

AMERICA FOR ALL

No. 1 AUGUST 6, 1932 Chicago, Illinois

IDLE STEEL MILLS PAY DIVIDENDS

As I See It

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President.

ONCE more it has been proved that President Hoover who will not give bread to workers is more than ready to give them bullets. The use of the army against unemployed veterans under direct order of the president was criminally inexcusable. So far as order was concerned, the situation had been well handled by the men themselves. The president's action was a bad case of nervous irritation, mixed with fear, which rationalized itself as a "defense of law and order." It was wholly inexcusable and the results were tragic. It is a characteristic climax to the policy of a man who promised prosperity to all but who has fought off every dole except a dole to bankers.

Yet the results will not be wholly bad if it puts new determination into workers who are victims of so cruel a system. Let the unemployed workers everywhere, whether veterans or not, rally to demand through the Socialist party, that unemployment relief, if possible by work, which any decent society owes to its members.

I believe that it would be the part of wisdom to pay the bonus, not to all veterans, but to the unemployed veterans, as part of a comprehensive program of unemployment relief. Such a program of relief the Socialist party will fight for in this campaign. We ask those who have the decency to be ashamed of this blot on our country, to rally to our standards.

Many minds are busy looking for a new industry that will lead us out of the depression. Some people think that they have the answer in the machine-made house. There are over 2,000,000 construction workers who will be interested in General Houses, Inc., a great new company which hopes to show the way in the movement to erect standardized houses in the spot complete in about four days to a week.

What will happen to thousands of bricklayers, carpenters, roofers, house-painters? The plans don't say.

In a Socialist state, that would be the first question. If people were to gain in terms of cheap and pleasant new homes, skilled workers would not lose in terms of a livelihood.

It would be the responsibility of the state to retain them and place them in new livelihoods.

As it is, the next decade will probably see great advances in the cheap, standard house—and great destruction in older property values and great problems for the building trades.

You will hear Socialist speakers, in the course of the campaign, criticize the capitalist "system."

The word "system" is unfortunately misleading.

The word "system" implies, in this complicated age of machines, planning a nation's work in advance; organizing industry and farming so as to provide jobs for all willing workers; planning years ahead to cut the hours of the working day and raise the wages of each worker as machines increase each man's output; thus automatically preventing unemployment, depressions and misery. But that is Socialism.

Capitalism, lacking these ideas, working haphazardly, confusedly, competitively, planlessly, through 2,000,000 separate business units, demonstrates all too clearly that it is not a "system" at all.

The Romans used to keep the common people satisfied with "bread" and circuses. We have started on the circuses. We have had a Republican and a Democratic convention. . . . But little has yet been done about bread.



SIFT GARBAGE FOR FOOD IN STEEL VILLAGES.—While the directors of the United States Steel Corp. vote to pay stockholders a dividend of over \$6,000,000, unemployed steel workers are living in frightful poverty and hunger. Here is a street near Gary, Ind., a steel trust city where daily there may be seen women and men rummaging among the garbage for any kind of food.

U.S. STEEL VOTES STOCKHOLDERS OVER 12 MILLIONS

The United States Steel Corp., despite the depression, is a paying industry.

Though the industry is operating at less than 30 per cent of normal, the corporation continues to pay dividends on its preferred stock. Last week the board of directors announced payment of \$1.75 a share on its preferred stock, or a total of \$6,304,919. It paid a similar dividend for the first three months of the year.

In fact, the United States Steel Corp. in good times and bad, has never skipped a dividend on its preferred. Except for three periods since 1901, when the corporation was organized, it has never skipped payments on common stock either.

The United States Steel Corp. pays—but not to its workers.

While the holders of preferred stock have received a total of over \$12,000,000 this year—and the year is still young—more than 140,000 of the steel trust's 200,000 employees are out of work, and haven't received a penny, many of them for more than a year. And 60,000 lucky employees of the corporation are working on reduced pay schedules—most of them on part-time employment.

The pay reductions make possible the continued payment of dividends to the stockholders.

The steel corporation cut wages 10 per cent on Oct. 1, 1931. It slashed wages again on May 5 of this year, to the tune of another 15 per cent. Making a 25 per cent cut in all. The hourly wage for those who can get work in the steel industry, is now 34c. If one is fortunate enough to get 48 hours of work a week, he gets the great sum of \$16.31 for his labor.

