

"The Capitalists Are Unable to Operate Industries," Says Foster

Declares Only Communists Offer a Way Out!

Calls for Huge Communist Vote Tomorrow

Address of Wm. Z. Foster, Communist Candidate for President, Madison Square Garden, Sunday, November 6.
Friends and Fellow Workers:

"For two months I have been forced to withdraw from active campaigning on account of sickness. Even tonight, in spite of my hope and determination, I cannot appear before you in

person. I must take this extraordinary means of speaking to you, and thru you to the workers of the entire country, before the balloting on next Tuesday. I expect soon to give our capitalist enemies convincing proof of the fact that I am still very much alive, by joining actively with you in the great struggles now preparing. Together we will give heavy blows to capitalism.

"Today, tomorrow, and Tuesday are 3 days heavy with historical

significance for us. Today the German working class is engaged in the climax of a national election struggle, which in all probability opens a period of decisive revolutionary class battles. Even before you leave this hall, we expect to hear the news reports of the elections, which will show that the German workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have won another million or more of the followers of the treacherous Social-Democracy, for support to the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for a Soviet Germany.

Socialism vs. Capitalism.

"Tomorrow we celebrate the 15th Anniversary of the victorious proletarian revolution in the territory of the former empire of the czar. This is at the same time a festival to celebrate the completion of the first Five-Year Plan of socialist construction. On one-sixth of the earth's surface the working class has ruled, without capitalists, landlords, or exploiters, for fifteen years. In that land there is no unemployment. In that land there are no idle factories or machines. On the contrary, there arise every day new factories, new industries; every year new millions of peasants stream into the cities to become workers. The national production has been multiplied to three times that of pre-war days. Conditions of life are constantly improving. Hundreds of thousands of workers' children are in the schools and universities. An entirely new life, a new system, socialism, is being created before our eyes. There, we see no crisis, but constant progress. There, surrounded by a capitalist world, plunged into crisis and disaster, the Soviet Power rises even higher, ever mightier, ever more invincible.



WM. Z. FOSTER

"Day after tomorrow the election struggle in America is summed up in the voting. The masses will declare which Party they support in the exercise of State power, in a situation of mass destitution and starvation for over forty million men, women and children.

"How shall we estimate the parties and candidates in this last hour of the campaign?

"There is Hoover. His achievement has been to win universal disgust and hatred. He called out the army, and sent it with tanks, gas, bullets, and fire, to drive out of Washington in the dead of night, 25,000 ex-soldiers of the world war with their wives and babies, because they dared to petition for the payment of their back wages. His program is frankly, brutally, a program of starvation and death for the masses.

"There is Roosevelt. His campaign is based entirely upon the mass hatred against Hoover. Within a few short weeks he succeeded in entirely forgetting his 'forgotten man', for the sake of the embraces of Al Smith. His shallow demagoguery is summed up in his slogan 'for a new deal'—but with the same pack of marked cards. To the workers and farmers he promises an end to the crisis; to Wall Street he promises a continuation of the policies of Hoover. But if Roosevelt is elected, even before he takes the President's chair the workers and farmers will be suffering the blows of a new downward plunge of the crisis, new bank failures, more unemployment, more starvation. And his 'shadow cabinet' has already promised to Hoover 'such close interparty co-operation as to be roughly equivalent to a coalition government.' The illusions of the masses regarding Roosevelt will quickly be shattered. The masses are with Roosevelt for today only; tomorrow they will begin to swing to the Communist Party.

"Socialism in Words—Fascism in Deeds."

"There is Norman Thomas. He is the sleek magician, who promises to make the omelet of socialism without cracking the eggs of Wall Street's private property. He is the miracle-man who makes 'socialism' respectable in the 'best society' of the bourgeoisie. In Milwaukee his Party cuts wages, clubs and jails the unemployed, and administers the city to the entire satisfaction of the Chamber of Commerce. In the needle trades, his fellow party members betray strikes, enforce wage-cuts—and openly campaign for the election of the Tammany candidate for Governor, Lehman. Norman Thomas has the unique distinction of being the first 'socialist' leader to be created by the support of the capitalist press. A professed 'pacifist', he promised the Senate Committee on war policies that, 'if we were on the verge of war' he would 'probably be for' the proposal to place the entire wealth of the nation at the unconditional disposal of the government. He supported Hoover's stand against the bonus more energetically even than did Roosevelt. He openly opposes the mass struggle for Negro rights on the grounds that it 'incites race riots'. He opposes demonstrations of the unemployed on the grounds that they 'provoke the development of fascism'. Norman Thomas is the American edition of a Ramsey MacDonald in the making.

"Norman Thomas and his party give a classical example of that 'socialism in words, fascism in deeds', which we Communists call social-fascism. He operates with equal freedom among his right wing associates who openly merge with the capitalist parties (Villard, Dubinsky, etc.) and with his self-styled left wing (Muste, Blanchard, etc.) who cover his treachery

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with radical phrases.

"Is it any wonder, then, that the capitalist press all over the land, including the South, has uniformly praised Norman Thomas throughout this election campaign? Is it any wonder that the capitalists energetically built up the Socialist Party, as a reliable catch-basin to hold the workers who revolt from the open capitalist parties, away from the Communist Party, the only revolutionary party of class struggle? Is it any wonder that an authoritative spokesman of Wall Street should sum up his praise of Norman Thomas with the words: 'If, through some cataclysm, he should become president, he would behave in the White House like the well-born, well-bred aristocrat that he is?'

