Five Cents

At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE mountain labored and begot a mouse" might well sum up the achievements of the much over-advertised New York's Dewey Committee on racketeering todate. All the world knows that the metropolis recks with racketeering. The employers' associations, the strikebreaking agencies particularly, are hotbeds of this cancerous growth of our decaying economic system. Here is a really big job for a lad with the biggest ambitions! Especially from the latter viewpoint, Mr. Dewey should qualify,

However, what has been happening as a result of the "strenuous" efforts to wipe out racketeering thru this Committee? Someone in the Bronx has been convicted as a racketeer guilty of throwing stones and breaking windows! An attempt was made to treat trade union committees as "racketeering" agencies because they attempted to talk to scabs in the only language understandable by them. Fortunately, due to effective resistance by certain trade union leaders, this move was cut short. Now, 27 little Shylocks preying on the poor have been arrested on charges of violating the laws against usury and a number have been convicted. At last, a plus, eh?

But how about tackling some of the big guns in the racketeering world? The best-known, the most successful, and most powerful ones? Why not? Or perhaps that might interfere with the chances of Mr. Dewey becoming gover-nor of New York sometimes? There is no perhaps about this in our opinion.

Above all, let labor be on extraordinary guard against any "helping hand' that Dewey might offer. Labor must itself drive out and annihilate the racketeers in the trade unions.

(Continued on Page 2)

"A LEAGUE OF LIARS"

... The heroes who use such methods are quite thru!"—V. I. Lenin. "The League of Liars," Pravda, April 27, 1917.

Factional and party struggles have given rise to some pretty unwholesome incidents in the past but surely nothing quite so utterly despicable, so thoroly vile, as the journalistic frame-up recently perpetrated by the Trotskvite New Militant, eagerly aided and abetted by the reactionary "Socialist" Forward and New Leader.

Out of the political sewage with which it appears to be so plentifully supplied, the Trotskyite sheet concocted a first class "scoop"-a sensational expose of the deep, Machiavellian plot contrived by the Lovestoneites—in the interests of Stalin! First of all, a mock quarrel would be arranged among themselves ending up in a fake split. Some of the Lovestoneites (Lovestone, Wolfe) would then join the Communist Party and (Zimmerman, Herberg) the Socialist Party—there to work as "Stalinist agents," as "brokers between the Stalinists and the Socialists." This-believe it or not!—is, in outline form, the wicked conspiracy which the New Militant, that stainless champion of political morality, uncovers in its issue of November 23.

The whole story is nothing but a tissue of deliberate falsehoods, of premeditated lies. Not a word of it is true, not even so much as a syllable. The Militant is lying brazenly and it knows it!

The whole thing is a barefaced political frame-up, cut out of the whole cloth. Those poor injured innocents, the Trotskyites, who are always whining about the "malicious fabrications" of Stalin against them, are themselves no mean adepts in the arts of political rascality and skullduggery. In this field, at least, they need fear no rival.

fact: lie, scream, shout, pile on THE NEW MILITANT, AND YOU more lies—'something will stick!' KNOW IT. WE HEREBY CHAL... The heroes who use such LENGE YOU TO BRING FORTH YOUR "RELIABLE INFORMATION"! Put up or shut up! Produce your "reliable information" or stand condemned

as political fakers!

The New Militant speaks of "definite information that Herberg and Zimmerman have been negotiating with leading Socialists for an understanding for their entrance into the S.P. . . . " That too entrance into the S.P. . . . " That too is a lie, gentlemen of the New Militant, and you know it. AGAIN WE CHAL-LENGE YOU TO PRODUCE YOUR "DEFINITE INFORMATION" OR TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES!

Politics makes strange bed-fellows. Out of this lurid frame-up there emerges a veritable "League of Liars." From the New Militant to the New Leader

from the New Leader to the Forward! The New Leader of November 30 re produces the juiciest paragraphs of the New Militant story and adds a preface of its own: "The New Leader also has independent confirmation of this intrigue." This is a lie, gentlemen of the New Leader, and you know it! WE CHALLENGE YOU TOO TO BRING FORTH YOUR "INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION"! Produce your evidence or confess your shameless fraud!

The Jewish Daily Forward (December) treats the matter in the true Hearst-Harry Lang manner. Under a fourcolumn head, the same paragraphs are republished and fittingly supplemented ups can change anything. We of the with some of the Forward's own pecu- Communist Opposition are proud of our the Trotskyites; "Whenever some expose role as a unifying force in the labor about the Communist Party appeared in the Trotskyite paper, it was always contained the Trotskyite paper, it was always contained to the Trotskyite paper, it was always contained to the field of the state by effected. firmed a few weeks later by official combination is capable—and that is facts." Then, some virtuous indignation plenty!—will not move us because we are about the "atmosphere" that the Com-munists have brought into the labor with the deepest interests of the working

"The bourgeois press has a cer-stone and Brandler have just negotiated reckless lying: "It is to be expected that tain method which has every- with Comintern representatives an agree- the Communists or the Lovestoneites will where proved effective beyond ment to act as Stalinist agents. . ." deny the accusations of the Trotskyite all others, quite 'infallible' in THAT IS A LIE, GENTLEMEN OF paper. But who will take their denial seriously?'

You, too, gentlemen of the Forward lie and you know it! WE CHALLENGE YOU TO BRING FORTH YOUR EVI-DENCE-or else take your place on the pillory with the others!

A "League of Liars"! What is it that has thus brought together the "r-r-revolutionary" Trotskyites and the reactionary Old Guard, Jim Cannon and Abe Cahan? What is their motive in attempting to put over such a crude political frame-up Their bitter, consuming hatred of the Communist movement—their mad, unreasoning opposition to the unity of the revolutionary labor movement and to the united Socialist-Communist front in general—their savage hostility to the Communist Opposition for its effective work in championing the cause of unity in the labor movement!

From different angles, along different lines, the Trotskyites and the Old Guard 'Socialists" pursue the same purpose: to discredit Communism and revolutionary Socialism; to obstruct all efforts aiming at the unity of all class conscious elements as a basis for a broad and all-embracing united labor front; to disrupt what measure of collaboration has already been achieved. That is what unites them in their venomous crusade against the Lovestoneites, on the one hand, and against the Militant Socialists, on the other!

But these people are deceiving themselves if they think that all their frameliar variety of filth. First, a touching record of unremitting and effective they need fear no rival.

The New Militant speaks of "information from a reliable source that Lovetion from a reliable source that Loveto avoid responsibility for its spurn with contempt the vile slanders the refuse heap of politics!

The people who have need of resorting every thoughtful, honest worker will to such methods are thru—condemned to spurn with contempt the vile slanders the refuse heap of politics!

