

THIS TITLE GETS INTO THE RING BY ALL ODDS, THE BIGGEST QUESTION BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TODAY--AND THE MOST CONFUSED QUESTION.

THERE NEVER, IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY, HAS BEEN A TIME WHEN SOCIALISM WAS SO CLOSE-UP A MENACE TO OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF CIVILIZATION; AND, THEREFORE, WHEN EVERY AMERICAN WHO IS AWAKE AND THINKING, SHOULD MAKE HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE PARAMOUNT SUBJECT OF MEETING THIS MENACE. THE ASSUMPTION THAT DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUALISM, CAPITALISM ARE WORN OUT AND MUST BE DISPLACED BY STATE CONTROL AND DICTATORSHIP THAT ARE SIMPLY THE STATE SOCIALISM OF KARL MARX.

HERE I FEEL DISTINCTLY SELF-CONSCIOUS, BECAUSE MY VOICE IS ONLY ONE OF MILLIONS AND ONE OF VERY FEW THAT ARE SOUNDING THIS ALARM, AND I DON'T RELISH MY CLASSIFICATION WITH ALARMISTS, NOR THE SUSPICION OF EGOTISM OR ISOLATION, IN MY VIEWS. YOU, MY FRIENDS, CANNOT BE BLAMED IF YOU WONDER WHY, IF THIS MENACE IS SO NEAR, ARE THERE SO FEW AWARE OF IT. AND, MY ANSWER, RELUCTANTLY, MUST BE, THAT OUR LEADERSHIP IS CONCEDED BY EVERYONE, TO BE AT ZERO; AND OUR RANK AND FILE--OUR RADIO FANS, IF YOU PLEASE--HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO RELY ON LEADERS TO DO THEIR THINKING FOR THEM. AND SO, OF COURSE, THEY ARE NOT NOW PREPARED FOR THE STRAIN OF DOING A LITTLE JOB OF THINKING FOR THEMSELVES: AND SO WE ARE JUST GROPING IN THE DARK.

BUT DON'T BE DISCOURAGED, THE PROBLEM IS REALLY SIMPLE, WHEN WE ONCE DIG INTO IT A LITTLE, AS WE WILL RIGHT NOW. IN FACT, THAT'S WHY LEADERS ARE OUT IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM: BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO COMPLICATION AND ELABORATION, AND AWAY FROM REDUCING PROBLEMS TO THEIR ORIGINAL SIMPLE ELEMENTS. THEY ARE EXPERTS AND THEREFORE HAVE "LEARNED MORE AND MORE, ABOUT LESS & LESS, AND GRADUATED, KNOWING EVERYTHING ABOUT NOTHING": OR AS GILBERT CHESTERTON PUT IT IN AN IMMORTAL VERSE, "THEY KNOW ALL THINGS, BUT THE TRUTH"---

WHAT I WANT YOU TO GET A COMPLETE HOLD ON, IS THIS SIMPLE AND OBVIOUS DIFFERENCE: BETWEEN THE SOCIALIZATION OF THINGS LIKE HIGHWAYS, SCHOOLS AND POST OFFICES, AND OF SOCIALIZATION OF THINGS LIKE WATCH FACTORIES, DEPARTMENT STORES AND MILK ROUTES. THE FIRST GROUP OF BUSINESSES ARE WHAT WE KNOW AS PUBLIC SERVICES OR SOCIAL SERVICES AND THE LATTER GROUP ARE PRIVATE AND INDIVIDUAL: AND WHILE THERE IS NO ABSOLUTE LINE DRAWN BETWEEN THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC BUSINESSES AND FUNCTIONS, THERE IS A FAIRLY CLEAR ZONE OF SEPARATION, WHICH THE GREAT MAJORITY AGREE TO.

THE EXTREMES WILL, OF COURSE, NOT AGREE. THE SOCIALISTS WILL SAY ALL BUSINESS IS SOCIAL, AND WON'T CONCEDE ANY SPECIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A RAILROAD AND A WATCH FACTORY. AND THE INDIVIDUALIST WILL SAY WE SHOULD RUN PRACTICALLY NOTHING BY THE GOVERNMENT; THAT IT BUNGLES EVERYTHING, THE GOVERNMENT IS A FAILURE, AND SO ON.