The employees get unemployment, or reduced wages, or a combination of both, and the stockholders get dividends as usual.

How does an industry which is 70 per cent idle pay dividends? The steel trust pays out of "surplus." At the end of 1930, the steel corporation had a surplus of \$126,000,000. The surplus was accumulated during rich years, after payment on dividends had been met.

The owners of United States Steel stored up for a rainy day—for themselves. For their employes, there is the breadline or starvation.

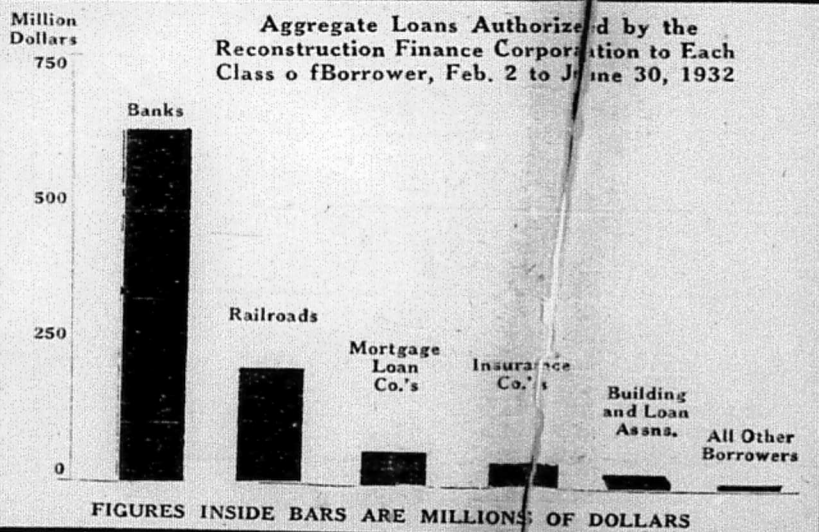
WHERE YOU CAN HEAR THOMAS

- Aug. 6—Kearny, N. J.
- Aug. 7—Weschester county, N. Y.
- Aug. 12—New York city. New York University Christian Assn.; dinner at New York university, 6:30 p. m.
- Aug. 13—Easthampton, Mass. Robbins Grove picnic grounds, 5:30 p. m.
- Holyoke, Mass., city hall, 7:30 p. m.
- Chicopee, Mass., city hall, 8:30 p. m.
- Aug. 14—Framingham, Mass. Workmen's Circle Camp, 2 p. m. Worcester, Mass., 8 p. m.
- Aug. 15—Bennington, Vt. Rutland, Vt.
- Aug. 16—Barre, Vt.
- Aug. 17—Lewiston, Me.
- Aug. 18—Bangor, Me.
- Aug. 19—Portland, Me.
- Aug. 21—Providence, R. I., 3 p. m.
- New Bedford, Mass., 8 p. m.

WHERE YOU CAN HEAR MAURER

- Aug. 7—Johnstown, Pa., 2 p. m.
- Blairsville, Pa., 8 p. m.
- Aug. 8—Newcastle, Pa.
- Aug. 9—Toledo, O.
- Aug. 10 to 13—Michigan.
- Aug. 14—Milwaukee, Wis. Picnic, Pleasant Valley park, 2 p. m.
- Aug. 15—Kenosha, Wis.
- Aug. 16—Sheboygan, Wis.
- Aug. 17—Green Bay, Wis.
- Aug. 18—Oshkosh, Wis.
- Aug. 19—Fond du Lac, Wis.
- Aug. 20—Madison, Wis.