Wealth Is Growing So Is Poverty

RIGHT USE OF INDUSTRY CAN BRING COMFORT FOR EVERYONE

What the recent upturn in the economic situation has meant for wages and for profits, for labor and for capital, is made plain by the material presented in the current issue of the Monthly Survey

of Business, published by the A. F. of L. The record of 1,900 big corporations, which in 1933 appropriated more than ne-half the entire profits made by all of the 447,000 corporations in the United States, is taken for comparison. In 1933 the profits of these corporations was about one and one-third billion dollars. In 1934 this had increased to one and three-quarters billions. For 1935, the estimate is that profits will go beyond two and one-third billions. These figures show an increase in profits of over 78% in two years!

Money wages, on the other hand, rose less than 9% in the course of 1935, while workers buying power (that is, taking into consideration the rise in the cost of living) increased by less than 1%!

Turning to the question of what standard of welfare the American workers could have were industry run for use instead of for profit, the survey declares:

"A recent study by competent engineers shows that in America today no one need be unemployed or in poverty. Proper use of our industrial resources, equipment and man power, can produce enough to give every family an income of at least \$4,370 a year.

"This means that it is possible for every family to have a comfortable home, plenty of food, clothing and other essentials, an automobile and radio, opportunities for education and culture, adequate medical care and provision for old age. With modern industrial techniques, plenty is within our grasp, not for the favored few alone but for every man, woman and child in America."

of this unholy alliance!

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

JAPAN SCORES AGAIN; PEOPLES FRONT ENMESHED IN OWN CONTRADICTIONS; PEACE TALK IN PARIS BOMBS IN DESSYE; BIG BUSINÉSS MAKES WAR ON NEW DEAL

AS LESSER EVIL

NOMMON interests are driving Great Britain and the United States into joint action in China, altho nothing more than the most circumspect notes are to be expected in view of the general international situation which continues to operate in favor of Japan.

To the very courteous querry as to whether Japan recalls having signed a document in Washington in 1922 pledging to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China, Japan replies that certain memories along these lines do linger. However, the autonomous movement in China is "purely Chinese" and Japan cannot interfere with it; besides—as a sort of after thought—the nine power treaty referred to was never fully effective anyhow.

knee to the will of Japan and has agreed to honor the autonomous movement in the North. A government covering the provinces of Hopei and Chahar has been set up which, altho nominally independent is in realitý wholly Japanese.

Japan continues to strengthen its armed forces in Manchukuo and now in the Northern provinces as the new field of what is diplomatically called "peaceful penetration"

LAVAL OUTMANEUVERS THE PEOPLES FRONT

HINGS never looked brighter for Laval. Despite a very tense situation which threatened to unseat his gov ernment he has weathered the storm and has come out much stronger. The question at issue was the disbanding of the Fascist armed groups demanded by the Socialists, Communists and Radicals.

By a clever ruse, probably a result of a previous understanding, the represen- solini rejected. The plan called for the tative of Colonel de la Rocque arose and dramatically declared that the Croix de Feu is ready to disarm in the interests of national unity. Caught in the meshes of their own nationalistic verbiage the Socialists and Communists could Somamliland including a seaport town. do no less. They also arose and pledged This proposal was rejected by Italy so "semi-military" organito disarm their zations. A touching scene of national ing Ethiopia's answer to this Anglo-Briunity and harmony extending from the tish peace plan. Fascists on the extreme right to the Communists on the extreme left.

fundamentally, except that Laval emerg es very much the national hero and it may stand him in good stead later in preparing the Fascist road to power The Fascists will proceed as in the past, only more carefully, to prepare themselves for the coup d'etat. The action of the Socialists and Communists, will go a long way to strengthen, in the minds of the workers, the conception that the menace of fascism is past and that one can completely rely on the constituted authorities to meet any new danger which fascism may present.

Another great danger is the growing belief that anything of lasting value has been accomplished with the adoption of the decrees for the suppression of the zational work. Norman Thomas address-Fascist armed organization. It should ed the meeting by letter from Detroit, be recalled that in Germany the Bruen-ing regime succeeded in dissolving the saving the Socialist Party against the ally effective anyhow.

In the meantime the Central governnot lead to the defeat of fascism. The the latter's meeting, the split was greetame may

> What is lacking is a militant program of proletarian struggle against fascism, especially outside of parliament. It is this disarmament of the proletarian for-French working class.

PEACE TALK CONTINUES IN ETHIOPIAN WAR

ALK of the application of oil sanc tions has somewhat slowed down in view of the dangers of world war implied in the threats of Mussolini. The economic blockade continues to tax Italy's resources heavily. The nation has practically gone on hunger rations in order to feed the ravenous was machine.

Capping a series of reports of military disasters in the northern and southern areas France and England hastened to propose new peace plans which Musretention of Northern Tigre and Southern Ogaden, which the Italians are alleged to be holding now-no one is quite sure of where the Italian armies are-in exchange for a narrow slice of Italian that there was no opportunity of hear-

As if to emphasize that Italian forces

Support Militants

The "Militant" Socialists constituted themselves the official Local New York of the Socialist Party, at a huge meeting of 1500 held Sunday night. The Old Guard held their own meeting, attended by about 600, at which they "read out" the Militants, with the aid of a declaration of the State Committee, headed by Waldman.

Extraordinary enthusiasm was evinced at the Militants meeting, \$1200 being ás "onnd-ridds

That the split will soon assume statewide and national significance for the S.P. was indicated by the calling of a New York State conference at Utica for ces which bodes ill for the future of the Dec. 28th and 29th. Here the Militants hope to capture the state organization, with the help of the National Executive Committee. A telegram from the latter announced that a committee of five would attend this conference, the committee including both Thomas and Oneal. Sentiment among the Militants runs strong that this committee will recognize the newly organized local New York as the official section of the Socialist business.

Party. Altho the Old Guard, thru the 3. The divorce of politics from bank or person of Charles Solomon announced credit regulation. that "there is no split in the Socialist" 4. Curtailment of expenditures to the Party-there is only a defection," two county committees have already supported the reorganization carried out by the Militants.

> carried out on Dessye, midway between Makale and Addis Ababa, in which the palace of Haile Selassie was bombed, hospitals blown up and many killed and

N. A. M. DECLARES WAR ON THE NEW DEAL

FOR the past two years industry has are still on the job two air raids were and the normal problems of depression cies of the NIRA."

CHINA CHOOSES JAPAN In reality nothing has been changed fundamentally, except that Laval emerg- 1,500 N. Y. Socialists have been magnified many times by the deliberate and well-timed rapid fire and devastating attack by economic crack-pots, social reformers, labor demagogues and political racketeers.

