface to this book was written by Robert M. LaFollette. Thomas, throughout this whole book, lauds and glorifies the slackers and pacifists who denounced the war and served prison sentences rather than take part in the war.

While Mr. Thomas claims that he does not support Communist doctrines, yet he is constantly associated with members of the Communist Party and can generally be identified with things Communistic and more than makes good on his statement that he is willing to "work with" the Communists.

From X-16 Evening Post, 10/27/32--X-16 file.

FAMOUS SUPPORTERS OF HENRY FORD FOR PRESIDENT

Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Robert Bagnall (negro)
Professor Leroy Bowman
John Lovejoy Elliott
Rev. W. Russell Bowie
Morris Ernst
Dorothy Kenyon
F. Ernest Johnson
Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee
Dr. John Dewey
John Maynes Holmes
Paul C. Kellogg
Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein

Col. Stephen Bonsal
Miss Susan S. Burr
Dr. Louis Cohen
Miss Jean Dean Cole
Mrs. Catherine Vilena Dodd
J. Milnor Forey
Gilson Gardner
I. Geraci
Abraham Ginberg
Samuel Greenspan
Dr. John H. Gray
Isadore Horshfield
Mercer G. Johnston
Frederick H. Kerby
Miss Hildegard Kneeland
Rev. Moses R. Lovell

NORMAN THOMAS DINNER COMMITTEE
Washington, D. C.

Benjamin C. Marsh
H. F. Matteson
Joseph B. Matthews
John T. McRoy
Lewis Miriam
Benjamin Meiman
Dr. Wm. George
Meiman
Miss Mary Janet
Miller
Mrs. Louis F. Post
Charles Edward
Russell
Dr. John R.
Swanton
Laurence Todd
Miss Alice Wood
Frederick Haller,
~~ZIMASUBER~~
Mrs. Alice Spiers
Sechrist,
SECRETARY

Washington, D.C.
December 18, 1929.

You and your friends are cordially invited
to attend a dinner at
The Cosmos Club
on

Sunday, December 29 at seven o'clock
in honor of
NORMAN THOMAS
who will speak on the subject of
HAS LIBERALISM COLLAPSED?

Dr. John H. Gray will preside.

One of the objects of the dinner is to bring together Washingtonians and the delegates of the American Economic Association, which will be in session here at that time.

Please make reservations (\$2.00 each) in advance by mailing the enclosed slip to Mrs. Alice Spiers Sechrist, 1206 10th Street, N. W.

(Telephone: house, Metropolitan 0217; office, North 5281)

Guests will be seated in order of application.

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March, 1932.

Why is Norman Thomas called 'one of America's most useful men'?

Because, as the New York Herald Tribune says, "We need in this sluggish body politic of ours the kind of critical intelligence Mr. Thomas so conspicuously possesses."

How does Mr. Thomas make people think?

What ideas is he distributing?

You may find out in his vigorous, readable new book: AS I SEE IT.

In this book, Mr. Thomas presents his specific program for immediate action in our present dilemma.

Whether you agree with Mr. Thomas' socialism or not, as an intelligent and well-informed citizen you will want to know what his ideas really are, what his program proposes.

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A New Program for Democracy

(Continued from Page 1)

"landlordism." The agricultural flight would be met by such means as the government purchase of farm lands to be turned into forests, reduction of transportation and distribution costs, downward revision of the tariff, and the establishment of cooperative or State farms. The Socialist State will have, in addition to land taxes, sharply graduated income and inheritance taxes, the latter perhaps supplemented by a capital levy. Neither money nor the price system will be abolished, but money, banks and credit will be socially controlled and monetary units will be stabilized.

As far as the individual is concerned, the immediate object of Mr. Thomas's socialism will be to "strike from him the chains of poverty and economic insecurity." We shall have unemployment insurance and other preventive devices, and probably a "program of family allowances." Social planning will remedy the evils of overproduction or underproduction, the labor day will be shortened and jobs will not be jeopardized or lost because of political optalons.

Precisely how these changes in the social order are to be brought about is a question regarding which Mr. Thomas seems far from clear. He concedes, of course, that the State will have to exist in some form, and "unless we are prepared to go over to dictatorship we cannot incontinently chuck representative Parliamentary government out of the window." It is necessary, he thinks, that representative

bodies should confine themselves to general laws and policies, and he favors the development of administrative bodies, but he sees no substitute for party government and no advantage in more frequent resort to direct voting.

Mention of political parties leads Mr. Thomas, after some reference to war debts, the League of Nations and other international matters and a highly critical discussion of American labor unions, to consider the future of the Socialist party. The outlook does not seem to him discouraging in view of the considerable number of third party movements that have appeared in this country, and he takes pains to refute the charge that socialism is a foreign importation. The future success of the party appears to depend upon the acceptance by labor of Socialist principles "rather than the trade-union capitalism of the A. F. of L., and he would rather see the A. F. of L. revitalized and a Socialist gospel spread than to try prematurely to bring about an official labor party." He is not even particular about keeping the Socialist label if a better one can be found. What he thinks probable is that sooner or later "something like a mass movement of men and women who want an integrated program will come together in a socialist party, by whatever name it may be called."

Mr. Thomas's book is an interesting illustration of the change that appears to have come over American socialism. What was hard and unscrupulous in the socialism of Marx has been softened, and a good deal of what was uncompromising has been whittled down. Instead of the

general ownership of means of production with a resulting elimination of private profit, Mr. Thomas would apparently be satisfied with the common ownership of selected industries, at least for a considerable time, to come, supplemented by forms of public control not strikingly different from those which many States are already exercising with capitalist support. For revolution he substitutes evolution, for forthright change a process of experiment and gradual transition, for immediate harvest of material benefits an indefinite period of education in socialist thought. When, finally, he faces the stubborn obstacle of the Constitution and the practical steps by which the present form of government is to be transformed, he virtually throws up his hands and protests that "the day of such things is not yet."

All this is not to say that Mr. Thomas's book is not earnest and sincere, for it is immensely both. No one can read it without feeling convinced that Mr. Thomas greatly desires a better world and is ready to go a long way to attain it. A good deal of what he has to suggest, however, does not seem to differ greatly from what many to whom official socialism is an anathema have long hoped and worked for. It is, in short, an advanced liberalism or progressivism more or less affected with a socialist intent. If this means that socialist ideas are making headway notwithstanding that the Socialist party lags behind, Mr. Thomas and his followers may feel some satisfaction in the thought that American socialism is saving others even if it cannot save itself.

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Mrs. Scholasticism 8134 Sept. 1937 1937 John social national Hera 1937 Labor ylor sory Fifteenth and 1 St. N. W. Monday, at 8 p.m. be sponsored Workmen's Circle, Labor Zionists, Socialist party, Social Democratic Federation, Young People's Socialist League and Young Circle League	May Day Speaker Norman Thomas May Day Speaker Norman Thomas, veteran So- cialist presidential candidate and national chairman of the Socialist party, and Charles Edward Rum- ball, journalist, will speak at a meeting in McPherson Square, Fifteenth and 1 Sts. N. W., Mon- day, at 8 p.m. The meeting will be sponsored by the Workmen's Circle, Labor Zionists, Socialist party, Social Democratic Feder- ation, Young People's Socialist League and Young Circle League
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YOUTH INDEPENDENCE

THOMAS BLAMES GAMBLING RING FOR FLOGGINGS

Assails Tampa's Organized Vice; Hints Gov. Sholtz Condoned Violence

By FRED L. STROZIER
(Times Staff Writer)

TAMPA, Jan. 19.—The flogging-murder of Joseph Shoemaker seven weeks ago was laid directly at the door of organized gambling in Tampa and the K. K. K., by Norman Thomas, fiery Socialist leader, in a mass-meet meeting here today.

He said for the gamblers "to protect those murders is in order." Of the "night raiders" he shouted: "I do not know what motivates those Klanemen had. Some of them may think themselves remotely kin to Paul Revere."

"But no organization that seeks to impose its will on others by force is in any sense American."

Judges Florida Floggers

Thomas pointed out an indictment of Florida, "where flogging is a fine art," and said:

"The shame of it is, the tragedy of it is, as I learn now, that as a flogging it wasn't so unusual."

"If Shoemaker hadn't been so brutally beaten, if he hadn't been brought home dying, it would have been just another flogging in the Sunshine state."

Thomas accused Florida of "seventeen" floggings—it occurred in the vicinity of Orlando within the year, he said—before the 2,000 persons who found seats in the municipal auditorium, scores of others standing in the aisle and other hundreds listening outside through a public address system.

Lead Protest Meeting

The former Socialist candidate for president, who was born under auspices of his party in Florida, to lead Tampa in mass-protest against the mob that abducted Shoemaker and two companions in the shadow

(Continued on Page 2, Column 3)

bill is slated for early passage in the Senate tomorrow while committee in both branches push forward in framing permanent legislation to strip the nation clear of future foreign conflicts.

It remained barely speculative today whether the agricultural question would receive attention in the Senate tomorrow after disposition of the veterans bill, or be deferred until later in the week.

Two Farm Bills Pending

The Senate has two committee-approved farm bills before it. One, by Republican Leader Alancy of Oregon, would authorize an appropriation of \$24,000,000 to pay farmers for acreage reduction contracts entered into before the Supreme Court decision invalidated A. A. A. Adolphe by Chaliford Smith, Democrat of South Carolina, of the agricultural committee, would authorize the temporary appropriation of \$10,000,000 for seed loans.

A third farm measure which some have hinted might be labeled the administration bill may be introduced Tuesday by Senator Bankhead, Democrat of Alabama. This would amend the 1933 soil conservation law and appropriate \$25,000,000 to resume in some respects a central principle not uniting the old A. A. A.

Bankhead said the measure was his interpretation of an agreement reached at the White House conference which he attended. It is possible one of the three aid appropriations will be incorporated in the independent office bill already passed by the house.

Final Vote Delayed

The Senate adjourns its thirty day of legal consideration tomorrow due to a sudden change in plans of leaders who had expected to take a final vote last yesterday.

Rather than prolong the session past the dinner hour, and knowing the bill would pass overwhelmingly anyway, Democratic leaders agreed to postpone the final roll call until

FOR ELECTION
GAMBLING
THOMAS BLAME

ST. PETE

1936

THE DAILY MIRROR

1936

THE DAILY MIRROR

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THE DAILY MIRROR

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THE DAILY MIRROR

1936

NORMAN THOMAS

Norman Thomas, of the American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Industrial Democracy and contributing editor of the Bolshevik "Nation", on the evening of August 3, 1927 addressed a Sacco-Vanzetti meeting in Philadelphia. As the Communists are doing, he denounced Judge Webster Thayer, whose conduct in the case has been found to be unimpeachable, not only by Governor Fuller, but by the Governor's Advisory Committee. Thomas prated about "patriotism" in true hypocritical fashion, as is becoming rather customary with the American Civil Liberties Union crowd. He asked, "Shall America be known as the country of class justice?" The hypocrisy of this is apparent to everyone who knows that Norman Thomas is doing all he can against patriotic motives and in the interests of class prejudice. He added, "We are striving, as lovers of justice, as patriots, that justice shall be done in this case."

It would be difficult to find people who are striving more thoroughly against justice or to find a more thoroughly mendacious and hypocritical expression than such as one from Norman Thomas.

Though Sacco has confessed himself an anarchist, and though both men are openly Communists, the meeting was held under the auspices of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, AFL, and the United Hebrew Trades. It was characteristically a Communist meeting. Abram I. Shipleyoff, of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union of New York, who had been convicted under the Espionage Act, was a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party, was a New York Socialist Alderman and a revolutionary and a speaker at the Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace, according to the Lusk Report, and has since been leaving a red trail behind him, was a fitting collaborator with Norman Thomas. He endeavored to excite prejudice against Judge Thayer. Another speaker was Alfred Morriconi, organizer for the Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Workers, which is not an AFL Union. Another was Girolamo Valenti, an editor of "Il Nuovo Mondo", New York, who spoke in characteristic Communist fashion and put in some hypocritical stuff about "those who love the great Republic must strive for justice in behalf of two victims of capitalistic persecution", and added, "Let us vow our devotion to democracy, justice and liberty," perverting the meanings of these three words as do these members of the American Civil Liberties Union.

It was a fitting meeting to have Norman Thomas as a speaker.

Thomas as a speaker is thoroughly poisonous, thoroughly hypocritical and thoroughly unscrupulous. Perhaps no member of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd is a more effective worker for Communism.

Governor Fuller is to be congratulated on his manly course and his simple, plain statement of the truth.

Governor Fuller's decision would make men like Norman Thomas and Felix Frankfurter ashamed if they had any sense of shame, but it is quite evident that they have not.

It should never be lost sight of that the American Civil Liberties Union crowd thrive financially through their criminal agitation and that this is a large object with many of them.

FRANCIS RALSTON WELSH

August 4, 1927.

HORACE THOMAS AFFILIATIONS

- X National Committee, American Civil Liberties Union.
- American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration.
- X Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service.
- National Advisory Committee, American League to Abolish Capital Punishment.
- X Committee on Militarism in Education.
- Executive Committee, League for Independent Political Action.
- International Committee for Political Prisoners.
- National Executive Committee, Conference for Progressive Labor Action. O
- Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy.
- Executive Board of National Council for Prevention of War.
- X Board of Directors, Pioneer Youth of America.
- Author, "Socialism of Our Times."
- Candidate for President of the United States on Socialist ticket.
- Advisory Council, Foreign Language Information Service.
- National World Court Committee.
- X Contributing Editor, "The World Tomorrow,"
- Lecturer, Rand School of Social Science.
- Advisory Board, National Religion and Labor Foundation.
- Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Farms (1926).
- Vice Chairman, Emergency Peace Committee.
- Contributor, "America for All."
- Contributor, "Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program."

NORMAN M. THOMAS

From "American Labor Who's Who". P.228

"Editor, The World Tomorrow; associate editor, The Nation; editor, The Leader. Socialist and American Labor Party candidate for governor of New York, 1924. Author: The Conscientious Objector in America, 1923; The Challenge of War, 1923, a pamphlet; numerous leaflets on various questions. Member Press Writers' Union."

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Norman Thomas spoke at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, February 20, 1931, after which socialists joined with college students and others in a parade through the streets of Richmond. Thomas rode in the procession, the leading car of which carried the red flag, while other cars were draped with red bunting. Members of the American Legion and other patriotic citizens of Richmond stopped the procession, tore the red flag and bunting from the cars, and broke up the demonstration. The American Legion denounced college officials for the parade under the red flag and called a series of patriotic meetings to offset the damage done by Thomas.

Late in September, 1930, Norman Thomas was barred from Brooklyn College by school authorities, "I object to a college government which decrees that neither Mr. Broun or myself shall speak before a student body," he said. "It narrows down to a censorship of public speakers who are invited to speak before these bodies."

Norman Thomas, active in the defense of communists and other radicals, is a member of many radical organizations including the following:

National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose secretary testified his belief in the right of an individual or organization to advocate overthrow of the United States government by force and violence and likewise to advocate murder. This organization is active in support of communists arrested for radical activity in the United States.