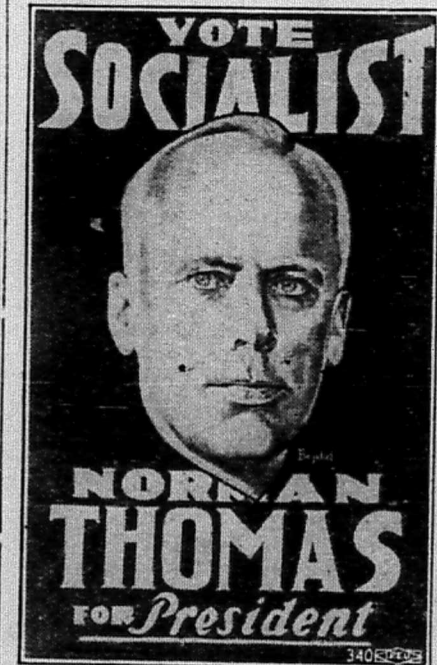
Who Got the First Billion of Reconstruction Finance Corporation Funds?



The banks got \$643,000,000 (including \$80,000,000 voted by the then president of the Reconstruction Finance Corp., Charles Gates Dawes, to his own bank, the Central Trust Co. of Illinois).
The railroads got \$214,000,000.
Mortgage loan companies got \$74,000,000.
Insurance companies got \$63,000,000.
Building and loan associations got \$52,000,000.
Unemployed workers did not get a loan of a red cent.

45,000 CHEER THOMAS, MAURER AT N. Y. AND READING RALLIES

Greeted by two tremendous audiences, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for the president, and James H. Maurer, his running mate, officially opened their campaigns Saturday and Sunday. More than 45,000 men and women cheered the Socialist standard bearers at political picnics in Ulmer park, New York city, and Sinking Springs park in Reading, Pa. Thomas sounded the Socialist slogan, "Repeal unemployment." Between 25,000 and 30,000 heard Thomas and Maurer at the Ulmer park demonstration. The Reading picnic was the greatest political rally in the city's history. At least 10,000 persons gathered about the speaker's stand and 10,000 more in the park who heard the speeches through electrical amplifiers affectionately greeted Maurer



PUT BREAD BEFORE BOOZE.—While old party politicians are professing to be all stirred up about repeal prohibition, the Socialist party and Norman Thomas, its presidential candidate, have adopted the slogan, "Repeal Unemployment." Here is a reproduction of a poster just issued by the Socialist national campaign committee, 549 Randolph st., Chicago.

in his home city and cheered Thomas to the echo.

Thomas spoke in York, Pennsylvania, on Monday. He was the first presidential candidate to visit the city since Buchanan spoke there in 1856. An enthusiastic audience of over 1,000 jammed the arena. The Socialist candidate pointed to some similarity of issues in 1856, when chattel slavery was breaking, and today when the system of wage slavery is being shattered. Here again Thomas sounded the slogan of "repeal unemployment" and urged the building of the Socialist party as an instrument toward that end.

Here is a schedule of Thomas and Maurer dates for the early part of August:

AMERICA FOR ALL

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X-Rays

By JOHN M. WORK

FOR the information of new readers I will say that I made my debut as a writer on Socialism by writing X Rays for several Socialist papers which published them simultaneously.

I am a Socialist because I believe in the upward evolution of the human race and want to assist in the process of conscious evolution.

If I believed in the inevitable degeneracy of the human race, I would no doubt be a capitalist, a cynic, or an adherent of the philosophy of futility whose spokesmen are so nauseatingly vocal.

The next step in the upward evolution of the race is the socialization of industry, so as to provide a better environment for human beings.

The industries of this country are dead ripe for socialization.

They have passed through the period of handicraft and the period of growth from small industry into great industry. Machinery has developed from hand tools into the marvels now in use. Ownership has passed from the individual to the big corporations. Management has passed out of the hands of the owners into the hands of hired managers. The work is no longer done by one person or by a few, but by large numbers of workers co-ordinating their efforts.

All this makes the industries dead ripe for collective ownership and operation, in order that they may no longer be operated for the private profit of a few but may be operated for the benefit of all.

Unfortunately the minds of the people have not developed as fast as the industries. They have lagged along behind. Hence, the majority of the people do not as yet realize what has happened. They do not know that the industries are ripe for Socialism. They do not know what Socialism is. They are floundering in ignorance. Their trials and tribulations are the logical result. For, the social ills, such as poverty and joblessness, are due to the fact that the industries have not been socialized.

A minority of the people have kept their minds up to date. Their intellects have developed side by side with the development of industry. They realize exactly what the situation is. They know that the way out of the present difficulty is through the collective ownership and operation of the great industries.