"This attack, without question, was the most savage and concerted political attempt ever made toward the destruction of our industrial system."

With this lashing attack, Clinton Bardo, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, expressed the sen timent of that body at its convention held here in New York last week.

Every effort to revive the NRA was condemned in resolution form as an attempt to "set labor against capital". The recent presidential announcement of a "breathing spell" from governmental measures aimed at overcoming the crisis was jeered. What was needed the convention stated was a "cease and desist" order from straightjacket legislation throttling industry.

With this declaration of war the National Association of Manufacturers assumes the leadership over the Tory campaign, in the coming months, to defeat President Roosevelt. The lines along which this fight would be conducted were clarified in a document called The Platform of American Industry. The chief planks according to the Republican Herald-Tribune are:

4 Return to the gold standard for currency.

2. Limitation of government power over

proper and necessary functions of government.

✓ Prevention of destructive taxation. Maintenance of constitutional guaran

Greater freedom for enterprise.

That this attitude of the N.A.M. is expressive of the sentiments of manufacturers generally became clear in the results of a referendum conducted by the N.A.M. A survey of 10,000 manufacturers employing some 4,000,000 | ● UNITED MINE WORKERS, in Triup to 100 workers each) showed that 80% had answered "NO" to the question "Do you favor legislation continu- in pay averaging about 15% and for a been driven into the cyclone cellar ing in any form the principles and poli-shorter working day. There was also

GEORGIA HIGH COURT **UPSETS SEDITION LAW**

NGELO HERNDON, recently re-A turned to Georgia to serve a sentence of 20 years for communist propaganda, has been released under \$8,000 bail after Judge Dorsey held that the old sedition law of 1866 is unconstitution-

The state is going to appeal to the supreme court against Judge Dorsey's ruling. In the meantime Herndon is resting before undertaking a tour across the country for the International Labor De-

A GENERAL DRESS STRIKE involving some 100,000 workers in New York was authorized by the General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in session in Cleveland during the past week. The decision was made after reports by Vicepresidents Julius Hochman, Charles S. Zimmerman and Luigi Antonini had shown that the union was prepared organizationally and financially for this test of strength.

Reports for the Joint Board showed that 91,000 dressmakers were paying dues regularly and that a one million dollar strike fund had been created. Demands were worked out in detail but the chief demands are: Limitation of contracting; Price settlement on jobbers premises and the unit system for settling prices.

Negotiations with the bosses are beginning this week.

The G.E.B. meeting was also informed by President Dubinsky that there were 220,000 members in good standing and that this represented an increase of 19,-000 over six months ago.

The G.E.B. also listened to a report of the A. F. of L. convention and endorsed the stand of President Dubinsky in lining up with John L. Lewis for a fight for industrial unionism. The Committee for Industrial Unionism was endorsed.

workers (of these about 6,000 employ District Convention in Washington, D. C. went on record for equalization of working time at all collieries, for an increase (Continued on Page 2)

Violent Struggle in Asia Looms in the Near Future

The first far-reaching effect of the Ethiopian conflict has taken place not in Central Europe as was generally expected but in Eastern Asia. Japan is acquiring another Manchukuo in North Ching. The proclemation of the "to". China. The proclamation of the "au-VIOLENT STRUGGLES China. The proclamation of the "autonomy" of the five Chinese Northern provinces has been set for November 20th by the Japanese leaders and its bought-off Chinese generals and officials. Formally, the Nanking government is left with supreme authority—actually, North China has been turned into a Japanese colony, like Manchukuo, with Japanese "advisers," Japanese troops and with its economic life controlled by Japanese troops and with its economic life controlled by Japanese troops and with its economic life controlled by Japanese troops and to the first status and democratic france" against Fascist Italy.

We must come to an agreement with the French comrades—among whom there are unfortunately still some who suffer from the chauvinist and democratic disease—that a A WAR BETWEEN ITALY AND FRANCE WOULD BE A WAR BETWEEN TWO IMPERIALISMS, AND THAT IN SUCH A CASE THE DUwith its economic life controlled by Japan.* In this connection it is interesting to note that these North Chinese provinces have already announced that they will not be bound by the new currency regulations of the Nanking government, that they will not give up their silver reserves and will keep all tax collections

NANKING WILL NOT

Japan instigated a peasant revolt thru ranean as a result of the war in Ethiopia. its agents in order to take advantage of The resurgence of the national emancithe situation for its own purposes. The peasants were quite ready to revolt much too difficult for the English govagainst the exploitation and oppression of the Nanking government but they with Italy and will probably tie up the were not yet ready to submit to Japanese colonial rule. The Japanese therefore dropped this strategy, bought off
Chinese generals and officials and utilthe advance of Japan. But even without

Chinese generals and officials and utilthe advance of Japan. But even without

Continued from Page 1)

rence with

plish serious military feats. The struggles of the Soviet troops and the strug- ANGLO-AMERICAN rles of the 19th army at Shanghai have ALIGNMENT POSSIBLE shown that the Chinese people are capable of waging a serious struggle. The Kuomintang is unable to do so because joint resistance. We say further adinto motion and would lead to the overthrow of the Kuomintang by these very
masses. A real national defense is possible only under a revolutionary leadership of workers and peasants—only when
the national struggle for emancipation
is linked with the struggle for the social
emancipation of the great mass of people
—only against the Kuomintang, only
under Communist leadership. The Kuomintang is incapable of struggle under
these circumstances and will in all probability continue to surrender territory.

*Instead of the five Northern provinces
with a population of 95 million Japan has
so far secured only Eastern Hopei with
a population of 4 million.

*Instead of the five Northern provinces
with a population of 4 million.

*Instead of the five Northern provinces
with a population of 4 million.

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*Instead of the five Northern provinces
with a population of 4 million.

*Instead of the severy
in the Ethiopian condition
with the struggle for the social
emancipation of the great mass of people
would associat with the world's richest
country. But this is stark reality.

**Certainly this is no picture of pros.
Certainly this is no picture of pros.
Certainly this is no picture of pros.
Certainly this is no picture of pros.
Post diagnation and poverty that few
would associat with the world's richest
wards the League of Nations in general
and Englancian in particular. It is there
fore to be expected that America will
continue to meet English policy on
Ethiopia half way. On the other hand,
both proverse will probably re-examine
their relationship to the state itself."

**Solution to disti into motion and would lead to the over-

WORKERS

· AGE ·

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BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE FOOD REASONABLE

6th Ave. at 14th St.