American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration.

Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service, the financial source for red and other organizations and activities.

Advisory Council of the American Association for Old Age Security.

National Advisory Committee, American League to Abolish Capital Punishment.

National Committee, "American Progressive Committee for the Support of "El Nuevo Mundo"".

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Norman M. Thomas - 2

cross file

Committee on Militarism in Education.

National Committee, Conference for Progressive Political Action.

India Independence League of America, with Roger Baldwin, John Dewey, etc.

Faculty and lecturer of Institute of International Relations of the American Friends Service Committee.

General Committee of International Committee for Political Prisoners headed by Roger Baldwin.

Executive Committee, League for Independent Political Action, headed by John Dewey.

Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy, headed by Robert Morss Lovett.

Executive Board, Libby National Council for the Prevention of War.

Speakers Bureau of the Open Forum Bureau, accredited agency of the Open Forum National Council, together with Roger Baldwin, Lewis Gannett, Scott Nearing, Kirby Page, William Pickens, Anna Louise Strong, etc.

Board of Directors, Pioneer Youth of America.

Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Thomas has also the following affiliations:

Speaker before the Civic League which lists Robert Dunn, Roger Baldwin, Ellen Wilkinson, Clarence Darrow, Robert Morss Lovett, etc.

Instructor in special courses at Rand School and member of sustaining Committee.

Contributing editor of The World Tomorrow, The Nation, New Republic, and New Leader.

One of the four original incorporators of the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), the others being Lewis Gannett, Robert Morss Lovett, and Roger Baldwin.

Quotations from writings of Norman Thomas in the New Leader

February 14, 1931--"This is the situation inherent in capitalism and in production for private profit. The main defense against falling wages is not the so-called enlightened capitalism, but the organized strength, industrial and political, of the workers....."

Norman M. Thomas - 3

"The unions which will share in this demonstration will have the wholehearted cooperation of the Socialist Party and of certain individuals who strongly feel the need of an immediate demand on the government in Washington, and in Albany, and at the City Hall. Success to it!" (Referring to the communist unemployment demonstrations in those cities.)

January 3, 1931--"If we have to build ships to help unemployment, let's sink them as soon as they are done to help peace."

November 22, 1930--"....Russia is carrying on an experiment of immense value which contains much hope along two lines in which socialists are deeply interested. (1) They are showing that men will work hard for other than the profit motive. (2) They are also showing that a planned national economy is possible."

January 31, 1931--"To the rapidly growing list of good books on Russia, by all means add Sherwood Eddy's 'The Challenge of Russia'.

January 24, 1931--"The Fish report on communism is as dangerous to American liberty as it is foolish. The committee wants to preserve American liberty by setting up a federal spy system over communists.... The committee wants to preserve American democracy by excluding the Communist Party from the ballot.... The committee wants to hurt our very excellent trade with Russia by refusing to buy any manganese from Russia.... What nonsense! But it's the kind of nonsense we have to fight."

January 17, 1931-- "From one point of view it would be well if we could concentrate less on a passionate debate on Russia... and more on getting ahead with our own business.... We've got to have a revolution, like Russia.... Nevertheless, it is, on the whole, natural and fitting that we should be marvelously interested in the great things that are being done in building a proletarian society in Russia."

October 25, 1930--....there is much to be admired in communist zeal."

October 11, 1930--"The President at his worst"---re the President's King's Mountain speech in which he denounced communism. "Mr. Hoover is as wrong about socialism as he is about capitalism, which he calls the American system....."

September 20, 1930--"If we got power it would take more than ability to recite the Communist Manifesto backwards to enable us to do anything about it."

August 9, 1930--"When it comes to dealing with Communists, not only do the New York police lose sight of civil liberty, but of all standards of efficient policy. Nothing the communists did on the occasion of the most recent Union Square riot can possibly justify

Norman M. Thomas - 4

the action of the police."

See statement of Norman Thomas on Pages 1310-11 of Lusk Report, "The Church and Conscientious Objectors."

On April 6, 1923, a circular letter was sent out by the Labor Defense Council, organized to raise funds for the defense of the communists arrested at Bridgman, Michigan, to which the signatures of John Nevin Sayre, Freda Kirchway, Roger Baldwin, Capt. Paxton Hibben, Mary Heaton Vorse, Rev. Norman Thomas, Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, and Rev. John Haynes Holmes are attached.

From the National Republic, April, 1931.

According to the New Leader, national socialist organ, President Glenn Frank presided at a meeting of the University of Wisconsin Socialist Student Club on February 26th, at which Norman Thomas, socialist presidential candidate in 1928, who is now conducting a socialist party propaganda campaign in the colleges of the country, was the speaker. President Frank writes a signed feature which is widely distributed among newspapers throughout the country by the McClure Syndicate. In connection with the Norman Thomas meeting at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., a display of the red flag was made on the automobile in which the socialist party leader was paraded through the streets. As a result the American Legion of Richmond has announced a series of Sunday afternoon meetings at which exclusive loyalty to the American flag will be defended.

Official

ROSEAN THOMAS - Left-wing socialist; titular head of the Socialist Party in the United States; candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist Party ticket; member National Committee of the Red defending American Civil Liberties Union, whose Executive Director testified before the Congressional Committee, headed by Congressman Fish of New York, that the A.C.L.U. upholds the right to advocate, murder, assassination and the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence; member of American Committee opposed to alien registration; member Board of Directors of the American Fund For Public Service, which distributed over a million dollars to communist and other subversive forces in this country; member of the National Advisory Council to Abolish Capital Punishment; member of the Committee on Militarism in Education, composed of leaders of radical movements who oppose military training in any school or college in the United States; Executive Director of the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy; member of the Executive Board of the (Libby) National Council for the Prevention of War, who stated in a recent bulletin that Russia has found an advocate in us (the N.C.P.W.); member of the Board of Directors of the Pioneer Youth movement (Socialist); member of the National World Court Committee; Advisory Board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation; Advisory Board of the Russian Reconstruction Farms; Vice-Chairman of the Emergency Peace Committee (1932); contributor to "Socialist Planning and Socialist Program"; Advisory Committee of the New York Workers' Committee for Unemployment (Socialist); Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America; contributor to "Nation", "New Leader", "America for All" and other Socialistic publications; member of National Committee, League Against Fascism (1933); Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' RELIEF O(1933).

MURRAY FERGUSON - Left-wing Socialist; titular head of the Socialist Party in the United States; candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist Party ticket; member, National Committee of the Red defending American Civil Liberties Union, the Executive Director of which testified before the Congressional Committee headed by Congressman Fish of New York that the A. C. L. U. upholds the right to advocate murder, assassination and the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence; member, American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration; member, Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service which distributed over a million dollars to communist and other subversive forces in this country; member, National Advisory Council to Abolish Capital Punishment; member, Committee on Militarism in Education, composed of leaders of radical movements who oppose military training in any school or college in the United States; Executive Director, (socialist) League for Industrial Democracy; member, Executive Board, (Liberty) National Council for the Prevention of War, which stated in a bulletin that Russia "has found an advocate in us" (N. C. P. W.); member, National World Court Committee; Advisory Board, National Religion & Labor Foundation; Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Farms; Vice-Chairman, Emergency Peace Committee (1932); contributor to "Socialist Planning and Socialist Program"; Advisory Committee, New York Workers' Committee for Unemployment (Socialist); Executive Committee, Socialist Party of America; contributor, "Nation", "New Leader", "America For All", and other Socialistic publications; member, national Committee, League Against Fascism, 1933; Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 1933.

tar to the Congressman that you look on him as a servant of the people, and that you are a people. Praise him for the good part of his record—be equally critical of his failures, but not intense; be gracious no matter what you may get.

PEACE MEETINGS

Peace meeting arrange to have a time slot of the current legislative situation. Nobody report on the attitudes and actions of your Congressman and Senators. If meeting is on one particular legislative subject such as neutrality, or reciprocal tariffs—ask out your representative's stand and add it to the meeting.

Get out releases for the newspapers to have reporters present. Your representative in Washington will know about your meeting if it is in the local papers.

Client plan is to buy 100 penny postcards and sell them for a penny at the end of the meeting. Any of the audience who wish to write to their representatives. They should do so.

Sentiment of the meeting should be put in a Resolution, prepared beforehand and voted on at the suitable time. It can be general if you wish, but it is better to use each peace meeting to put more pressure on the President and on

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions are futile if they are merely pious expressions of sentiment. They should be directed. The Resolution should be addressed to the President, Senators, Representatives—or all of them.

Resolution should be offered and secured. An ample opportunity for discussion in any opposition to the Resolution should not "railroad through" a Resolution. We believe in democratic methods.

The Resolution should then be wired or air-mailed to whomever it is addressed—President, Secretary of State, Senators, Congressmen. Copies should be available immediately to the Press. Never forget that your Senators and Congressmen always read the local papers, no matter whether they are completely illiterate on every other bit of printed matter.

Therefore, a Resolution has definite and important political value:

- (1) Because it is the time-honored way of expressing the joint will of a congregation of voters.
- (2) Because newspapers usually print resolutions and thus your idea gets needed and valuable publicity.

OTHER PEOPLE'S MEETINGS

All sorts of organizations are constantly holding meetings. Many of these can be used for peace pressure purposes—women's clubs, parent-teacher groups, etc. Try to have a peace speaker at one meeting of each organization in your community—even if only for five minutes. And don't have general sweet peace speeches; get talks tied down to a current pressing topic. If possible have someone present a resolution for adoption. In any case have someone primed to ask pertinent questions.

FINALE

Peace is a political as well as an economic question. The threatening war situation makes it imperative that we use these methods now as effectively as possible, for the American people want peace. They must be helped to make that sentiment count.

War does not come by accident. It proceeds from definite causes—sometimes simple, sometimes complicated. But War cannot come if it is opposed by the great mass of the people.

We still have a democracy where the will of the people can be expressed. Let us use it.

L. & S. Press Service

11/13/36

FEATURE

(One of a series of articles on timely subjects - a weekly feature.)

THE WORLD IN REVIEW

By Joel Scidman ✓

Labor Economist and Educator
Instructor at Brookwood Labor College.

It is unfortunate that the negotiations between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the A.F. of L. have been broken off without even a meeting between representatives of the two sides. The cause of unity in the American trade union movement deserves more careful consideration than that.

Last month, it will be recalled, the millinery workers at their convention proposed that the suspension of the C.I.O. unions be lifted, and that sub-committees of the executive council and the C.I.O. confer in an effort to reach a settlement.

The executive council appointed such a sub-committee, but refused to remove the suspension. The C.I.O. thereupon refused to appoint a group to confer. With the recent refusal by John L. Lewis to confer with William Green because Green stated that he lacked authority to change the council's ruling, a stalemate has been reached.

Thus affairs are being allowed to drift, with a split appearing not far off. Surely there must be enough statesmanship and practical idealism in the American labor movement to find some basis for unity which yet permits the organization of workers in the mass production industries.

Steel Wage Increases

Every steel worker should realize that the grant of an average 10 per cent pay increase was due to the activities of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. If the steel magnates will give this much in the hope of avoiding a union, how much more could a powerful union force from them?

Suddenly the steel companies have discovered virtues in signed agreements. Their dummy company unions were not invited to confer on the terms of the increase, but are now asked to sign agreements accepting them.

The reason is not hard to find. The companies fear that the question as to which organization can represent the workers may arise soon in labor board or court cases, and they want to destroy, if possible, the claims of the real union.

The worst feature of the proposal, however, is that which calls for automatic wage increases or decreases as the cost of living rises or falls. This would bind the workers to the present standard of living, which is far too low. American workers should have the right to steadily advancing standards.

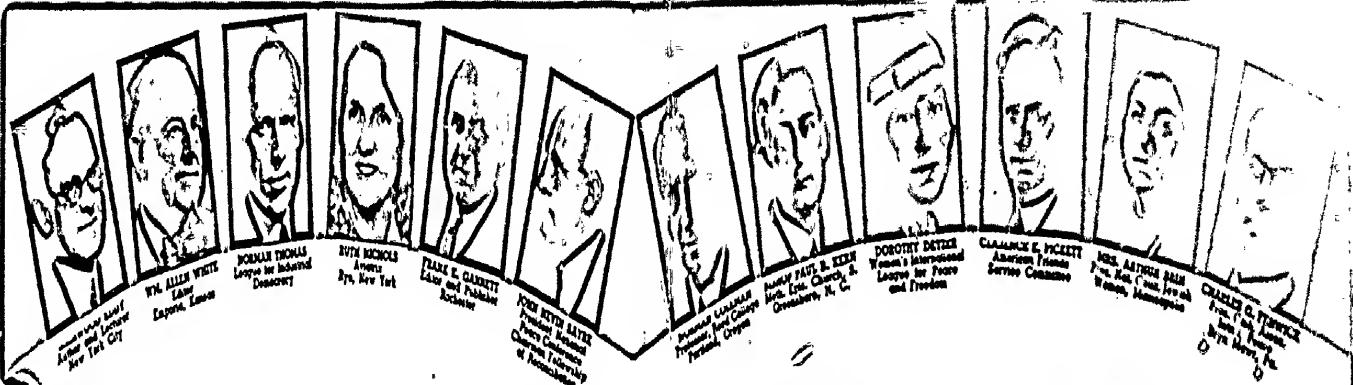
The steel workers will not be fooled by these moves. They know that their only reliance is their own organized power.

The New Farm Plan

The farm program advanced by the Roosevelt administration embodies the principles of the old A.A.A. Basically it seeks to reduce production in order to raise crop prices.

Planning is desired, to be sure, but it should be planning for plenty, not planning for scarcity. We need to produce, not less, but more. We need to plan, not to increase private profits, but to satisfy human needs and wants.

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NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION ESSENTIAL (Third Cycle of the Emergency Peace Campaign)

Many individuals and organizations are opposed to strong neutrality legislation as essential to keeping this country out of war. They are convinced that such legislation should contain mandatory provisions prohibiting the sale of munitions and of materials of warfare to belligerents and making it unlawful to grant loans and credits to them. It should firmly decide that if a citizen of this nation goes into the war zone or ships goods to that area, he does so at his own risk, and the government assumes no responsibility to resort to armed action in his defense.

A nation-wide series of mass meetings and conferences to discuss neutrality legislation and provide support for it was launched in Philadelphia, January 7, with Claude Royton, England's famous women pacifist; Harry Emerson Fosdick, and Stewart Edward White as speakers.