This minority is known as the Socialists.

Because they are a minority they cannot emancipate themselves from the evils of capitalism without persuading the rest of the people to do the same. Besides, the Socialists have the missionary spirit: they love to work for the cause of Socialism. It is their great joy and their great task to help evolve the minds of the masses to the point where they will realize that the trouble lies in the socialization of industry.

This is a tremendous job—for the selfish interests, which own most of the newspapers and other methods of publicity, try to keep the people ignorant. The Socialists want the assistance of all who understand. If you are one of these, do not hang back; come with us and help.

Next Week in AMERICA FOR ALL

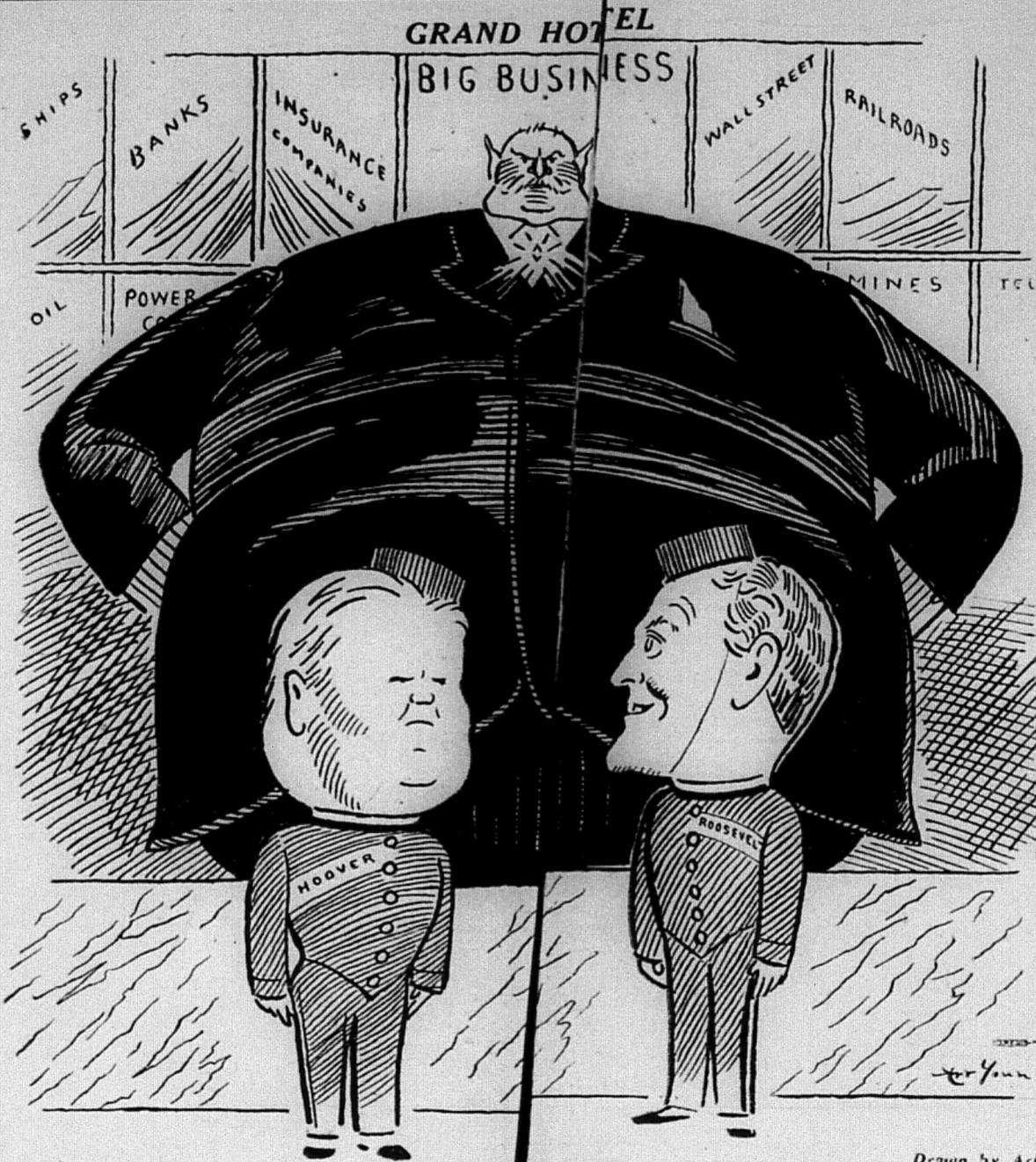
How the Disarmament Conference Almost Started a New War

By JAMES H. MAURER

The Spider Web of Wall Street

By Louis Stanley

And articles by Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun, Harriot Stanton Blatch, McAlister Coleman, W. E. Woodward, John M. Work. New cartoons by Art Young.