By AUGUST THALHEIMER | to Japan without any resistance whatsoever. The Kuomintang is being ground

a question of time—the time that Japan needs in order to build up the Northern provinces economically and militarily for this purpose. In addition Japan is strengthening its base for attacking the

England whose cooperation with the Nanking government in the currency question evidently accelerated the actions of Japan is not in a position to intervene directly. The British Eastern Asiatic fleet is tied up in the Mediter-

America and England will now at visedly because there has undoubtedly ional defense would set the broad masses existed the beginning of an understand-

Soviet Union. Neither possibility is ex- win its support against Hitler Germany.

There is no further need to show that of the Ethiopian conflict—the action of the Japanese advance in North China is Japan in North China overshadows in strengthening the hand of Hitler Gerits significance not only all possible demany in Central Europe in its opposi-velopments in the Balkans but also in Cenion to the Soviet Union. One cannot but recall at this moment versal proportions. All imperialist powthe fact that France, at the beginning of ers have a stake in this; they are forced

Quotation Marks

THERE have been deviations in some sections of the Italian pro letariat and even in our own circles. It asserts that in the event of war between France and Italy, the proletariat of the two countries must support "democratic France" against

THAT IN SUCH A CASE THE DU-TY OF THE PROLETARIATS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE TWO OUNTRIES FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER BY THE PROLETAR-IAT, an indispensable condition for e realization of a genuine peace pol-

y and true liberty. Garlandi-co-reporter on the War Question at the SIXTH CON-GRESS COMMUNIST INTER-NATIONAL (1928). (Inpreco

Landlords Benefit from A. A. A. Relief Program

That the landlords are largely the holds, more than 86 per cent of whom reones to benefit by the AAA payments ported paying a part or all of their gov made to sharecroppers is shown by the ernmental money to the landlord and in recent FERA study of cotton tenancy in nearly one-half of all their governmental Alabama. This investigation, conducted money to the landlord and in nearly oneunder the supervision of Harold Hoff- half of all the instances claim that the sommer, professor of sociology at Ala- payment was forced." bama Polytechnic Institute, represents a On the subject of Federal relief for survey of farm conditions in the rural tenants and sharecroppers, the report

areas of that state. It shows plainly states: that the share-croppers of the South live in a condition very similar to slavery subject, it is fairly certain that a considand that the "cotton tenancy plan" is in erable number of unscrupulous landlords reality a system of serfdom. Some sig- use government relief as a means of furnificant sections of the report follow: "As a result of this general pattern could and should have been furnished by of debt relationships, governmental as-sistance has been of little help to the "Among

tenants in a majority of instances. ants on relief, more than 70 per cent "In approximately 60 per cent of the stated that they objected to relief be households which receive such assistance cause of its 'demoralizing' influences on it was found that all of the money re- the tenants. ceived had been immediately used to pay debts and that the landlord was the chief from relief seems to point to a fear that creditor. In approximately 60 per cent the tenant would escape from under his of the cropper households receiving such assistance, a part or all of it was im-

been forced. "The extreme in this matter was the system would necessarily crumble. eached among the Negro cropper house- Hence everything that disrupts depend-

ritory will revolt against Japan. It must be remembered that these provinces are the oldest centers of Chinese culture, as, for example, Shantung the home of Confucius.

Serious and effective resistance on the part of the Nanking government is out of the question despite the fact that part of the Nanking government is out of the question, despite the fact that there are rumors in the European press that the Nanking government is planning that the Nanking government is planning and English imperialism from China. A relatively short time is not ripe for sacrifices.

The sacrifices and America in the Far East. This move opens up the immediate perspective dimension of American and English imperialism from China. A rollatively short time is inevitable, the time is not ripe for sacrifices.

The sacrification of the nation, the whole country.

In this sense, we attach real importation the newest declaration of faith made to the newest declaration of faith made the newest declaration of faith made to the newest declaration of faith made to the newest declaration of faith made to the newest declaration

dresses for the twelve months; the num- vinced will be the dominant conception The commissioner adds: "The scale of ber of coats and suits produced in this of dominant business in this country minimum wages recommended may apber of coats and suits produced in this of dominant business in this country makes recommended may aptime would cover but one woman out of hereafter—whether the individual cappear woefully low. But at least it rethree. The condition of the country italist be Republican or Democratic:

The first great political consequence tral Europe. Its effects will be of unithis year, gave Mussolini a free hand in to take a position and to prepare them-Ethiopia in order to divert Italy from its selves politically and technically for a imperialist plan in the Balkan states world-wide struggle for the hegemon

ized these to work for "autonomy," that is, for the proclamation of Japanese colonial rule over North China. The fact that the peasants of North China were not willing to submit to Japanese rule is of significance for the future development of China. It clearly shows that these peasants are sufficiently national. nine months of this year, as compared of laissez-faire. However, the maze of bracing about 5,900,000 individuals. Of istic and liberty-loving to rebel against Japan will be able to mainten its rule by force only and that sooner or later the Chinese people of this territory will revolt against Japan. It must be remembered that these provinces are the liberty peasants are sumiciently national case of Manchukuo. The Soviet Union will not interfere as long as its own terwitten will

homes is most unsatisfactory.

hru a supposedly "local" war and to over Eastern Asia.

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case of Manchukuo.

It would however be wrong to ascribe the absence of a real struggle to an inability of the Chinese people to accomplish serious military feats. The strugdresses manufactured last year would give, if divided up equally, every American woman, miss, or junior but three following conclusion, which we are con- an hour.

it: The first visitor to America came in the year 985, almost 500 years before Columbus and his name was

BERTRAM D. WOLFE The Second International

FRIDAY, DEC. 13 — 8 P. M.

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"Although no data are available on the

nishing their tenants with goods which "Among the landlords who had no ten-

assistance, a part of the landlord, and in roughly one-third of these cases the relief the tenant group. family claimed that the payment had "If the cropper were to become selfdirecting and take over his own affairs,

ence is 'demoralizing'." In view of this situation it is signifithe number of tenants and share-crop pers has increased during the last five rence with commerce and industry" has years, according to the results of the

"It is the business of government to exercise jurisdiction over those re-

Francis Gorman and President Mc Mahon of the U.T.W. as well as Woods and Schweitzer of the Silk Federation addressed the convention. Most speakers agreed that conditions in the silk in lustry are worse than before the NRA.