BUT THE BIG MAJORITY HAVE AGREED THAT BESIDES THE ACTIVITIES I'VE MENTIONED, THE STREETS, THE SEWERS, POLICE, FIRE AND SOME OTHERS, ARE COMPLETELY PUBLIC FUNCTIONS: AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS A CLEAR RIGHT AND RESPONSIBILITY ALSO IN CONTROLLING DRINKING WATER, WATER POWER, NAVIGABLE RIVERS; TRANSPORTATION, RAILWAY, STREET, WATER, AIR; WIRE COMMUNICATION, TELEPHONE, TELEGRAPH, RADIO: AND SO ON THROUGH A LOT OF OTHER THINGS.

AND HERE COMES THE CRUCIAL QUESTION THAT DIVIDES SOCIALISM FROM INDIVIDUALISM: WHETHER WE SHALL EXTEND THIS LIST OF SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, OR CURTAIL IT: AND ON THIS QUESTION YOU HAVE THE POSITION OF THE EXTREMISTS CLEARLY STATED IN WHAT I'VE JUST SAID.

BUT THE CONFUSION OF THE BIG MAJORITY--MADE UP OF RADIO AUDIENCES--ON THIS QUESTION, IS JUST WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT AND TRYING TO CLEAR UP: IN FACT IT INVOLVES ALL OUR PRESENT TROUBLES. INABILITY TO DRAW THAT LINE BETWEEN "THINE, MINE AND OURS", BETWEEN THE SEPARATE AND THE COLLECTIVE PERSON. WE KNOW THE EXTREME INDIVIDUALIST--REALLY AN ANARCHIST, BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IN NO LAW--IS WRONG, BECAUSE OUR LAW IS INTERTWINED WITH OUR CIVILIZATION: AND WE, WHO KNOW ANYTHING OF THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY, ALSO KNOW THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST, ARE WRONG IN WANTING TO HAVE LAW THE WHOLE THING.

DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUALISM HAVE TAKEN OVER OUR EXISTING PUBLIC SERVICES AND A CONTROL OVER THE PARTIAL ONES, AS I HAVE SCHEDULED THEM: SO THESE ARE IN NO SENSE TAINTED WITH SOCIALISM--THEY ARE NOT EVEN SOCIALISTIC. I WANT TO DWELL ON THIS POINT BECAUSE THERE'S A LOT OF CONFUSION IN THE AVERAGE MIND ABOUT IT. WE THINK EVERYTHING GOVERNMENTAL IS SOCIALISTIC AND SO, WE SAY, AS LONG AS WE NOW HAVE SO MUCH SOCIALISM, WHY A LITTLE--OR EVEN A LOT--MORE, WON'T HURT US, AND THIS IS A VERY BIG AND VERY VITAL MISTAKE.

WE HAVE SOCIALIZED OUR HIGHWAYS, SCHOOLS, AND MAELS, FOR EXAMPLE, VOLUNTARILY AND NATURALLY, WITHOUT ANY HELP FROM KARL MARX, THE AUTHOR OF SOCIALISM, BECAUSE WE FOUND IT BETTER AND CHEAPER TO OPERATE THESE SERVICES PUBLICLY, THAN PRIVATELY: IN FACT, WE WERE FORCED BY OUR MODERN CONDITIONS OF LIVING, ESPECIALLY IN GREAT CITIES, TO SOCIALIZER THEM.