Faithful Service—Republican or Democratic

Drawn by Art Young

False Claims and Truths About Capitalism

By W. E. WOODWARD Author of "George Washington"

FOR 100 years the final argument of Capitalism has been that it makes good. Say what you please about theories and ideals, but after all, what makes the clock tick? Capitalism. What holds civilization together and inspires progress? Capitalism. Who gives you a job and keeps clothes on your back and food on your table? Why, a capitalist, of course. Who pays the dividends? They are paid by capitalistic enterprises. Who puts up all the big buildings, and operates the railroads and develops business efficiency? Oh, Capitalism does all that.



When that is said often enough, and in many different ways, millions and millions of people acquire a conviction that if it were not for Capitalism—its foresight and its brains—the whole world would live in one-room shacks and catch fish for a living.

The trouble with that argument is that there is not one word of truth in it. Such progress as the world has made—and much of it is false and misleading—has been accomplished in spite of Capitalism, and not because of it.

Capitalism's God—Profit

Your capitalist boss does not create one job that he gives you in his factory, yet, if you are an unthinking person, you may believe he does. No; your job—like his factory—has been created by the needs of human society. The capitalist stands where the need meets the demand, like a highwayman at a cross-road, taking toll from both the producer and the consumer.

He hires you because he can make

a profit from you if he had no profit coming from you—if he had to pay you all the way he exploits the consumer. He does not sell his goods for what they are worth; no, that wouldn't do at all. He must sell them for more than their profit on which in order to make the value he would not remain in business; the difference between their actual value and their selling value is his profit.

In exactly the same way he exploits the consumer. He does not sell his goods for what they are worth; no, that wouldn't do at all. He must sell them for more than their profit on which in order to make the value he would not remain in business; the difference between their actual value and their selling value is his profit.

The Myth About "Risks" Yet, if the capitalist demand for shoes and automobiles—and would be just as strove to fill the labor and skill here. Then, demand would still be where does the capitalist come in? What is the need of Capitalism have the economists of Cawer to these questions. They say the initiative takes the risk; he abolishes the and enterprise. He essay, and if it business, risks his money.

Well, why should there be a risk at all? There wouldn't be in a planned civilization, where production is for use instead of profit. figure out enough—for instance—to shoes the exactly how many pairs of the course American people need in pairs could of a year. That number of risk. Why is produced without any isn't that done?

The Risk Labor Run The true answer is that it cannot be done in a capitalistic society. The essence of Capitalism is greed in a capitalist producer is a game about game. He doesn't care anything about the needs of society; all he wants, do is to sell his goods, raise his prices, and—in some way or other, of the better of his competitors and public.

And there is the assumption that the capitalist takes all the risk? Pure bunk! How about the workers? There isn't any, eh? Nevertheless, 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 of American workers are out of employment today. Evidently they were taking risk, had and in a game over which they had no control.

The argument that Capitalism but constructive genius is nothing, nonsense which cannot stand investigation. It has appeared to make I'll grant you that, but the appearance is deceptive. Its apparent success with over three or four generations—

occasional lapses into panics and depressions—has been due to new inventions, for one thing; to the vast increased productive capacity of labor; and to the opening up of new lands; to the exploitation of primitive races.

Greed Is Destructive

Every great invention that I ever heard of was made by a worker or a scientist. When the invention is perfected, when it has been proved to have enormous possibilities, then the capitalist steps in and acquires control.

But there had to come a day of reckoning. Greed defeats itself—always and invariably. Not only is greed for money self-destructive; every kind of greed—and in that I include greed for power and fame and success—eventually destroys itself.