DANCE

TUES. DEC. 31, 8 P. M. Irving Plaza Auditorium 15th Street and Irving Place

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ADMISSION 60c

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THE HAUNTED HOUSE ON THIRTEENTH STREET

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

I do not believe in ghosts. I have never thought it possible that a man who died reactionary in the 1850's could study the "Fundamentals of Communism" Spiritland and return a full-fledged Communist to haunt a broken down building on 13th Street in 1935. But the reader must believe me as an eye-witness with material proofs when I say that on July 4, 1935, the spirit of a long dead reactionary, Daniel Webster, be came a contributor to the Daily Worker! And on July 5 and 6 and 7 and the days following at least till July 19, when I became so used to the wonder that I ceased observing it, old Daniel continued to appear in a prominent place on the bottom of the last page of the

WHO WAS DANIEL WEBSTER? own. By appealing to his authority we our endorsement to such appeals, his personality on the pages of our history. From what he was I would never conclude that he could have anything to do with the Committees or the Committees of the dead past.

Own. By appealing to his authority we give our endorsement to such appeals, to and that the Committees of Correspondence and Committees of Safety he initiated were the analogs of the strangle the living present with the bony hands of the dead past.

Daniel Webster's ghost ism" and "opportunism." But our view prevailed and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony hands of the dead past.

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Daniel Webster's ghost ism" and "opportunism." But our view prevailed and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony hands of the dead past.

That would have been when the columns are not the columns and the Browders for "national-ism" and "opportunism." But our view prevailed and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony and the result was a little strangle the living present with the bony and the result was a little strangle the living present with the Committees of Correct was a littl to do with the Communists or the Communist Party with him.

hands of the dead past. Danier western to do with the Communist Party with him.

hands of the dead past. Danier western to do with the Communist Party with him.

hands of the dead past. Danier western to do with the Communist Party with him.

and Daniel Webster are the three most defense of Negro slavery as "constitu- approach indicated in the introduction: and keep and use the wheat of conservative figures that ever attained tional", and above all his creation of the great prominence in American political Constitution fetishism which glorifies life. Webster was not merely a con-servative viewed from the standpoint needs and rights—what a perfect auof the present and the future, but he thority for reaction to appeal to! Sure was, as Federalist and Whig, an extreme ly it is not the business of Communists reactionary even in the eyes of his moditory to help in glorifying or strengthening erate contemporaries. His admiring bio- the authority of such an enemy of pro grapher Fisher writes of him that he gress! Surely, we cannot outsmart the was "the hope and reliance of the money- tories at that game! ed and conservative classes, the merchants, manufacturers, capitalists and HOW THE GHOST WAS SUMMONED

pronounced him "a statesman who had Daily Worker in such detail, to show communicated no impulse to any of the where such indiscriminate ancestor-worgreat ideas of the century, a statesman ship leads. But he is by no means the such methods. only ghost that Browder and the edibanks, and the Constitution, instead of tors of the Daily have called forth. devoting himself to the freedom of the his Madison Square Garden speech Brov

the trustees of Dartmouth, in the fam- life, many fine revolutionary traditions stance surpasses the phrase." ous Datmouth College Case, and was sus-

security for private property than exists under any other judicial system in the world." (Parrington) His next exploit was a furious battle

absence of military force, political power naturally and necessarily goes into the

He fought for high protective tariff cated the conquest of California and Ha-

of wealthy men raised a capital fund home disgruntled. and placed the income at his service ... as the one spokesman of the capitalistic interests . . . who towered above all others."

am against agitators, North and South," ndered in the Senate. Surely he in the columns of a Communist Daily! More than any other statesman in our

for the reactionary cult of the "perfect", "unchanging" and "sacred" constitution He loved its defense of property; he urged that proposals for social change should not be examined as right or wrong, beneficial or injurious, progres sive or retrogressive, but as "constitu fugitive slave law he proclaimed:

"Sir, the principle of the restoration of runaway slaves is not objectionable, unless the constitution is objecOr the Reactionary Ghost That Joined the Communist Party

their legislative capacity or any other build. But the picture is headed, "He capacity, to endeavor to get around fought the Hearsts in '76"! That is

bankers."

We have examined the antecedents of the moderately progressive Lowell the Daniel Webster quotation in the devoting himself to the freedom of the his Madison Square Garden speech Browdrure."

Whittier, the abolitionist poet, in the tirring poem "Ichabod", mourned over In the speech growdrup over "Ichabod", mourned over In the speech growdrup over In the social revolution of the 19th century," wrote Marx in the Eighteenth In his debate with Norman Thomas he tirring poem "Ichabod", mourned over In the social revolution of the 19th century," wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In tway lies of the was one of the weak nesses of the Seventh Congress that it is not the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the Seventh Congress that it is not the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the Seventh Congress that it is not the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the Seventh Congress that it is not the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the Seventh Congress that it is not the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the Seventh Congress that it is not the social revolution of the 19th century, wrote Marx in the Eighteenth ("Peoples' Front" in France In the Seventh Congress that it is not the

All friends of freedom and democracy what "Americanism"! On page 2 there had sooner or later to fight him.

He beggen his career as the lawyer for them is a picture of Thomas Jefferson.

He beggen his career as the lawyer for them is a picture of Thomas Jefferson.

He beggen his career as the lawyer for them is a picture of Thomas Jefferson.

He beggen his career as the lawyer for them is a picture of Thomas Jefferson. He began his career as the lawyer for there is much that is admirable in his the substance; with the latter, the sub-

ster already referred to! WHOSE DANIEL WEBSTER IS IT? In conjuring up such ghosts from the On page 5 there is a three-quarter

tradition: it was good enough for our the past and upon it build the future . . . fathers and it's good enough for us.' to use the past to build the future, not And almost like an echo comes the reply from the revolutionists of to-

past (these words are quoted from the tude toward American traditions, to its not "enlightening the toiling masses on past (tnese words are quoted from the trude toward American traditions, to its same article) and seeks to claim them as extreme opposite, an opportunist, until his own! He is playing the enemies' critical glorification of American democracy and appeal even to such men as game and his cause is lost if he uses provided the same are considered. We have a such men as provided the same are considered to the past of this own. They are not "compared to the same are considered to the past of this own! They are not "compared to the same article and seeks to claim them as extreme opposite, an opportunist, until the past of this own! They are not "cally correct fashion", instead they are befundling the same article.

his epitaph as morally dead, long before his physical death, because of his edeth, because of the fugitive slave law of 1850.

All thet were progressive and forwards.

All thet were progressive and forwards.

All the work progress by force is American before it has stricken off all superstition concerning the past. Former revolution, Shays' and Dorr's rebellions, John Brown's raid and the Civil War ly-All that was progressive and forward-looking in his own day, found a conscious The July 4, 1935 issue of the Daily their own issues

in order to intoxicate themselves with continuous effort and revolutions have enabled them to keep and strengthen their own issues

The revolution of the looking in the force of the looking in his own day, found a conscious the looking in his own day, found and powerful enemy in Daniel Webster. Worker is full of "Americanism", but 19th century must let the dead bury their gains." (This in the face of the

When in 1926, in connection with the this constitution, or to embarrass the not history; that is caricature! And on Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Revfree exercise of the rights secured by the constitution to the persons whose slaves escape from them?"