NOW, THE SOCIALISTS NOT ONLY WANT TO GO AHEAD AND TAKE OVER RAILROADS AND WATER POWERS AND OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES: AS OUR DEMOCRACY WILL UNQUESTIONABLY DO IN TIME, BUT THEY WANT ALSO TO TAKE OVER WATCH FACTORIES, DEPARTMENT STORES AND MILK ROUTES, THAT ARE PRIVATE BUSINESS. SO YOU SEE, WE ARE WARRANTED IN INSISTING THAT SOCIALISM IS NOT THE DEMAND TO RUN PUBLIC BUSINESS, BECAUSE WE ARE DOING THAT: BUT, ITS DEMAND TO RUN PRIVATE BUSINESS, WHICH RIGHT WE DENY: THIS IS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM.

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NOW THAT MAKES A GOOD CLEAN CUT ISSUE, THAT IS NOT STRAINED OR FORCED BUT REALLY IS A LONG STEP IN DISPELLING THE FOG THAT OBSCURES THIS BIG QUESTION BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM: THE ASSUMPTION WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIALISM BY OUR RATHER ELABORATE GOVERNMENT.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT POINT: THE SOCIALISTS USE THE SLOGAN OF "COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH" AND IT SOUNDS FINE: BUT EVEN THE INITIAL STEPS OF STATE SOCIALISM (WHICH IS THE ONLY KIND THAT MEANS A THING) NOW TAKEN AT WASHINGTON--SAY THE INDUSTRIAL CONTROL ACT--HAS THE ARMY AND NAVY BEHIND IT AS TYPIFIED BY THE ARMY OFFICER IN CHARGE. AND INCIDENTALLY OTHER PARTS OF OUR NEW PROGRAM, CALL FOR BUILDING A BIGGER MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT, TO COMMAND RESPECT FOR OUR INCREASING GOVERNMENT AND ITS DICTATORSHIP.

SO THE 'COOPERATION' OF SOCIALISM MEANS JUST THAT KIND (THE FORCE NECESSARY TO DICTATORSHIP, WHICH IS ANOTHER PET OF SOCIALISM) BUT THIS IS NOT THE WAY OUR OWN SOCIALIZATION OF HIGHWAYS, SCHOOLS AND MAIDS HAS COME ABOUT. VOLUNTARY COOPERATION IS THE ONLY KIND OF COOPERATION: AND THAT SEEMS TO BE NO AUTHENTIC PART OF THE SOCIALIST SCHEME OF A COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. THEY ARE STRONG FOR BIG ARMAMENT TO BACK UP THEIR COOPERATION, AND THEY HAVE TO BE.

OUR GROUND IS CLEARED FOR A GENERAL CONCLUSION. HAS DEMOCRACY CONSISTENTLY CARRIED OUT ITS OWN SOCIALIZING PROGRAM OR HAS IT HALTED HALF WAY, LEAVING THE WIDE OPEN DOOR FOR SOCIALISM TO WALK IN, WHICH IT IS NOW DOING IN A BIG WAY IN WASHINGTON?

ARE WE NOW IN A CLEAN POSITION TO SAY TO SOCIALISTS WHO DEMAND THE SOCIALIZING OF EVERYTHING, THAT WE HAVE SOCIALIZED EVERYTHING THAT SHOULD BE SOCIALIZED--THAT BELONGS TO SOCIETY--THAT IS TO US, THE PEOPLE--AS A CONCLUSIVE ANSWER TO THEIR DEMAND FOR THE THINGS THAT ARE IN NO SENSE SOCIAL; I. E., THE WATCH FACTORIES, DEPARTMENT STORES AND MILK ROUTES? INDEED, WE ARE NOT IN ANY SUCH CLEAN-CUT POSITION.

WE HAVE NOT SOCIALIZED ONE-FOURTH OF OUR SOCIAL PROPERTY, AND THEREBY HANGS THE TAIL OF BUSINESS DEPRESSION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY, BECAUSE THE SUFFERING MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE TODAY ARE SUFFERING FROM THE ROBBERY OF THIS THREE-FOURTHS OF THEIR PROPERTY. WE LET A PITIFUL FEW PARASITES MAKE A HOLIDAY WITH THIS 170 BILLION DOLLAR LAND VALUE ESTATE, CONSISTING OF OUR PUBLIC SERVICE FRANCHISES, OUR MINES AND WATER POWERS, AND--MOST IMPORTANT--OUR SITE VALUES IN THE CITIES.