The new lands have been occupied, the primitive peoples of the world have been exploited, the public has lost its buying power, the nations of the world have been smothered by debt. Then what remains? Nothing within the range of capitalistic ideas. The productive capacity of the people still exists, their talent and skill. The land is here, as fertile as ever, and the machinery of the factories. But Capitalism cannot organize these elements of production, and it stands weak and powerless beside them. Why? Because it can organize only for profit—and when profit fails, then the capitalistic genius expires.

The Parasite of the World

Capitalism is a parasite of the working world. It has eaten its way to the heart of labor, like some poisonous germ. Through its stupidities it has destroyed the sources of human well-being; and now, in the midst of the world-wide disaster which it has invoked Capitalism stands like a frightened child surrounded by broken dishes. It has no remedy, nothing helpful to suggest; not even has it a good excuse.

Mankind can be saved only by Socialism. It is plain to all men of perception that the sun is setting on this capitalist civilization. Socialism must furnish the foundation for a new order of society.

It will be a long, hard battle—for we must build from the ground up. The time to begin is NOW—

And The way to begin is by voting for Norman Thomas—and the entire Socialist ticket—in November.

THE TIDE TURNS—The British labor party has recaptured the parliamentary seat in Wednesbury from the Tories, by a turnover of 7,937 votes out of an electorate of 45,000.

The Woman's Point of View

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

"STICK to it." Those words were the keynote of Mrs. Stanley Baldwin's message to the women of Canada at the time the imperial conference opened at Ottawa. The women were to stick to keeping self-respect alive in their men-folk suffering the tragic effects of unemployment. "Stick to it" is part of the game of optimism—suggesting a vision of roast beef for the hard crust of reality.

In my humble opinion Canadian women would do better to stick it in a new way rather than in the old. Let them put their minds right on that imperial conference, and get husband to do the same. The few days of conferring has revealed there is nothing imperial about the assembly. Its spirit is petty provincialism. "Buy British" is the slogan of one set of delegates, "Buy Australian" of another, "Buy South African" is of a third set. Each group will ward off the attack of the others. The one agreement of all factions will be to keep the truth hidden. After weeks of hedging, they will reach unanimity on some small and temporary matters and postpone consideration of the pith of their problem to a conference "at some future date." Then the conference will adjourn sine die.

Women of Canada, women of the world wake up. Watch by all means but don't wait. You have waited too long in giving your economic contribution to civilization. Every country has reached a time when ideals, objectives must be changed if our civilization is to last. The experience in family life—if you women will have faith in the nation's need of you—will show the way out of our economic difficulties.

If you saw a family run on the system of economic life today, you would say it was composed of insane creatures. What sort of family would it be with competition the order of the day, each child for itself, each moved by rugged individualism to get his own particular feet in the trough and guzzle most of the family income. A successful home is not run that way, is it?

Warning comes down the ages that a house divided against itself can not stand. The economic system reigning in your sphere is no little, no-account matter to be set up as a museum piece and merely gazed at. Your system is fundamental—from each according to his ability to each according to his need is the rule upon which your family is run.

You have seen the disastrous effects of a house divided against itself in some neighbors family, of competition in town and country affairs. A society based upon the principle of each man for himself is doomed.

Of all nations America has embraced the competitive system without qualification. She has swallowed it hook, line and sinker. Other nations have developed state insurance for unemployment. We scorn the idea, 'tis not rugged enough to suit our frontier spirit. Other countries have developed schemes of co-operation. To us it seems but an admission of individual weakness.

Unlike your family idea, our national economic doctrine is each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. In the mad race some 10,000,000 of us seem to be hindmost. His Satanic Majesty has claimed us as his own.

Did You Hear The News?

We dreamed it last night so it must be true.

In South America, down on the Amazon river, the monkeys had unanimously declared their belief in evolution. That monkeys were descendants of human beings had long been a disputed question among them. The opposition to this theory was sponsored by those who claimed that the gap between those two animal kingdoms was too great, that a missing link would have to be found to substantiate the theory.

Happily now they claim to have discovered this missing link in a country called the United States, located in North America. They have discovered males and females of the human family who believe that by voting the democrat or republican ticket they will be able to usher in a period of prosperity.

Are you a missing link?