REGIONAL OFFICES SET UP

In order to organize the country effectively, the following regional offices were established January 1, 1937:

ATLANTA, GA.	KNOXVILLE, TENN.	NEW YORK, N. Y.
100 Peachtree St.	104 W. Adams	71 W. 23rd St.
BOSTON, MASS.	100 Harrison St.	PHILADELPHIA, PA.
LaSalle 5-54	114 S. State St.	121 Chestnut St.
CORCORAN Bldg.	104 ANGELS, CAL.	LOS ANGELES, CAL.
11 W. Beacon St.	104 Harrison St.	8 W. Adams Ave.
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.	MASSON, WIS.	PITTSBURGH, PA.
100 Franklin St.	100 W. Adams	101 Franklin Park Bldg.
DETROIT, MICH.	100 E. Congress St.	Wood St. & 14th St.
100 Washington Church	WHEELING, W. VA.	PORTLAND, ORG.
MONTGOMERY, ALA.	100 Courtland	101 Columbia
100 Market St.	100 Madison	ST. LOUIS, MO.
Montgomery	100 Madison	101 Columbia

In the immediate future there will be opened in Virginia and up-state New York

NO-FOREIGN-WAR CRUSADE (Fourth Cycle of the Emergency Peace Campaign)

The likelihood that the United States will be subjected to armed invasion is extremely remote. If, however, the sentiment against American participation in war in Europe or Asia can be made articulate and effective, there will remain only the slightest possibility that the United States will resort to war with any other nation.

The No-Foreign-War Crusade is being sponsored and carried forward by American citizens who are opposed to any act of imperialistic aggression by their own country, and who are convinced that the chief danger of war for this nation lies in the possibility that the United States may become involved in war in Europe or Asia. They are united in their determination to keep this country from sending ships or boys to fight in those areas. Many Quakers and other participants go further and are opposed to all war.

On April 6, the twentieth anniversary of America's entrance into the "war to end war" and to make the world safe for democracy, Admiral Byrd, Harry Emerson Fosdick and other presidential advisers, will launch the No-Foreign-War Crusade with a nation-wide radio broadcast. During the next two months some 2000 communities throughout the country will have outstanding speakers discuss this issue in great mass meetings, and in women's clubs, labor unions, chambers of commerce, veterans' associations, fraternal orders, business clubs, churches, synagogues, student groups, etc.

ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE

MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES In 274 cities last spring and 300 cities last fall were addressed by more than 500 prominent men and women who volunteered their services.

COLLEGE STUDENTS—330 of them—as Peace Volunteers worked in 50 rural areas in 23 states last summer. This winter 400 are participating.

MINISTERS AND RABBI'S have been the vanguard of the Campaign in many communities. Last spring 300 agreed to speak five times for the Campaign within six weeks.

LABOR INSTITUTES and summer schools were attended by 100 workers from 31 trades in 21 states. Anti-war plays were presented in 31 states.

PRESS clippings, 15,000 inches, from approximately 1000 newspapers with paid circulation of 45,000,000 were received at headquarters. Publications using weekly news sheets of Hoffmaster News Service have a paid circulation of 15,000,000.

RADIO programs have included four national and many local broadcasts.

PEACE COUNCILS and EPC committees functioned in almost 100 communities in cooperation with service clubs, women's clubs, youth, farm and labor groups.

ENLIST FOR PEACE

Every person can help in the nation-wide effort to change people's minds with regard to the basic problems of war and peace. Every citizen can bring pressure to bear upon governmental officials in behalf of peace legislation. And every individual can help to organize and carry forward a resolute peace movement in his community. If you are ready to use your power and influence to prevent war you are invited to register in the

NATIONAL PEACE ENROLLMENT

In order to help keep the United States out of war and to promote world peace—

- A. I agree to take part in peace education and peace actions directed toward the removal of the causes of war and the strengthening of peaceful means of settling international controversies.
- B. I record my determination never to approve of or participate in any war, except to repel an unprovoked armed invasion of the neutral United States by a foreign force.
- C. I record my determination never to approve of or participate in any war.

(Dots, B, C or G express your position; please check the column to the right.)

Signature

Address



61-10448-1040

The New York Times Book Review

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Section
4

SUNDAY, MARCH 29, 1931.

THIRTY-TWO PAGES

A NEW PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRACY

Norman Thomas Outlines His Conception of a Socially Planned State

AMERICA'S WAY OUT: A PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRACY. By Norman Thomas. 250 pp., New York: The Macmillan Company, \$2.00.

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

R. THOMAS' book smells of the soap box, as might have been expected of a man who, in addition to championing no end of good causes, has spent a considerable share of his time and energy in campaigning for the Presidency of the United States, or the Governorship of New York, or a seat in the House of Representatives, or the Mayoralty of New York City. The aroma is not offensive, however, for he has not only done much to make the soap box a forum for dignified and intelligent discussion of public questions, but he has also, in so doing, won in extraordinary measure the respect and esteem of his political opponents. Indeed, everybody, it seems, is in awe of Mr. Hoover and the Wall Street barons of finance would be like if he could have the handling of it; he is assured in advance of a hearing not merely from such as are already convinced that socialism, in one form or another, is the foreordained way of democratic life, but also, and possibly even more, from those to whom socialism, in any form or by whomsoever advocated, is a subversive doctrine and a dangerous program.

It is not difficult, of course, for Mr. Thomas to show that the existing political and economic order, grounded in capitalism and the fruit of capitalist nurture, falls far short of even approximate perfection and that progress, if it exists at all, is dismally slow. There is no essential novelty in the demonstration that fills the first half of his book, and it is only fair to say that he claims no novelty for it. He merely recalls, as others have before him, that incomes are grossly unequal, that the contrasts of wealth and poverty are distressingly sharp, that wage earners of all classes are haunted by fear born of insecurity, and that personal freedom and justice are often grievously denied.

It is of the nature of capitalism, as Mr. Thomas sees it, that such things should be, and the "newer forms of capitalism," of which a good deal is just now being said boil down to his no prospect of essential betterment. "The whole system," he declares, "is planless and chaotic." "It takes in the value system give wealth without any effort on their own part to those who are fortunate enough to get in on the ground floor." People in favored positions are rewarded without regard to their abilities; a democratizing hurry and competitive spending are emphasized, and "poverty and unemployment in the midst of potential plenty" produce "a new type of misery." The most that can be expected of the "new capitalism" is "a meager technical progress" in the fixed sense and "some contribution to the relation of men to management." Collectivism and the present profit system do not go together. The way of social salvation is along more democratic lines.

What is the alternative? With all respect for the great influence of Karl Marx, Mr. Thomas is unable to find in pure

Marxian socialism the philosophy or the program that is now needed. The plight of the Socialists after the World War made it clear that Marxian principles "did not of themselves automatically provide Socialists with the psychological insight and practical program to deal easily and quickly with the problems of a war-torn world." The idea of economic determinism is "inadequate to the weight Marxists often put

on the crowd and its manipulators new warrant for their own intolerance and lust of power.

The need of an alternative is heightened, in Mr. Thomas's view, by the continuing danger of war. It is possible that international capitalism may do something to prevent war among strong nations and may "somewhat enlighten men on the fact that the conditions of prosperity are world-

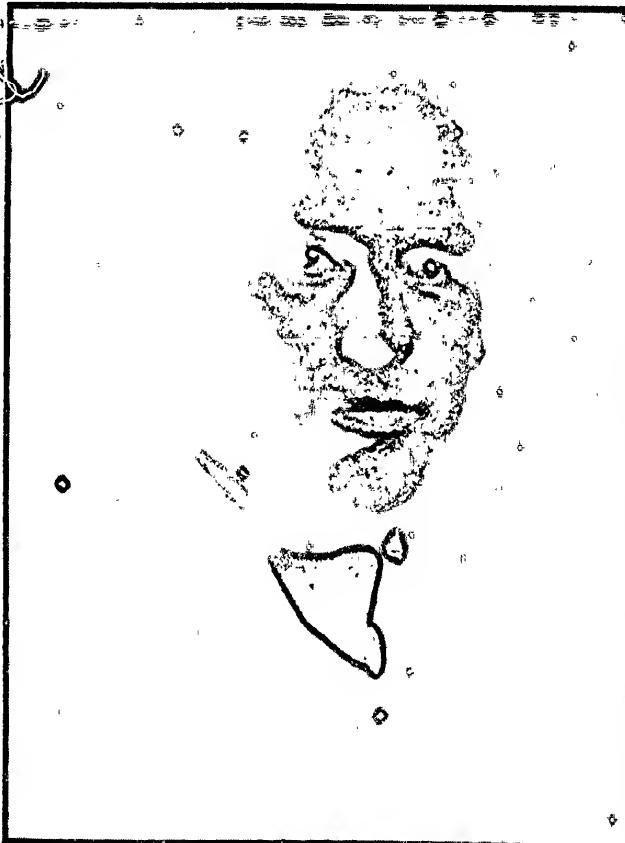
wide." It is still at its best "a magnificent challenge," but it will not become effective until the inconsistency of "an autocratic or nearly autocratic industrial system and an already democratic political system" is done away with, until civil liberties and free speech are assured, and until the political machinery through which it works is radically changed.

We come, then, to socialism. A socialism that is to inspire confidence must have, according to Mr. Thomas, a philosophy, a system and "an organization equal to the task of winning plenty and peace and freedom, not indeed without suffering or struggle, but without a suicidal and self-defeating degree of violence." Without a philosophy it will be only a kind of liberal opportunism bereft of general principles; without a program it will offer nothing definite to take hold of; without an organization it cannot hope to accomplish anything worth while. What has Mr. Thomas, easily the most conspicuous protagonist of socialism in the United States at the present moment, to offer under these heads?

The cornerstone of the socialist philosophy which he undertakes to expound is "the absolute necessity of planned control of the resources and machinery of the world in the common interest." Such a control will not consider consumers at the expense of workers, it will not "contemplate a state Utopia," and it will not draw too sharp a distinction between immediate and ultimate ends. "It is a philosophy of ultimate plenty for all, but it is not a philosophy of easy transition without toll." The change will not come overnight; on the contrary, socialism may "go along" with social reformers in some of their demands, and in any case it will experiment.

Briefly, the program comprises the acquisition and control by the State of whatever is necessary for the common life. First in the list come the "key" industries, some of which are now more or less effectively controlled by public authority, but all of which should eventually pass out of private hands. The purchase will cost money, but the difficulties of purchase are psychologically more than financial, and in any case the transfer would result in "an immediate saving to the public." Confiscation, apparently, is not to be thought of, although the amount to be paid will not necessarily be the seller's price. Once acquired, such industries should be self-administering, with directorates representing producers in the industry and consumers in general. They would not be subject to political administration.

Mr. Thomas rejects the single tax, but he nevertheless suggests "the possible utility of a tax equivalent to the rental value of the land as a means of getting rid of private (Continued on Page 19)



Norman Thomas.

Photo by The New York Times Studio.

on it," and "it takes more than shooting class struggle effectively to organize a Socialist world or even a Socialist party."

The case is no better for communism, which Mr. Thomas sees as "a secular religion," "a religion of the mass and the machine." "The good life for man" will, he thinks, be evolved through a dictatorship of any kind, nor is there any evidence in Russia that the "dearless desire," albeit of a minority, for intellectual and moral freedom

will automatically be granted as a Communist order is established and the immediate perils to it faded away. On the contrary, the Communist nation gives

wide rather than purely national." The greatest objection, however, is that international capitalism, by neglecting the danger from exploited workers unwilling to put up with capitalist dictation, may actually substitute class war "on a huge scale" for national wars.

Why not, then, turn to democracy and translate that theory of society into a working and satisfying fact? Mr. Thomas believes in democracy, but he sees serious objections to what passes under that name. For one thing, democracy as a practical arrangement suffered heavily in the World War—so heavily, indeed, as to suggest

TOP SECRET SOURCE: SPYMASTER - NOVEMBER 1945

Smoking Out the Candidates + + +

Socialist Chief Answers All Questions

Presidential Nominee Tells What He'd Do if Elected

In this article, Norman Thomas, Socialist nominee for president, tells what he would do if elected president. He is the first Socialist candidate ever to run for the White House.

By WILLIE THORNTON
Special Correspondent, Inc.

Norman Thomas is a candidate who many expect to be elected this time. He'll tell you so quite frankly.

The Socialist has the idea that Thomas has no chance about his candidacy. He is more interested, however, in principles than in a campaign, than he is in making deals with other parties that might increase his vote this fall.

The campaign has been徘徊ed out of \$3 million.

The Socialist party nominated him to run a third time for the presidency.

He has spent the past year trying to help poor farmers to organize in the face of bitter local opposition.

WIFE AT SIDE

Mrs. Thomas, who accompanies the ex-Presbyterian minister on all his speaking tours and campaigns, represents the women of the French terrier who knitted with him in the last days of his race. It is only by contrast that the thought comes at all.

Mrs. Thomas is a small, quiet and quiet woman, mother of three children. She is a garment for a small grandchild that the yard is being worn on her expert fingers. She rises from time to time to handle phone calls for her husband.

RAPID CAPITALISM

"I'll be glad to answer these questions," said Thomas.

"Of course they are all based on the existing order of capitalism, in which I don't believe. But if a Democratic government were to be elected Nov. 3, it would be in the hands of the Socialists," he declared Nov. 4. There would have to be a period of transition even then, of cleaning up the problems pipped up by decaying capitalism.

And immediately without a ham or a haw, Thomas dictated his answers. They are presented in an ad-

JOINTS TO HITLER

"Socialists this year will be expected to vote the Socialist ticket," Thomas made clear. "There will be no trucking with plane like voting for Roosevelt to help defeat a reactionary Republican or trying to support a semi-socialist Farmer-Laborite with either Farmers' Labor behind it. We trusted front with Communists or others."

The plan of supporting a liberal regime to keep the reactionaries out has been exploded by experience. I voted for Wilson in 1916 because he kept us out of war. What did we get? War. The German Social Democrats voted for Hindenburg to defeat reaction. What did they get? Hindenburg and Hitler, and then just Hitler."

FAIR LABOR PARTY?

Thomas regards a Farmer-Labor or a united labor party as a very

CORRECTLY FITTED GLASSES

Prescription fitted. All kinds of optical goods. Optical and white goods. All kinds of eyeglasses. All kinds of eyeglasses.

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417 74 NW National 3-7021

JEWELRY CO. National 3-7021



NORMAN THOMAS

Hearst Wins Point Here in Anti-Lobby Group Row

The U. S. Court of Appeals granted William Randolph Hearst a special appeal today from the decision of a lower court which dismissed his request for an injunction against the Black senatorial investigating committee.

Twenty years of political and social campaigning are behind the mind which directed Hearst's suit. The reporter can write them down. A tall, broad-shouldered figure rises at the last answer he writes.

SPED FLIER LEAVES D. C. IN TRY FOR WORLD RECORD

Bob Brock, 22, speed pilot, flew over 1000 miles in 10 hours and 40 minutes in an attempt to establish a new international light plane record.

Brock took off from Hoover Field at 6:37 a. m. He flew north to Floyd Bennett Field, N. Y., thence south to Norfolk, Va., and back to Washington.

He planned to make two complete circuits of the course. There are no national records for either distance. The international 1000 kilometer record is held by France with an average speed of 181 miles per hour.

Army Pilot Makes 'Blind' Flight From New York to Coast

By United Press

LOS ANGELES — Maj. Ira C. Eaker was acclaimed today for his "blind" flight from New York to Los Angeles in 23 hours.

He flew all the way in a hooded cockpit, guided only by his instrument panel and information radioed to him from a convoy plane flown by Maj. William E. Kepner.