Out of such an historical context, have

The constitution, or to embarrass the first scarceatter: And on the free exercise of the rights secured by page 8 the joke is made complete by the publication of a picture of Benedict Arnold under the caption, "The W. R. Hearst of 1776." At such a game of vull-should dispute with the ruling class for should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with should dispute with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with the ruling class for a many vulgar, opportunist errors with the main problem still is to teach the worker of the problem still is to teach the worker of the problem still is to teach the worker of the problem still is to teach the many vulgar, opportunist errors with the many vulgar. Out of such an historical context, have the editors of the Daily Worker wrenched a sentence to serve the purposes of the revolutionary movement of the present and future!

Hearst of 1776." At such a game of vulgar, opportunist errors with the ruling class for what is truly revolutionary in America's past as Thorez is making with France's past. Therefore the Star-algorithm was past, a critical evaluation of all that was past, a critical evaluation of page contains the quotation from Webster already referred to! ent and the future and tht preservation, editorially challenges the American Legenting the continuation of the preservation, editorially challenges the American Legenting the continuation of the preservation, editorially challenges the American Legenting the continuation of the preservation, editorially challenges the American Legenting the continuation of the preservation, editorially challenges the American Legenting the continuation of the preservation, editorially challenges the American Legenting the continuation of the preservation of continuation and enlargement of that gion . . . to a baseball game! (July 1, In conjuring up such ghosts from the deservedly dead past, the editors of the Daily Worker are playing a dangerous game—the game of modern reaction. By game—the game of modern reaction. By no stretch of the imagination does Danger of the success of the American Revo. I am too bewildered after his admission into the Communist Party to say who Daniel Webster belong to the forces of prown who Daniel Webster is, but I can say who he was, since he left ample records of his views and a powerful impress of the sure of the sure

That pamphlet, however, did not claim CHAMPION OF CONSERVATISM

Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall

of arch reaction: his "stake-in-society" something to write about!

There are minor virtues and minor the masses of the propertyless, his distribution article but the hasic error in it is the large paniphies, however, and not claim indiscriminately the whole past, nor glority it. It proposed "to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of trust of representative government, his article but the hasic error in it is the large paniphies, however, and not claim indiscriminately the whole past, nor glority it. It proposed "to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with indiscriminately the whole past, nor glority it. It proposed "to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with indiscriminately the whole past, nor glority it. It proposed "to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with indiscriminately the whole past, nor glority it. It proposed "to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with indiscriminately the whole past, nor glority it. It proposed "to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with indiscriminately the whole past, nor glority it. It proposed "to debunk the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the history of 1776, throw away the chaff of the haunted house we close with the h Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall trust of representative government, his article but the basic error in it is the chauvinism, mystification and reaction "The patrioteers are shouting in revolutionary traditions, methods and united chorus: 'give us that old-time lessons . . . to take what is good from

> day, who say: 'Yes, and it is good his associates waged war upon us and that point of view as part of our gen-Heaven help the revolutionist of to-day who faces uncritically the "raw, undulerated American traditions" of the from a purely negative, sectarian atti-

Whittier, the abolitionist poet, in the stirring poem "Ichabod", mourned over his "dim, dishonest brow" and penned his epitaph as morally dead, long before the past of the poor with the American has a morally dead, long before the past of the pas in order to intoxicate themselves with continuous effort and revolutions have It "swears to defend democracy" as such.

Hence Browder, whose method of analyzing the problems of American worktionable ... What right have they, in of which the revolutionist of today can APPEALING FROM THE DEVIL TO plantation of Russian, German, and now French formulae—the other method would be "exceptionalism"—must have a "People's Front" at all cost here, when

way combat the fascist falsification of the history of the people, and do everything to enlighten the toiling masses on the past of their own peo-ple in an historically correct fashion ... so as to link up the present struggle with the revolutionary traditions of the past." (From the resolution on Dimitroff's report).

Daniel Webster. Verily, all deviations batting the fascist falsification of history", they are aiding it. That way lies

Adventures in Opportunism No. III The League of Windmills and Sky Pilots, or the Cardboard Shield and the Wooden Sword."

which proclaimed contracts beyond the reach of legislative power or popular will to annul, thereby "assuring greater security for private property than ex-

William H. Sylvis: Unrecognized Genius

1820, wherein he argued that all revolutions that had shaken society to its foundations had been revolts against foundations had been revolts against roundations nad been revolts against property; that "the object of society is of its potentiality because of his death before fifty. From some few specialists the protection of something in which the in the field of American labor the name of William H. Sylvis gains immediate members possess unequal shares, (hence) response and praise; but to the great mass of workers he is not even a name. it is just that the weight of each person But one book has been devoted to him, and that written by his brother in 1872 in the common councils should bear a re- and very difficult to obtain. Yet he is the first great proletarian; a Marxist before lation and proportion to his interest ... one can really speak of Marxism, a great labor leader before there even was a great labor movement to lead.

A study of his life falls into three large categories: his work in his own occuagainst the farmers and workingmen; de- pational union, his work in the National Labor Union, and his work for, by, and fended the Bank against Jackson; as with the International Working Men's Association, the First International. He Secretary of State, forced a treaty on was born on November 26th, 1828 in Armagh, Pennsylvania, the second son of a to open journeyman wagon-maker. At eleven he still had had no schooling and then he the gates of Japan by bribery or force received lessons in the alphabet only after he had been hired out to a man named and, in the words of Seward "quietly co-are erced" Japan into "friendship" and advo-

On January 10th, 1860 in a convention of 12 local molders' unions he had a "When it was discovered," writes motion adopted "that this convention does now resolve itself into a national union. Beard, "that his salary as United The panic of 1857 had wiped out the small buds of a trade union movement and States Senator was not sufficient to this young national union was to be a nucleus for the later National Labor Union keep him in that style of living which But the Civil War intervened and for a time put an end to the organization. he had chosen for himself, a number Sylvis himself served in the Northern army for about a year, but soon returned

In 1863 the union revived again and at a convention in Pittsburgh he was president and an international figure in the labor movement. At the 1867 conelected president and national organizer. He was re-elected to the presidency every year until his death. "From the day of that vote," says Stockton, the conflict with a certain Mr. Gibson who opposed the organization of white workers historian of the union, "the Molders entered upon a new era." On beginning his This Daily Worker contributor was an and Negroes into the same trade unions. Mr. Gloson said it would be time enough and Negroes into the same trade unions. Mr. Gloson said it would be time enough to consider the question when Negroes applied for admission. Sylvis said in extent of the task before me, or the means by which it was to be accomplished." His brother has given a graphic description of his days as organizer. "During must be rubbing his sightless eye sockets this period," he says, "Sylvis wore clothes until they became quite threadbare, and he could wear them no longer; the shawl he wore to the day of his death was filled with little holes, burned there by the splashing of the molten iron from the ladles of molders in strange cities, whom he was beseeching to organize, and more than once he was compelled to beg a ride from place to place on an engine,

because he had no money sufficient to pay his fare." Through his efforts that year of 1863-64 all the existing locals grew stronger 16 were reorganized, and 18 new ones were added. The Iron Molders thus had legislative department because the lat- 50 local unions, practically as many as all other crafts combined. Already in ter is too responsive to the people; he 1859 in an address to the convention that founded the national union he had propounded a social doctrine far in advance of the times.