"Truly, the Socialist Party has well-earned the title of 'third party of capitalism.' The Wall Street bankers, through their press, radio, churches, etc., are consciously building up the Socialist Party, just as they have taken over the A. F. of L. as their most reliable weapon against the revolutionary movement of the masses led by the Communist Party.

The Party of the Tiling Masses.

"Only the Communist Party puts forward a platform of fundamental solution of the problems of life or death that face the workers and farmers, Negro and white, of America. An outstanding feature of this campaign is tremendous increase in the mass support to the Communist Party by workers, farmers, Negroes and intellectuals.

"It is no longer possible to maintain any more that hoary old lie that the industries cannot be run without the capitalists. Life itself has completely exploded that old falsehood. Today it is clear that it is the capitalists who are entirely incapable of running the mills, mines, railroads. Yes, they are even unable to keep their banks open. America, the giant of capitalism, the model for capitalists all over the world, is sinking into a chaos which is destroying the life of millions of men, women and children. Capitalism can no longer feed the people.

"Fifteen years after the Russian Revolution, capitalism lies in ruins, while the victorious Russian workingclass successfully finishes its first Five-Year Plan in four years. For the future, capitalism cannot even promise jobs at starvation wages to its workers, as Hoover admitted in this very hall last Monday night. But the Soviet Union is today launching its second Five-Year Plan, which will complete the construction of a classless society based upon socialist industrialization and collective agriculture.

Which Road?

"On November 8, by your vote you will chose between the road of Hoover-Roosevelt-Thomas, or the road marked out by Lenin and the victorious Russian working class.

"The road of Lenin, the revolutionary way out of the crisis, is the road of the fundamental reorganization of society on the basis of socialism, the first stage of Communism.

"This requires the unconditional rejection of the policy of Norman Thomas, as the Russian workers rejected Kerensky. It requires the overthrow of the capitalist state machinery, the smashing of the bloody, oppressive rule of the capitalist class. It requires the establishment of a new state of the toiling masses, of the workers and farmers. It requires a government of Workers' Councils, a Soviet Government.

"History has shown that the masses of America, when faced with a fundamental crisis, are not afraid of a revolutionary solution. The United States was born in bloody revolution. Even the Republican Party was born in a minor revolutionary change, the abolition of chattel slavery, which cost four years of Civil War.

"The crisis of 1932 is much more far-reaching, more fundamental, than the crises of 1776 and 1861. Already this crisis has cut away two-thirds of the means of life of the workers and farmers.

In the coming winter the crisis will deepen still more. Millions will be faced with death from cold and starvation.

"Just as the American workers and farmers did not shrink from the revolutionary solution of those former crises of 1776 and 1861, still less they will draw back from the revolutionary path today. The poison of pacifism has never gone deep into the blood of the American workers and farmers. They will fight. And when they begin to fight, they will go through to the revolutionary end.

Struggle For Bread

"All great revolutionary changes arise from the struggle of the masses for bread.

"That why the platform of the Communist Party puts in the first place, as the first step on the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the struggle for Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the Government and employers. That is why we fight against wage-cuts, for emergency relief for the impoverished farmers, for equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt, for all workers' rights and against the capitalist terror.

"The revolutionary solution begins with every struggle of the oppressed, the fight for milk for the children, of the war veterans for the bonus, the fight against evictions, against reductions of relief—all those fights which are organized and led by the Communist Party. It begins with the struggle for the unconditional release of Tom Mooney, and of the Scottsboro boys.

"Above all, the Communist Party points out that the sharpening crisis is pushing the capitalist world into a new imperialist slaughter. The war already under way in the Far East is only the prelude to the world war for which all imperialist nations, including the United States, are feverishly preparing. The imperialists are striving with might and main to direct this war into the channels of imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union and for the of Soviet China, for the dismemberment of the Chinese nation. The workers must organize and fight to stop the transport of munitions to Japan; they must organize the struggle which will transform the imperialist war into a civil war of the oppressed against the oppressors, of the workers against the capitalists. The Communist Party calls upon the workers on November 8, to vote against imperialist war, for the defense of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese people.

"Vote the Communist ticket straight, for the national ticket, for the State ticket headed by Israel Amter and for William Patterson for Mayor.

One Part of Struggle

"This fight does not begin nor end with the election campaign. Voting on November 8, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, is only one part of the struggle. It continues next day and every day. It continues in the hunger marches and demonstrations, culminating in the great National Hunger March to Washington on December 5th. It continues in the bonus march of the veterans. It continues in the gathering of farmers' delegates in Washington for the Farmers' National Relief Conference. It continues in the organization of the masses in Neighborhood Committees and Block Committees, in Unemployment Councils, in trade unions, which are laying the firm foundations for the future workingclass power, while fighting today for bread. The tremendous mass discontent is beginning to pass over into revolutionary struggle. In every city and neighborhood there is a rising tide of struggle against starvation. This election will express the movement of the masses through the support given to the Communist Party.

"Vote Against the Three Capitalist Parties!

"Build the Communist Party!

"Vote Communist on November 8th!

"Forward in the Struggle Against Starvation!

"Forward to a Soviet America!"