Maj. Eaker took off from New York last Wednesday noon, 110 elapsed flying time was 23 hours, 10 minutes. He made landings at Washington, D. C., Spartanburg, S. C., Montgomery, Ala., Shreveport, La., Dallas, Midland and El Paso, Tex., and Tucson, Ariz.

By United Press

RALEIGH, N. C. — The Democratic nomination for governor rests between Cyrus H. Hoey, an elderly 53-year-old college professor, returns of Saturday's primary from 1871 of North Carolina's 1859 precincts showed today.

Hoey held a 6000-vote margin over his younger opponent. They will be in a run-off July 4.

Judah W. Dailey, North Carolina's senior senator, was assured of being returned to the Senate as he held a lead of \$4,000 over his nearest rival.

By United Press

Hoey Leading McDonald in North Carolina Vote

By United Press

EDMUND MURKIN - STYLICOS FOX

Electric KITCHEN

HEALTH HOME

Norman Thomas Says Dole Better Than 'Made Work'

Warns That Government Debt Will Bring Inflation If Continued; Sees Housing as Answer to Unemployment Problem

EXCEPT before answering any of the questions, I must make it clear as a Socialist that you are asking me how to run a capitalist system in which I do not believe. Nevertheless, should a Socialist be elected President, he would first have to clear away the debts and liquidate certain problems left behind by capitalism. So, because I am a candidate for the presidency, I am only fair that I indicate how I would deal with the immediate problems proposed, should I be elected. I am glad to do so.

(1) Do you favor balancing the budget? If so, do you advocate reducing relief expenditures by increasing taxes? If by taxes, what kind?

Ideally, yes. Practically, a budget as far out of balance can't be continued much further without very serious inflation. It is ridiculous, however, to talk of a balanced budget to provide relief expenditures until we have done for more than we have up to now to get rid of unemployment. Taxes will have to be increased and the increase should fall on incomes, inheritances and corporate surpluses (this is no infringement of the House bill). There should also be a land value tax and for purposes of debt reduction and for housing Socialists, a graduated capital levy rising to virtual expropriation in the higher brackets. But I would leave Marion enough to keep him out of the poorhouse.

(2) Should relief be by direct cash payments or as wages? Should relief be paid for and administered by the Federal Government or by the states?

Relief should be thru the payment of the prevailing wage for useful work wherever it is possible to provide useful work. It should have been provided on a much greater scale under an adequate program of public housing. Direct relief is better than "made work" because the whole, it is less destructive of morale. It is hypocritical nonsense to talk of states bearing the burden of relief. In their present hard-pressed situation only a few could do it. The first states to suffer if this burden were returned to them would be the Democratic states-right states of the South.

(3) How should the problem of permanent unemployment and care of the aged and unemployed best be handled?

Through adequate social security legislation. I favor in principle the President's bill. I regard the present security bill as an insecurity bill. But I do not think disintegrating capitalism can bear the cost of really adequate security.

(4) Do you favor further devaluation of the dollar or stabilization at the present gold standard? Do you believe in any form of currency change, currency inflation or credit inflation, a return to the gold standard, or a managed currency?

I am entirely opposed to currency or credit inflation. I believe in the principle of a managed currency, but not in the form of any of the plans which disintegrate capitalism. The only way to manage a currency is to get an effectively managed currency without public ownership of the banks and credit machinery. I am opposed to further complication of the situation by scuttling the sound silver purchase plan which has proved so disastrous to China.

(5) Do you favor any program whose aim is to control or fix wages, working hours or a shorter work week?

As a Socialist, my whole interest is in democratically managed, socially owned industry rather than in control of Government of private industry, but as things are, most emphatically I do favor all these controls, as legitimate means of improving the unemployment situation.

(6) Do you favor an amendment to the Constitution authorizing the Federal Government to deal with economic and social problems, national in scope, or in dealing the courts as to their right to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional?

Emphatically, yes! Our party is the principle advocate of the "farmers' and workers' rights amendment" originally drafted by that very able lawyer, Morris Hillquit, and introduced in modified form by Sen. Benson and Rep. Marcani.

(7) Do you favor modification or suspension of the anti-trust laws, to enable business men to get together: (a) to agree on trade practices, (b) to agree on labor relations, (c) to agree on control of production, (d) to attempt to fix prices?

It doesn't interest me much. Neither the anti-trust laws nor any modification of them will work under capitalism, for any desirable social end.

(8) What is your remedy for the farmer? Do you favor the reorganization of production, industrial or agricultural?

I do not favor any curtailment while the legitimate needs and wants of Americans are unfulfilled. For the farmer, I believe in the socialization of marketing agencies, agricultural cooperatives, and in representative farmers on the side of land, socialization of the great plantations, especially those in the cotton country, to a crop-share co-operative under expert guidance. In general, as a Socialist, I favor abolition of private landlordism and occupancy of homes and one-family farms on the basis of titles based on actual occupation and use of the property.

(9) Are you in favor of the policy of making reciprocal trade treaties, to encourage foreign trade or reduce tariff walls?

Yes, but it has a limited usefulness.

(10) Do you favor a policy of public power development; the construction of expansion of TVA and control of public utilities thru the UTILITIES HOLDING COMPANY ACT?

Yes, but if a Socialist had been in office, he would not have subjected the utilities to regulation by the holding companies act, but would have used the utilities to regulate the holding company act to take over the utilities of the country for the people.

Evening Post, Oct. 27, 1931

THOMAS ELECTION DEMOCRATIC TASKS

Socialist Is "Outstanding Candidate" for Borough President, Says Commission Chief

BALLOT INQUIRY GOES ON

By RUTHLESS F. WALTERS
With increasing apprehension, the campaign to elect the man of the year, Mr. Thomas, American candidate for Borough President continues, with George W. Whelanman, president of Democratic and Thomas' former colleague at the Law Enforcement Committee, being the lead openly to support Mr. Thomas' election.

Mr. Whelanman, in a letter, stated that previous public issues he had agreed with Mr. Thomas the voters had the outstanding candidate. While the like for Mr. Thomas increases, the major issue from the Republican press of view is that independent voters remain from voting for their local candidates.

To protect this danger the Republicans believe they are not only safe but also consider the majority that the local candidates are in no wise responsible for what Charles Ewing, C. C. C., H. D. P.主张 for the Borough President, has said or may say.

Meanwhile, the investigation of papers used in the Primary Assembly election is progressing, with the Attorney General's office and the Education commission both scheduled to begin hearings.

Eugene Walter, Republican leader of the election, is not only busy checking up on Republicans, but also busy hunting information about Mr. De la Sierra, Mr. Young says:

"I am taking vigorous steps because I want to stamp out this stampede of Republicans and voters who by their voting criminal prevented against the legitimate and just primaries to attack and repudiate."

"The result of this legislation, on the last day of registration over 100,000 voters showed up to the polls at 100th Street Avenue in one hour for and registered, giving evidence that the Democratic Party does not have the confidence of that place."

"From 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. there were 100,000 voters American citizens and only one was listed, and he, according to his own performance the day before the registration and the next day, forty days before the election."

"An amateur, Adams, is running, representing in the Thirty-third Street Annex, just a 500-foot Annex addition and has organized so a disaster as played by a wild horse in a barn. I have no difficulty that this amateur is responsible to the voter and has never been to the polling place and does not need to be appointed."

"There are many a first instance of political corruption, and also political corruption throughout the country."

Thomas' bid, Whelanman, to some extent, has gone well. However, Whelanman, in answer to the referendum question, the considered the same when former Governor Alfred E. Smith is reelected. There seems to be no probability of the referendum's being voted, while with the Republicans fully supporting it.

There who join this support is, will be their only policy supported by the voters of Brooklyn.

Continued on Page Five

11,000 FEAR THOMAS IN SOCIALIST WIND-UP

He Appeals at Two Rallies for
Big Vote to Compel 'Decent
Action' by Government

SEES 'HITLER MENACE' HERE
Malvina Derides 'Salm Battle' of
Old Parties, Saying Socialists
Offers People 'New Deal'

Before an audience of 1,000 in the Street Collector's Assembly Hall yesterday afternoon and again at the evening at the Socialist Assembly of Staten Island, where Senator Thomas, third-term candidate for the Senate, Louis Wallace, Congressman, members, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, and Charles Holman, candidate for United States Senator, made their places for the Socialist cause.

Although the Socialists have a series of meetings in various parts of the city today, yesterday's rallies marked the climax of their campaign, which they termed the most successful one ever conducted by the Socialist party.

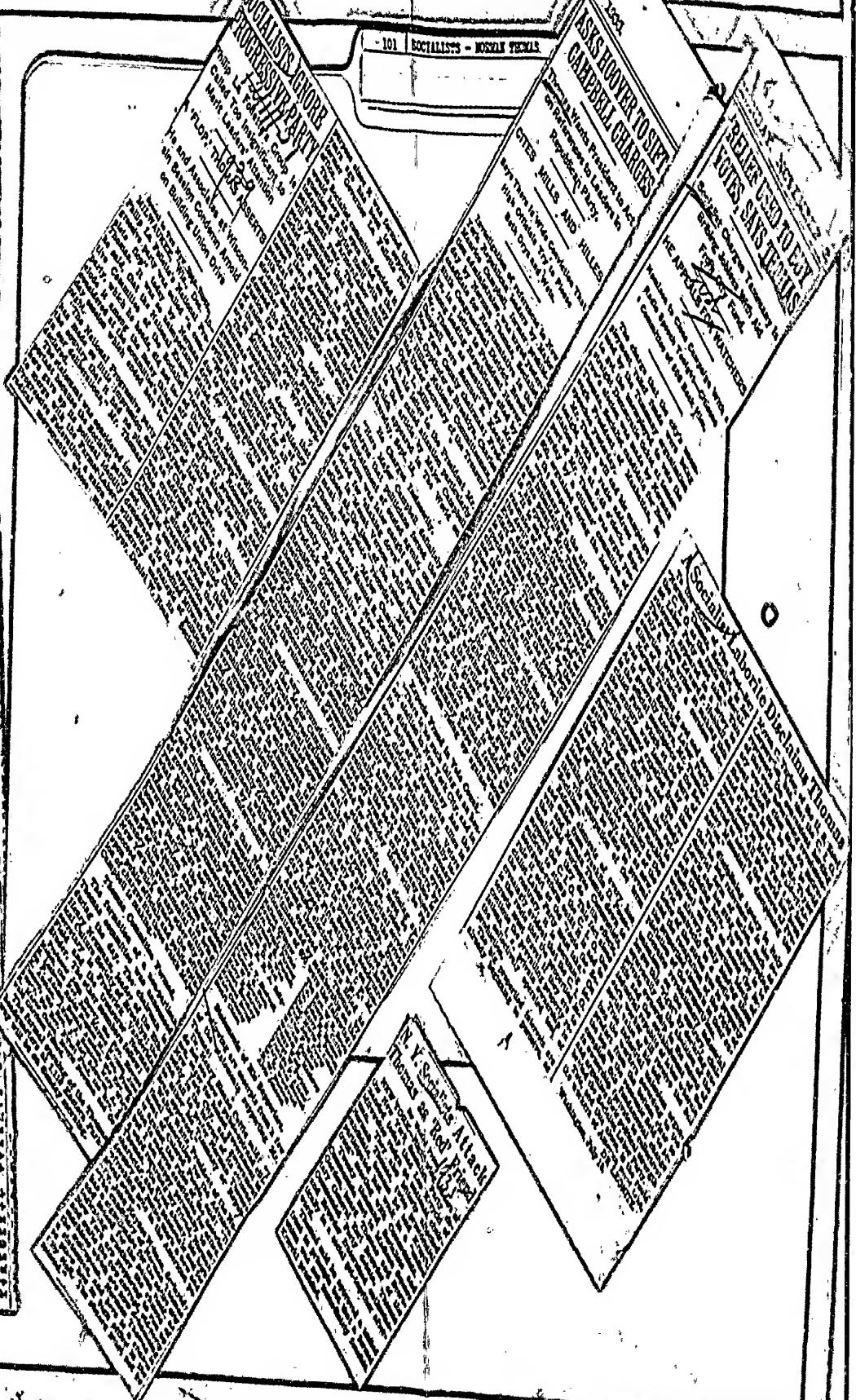
Mr. Thomas assailed both President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt with "the condition of capitalism," the "depression" of which he referred to previously. He said that the experience of the depression and what he characterized as "the low intellectual level of the campaign conducted by the Republicans and Democrats" proved the necessity of a strong Socialist party in the United States. He expressed confidence that the campaign now drawing to a close would mark the beginning of the growth of such a party.

"Mr. Roosevelt bears the stamp of Wall Street's approval given by Owen D. Young, the allegedly liberal capitalist, who assured Mr. Hoover that no man in business could be more fit to help him," Mr. Thomas said. "Young's" election resembles Mr. Roosevelt's. It is a matter of words which do not interfere with his tools.

Republicans vs. Democrats.
"If you vote Republican you vote for a system of paternalistic capitalism under which the government gets deeper and deeper in debt for the sake of saving business. If you let it go uncorrected it will bankrupt and it has absolutely neglected to direct the human needs of the unemployed."

If you vote Democratic you vote for the same capitalist system but with slightly different trimmings. In anything, the Democratic party is more reasonable and in certain respects more honest and more worthy to ordinary men than the Republican party."

Mr. Thomas charged that capital has become "a system of slavery and exploitation," saying that the rich never sleep at night. "In the Socialist ideal of a communistic world of workers with hand and brain who laborfully earn the necessities of life, providing that the natural resources and materials available be put to the best use."



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Text of Norman Thomas's Address at Socialist Rally

The speech of Norman Thomas at the Socialist rally in Madison Square Garden yesterday follows:

"The time over Europe and America are not with the clouds of war. We are headed when they may break in the direction of war or peace, or devastation, or what will be the consequences to America of this fresh carnage of death. Yet the discussion in this political campaign has only scarcely moved the people so far except in terms of meticulous generalities."

"President Roosevelt has given us the greatest appropriation for the army and navy in the history of our administration which has not been exceeded by any budgeting figures for the Coast Guard or people who live in Alaska and Alaska has dotted the coast with its bases and spread the seed with its services."

"Part of his vast expenditures has been under the name of civil relief to the masses and the rest of it has been in the name of defense. Yet never Mr. Roosevelt nor his party has mentioned what he has challenged this expenditure, has given us any definition of what we have accepted and what we have left in the Philippines with the exception of that which gives us in the quarter of the Pacific.

"Neither of them has given any clear definition of genuine neutrality. What is neutrality? That we shall take the neutrals not only out of war, but preparation for war, and that is the whole system. There has indeed been talk of universal subscription of neutrals, but there is no real effort to prevent new war and, in the event of that quarrel, concerning government of war will be enlisted. But the farmer at his plow, the worker in his shop, the teacher in his classroom, will be bound in absolute slavery to the war machine."

Find No Constructive Plan

"Our isolated leaders, Mr. Roosevelt included, have not said much about our available intentions and what the President calls 'the most difficult thing in the world'—that is, 'how to end the war now.'