THIS IS THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION OF THE PEOPLE THAT SOCIALISTS HARP ON SO EFFECTIVELY, BUT SO IGNORANTLY BLAME ON THE MACHINE AND CAPITALISM. THIS IS THE BIG THING THAT OUR RADICALS, PROGRESSIVES, AND ORDINARY REFORMERS OF THE LAFOLLETTE-WHEELER-BORAH-LONG TYPE INVEIGH AGAINST AS 'THE SYSTEM', THE 'MONEY POWER', THE INTERNATIONAL BANKERS, MONOPOLY AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGE. THIS IS THE JUGGERNAUT AND THE FRANKENSTEIN MONSTER.

LET'S MAKE A LITTLE INVENTORY OF THE BIG PROPERTIES THAT HAVE BEEN OVERLOOKED BY US, AS DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIZERS AND SEE IF IT HASN'T A DETERMINING BEARING ON OUR BUSINESS DEPRESSION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY: AND THEREFORE ON THE THREAT OF SOCIALISM, TO TRY A FEW HUNDRED MORE EXPERIMENTS, LIKE THOSE NOW BEING TRIED IN WASHINGTON, AS A POSSIBLE PANACEA FOR THESE DISTRESSING CONDITIONS.

FIRST, WE HAVE FAILED TO SOCIALIZE OUR PUBLIC UTILITIES TO A LARGE EXTENT--SO LARGE THAT OUR INSULLS AND OUR KRUEGERS AND MANY NEARER HOME CAPTAINS I WON'T NAME, HAVE MADE A HAPPY HUNTING GROUND OF THEM. THESE ARE THE MOST OBVIOUSLY SOCIAL PROPERTY THERE IS BECAUSE OCCUPYING PUBLIC STREETS AND DOMAIN, REQUIRING FRANCHISES, SUPPLYING PRIME NECESSITIES AND BEING VIRTUAL MONOPOLIES; THEY MAY BE TAKEN OVER AND OPERATED OR "FARMED OUT" BUT THE GOVERNMENT OR THE SURPLUS PROFIT, OVER THE CAPITAL INVESTMENT, MAY BE TAKEN BY TAXATION OR OTHERWISE.

SECOND, WE HAVE NOT SOCIALIZED MANY OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, SUCH AS MINES AND VALUABLE MINERAL LANDS, WATER POWERS, AND DRINKING WATER. THESE ARE BOUNTIES OF NATURE--A BIG ITEM IN THE ENRICHMENT OF EXPLOITERS AND THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

THIRD, AND MOST IMPORTANT; WE ALLOW TO POUR INTO PRIVATE POCKETS MOST OF THE INCOME FROM SOMETHING LIKE 170 BILLION OF LAND VALUES, MOSTLY IN CITIES AND THE DIRECT CREATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE, THEIR ACTIVITIES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE AGENCY RECOMMENDED FOR THIS GREAT SOCIALIZING MOVE IS VERY SIMPLE AND WELL VOUCHERED FOR BY SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC AUTHORITIES. IT IS THE POWER OF TAXATION TO BE USED IN TWO DISTINCT WAYS--FIRST, ALL PRESENT DESTRUCTIVE TAXES TO BE REMOVED FROM BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, LABOR, AND THE CONSUMER. SECOND, ALL TAXATION TO BE CONCENTRATED UPON LAND VALUES, TO CHEAPEN LAND AND MAKE IT FREE AND ACCESSIBLE TO ALL THOSE DEPENDENT UPON IT, REMEMBERING THAT IT IS THE SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH, OF ALL EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL AND LABOR, AND THE SOURCE OF ALL JOBS.

THESE TWO MEASURES WOULD BE ALL THAT IS REQUIRED TO RESTORE OUR BUSINESS CONDITIONS, FULL EMPLOYMENT AT FULL WAGES, AND TO REMOVE THE MENACE OF WANT AND POVERTY.