> "In all countries and at all times (he wrote) capital has been used by receive an equivalent for our labor sufficient to maintain us in comparative and the bankers the skinners. . . . A bank in any shape is a licensed swindle; and independence and respectability, to procure the means with which to educate

our children, and qualify them to play their part in the world's drama; or must we be forced to bow the suppliant knee to wealth, and earn by unprofitable toil a life too void of solace to confirm the very claims that bind From this general humanitarian position with its deep insight into the class

onrushing capitalism, to forge a doctrine as close to Marx as he could get in the few years that remained of his life. Sylvis' work had the employers in the industry scared, and they founded an imployers' association in 1863 to oppose the Molders' Union. Their prospectus

truggle he was to move ahead, thru an understanding of the Civil War and

nas the ring of excessive modernity: "Instead of calling upon the employers to cooperate with their union in advancing the 'moral, social, and intellectual condition of every moulder', which self-evidently is a matter of common interest, the 'Moulders' Union" even goes so far as to expel a member as soon as he has . . . succeeded in establishing himself independently in business. . . . We deny the right of the 'Iron Moulder's Union,' or any other Union, to arbitrarily determine the wages of our employees, regardless of their merits and the value of their services to us. . . . We deny the right of the 'Iron Moulders' Union' to determine how many apprentices we should employ. . . . We shall resist by all legal means, at every sacrifice of time and money, all attempts of any set of men arbitrarily to regulate the supply of labor in any departmen of

trade and business.' NATIONAL LABOR UNION IS BORN

The National Labor Union was formed in 1866 and there Sylvis was admitted as the accredited representative of the molders. Within two years he is its vention in Chicago Sylvis becomes an important delegate. There, he came into and Negroes into the same trade unions. Mr. Gibson said it would be time enough answer that the question had been already introduced into the South, the whites "striking against the blacks, and creating an antagonism which will kill off the trades' unions, unless the two be consolidated." In the same convention Sylvis was a member of the Committee on Public Lands and he submitted a resolution which was adopted. It said in part:

"The course of our legislation recently, has tended to the building up of greater monopolies, and the creation of more powerful moneyed and land aristocracies in the United States than any that now overshadows the destinies of Europe. Eight hundred millions of acres of the peoples' lands have been legislated into the hands of a few individuals, who already assume a haughty and insolent tone and bearing towards the people and government as did the patricians of ancient Rome."

At the convention of 1868 in New York City which opened on September 21, 1868, Sylvis was in the thick of the fight. In debate on the financial question he those possessing it to monopolize particular branches of business, until the came to a homely statement of the class struggle. He said: "Under our present vast and various industrial pursuits of the world have been brought under monetary system, all the people who are borrowers must borrow money from the immediate control of a comparatively small portion of mankind. What | bankers or brokers-money shavers. The people of the United States are divided position are we, the mechanics of America, to hold in society? Are we to into two classes—the skinners and the skinned—the borrowers being the skinned,

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

At last the pressure of progressive and militant workers has forced the Communist Party to break its long silence on the scandalous situation which it created by the agreement with Zausner. After examining the article (three columns long) in the Daily Worker of December 5, it is difficult to say which will have a worse effect on the C.P. its silence or this statement.

JUST A CONFERENCE

Since it is no longer possible to deny that a conference with Zausner was held the Daily Worker sighs and continues:

"Yes, an unofficial conference to-gether with representatives of locals did take place. But what was the purpose of this conference? To establish unity between the locals. . .

This is a deliberate attempt to pull able united front If the conference in Hotel Delano was so open and above board, why did the CP members deny any knowledge of that conference? Was it not a feeling of shame and guilt that prompted them to do so? Why was it that workers like Rosenberg denounced on the spot the horse-trade proposed by Zausner's people and accepted by you. Is it not true that small matter of Weinstock for business agent was mentioned at this "unofficial conference" as the price of your support for 9 business agents and an increase in dues? And finally is it not true that conferences, also unofficial were held in Laditsky's home before the Delano Hotel conference? These are the questions you must answer if you are to clear yourself.

LET'S HAVE THE TRUTH!

All your windy theorizing about how good 9 business agents are is beside the point. Explain, why don't you, your sudden change of heart in a matter of a few days on this question. Did you not help defeat the very same proposal in the referendum held in October and tabulated by the District Council on October 17 What prompted your change of heart, if not the promise to make Weinstock a business agent?

But you deny this, and frantically you seek for some reason to account for this weird action. At last you have it: "This danger of a split in the union will be eliminated by giving representation to every local union thru its own business agent." In other words its the old story that the Gentile locals threaten to split unless they get some business agents. Is it not peculiar that when you appear to be most indignant against Zausner you should nevertheless fall back upon his fake reasons for wanting business agents? It is not true that the Painters union faces a split over this issue and if any proof is necessary we submit it here. Certainly, if the feeling among the Gentile locals was so keen it would surely have translated itself into the voting during the referen-dum in October. We hereby make public for the first time the local by local vote and insist that the results show that the cry of a split is intended to merely cover up an indefensible agreement between the C.P. forces and the Zausner clique.

On October 17 the District Council tab ulated the vote as follows:

*********	0 1010	
Local	For 9 B. A.'s	Against
51	334	39
261	none	788
442	161	none
454	79	37
490	34	27
803	34	none
848	none	300*
874	297	1
892	43	63
905	none	1000*
1011	none	550
	975	2805
		1 OOF 11

The vote in Locals 848 and 905 calls for an explanation. In the first case about 300 members cast a unanimous ballot which the recording secretary failed to transmit to the District Coun-In the case of 905 the vote of 1,000 was discarded because the District Council maintained that the hall in which the meeting was held does not take in 1,000 and that therefore the vote must have been irregular.