That has not prevented our ambassadors in Cuba from telling us that the United States is a necessary tyranny, ever last but let us not forget our constructive suggestions for the solution of the problems of a world in which millions of people are even divided incomparably into the classes of slave and slaveholders."

It is only we Socialists who have urged American leadership in democracy, the complete disengagement of America from the neutrality, and a program for taking profit out of war and, perhaps, for ending war. This program does not require the prescription of men but of wealth. In fact, however, it made too much noise to call attention to America to make peace glorious, not to consecrate America for participation in war."

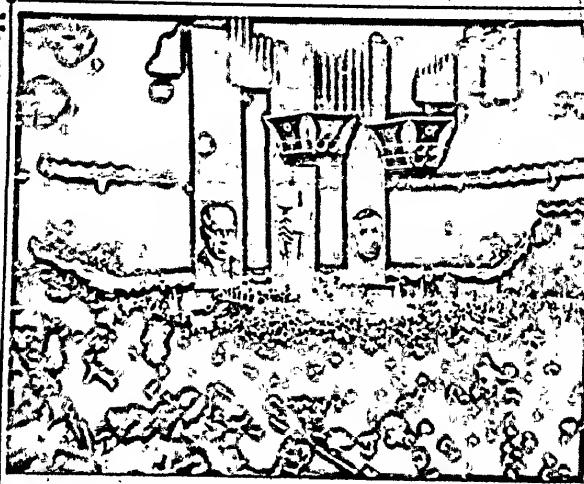
"Our general policy may be summed up by the phrase 'non-intervention without being led into war.'"

"This is not what we want for ourselves in what we mean for war." We do not believe that a capitalist America can be non-interventionist. Our resolutions for Moral War, or that it should go to war to enforce peace, or that we must live alone is hope are workers' motives.

The crisis of our times involves not only the free from us. We have steadily been prepared during the past few years in our understanding and practice of civil liberty. I am only to rectify the mistakenly catalogued silly but real resolution of the League for Teachers; the patriotic armories and arsenals which great corporations have gathered for imperialistic warfare; the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in Michigan and Ohio, and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, especially in Florida; Governor McNutt's military law in Indiana, a form of Jim Crow; Jim Crow bigotry in California; lynchings and murder in Florida and Alabama; the extraordinary infamy and terrorism of the Black Legion; systematic discrimination in the armed forces; the repeated defiance of the right of speech and assembly to minority groups, particularly Negroes and Indians; and, above all, against these crimes, many of them in Democratic States, President Roosevelt has not used his immense power and influence, nor has Governor Landon spoken out in the name of the cause of general advocacy of tolerance and criticism of majority culture. President Roosevelt never won for us an anti-lynching bill with teeth in Congress; he never gave us a federal civil rights bill; and, recently, is endeavoring to compromise.

What Socialism Offers

We Socialists are committed to the preservation and increase of civil liberties to the absolute maximum; to the removal of the unemployed and unemployable, to organized and帛nspired collectively in the cities, towns as well as in rural areas; we are committed to Federal anti-lynching legislation, and to an end of racial discrimination in respect to race, sex, work, education and justice. But we have not fully agreed that we have not made enough still less to the primary impact in the control of the few over the masses



Times Wire Photo

SOCIALISTS HOLD RALLY IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
A general view of the gathering which heard Norman Thomas, the party's candidate for President, speak yesterday.

and the job necessary to the life of us all.

"For poverty is the midwives of revolution. In this country it is even more strenuously responsible than for war and tyranny. It is the central issue. And in the campaign there has been the discussion of the conditions of free labor in freedom, of the various parties. Both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Roosevelt explicitly expressed their devotion to the profit system of production, and the New Deal policies have retarded a process of 'recovery' somewhat behind the general economic system. Mr. Roosevelt believes that he has received from stormy seas he has received from stormy seas capital all except his silk hat. In general, Mr. Landon wants to do more for the workers, to restore the worth of Capital, to give the average bribe to farmers and the wage, the price of their votes, to call off the war between the executive and legislature (multiplication and division are unnecessary) and to give the two parties more power to fulfill the Republic's promises to balance the budget, reduce taxes, take the government out of business, increase the cost of living, maintain relief through local agencies, but with Federal aid; increase the production of the farmers better than the New Deal has given them; and to do more for the Negro. He has done over 60 than the New Deal has offered them."

Discusses Union Party

"In the New Deal, he has been on an incredibly high level of shrewdness and intelligence. Even when speakers have been right when right, the right, the right critics, they have destroyed the effect by exaggeration and repetition. They have damaged their ticket by exaggeration and repetition. If I refrain from criticizing the Republicans it is because I am so firmly convinced that its ticket will be defeated by a large majority on Tuesday."

"**Discusses Union Party**

"It is fortunately unnecessary to discuss at length the program of the League of Decatur. For various reasons and in various combinations of political messiah and discredited politicians who lead it have been the leaders leading ground since about the middle of the '20's. It is the result of the great social, economic and psychological, which give rise to it still continue and from them, values we can show to the people a more effective way, a Radical democracy may yet tie to dictatorial power."

Certainly it is the newest approach to the League-Coughlin program with its promise of a workers' state. It was a good profit to farmers and little else has been, all within the confines of the capitalist system, to be found in the economic plants of George and Ruth platform of George and Ruth.

The significant fact is the stampede to Roosevelt—a stampede which, for very different reasons, has been shared in or supported by such diverse groups as the Populist Party, the Marxist, the Marxist League of New Jersey, Tammany Hall of New York, Tammany Hall of New Jersey, the Socialist Party, the Kelly-Nash outfit of Chicago, Jim Nabors of Arkansas, Governor McGurn of Iowa, bankers like Channing of Connecticut and even the author of the book "The Case of Morgan, the author of "The New York Times," and most of the American Federation of Labor, both members of John L. Lewis and the Greenback Green. Even the Communists have given their support by that opportunistic profit, their misleading slogan of Democracy versus fascism, and their policy of attack on only one capitalist party. Quite obviously none of these

specific Socialist place which have opportunity disappeared, the workers, those who have been most reared, paid to educate him for years and old and dead. He is not in them; he is in his profession and fair division among the grunts, the workers, the slaves have been maintained. The bourgeoisie demand of the workers in the classroom, the office, the workshop, the club, the stadium has not only hope of the violence, and purpose, and strength to do his best every day. It is the positive factor in himself in which lies success. With a clear way, with the ability to work for it and the ability of our wounds, not for the sake of our own, but for the sake of the entire working class, lies success only when we are uniting the great masses of people in a common cause of progress. Let me say that we shall not win? Probably not this year. But the time is ripe, the moment is ripe, the situation is ripe, the forces are ripe, the mass of the Socialist vote, and by no means by other particularities, the mass of the Socialist vote, is the people for plenty, for peace and for freedom.

"It is a greater argument than that. It is that the time of the Socialist vote and the outcome of the election, of the organization bill seems to rally the forces of head and brain to win through their united, their community, their party, their country. The victory of a federative, cooperative, communistic, socialist democracy, will be the only cure, and the world has already been so ruined, so destroyed, so maimed, so ruined, so maimed, so maimed by the forces of very, very heavily, exploitation, that if there is any hope for the future, I hope it is for the Socialists. When it is on the ballot, write it in on the ballot. One's right has been undermined, his reason, his voice, his character, his brotherhood of man.

And the job necessary to the life of us all.

For poverty is the midwives of revolution. In this country it is even more strenuously responsible than for war and tyranny. It is the central issue. And in the campaign there has been the discussion of the conditions of free labor in freedom, of the various parties. Both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Roosevelt explicitly expressed their devotion to the profit system of production. The New Deal policies have retarded a process of 'recovery' somewhat behind the general economic system. Mr. Roosevelt believes that he has received from stormy seas he has received from stormy seas capital all except his silk hat. In general, Mr. Landon wants to do more for the workers, to restore the worth of Capital, to give the average bribe to farmers and the wage, the price of their votes, to call off the war between the executive and legislature (multiplication and division are unnecessary) and to give the two parties more power to fulfill the Republic's promises to balance the budget, reduce taxes, take the government out of business, increase the cost of living, maintain relief through local agencies, but with Federal aid; increase the production of the farmers better than the New Deal has given them; and to do more for the Negro. He has done over 60 than the New Deal has offered them."

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Our deliverance from war.

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THOMAS SEES LABOR AS POLITICAL LOSER

Unions Got Nothing for Aid to Roosevelt, Socialist Tells 12,000 in the Garden.

ASKS BIG PROTEST VOTE

Admits Party Probably Will Not Win, but Says It Alone Espouses Workers' Cause.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, closed his campaign yesterday afternoon at a final rally of the party in Madison Square Garden.

More than 12,000 persons, who filled about half the seats, cheered their standard bearer enthusiastically throughout his address and staged a ten-minute demonstration when he was introduced. Mr. Thomas assured the Roosevelt crowd of avowals on leading national questions and assured liberals and organized labor for rallying to his cause.

Pointing out that the President's program had been supported alike by the labor followers of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and John L. Lewis, chairman of the Committee on Industrial Organization, Mr. Thomas took organized labor to task for failing to demand assistance from the President for their support. This action, he said, proved that "it is James A. Farley, not the workers who have won."

"Assails Other Parties"

Mr. Thomas also denounced the "opportunist" program of the Communists, who, he said, were siding with the Roosevelt crowd. He said the Republican campaign "was conducted on an 'incredibly low level of sincerity and intelligence'; and dismissed the Lanke-Coughlin Union party as an organization of "unprincipled politicians who has steadily been losing ground since about the first of September."

The Socialist party, he declared, was the only political party committed to the conservation and improvement of civil liberties and the right of workers, both employed and unemployed, to organize and bargain collectively. He asserted under the capitalist control of the two major parties it was inevitable that the nation would be drawn into war, pointing out that the New Deal administration, which has gone on record as being opposed to war, has "given us the greatest appropriation for the army and navy in the whole world."

He said the Socialist program was the only program that would lead to the ultimate solution of present-day problems. He admitted that the party "probably would not win this year," but added that "the best evidence that the people are awakening will be found in the size of the Socialist vote, and by it, as by no other yardstick, the victory will measure the demand of the people for plenty, for peace and for freedom."

George A. Nelson, candidate for Vice President, spoke to the meeting from Chicago over the National Broadcasting Company's blue network.

"We have allowed ourselves and our children to starve in the midst of plenty by allowing scheming and grafting meek men to exploit our natural resources for private gains," he said.

A Socialist, he asserted, would make it possible to double present production and by proper distribution provide every family in the country with a minimum income of \$2,500 to \$4,000 a year.

Many Others Speak

Other speakers at the meeting included Dr. Harry W. Lauder, candidate for Governor of New York; Edna Blue and Frank R. Crosswhite, candidates for Representatives-at-large, and Murray Baron, candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen. Many other speakers, representing various districts of the party, made穿目aneous speeches.

The meeting was opened at 2:30 p.m. by Jack Altman, secretary of the local Socialist party, who introduced Miss Elsie, chairman of the meeting. After predicting that "we will live to see a Socialist nation in our time," Miss Elsie presented the Rebel Arts Chorus who started the meeting with the singing of the "Internationale" in which the audience, springing to their feet, joined in the chorus with clenched fists uplifted.

With the crowd still standing, the

chorus sang "The Worker's Memorial Hymn" in tribute to Socialist workers throughout the world "especially in war-torn Spain" who died in 1936 last year.

Mr. Beron was the first scheduled speaker. He drew a round of applause when he assailed the "crowd at Tammany, word-hesiters and their rend friends" who cheered former Mayor James J. Walker as he attended the Garden Saturday night to attend the Roosevelt rally.

"We Socialists," Mr. Beron said, "have a right to know whether the Democratic party respects President Roosevelt, his good boy Jimmy Walker or whether Jimmy, the discredited politician, is the equal of the President."

Referring to the American Labor party, which is supporting the two major Democratic candidates, Mr. Beron said: "The left wing of this city is moving in a direction which must be challenged." He added that the Socialist party was ready to join any labor-union movement, but that a step would not be taken until "it is entirely independent of the two major political parties."

Mr. Crosswhite, who is also chair of the Negro labor committee of the party, told the black party for "making the Negro the forgotten man for nearly four generations."

"For more than two generations, enlightened white Americans together with the Negro people have advocated a Federal anti-lynching law and it was always the Republicans and Democrats who joined together to prevent its passage," he said. "The courage of our party stands with Franklin D. Roosevelt in the ladder makes his appeals for our vote an insulting mockery."

Lauder Reviews State Issues

Dr. Lauder, in summing up the party's campaign in the State, said both Governor Lehman and William F. Buckley, his Republican opponent, had repeatedly refused to commit themselves on social and health insurance.

He asserted that his party stood for a comprehensive program to eradicate our slums within the next ten years; a comprehensive public works program with workers paid proportionately with the inflation of the taxation system; public ownership of public utilities; public distribution of milk; crop insurance; the thirty-hour week; adequate representation of the teachers' locality; cost, and complete academic freedom.

"The Socialist party and the Socialist program offers the only means to a better life today," he concluded. "We mean that, it offers the only road to decent and happy assistance tomorrow."

Among those who delivered one-minute addresses urging the election of Mr. Thomas were Professor Sidney Meier of New York University; Professor Coleman H. Chaney of Skidmore College, candidate for State Controller; David Lesser, national chairman of the Workers Defense of America; Dr. Robert Moses, Local President of the League for Industrial Democracy; Joseph P. Lash, national executive secretary of the American Student Union; Ian Fischer, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League; Max Delon, candidate for City Court Judge; Jacob Minsky, president of the Bricklayer's Union, and Hyman Marks, president of District 9 of the Painter's Union.

When Mr. Thomas was introduced at 4:35 o'clock, hundreds of members of the Young People's Socialist League and the Red Falcons, whose march began in the 8 to 14, marched down the center aisle bearing red flags and red paper banners mounted on sticks.

After the singing and ten minutes of cheering Mr. Thomas stopped to the microphones and waved for quiet, shouting:

"I have the time to listen to you, but the people of the nation who are waiting for this radio address haven't. Thank you for your marvelous reception."

When he finished his address Mr. Thomas supervised a collection for funds with which to buy radio time tonight. After he had explained that we must have money to buy radio time, "since we don't want to be the only people talking tomorrow night," the audience raised \$2,700 in cash and \$500 in pledges. This will allow Mr. Thomas to do a nation-wide talk over the National Broadcasting network this night at 10:30 o'clock and Dr. Lauder a State-wide address over Station WJZ at 11:15 P.M.

Vital Statistics Office Arts MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Employees in the District Court clerk's office and the Vital Statistics Bureau, who generally only record the activity of others, created some on their own account the other day. In one day PM Schmidt, assignment clerk, became the father of his ninth child; William Thomas, vanit employee, was married, and Floyd Davis, deputy clerk, was banged up in an accident.

16 THOMAS AND RYAN SCORE CAPITALISM

Dive Socialist and Catholic Reconstruction Programs at Newman Clubs' Symposium

ATTACK UNLIMITED PROFIT

Both Declare Social Principles That Have Brought Misery Must Be Rejected.

for a changing world but simply for a kind of rationalization and interpretation of the existing order."

Dr. Ryan confined himself to an interpretation of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" on the reconstruction of the social order. He suggested the need for a "more favorable balance between labor and capital" in which labor would share in the management and profits of great corporations, and the consumer also might "have a voice," he said. "The 'middle class' idea," stressed Dr. Ryan, "is dead for ever interest rates and taxes for capital are to be defined according to the principles it has hitherto followed, then it must be rejected." The speech was introduced by Francis Parker T. Moon of the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.

Programs of the Socialist party and of the Catholic faith for the reconstruction of the social order in America were presented yesterday afternoon at a symposium sponsored by the Newman Clubs made up of Catholic students in non-Catholic colleges and universities, in the McMillin Theatre at Columbia University. The Socialist viewpoint was presented by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1932, and the Catholic viewpoint by the Rev. John A. Ryan, professor of Economics in the Catholic University of America at Washington, D.C.

In another session, held yesterday evening in John Jay Hall, Amsterdam Avenue at 115th Street, Matthew Wolf, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, and Edward S. O'Leary, publicist of Capitalism: "Writings and Doctrines of Capitalism,"宣读了社会主义的纲领。他强调了自由、平等和博爱的原则，并指出这些原则在社会上得到了实现。他批评了资本主义对社会的剥削，认为它导致了严重的不平等和贫困。

Finds Ethical Ideas Ignored

He said history showed that when men, under a system of "private ownership for power and profit," had ample opportunity of fulfilling the highest ethical ideals, they had failed to do so. "The industrial revolution, which we may date from the invention of the steam engine, placed in man's hands the means of causing poverty," Dr. Thomas declared, adding that the misuse of these instruments had resulted in one hand, with pinching poverty and economic insecurity on the other.

Mr. Thomas declared that a "mystery almost China's" prevailed in the Western plains cities, while in the Eastern plains corn was left piled in the fields for lack of grain space. In its failure to solve the problem of distribution, capitalism, he said, had been "stripped even of its former 'pragmatic justification.'

Mr. Thomas criticized the Program in the Senate. His said they vacillated weakly between a desire to return to the simpler capitalism of Andrew Jackson's day and some variety of compromise with Socialistic principles.

"But it is impossible," he declared, "to put back together again the old capitalism as it existed in the early part of the century. On the other hand, he continued, the Socialist program could conquer poverty, without the aid of any other invention than those we already possess."

Holds We Helped Hitler to Rise

He attacked Hitlerism as "a menace to everything decent," but added that no country was more responsible for the rise of Hitler in Germany than the United States, which "assented to the peace of Versailles" and "in other ways helped to surround the natural self-government of a nation." The people of the United States have weakened too far to the necessity for some reasonable handling of the reparations problem," he added.

Mr. Thomas attacked the "fantastic pretensions of science that resulted in the establishment of chairs of social science and of economics which never created new systems

ST. PETERSBURG TIMES, MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1936

THOMAS BLAMES GAMBLING RING FOR FLOGGINGS

Assails Tampa's Organized Vice; Hints Gov. Sholtz Condoned Violence

(Continued from Page 1)

of city hall. Now they wrote letters to the

unscrupulous hotel after more than a

week Dr. S. L. Klinefelter, a grand jury had

indicated six men should ever be per-

mitted to enter a gambling house after

the forces of light had been gathered.

"People demand a better Tampa,"

he said that "Tampa is a political crew,"

he added. Now we hope that such

things shall not happen again,"

he declared.

"Our purpose is not vindictive. We

want to see that justice is done," he

said that "Tampa deserved such

lawless conduct as that of the Ku Klux

Klan and the unscrupulous policemen in

Tampa during the last month," he said.

The grand jury has three aldermen

from Orlando, two from Lakeland and

one from St. Petersburg, a few hours later he had

Thomas Klinefelter to be murdered.

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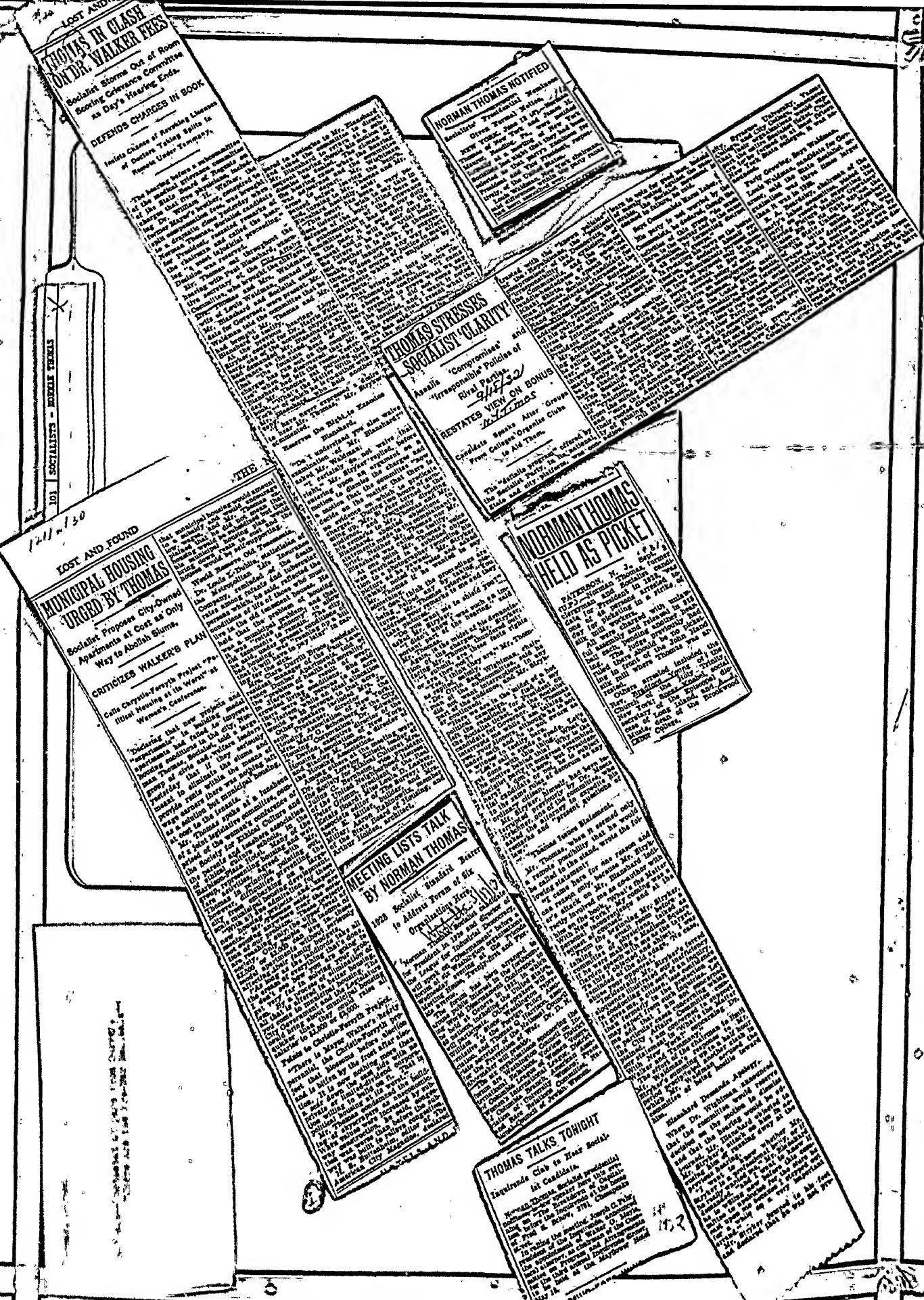
Thomas Klinefelter to be murdered.

MONDAY
Webb's Shoppe

WE CUT RATE D
128 Ninth

ENJOY GOOD EC
STEAM IN
ON CAFE





500 WORKERS PROTEST PLAN TO DROP CWA

Norman Thomas accompanies group on visit to D.C.; Hopkins expresses sympathy

By PHILIP PEARL
Editorial Writer

Vigorous protests against disbandment of the CWA were April 1 when 500 workers, led by a delegation of relief workers who face the loss of their jobs,

A straggling band of 150 men and women, mostly from New York City, trudged through the dirty streets of the Capital carrying banners and placards to the place where the White House:

"CWA must go!"

WALK TWO BLOCKS

They walked patiently without shouting for two hours while a committee headed by David Lasser presented the plan of the CWA workers to Harry L. Hopkins, director of the National Emergency Hopkins, expressing sympathy with their demands for job relief, then ruled, declared the only assurance he could give them was that every one in actual need would be cared for through the Federal relief program which will replace the CWA. The relief director tried valiantly to arrange a personal interview for the committee with the President, who was tied up with negotiations to avert industrial

NOT BY SECRETARY

However, the committee was met at the White House by the President's secretary, Marvin H. McIntire, who promised to see that their plan is presented.

The committee was accompanied by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Alvin Goldfarb, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Joint Committee on Disemployment.

Addressing Hopkins, Thomas observed:

"We're back at the old game of trying to see just how far you can go before you turn the people out."

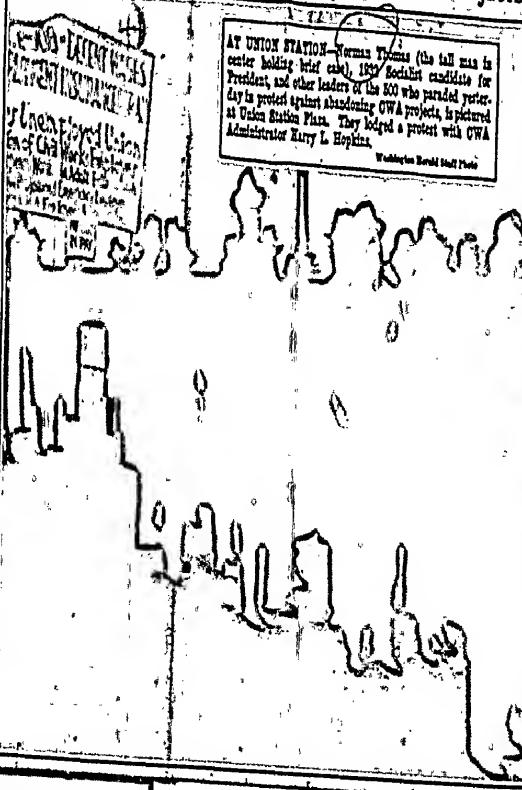
TELLS ALVIN WORK

Rabbi Goldfarb argued that the Federal Government should do more than a mere program calculated to employ thousands in New York City, Lasser said:

"The workers demand and will not endure what went happens to them after disbandment of the CWA. They want this as a minimum of \$3 a week."

The outcome of the delegation, some 50,000, were paid by contributions of friends and others from members of the New CWA executive represented. After discussing a general meeting on the Washington metropolitan telephone, they were bound for home.

THOMAS AND 1,000 PROTEST ABANDONING CWA PROJECTS



AT UNION STATION—Norman Thomas (the tall man in center holding brief case), 1936 Socialist candidate for President, and other leaders of the 500 who paraded yesterday to protest against abandoning CWA projects, is pictured at Union Station Plaza. They helped a protest with CWA Administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

Washington Herald Staff Photo

101 | SOCIALISTS — BOSTON TRIBUNE

SAYS SOVIET BADGE AID TO ROOSEVELT

Thomas Charges Moscow Has Commanded "Indirect Support" for the President

10/28/36

LINKS PLAY TO WAR PERIL

Russia Thinks London Would Not Be Friendly, Socialist Leader Tells Parliament.

Based in the New York Times, PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 28.—The charge that the Communist Party in this country had received direct orders from the Third International to give President Roosevelt "indirect support" in the present campaign was made tonight by Norman Thomas, Socialist nominee for President.

Mr. Thomas made the statement before going to the Metropolitan Opera House, where he addressed some 1,200 persons at a Socialist rally. During his speech he criticized the British for not intervening in the Spanish Civil War, giving out of pocket to permit Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President, to speak over the radio station there.

Referring to the One Hundred Club dinner given here last night in honor of James A. Farley, Democratic chairman, Mr. Thomas described it as a "plotting affair" and said that most of those present "had no idea what progress" he had made "toward getting some of the big ones."

He also told the audience that the Roosevelt administration has threatened to be in power after next year, he said.

"The Roosevelt administration is the only alternative to fascism," Mr. Thomas, who was chairman of the conference, pointed out. He forecast no revolution "unless the masses of the nation rise up." "The masses of the nation will rise up," he said.

The purpose of the various round-table conferences was that "the only alternative to fascism is socialism," Mr. Thomas, in his closing address to the conference, added, and "the most important thing I learned here is that Congress recently gave \$100,000,000 to the American Legion. This is one of the most ominous aspects of the New Deal."

"The American Legion Association is perhaps even more dangerous than Congress," he said.

Concerning an election bill passed in Arkansas, Thomas declared, "Don't underestimate the importance of the proletarians. You don't realize that there are 100 million people in this country who are too poor to buy a house or the President if you go out and tell them this distortion."

Robert Lichman of the New York School for Social Work said, "We ought to teach the American Legion and what it is about. The Legion should very quickly become a socialist army in the American kind of fascism."

IT SOUNDS FAMILIAR

(Continued from Previous Column)
EDITORS are always bemoan of press releases, editorials, and letters. When you glance out the window about once a year, it often has the feeling that history is being made a little too fast to keep up with it.

A year ago a group of Akron Socialists brought in the editor a press release prepared by the party headquarters staff in Chicago. It dealt with the party platform as it was to be expanded by Norman Thomas at the Akron armory on the night of Sept. 2.

Tonight in clearing out a desk it came to light.

Here are some of the things Mr. Thomas promised:

That he would "recall" unemployment. That he would ask \$15 billion dollars for direct relief of the unemployed.

That he would ask another five billions for financing a public works program.

That he would introduce a compulsory six-hour day and five-day week without reduction in wages.

That he would reorganize industry on a planned basis.

That he would push the principle of public ownership.

All of which has little value except to remind us of a wise-grade made by some unknown wit after listening to an impressive speech by a socialist. Asked what he thought of it he replied:

"All right, but when we are ready for revolution the Republicans and Democrats will give it to us."

THOMAS ASSAILS ARREST OF YAGODA

Socialist Leader Hails John Hudson, Promises Aid to Emory Graduate.

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 28.—Norman Thomas, socialist candidate for United States senator, tonight told the Atlanta audience that four persons in Georgia, charged with leading to the

burning of his home, were his best friends. That four persons in Atlanta, Georgia, charged with leading to the burning of his home, were his best friends.

"One of the best persons is a woman, another is a man, and the third is a graduate student of Emory University, named Nathan Yagoda. The evidence充分 proves that these four people were responsible for the burning of my home in the summer of 1935," Yagoda, 34, told the Atlanta audience.

Yagoda, who is a Negro, was evidence of any distribution of any sort whatever, yet these people are all held without bail.

The Atlanta audience Yagoda, a man who is especially good reputation for his strength and intelligence, is that "he is a member of the League for Industrial Democracy, and that the League is a communist organization. As an avowedly division of the League I wish to do that it is a communist organization in any sense, and I think that if it were a communist organization, the street and telephone work of Yagoda would be a crime against every American concept of liberty."

"The League and I personally stand ready to do everything we can for the defense of Yagoda. We think there are enough decent and intelligent people in Georgia to release him in a matter of time the amateur soldier of Fortune recently, John Hudson, by name, who seems oblivious to power but has nothing to learn from him."

The League will have an official statement in the matter tomorrow or the next day and will cooperate with the people of Georgia in fighting the measure of every concept of liberty and democracy."

The four referred to by Thomas, in addition to Nathan Yagoda, are Mrs. E. W. Allard, at whom four all were arrested; Alvin H. Fletcher, a New York attorney for the Workers' Party, who is being held in the DeKalb County jail without bail.

ACTION OF CHURCHES SCORED BY THOMAS

Socialist Candidate Says They Have Given Too Many Privileges to Capitalism

By Associated Press.

LOS ANGELES, October 28.—Saying the world is better off for the end of profits and the making of monopolies, Norman Thomas, former minister, now Socialist candidate for President, told the Interdenominational Ministerial Association today the church should give greater attention to religion to take the side of right in a social question.

He expressed the belief that President Roosevelt would be reelected, but that the real basis of the campaign would come after Nov. 2.

"The country is electing a man without a mandate," he declared, "and a Congress also without a mandate."

"Roosevelt has done nothing to destroy the fundamental differences between his policies and the Republican platform. It is well known that Roosevelt has tried to have the New Deal declared unconstitutional. He was very poorly drawn and the workers are bound to protest when they find that the payroll taxes will be passed on to them. The result will be an increase in technological unemployment."

Referring to the Communist phase of the campaign, he said that the party leaders "by this indirect support of President Roosevelt" have an concentrated emphasis on agriculture that the average farmer is not interested in. "It is the only enemy of the working class."

"The Third International," he added, "expects a new world war; they believe Roosevelt will be more likely to take part, and they want him to take part on terms friendly to Russia. They do not believe La Guardia will be so friendly."

"There is a divided Farmer-Labor party in the country which will serve well with the Popular Front ahead, and they believe they can dominate it."

Thomas Sends F. D. Report on 'Croppers'

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, forwarded to President Roosevelt, in response to a telegraphic query from the White House, short conditions among sharecropper families in Arkansas.

Thomas, writing from Little Rock, said the Reconstruction Administration had done nothing to give relief to evicted sharecropper families.

"He takes specifically that members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, he allowed to participate in any discussion of sharecropper problems."

"The government of Arkansas," he wrote, "has steadily taken a position of indifference or hostility to the sharecropper and has not so much as lifted his little finger to restrain or prevent right-tiling and other acts of terrorism such as the breaking up of meetings."

101 SOCIALISTS = PROGRESSIVE

NORMAN THOMAS SAYS CAPITALISM IS AGING

Sixty-five Percent of
Society Which Permits Re-
sponsible Stock Scandals.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 23.—Sparking behind a full confrontation in the Princeton University Chapel on Sunday morning, a three-point charge that Norman Thomas deserved charges from the world for his present decisions was leveled against him at the Princeton Annual Meeting of the American Association of University Professors.

More than 2,000 students had voted to allow proposed standards of responsibility that were considered "a real threat to academic freedom," and a number of professors rejected them.

Norman Thomas, chairman of the Princeton University Chapel, had proposed that students "should not be compelled to accept or to submit to any ruling of any committee in the Princeton University Chapel, which can only affect their studies and their welfare."

After the meeting, he was interviewed by the New York Times reporter, W. E. B. DuBois, who asked him what he thought of the decision.

"I am sorry about it," he said. "It is a blow to us all. It is a terrible situation. We must do something to reverse it. I hope we can do something."

After the meeting, he was interviewed by the Princeton Daily Princeton, who asked him what he thought of the decision.

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THOMAS PRODS 2 CHIEF RIVALS ON LABOR VIEWS

Wants Declarations by Lan-
don and Roosevelt; Declares
Lemire Evasive on Pending
Labor Laws.

ALBANY, N. Y., June 23.—President Thomas, Socialists' sole
candidate for the Vice Presidency, to speak to the 40 States' Delegates at the Democratic National Convention at Madison Square Garden on Monday evening, July 11, has asserted that Landon, accused Roosevelt's chief
labor spokesman, of making up the charge

SOCIALIST FOIL HELD FASCISM

Norman Thomas Discourts the
Militaristic Parties.

PRINCETON, N. J., July 2.—The
Socialist candidate for the Vice
Presidency, with Democratic Repre-
sentative Charles L. M. Thomas, and
Representative C. Frank Murphy, led
the Socialist delegation to the Conven-
tion, and the only two of the 40
delegates who did not vote for the
Militaristic party.

Norman Thomas said to the dele-
gates: "There is no place for the
Militaristic party at the Convention."

Rep. Thomas told the dele-
gates: "There is no place for the
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THOMAS TO SPEAK IN 40 STATES TOUR

Socialist Candidate's Illus-
trary Announced—2,000,000
Votes Predicted.

By the Associated Press.
NEW YORK, June 23.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Vice President, will speak in 40 states between now and election day, it was said today by Julian Curtiss, secretary of the New York State Bar Association, who said he had arranged a tour that would cost \$10,000, and will net between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 in campaign money, he announced. The speaker may have to add on extra contributions levied in the last three years.

Thomas will make his first speech on Saturday afternoon, at 2:30 P.M., at the Hotel Americana, in New York City.

Thomas' tour of 40 states will end the following day.

THOMAS, NORMAN E. - Member, Political Committee, American Civil Liberties Union; American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration; Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service; Advisory Council, American Association for Old Age Security; National Advisory Committee, American League to Abolish Capital Punishment; American Progressive Committee for Support of "All People March"; Committee on Militarism in Education; National Executive Committee, Conference for Progressive Labor Action; India Independence League of America; Institute of International Relations; International Committee for Political Prisoners; Executive Committee, League for Political Action; Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy; Contributing Editor, "The Nation"; Executive Board, National Council for Prevention of War; Contributing Editor, "New Leader"; Open Forum Speakers' Bureau; Board of Directors, Pioneer Youth of America; Rand School of Social Science; Author of "Socialism of One-Third"; Candidate, Prominent Socialist, N. Y. C.; National Committee, Socialist Party Convention in Schenectady; Socialist candidate for U. S. Congress; Contributing Editor, "The World Tomorrow"; Speaker, Young People's Socialist League, N. Y. C.; National World Court Committee; Advisory Council, Foreign Language Information Service (1931); Advisory Board, National Religion and Labor Foundation (1932); Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Fund (1932); Vice-Chairman, Emergency Peace Committee (1932); Contributor, "Socialist Planning & A Socialist Program" (1932); Contributor, "Land for All" (Socialist publication) (1932); National Committee on Correspondence and Action, Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction (1933); Arrangements Committee, U. S. Congress Against War (1933); Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (1933); National Committee, League Against Fascism (1933); Advisory Committee, N. Y. Workers' Committee on Unemployment (1934); Director, National Conference on Students in Politics (1933); National Committee on Workers' & Farmers' Rights, organized by A. C. L. U. (1934); Executive Committee, Socialist Party of America (1933); Socialist Party candidate for Senate, N. Y., (1934); Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (1934); Speaker, Artists & Writers Dinner Club (1935); Member, League for Moral Aid (1936); Member, World Peacemakers (1935); Contributing Editor, "The Challenge" (1935); Speaker, Emergency Peace Campaign (1936); Co-ordinator, "The Socialist Call" (1936).

Thomas, Norman

League for Industrial Democracy—Pamphlet, "Why I Am A Socialist"

A SOCIALIST SPEAKER.

Norman Thomas of New York City, and the candidate of the socialists in 1928 for the presidency of the United States, will be the speaker at a chapel period at DePaul University Thursday morning.

Thomas is a brilliant man, but we doubt the wisdom of al-loring such speakers to come to DePaul, one after the other, as has been the case in recent years. This tendency of educating young men and women along socialistic lines seems to increase at DePaul as the years go by. So far we have not heard of any of these speakers advocating the overthrow of the United States government, but there are plenty of them in this country who openly or secretly are working to this end.

Speakers just as brilliant as Thomas and the other radical thinkers who have appeared here, are to be had, and their logic, we believe is more sound than some who have come to the DePaul campus. Students should be educated in the fundamentals of sound government, not educated in policies of destruction and by obstructionists.

THE GRECOCASTLE BANNER. February 19, 1939.

DePaul University, December, 1938 Issue No. 24, Vol. 1.

REPRINTED FROM THE DEPAUL UNIVERSITY N.Y.C. MARCH 1939

FOR DRAFT CALLS, CHARITIES

John Dewey

Albert Einstein

Elmer Davis

Henry Ford

Walter Rauschenbusch

Wendell Willkie

W. C. Fields

Henry George

Paul M. Kepner

Joseph Conrad

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Harry Truman

Paul Robeson

Elmer Davis

Wendell Willkie

W. C. Fields

Henry George

Stephen T. Olney

Edmund Wilson

Henry G. Foss

Henry L. Stimson

Elmer Davis

Wendell Willkie

Henry L. Stimson

Elmer Davis

NEWS

AND FEATURES from the
LABOR AND SOCIALIST PRESS SERVICE
549 Randolph Street • State 3250 • Chicago, Illinois
Published weekly by National Headquarters, Socialist Party • Hy Fish, Editor

November 13, 1936

SOCIALISTS SEND MESSAGE TO A.F.O.F.L.

CHICAGO - (LSP) - The following message of greetings was sent to the convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting now in Tampa, Fla., by the national executive committee of the Socialist party through its secretary, Clarence Senior.

The Socialist message read, "The need for union organization is being felt everywhere. Organized labor must take advantage of this by uniting its forces and launching a bold program of organization in the mass production industries along industrial lines. Such an organization program plus the lifting of the suspension of the Committee on Industrial Organization unions will mean a revivalized A.F. of L."

"We hope your internal problems will not make it impossible to discuss the need for a national labor party. Labor can win concessions and exert pressure only by political independence. Labor can win full emancipation only in a workers' world."

"For a successful convention. For unity. For industrial organization. For a labor party. For a workers' world."

#

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEADER RETURNS FROM EUROPE

NEW YORK - (LSP) - Fresh from the battlefields of Spain, Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, will return to this country on Nov. 18 and after conferring with the Y.P.S.L. national executive committee will start on a coast to coast speaking tour. While in Europe where he attended the World Youth Congress, Erber interviewed leading Socialists and unionists, and spoke at numerous meetings. He addressed English and American workers from Spain over a powerful short wave radio station.

#

WEST COAST SOCIALIST PAPER OUT NOV. 28

SAN FRANCISCO - (LSP) - Nov. 28 is the date scheduled for the appearance of the first issue of "Labor Action," west coast Socialist paper. An introductory offer of \$1 for a year's subscription is offered if sent in before Jan. 1. The address of "Labor Action" is 1057 Steiner St., San Francisco, Calif.

JAMES P. Cannon and Glen Trimble are associate editors. Frank Stern is business manager.

It was explained that the paper was being published at this time so as to keep the public informed of the facts in the maritime strike. The major portion of the paper will be devoted to reports of labor news on the economic and political fields.

#

EDITORS: If you have not yet done so, send for a sample copy of "Children's Corner," a monthly service free to labor papers to help draw children of trade unionists closer to the labor movement. It is issued by the Falcons of America, national organization of workers' children. This free service will bring you interesting stories, puzzles and games for children, all pertaining to labor. The address of the Falcons of America is 721 Koxley Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST PRESS SERVICE - NEW YORK

WHAT THOMAS, SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, WOULD DO IF ELECTED

Nail Punkin'
In an Intimate Talk He Says, in the Event of an All-Around Sweeping Victory, the Entire Constitution of the United States Would Be Repealed—Declares Soviet Government Better Than Ours in Some Respects

In this talk with Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, it was clearly brought out that he favored an entirely new Constitution of the United States.

On the assumption that he would be elected and that the Socialists would attain a sweeping victory in both Houses of Congress, he said the entire Constitution would be Repealed and Rewritten.

In many respects, he added, the Soviet form of Government was much better than ours.

Numerous other points were brought out in this intimate talk that radically contrast to our long-established, and long-lived system of Government in this Republic, which has put our Nation in the lead of all countries of the Earth.

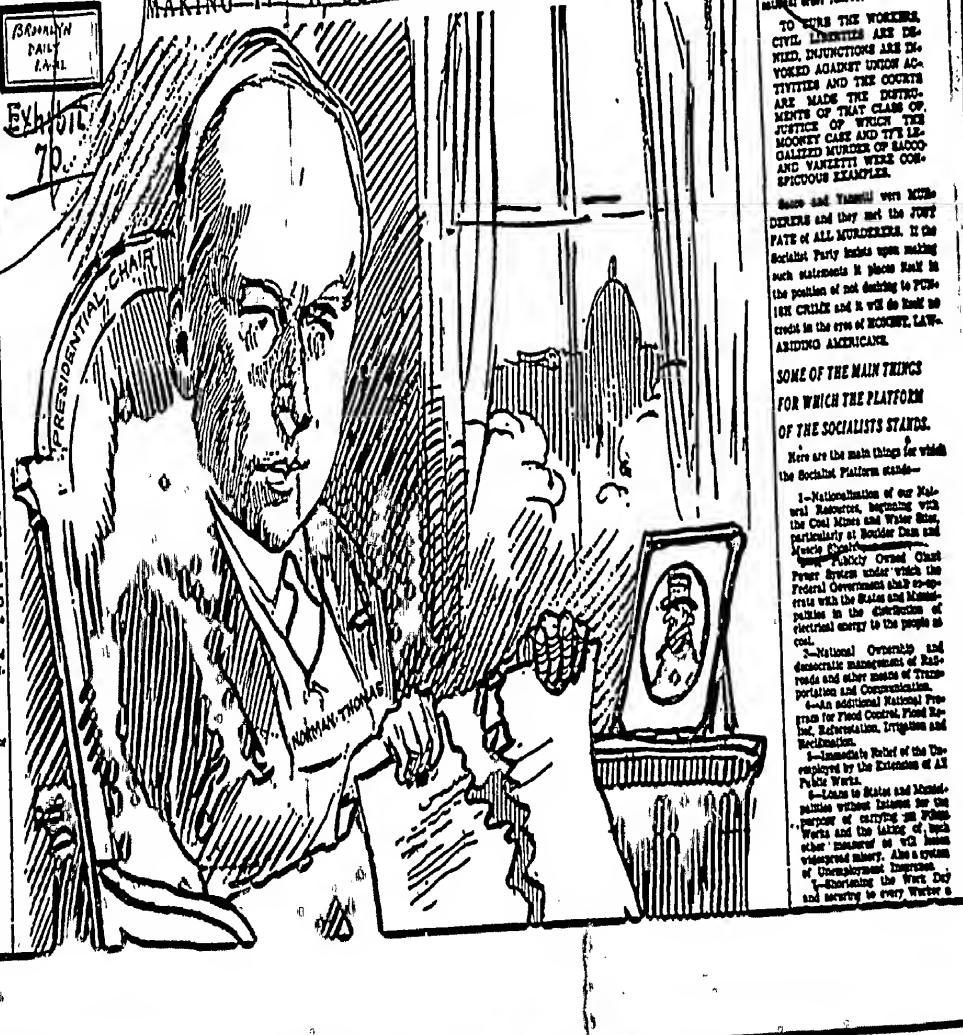
Whether Republicans or Democrats, let us attend to these claims and efforts of the Socialists in this country.

By FREDERICK BOYD STEVENSON

"SUPPORT the Socialists should SWEEP TO VICTORY ELECT their PRESIDENT AND CARRY BOTH BRANCHES OF THE CONGRESS BY OVERWHELMING MAJORITY—THAT'S WHAT THEY DON'T!"
I put that question to NORMAN THOMAS because Candidate for President of the United States, who was the first to be a nominee for that highest office in the land.
It was Norman Thomas, and he made a pause before replying, and then he said:
"But we CAN'T WIN! We know that!"
"Perhaps not," I replied, "but STRETCH YOUR IMAGINATION—JUST SUPPORT TOO YOU SHOULD WIN!"
No half-volley pleased him so much, or in defense of my argument.
"Well," he said finally, "there

REPEAL the PEACE TREATY under ARTICLE XII of the Covenant of that that they BE ENFORCED!
"And remember that we would GIVE INDEPENDENCE to the PHILIPPINES AUTONOMY to PORTO RICO, and CIVIL GOVERNMENT to the VIRGIN ISLANDS."
"And RIGHT AWAY we would RECOGNIZE the SOVIET GOVERNMENT of RUSSIA."
"Yes and all!" I said.
"No need."
"Let me tell you something," he said.
"THE SOVIET-GOVERNMENT IS MUCH BETTER, IN MANY RESPECTS, THAN OUR PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES!"
END PROHIBITION—QUIT, WIFE OUT CONSTITUTION
"END PROHIBITION—QUIT,
WIFE OUT CONSTITUTION
END JAIL, A NEW ONE!"

MAKING IT "A SCRAP OF PAPER"



AMERICAN WORKERS AND THE FREE PRESS
Another appeal of a decidedly Socialistic order follows:

TO SECURE THE WORKERS, CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE DEMANDED, INDEMNITIONS ARE DEMANDED AGAINST UNION ACTIVITIES AND THE COURTS ARE MADE TO DESTROY MEMBERS OF THAT CLASS OF MONKEY GANG AND THE LEGALIZED MURDER OF SACCO AND VANZETTI WERE CONSPICUOUS EXAMPLES.

SACCO AND VANZETTI WERE ACCUSED and they met the JUST FATE of ALL MURDERERS. If the Socialist Party holds upon making such statements it places itself in the position of not desiring to PUNISH CRIMES and it will do itself no credit in the eyes of HONORABLE LAW-ABIDING AMERICANS.

SOME OF THE MAIN THINGS FOR WHICH THE PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALISTS STANDS.

Here are the main things for which the Socialist Platform stands:

1—Nationalization of our Natural Resources, beginning with the Coal Mines and Water Power, particularly at Boulder Dam and Grand Coulee.

2—Control of Publicly Owned Chest Power System under which the Federal Government shall co-operate with the States and Municipalities in the distribution of electrical energy to the people at cost.

3—National Ownership and democratic management of Railroads and other means of Transportation and Communication.

4—An additional National Program for Flood Control, Flood Relief, Rehabilitation, Irrigation and Mechanization.

5—Immediate Relief of the Unemployed by the Extension of All Public Works.

6—Loans to States and Municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on Public Works and the taking of such measures as will insure widespread industry. Also a system of unemployment insurance.

7—Sharing the Work, Do

and according to every Worker's

What leading periodicals said
about Norman Thomas'
previous book

AMERICA'S WAY OUT

Price, \$2.50

"... There never was a time when penetrating social criticism and sound social action were more needed. Not this book only, but the career of which it is the present outcome, mark Norman Thomas as a leader in both fields."

New Republic.

"If this volume could be required to be read in every high school and college in the country and no student allowed to graduate until he understood it, whether or not agreement was reached on the program there presented, we should at least have a more intelligent and social citizenship."

The Herald.

"This volume would be reprinted by many orthodox Marxist Socialists on the Continent, and would cause disgust and anger in Moscow. The British Labor Party would regard it with sympathy and approval. The important point is that what Norman Thomas has written is indispensable to an understanding of American Socialism." —*World Tomorrow.*

A CATHOLIC VIEW

"Every Catholic teacher of even elementary economics should be familiar with this book. It is valuable not for the truth of its theories or statements, some of which are open to at least serious question, but for the attitude and outlook of its author who may be fairly taken as representative of Socialist opinion in this country." —*America.*

A BAPTIST VIEW

"The qualities of mind and character displayed in his campaign of 1932 and since have made him the most distinguished spokesman of socialism in America and have secured for him a wide hearing as a trustworthy counselor of American democracy. . . . I do not see how the America people are going to ignore this challenge. . . . The book is worthy to become a manual of adult education for American citizenship." —*The Baptist.*

How do you see it?

YOU are continually confronting the issues so ably discussed by Norman Thomas in his new book. Election year will bring all of them prominently to the fore. Whether or not you agree with him, in his keen arguments and analyses you will find enlightenment and inspiration. The reviews of *America's Way Out* quoted here indicate why all forward-looking citizens should read that excellent book. The comments are equally applicable to the new work which, too, undoubtedly will be widely praised after publication. (This circular is prepared in advance.)

This is a book to which every thinking American should give deep consideration. Here are deeply thought discussions of the problems we must solve if our social organization is to be stabilized on a new basis; if unemployment is to be overcome; if communism is to be successfully avoided; if war and its horrors are to be eliminated; if the welfare of mankind is to be furthered and true liberty attained.

NORMAN THOMAS As I See It

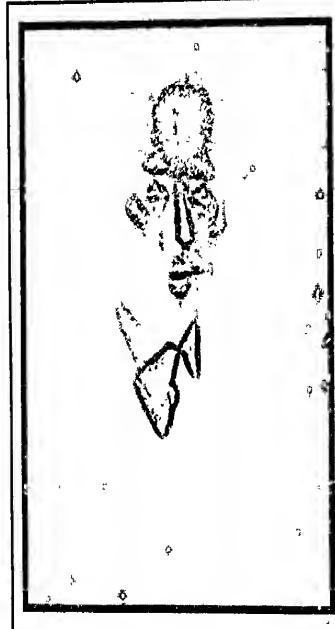
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Order from your bookstore or the nearest office of

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

NEW YORK CHICAGO BOSTON ATLANTA DALLAS SAN FRANCISCO
PHILADELPHIA

"It is my deep conviction that especially in the year of a national campaign, it is of the highest importance for any man who wants to speak on politics at all to speak in clear-cut terms concerning present issues."



HOW MANY WILL?

Here is one who does—one who faces the issues squarely—who sets forth with brilliance and conviction his political ideals and his plans for their practical application—who views the present deplorable condition of mankind with profound regret and points his way to "social salvation without catastrophe."

NORMAN THOMAS As I See It...

ONE Year ago, Norman Thomas gave us his Program for Democracy in his book *America's Way Out*, which was widely lauded by competent critics the country over, adversely criticized by extreme capitalists and socialists, and harshly condemned by communists. In it he offered a definite program for action, proposed changes in our governmental and judicial methods, and set forth his arguments why salvation for America lies not in capitalism or communism but in the democratic socialism he so competently championed.

Now in view of the discussions aroused by his book and his own thinking in the light of the developments of the last twelve months he offers his "Reconsiderations." More than ever he believes that immediate action is necessary if we are to avoid a catastrophe. He points out the imminent dangers confronting us. He states the present plight of the farmers and of industry and indicates what should be done to relieve the conditions. He reviews the year's developments in Russia and emphasizes his faith in his socialist ideas.

If America continues to drift without a definite plan—what will happen? "The Next Decade" the second article in this book, tells us what he believes will be the inevitable outcome of the forces and tendencies now operative. Business and political

leaders, and the American Federation of Labor are criticized and the strong tendency toward Fascism is shown. What can be done? Read the solution he offers. Is it inevitable? We do not consciously desire war, but—we prepare for it. In "The Acceptance of Violence" Norman Thomas deals tersely with this subject and indicates what must be done to make headway against the belief that violence is necessary for obtaining social reforms. In "Disarmament and Peace" he shows deep insight into the world problems involved in these important movements and proffers his well-considered solutions.

Next in "The Essential Condition of Economic Planning," he examines the various plans that have been offered for solving our economic difficulties by such noted men as Stuart Chase, Charles Beard, Wallace Donham, Gerard Swope and Matthew Wolf! He points to the flaws he sees in these plans and shows what he believes is necessary.

"Liberty's Hard Road" is traversed; religious problems are surveyed in "The Churches and The End of an Epoch"; and in "Faith of my Fathers" he gives a touching discussion of his ancestors' religion and tells why it is no longer adequate for him. The final essay deals with a subject with which he is intensely concerned as he continues valiantly to fight against it—"Politics and Plunder in New York City."

Each one of the essays in this book offers you abundant food for thought. You may have read parts of some of them when they appeared in various periodicals but a re-reading in their new form is well worth while. The force of Norman Thomas' arguments makes them worthy of the permanency they are given in this book.

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

As others see him...

At Norman Thomas sees many of the reviews of his book, "America's Way Out," they are disappointing in their understanding of Socialism, he tells us in his "Reconsiderations" and sharply criticizes several of them. But he will have to admit that the country over they gave recognition to his personal merit and the importance of his message as these short excerpts from lengthy reviews prove.

NEW YORK

"However much we may quibble with some of its ideas and conclusions, *America's Way Out* is a stimulating book. We need in this sluggish body politic of ours the kind of critical intelligence which Mr. Thomas so conspicuously possesses . . . It will be fortunate if whatever changes occur can be the result of such reasoned and intelligent discussion—on both sides of the argument—as is reflected in Mr. Thomas' book." —*New York Herald-Tribune*.

PHILADELPHIA

"Norman Thomas is one of America's most useful men. He doesn't make automobiles or radios; he tries to make people think. He doesn't sell bridges or battleships; he distributes ideas . . . His integrity and his courage, combined with unwavering allegiance to a well-defined social theory, have commanded for him the respect of those who don't care vote for him. In politics he has been a force of present, compelling opponents in the major parties to make some concession, otherwise unacceptable, in the direction of liberalism." —*Philadelphia Record*.

BOSTON

"As a contribution to political and economic theory *America's Way Out* has for its primary purpose a clarificatory of contemporary forms. It does this with singular eloquence, which is all the more convincing because Mr. Thomas does not offer socialism as a guaranteed cure-all, but merely as a practical solution of many intricate problems." —*Boston Transcript*.

BALTIMORE

"Clarity and persuasiveness characterize the book as a whole. This is probably enough to condemn it in the eyes of the more radical wing of the party, but to the casual observer far out toward the Right it seems more like an indication that American Socialism has found a leader who may carry it further than Debs was able to go." —*Baltimore Sun*.

WASHINGTON

"No thoughtful reader of American political philosophy can afford to ignore this book from the pen of a man whose opinions outstrip his own particular party and are not confined to those who share his views. . . . His book is entertaining and thoughtfully written and a relief from the usual screaming of his fellow partisans. The United States is going to hear more of the Norman Thomas theories, so it is well to get them down on paper in this fashion." —*Washington Post*.

CHICAGO

"The book is stimulating, arresting, sincere and timely. . . . The present system is today on the defensive. Those who do not like Mr. Thomas' way out are bound to refute his argument and point out a better and more genuinely American way out of a situation admittedly full of peril." —*Chicago News*.

CINCINNATI

"Norman Thomas is America's outstanding Socialist, not only because he is one of Socialism's most intelligent and unbiased spokesmen, but because his field of action has not been confined solely to the library. . . . Whether Mr. Thomas' socialist program is finally utopian or not, it provides the theoretical answer to many current needs. It has the virtue of being positive instead of negative, constructive as well as destructive and as such may be cherished by those who believe that mankind, no less than the program by which it lives, may be improved." —*Cincinnati Times-Star*.

DENVER

"The book is mentally provocative, it stirs you into an acute realization that socialism is not radical any more; in fact, many of its policies hardly can be separated from the principles of the Progressive. Thomas writes with clarity and directness that permits no evasion of issues. He tells what he believes is wrong with the present system and he recounts definite steps for alleviating this condition." —*Rocky Mt. News*.

LOS ANGELES

"No one who is deeply concerned for the welfare of America should fail to read this volume. You may heartily disagree with much that the author says but you will admire his courage and his evident sincerity." —*Los Angeles Open Forum*.

LONDON From England

"Though this book appeals primarily to the American public, its scope is far wider than its title would suggest. It is actually a presentation of the case for Socialism, and it deserves to rank as one of the best books of the kind that have yet appeared. For the lucidity and incisiveness of its style it would indeed bear comparison with Mr. Shaw's *Intelligent Women's Guide*. Whether one agrees or not with Mr. Thomas' conclusions, there can be no doubt that he possesses unusual gifts of exposition, and that he knows how to put an argument in an effective way. As a critic he is none the less pungent for being sane and fair-minded." —*The Times Literary Supplement*.

February 15, 1933

Yesterday, Norman Thomas addressed an L.I.E. Form meeting on the subject "That Price Power". He had with him a copy of "The Radical Campaign against American Industry", published by the National Electric Light Association, and showed exhibit 7 from page 13 thereof; a reprint from a page of the "Brooklyn Eagle" of June 3, 1931. This reprint has a cartoon of Thomas holding in his hands the United States Constitution torn about two-thirds of the way through. Thomas stated that he had never said that he would tear up the Constitution, that he had written the Brooklyn eagle to that effect and that they had published that correction. He violently attacked the Electric Light Association for issuing false propaganda.

After the meeting adjourned, I asked him if the story was also false that he rode in an automobile, on which a red flag was displayed, in connection with a meeting at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. He replied that "it was not as viciously false. There were no red flags displayed in that parade. There is an anti-red flag law in Richmond, Indiana. The automobiles were decorated with red bunting."

I rejoined that "I should consider that equally reprehensible."

To which he replied, "Not at all - red was the color of the early Christians."

To which I rejoined, "That is no excuse."

V-V
You will recognize the enclosed as being based
upon an article in your April 1931 issue of the National
Republic.

19 Your friend Norman Thomas certainly stabbed his
toe when he included in his statement, the sentence, "There is
an anti red flag law in Richmond, Indiana." I am sending
the enclosed in blind form for you to use as you see fit, but
without using my name. For your confidential information, I
will say that I am the one who asked him the question.