What do these votes show us. First of all that even were the 1300 votes to be discarded there still remains a majority of 1505 as against 975. Even this figure shows that sentiment was running about to 2 to 1 against 9 business agents. If we include the 1300 for purposes of judging the sentiment of the membership then the vote against the nine business agents and the increase in dues was more than 3 to 1, HARDLY A MANDATE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE ON THIS QUESTION.

But what about the claim that the Gentile locals are so strong for 9 business agents that they threaten to split? Analyzing the vote of the locals referred to as Gentile (51, 454, 803, 848, 874, 892) we find some very interesting facts (1) Two of the six locals defeated the proposal for 9 business agents. (2) These locals did not show a keen interest in the question despite the fact that the Zausner clique tried to arouse over precisely this issue by promising them bus-

THE CRISIS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

A Review of Lewis Corey's Book

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

At the present historical juncture, the middle class occupies a key position in the strategy of the class struggle. Torn by inner dissension and differentiation, prevented by its very nature and function in society from playing an independent political role, the middle class nevertheless is destined to play a decisive part as an auxiliary troop or mobile re-serves, by throwing the bulk of its foring today for the domination of society. So long as monopoly capitalism directly or by fascist demagogic subterfuge succeeds in winning the support of the middle class in impending conflicts, it will continue to rule and defeat the forces and check the possibilities of further so-cial progress. If the proletariat suc-ceeds in winning the support of the midthe wool over the eyes of the progressive workers who bitterly resent this despic- historical span break thru to victory and historical span break thru to victory and a new higher social order. The strategy for harnessing the middle-class-even that proletarianized section which is middle-class only in psychology-onto decaying monopoly capitalism, is the strategy of fascism. The problem of winning the middle class to a perception of the fact that by and large its interests coincide with those of the victory of the proletarian revolution, and that the bulk of its former elements are already proletarianized, is a central problem for the defeat of fascism and the victory of socialism. To ignore the middle class is a sign of proletarian immaturity and a guarantee of proletarian defeat. To woo the middle class by acceptance of its muddled program and illusions, or to surrender to those illusions for fear of "scaring the middle class away", leads to social democratic opportunism, the failure to solve any problems of either middle class or proletariat, and the hurling of the middle class into the strangling embrace of fascism. The Communist International has latterly been vacillating between the pole of sectarianism and the pole of opportunist surrender to the confusions of the petty bourgeois program and ideology for the sake of the "People's Front." All these

> iness agents if they supported his pro posals. Only about 1200 votes were cast in the 6 locals while the 5 Jewish locals cast over 2,500 votes. (3) The Gentile locals voted 787 to 440 for 9 business agents. Not such an imposing majority for locals who "threaten to split the union". Jewish locals voted 2,365 to 188 against 9 business agents.

> Is there more need to show that the cry of the Gentile locals wanting to split is a deliberate fake to cover up the C.P.'s dirty deal with Zausner.
>
> The best thing the C.P. can do is to

> stop giving fake reasons for an intolerable and unheard of manuever. The best way to get out of the mess is to state frankly that a very bad and most dangerous mistake was made. The progressive workers in the painters and other industries would have much more respect if this were done.

considerations indicate the central stra-| statistical proof of what has already

The present work is such an analysis and hence a work of the greatest importance to the middle class in giving it the very next page will offer the most self-knowledge and to the proletariat in fruitful conception yet advanced. (2) A aiding it to understand the true posi-tion and outlook of its potential allies neglect to use specific errors of other and unused reserves. It is not limited, writers as a foil to clarify and point as its title might imply, to the present Corey's correct views. Thus he has a plight of the class it treats, but is a far more correct estimate of fascism ces into support of one or the other of the class it treats, but is a the two major classes that are contend-many-sided study of that class his-than Strachey or Dutt, but the reader is tory, heterogeneious composition, ideology, tendencies of development, interests real and imaginary, and relations actual and potential with the two decisive classes whose titanic struggle will by its outcome determine the fate of mankind for a long time to come.

A Comparison

As I was reading Corey's book* there came to me for review Alfred M. Bing-ham's "Revolt of the Middle Classes" (subtitle of "Insurgent America"-to be reviewed later). A comparison between the two works served admirably to demonstrate the superiority of Marxism as a scientific method of approach to social problems. Bingham is lost in the woods. He is in an unreal world where the proletariat is growing ever more conservative and actually disappearing like the Cheshire Cat in "Alice in Wonderland" leaving nothing behind but a Marxian grimace and growl, while the middle class is getting bigger and bigcant and the only true bearer of the the general book trade, inevitably must struggle for socialism and a classless avoid much of the polemic of day-to-day society. Bingham's observations are going out of date (where they had any validity at all) before the ink is dry on the pages of his book. Corey's work thru its changing role to the present. Its forecasts, because they are based up-on a study of actual developmental trends, enable him to predict with reasonable certainty the paths that the mid-dle class will follow in the next historical epoch.

It is not only with Bingham's book that Corey's should be compared. Considering how important the strategical problem of winning the middle class is, the reader would expect a wealth of Marxist literature on the subject. Actually, the total output is meager, fragmentary, in the main superficial, often fallacious, rarely concretized to a study of the actual position of the class in America rather than in Europe or "in general". This serves to enhance the importance of the present work. It was high time that such a detailed and really Marxist study appeared.

Some Weaknesses

Its only weaknesses and they are distinctly minor, are (1) a certain tendency to repetition of the same idea from sev eral different angles, occasionally with

* Published by Covici-Friede. 379 pp.,

considerations indicate the central strassistant proof of which has a statistical proof of the middle class.

been proved conclusively without the of the middle class.

aid of statistics. This may encourage the inexperienced reader to think that likely to miss the "corrections" because they are stated without explicit comparison and emphasis.

Thus, for instance, a single paragraph at the bottom of page 345 dealing with the struggle for the "defense of concrete democratic rights of the workers" and its relation to the fight against fascism, may easily be missed by the reader, whereas if contrasted with the dangerous momentary tendency of the Communist Parties (and permanent insistence of Social Democracy) to fight for decaying bourgeois democracy as such, it would have taken on great significance and hence greater influence. One feels that in this respect a closer association with the practical movement would further enliven and enhance the value of Corey's valuable writings. But even these minor defeats are in large measure but the obverse side of certain corresponding virtues. In a field where there prevails so much confusion it is better to overprove than underprove. And a ger and more and more socially signifi- book between "hard covers" destined for controversy. What the author should do now is boil the essence of the pres-What the author should ent-day part of the work down into a a single chapter of the present volume. (Chapter IX). That too, should be published as a separate pamphlet.

> The "middle class' that Corey chooses to study is much wider and more inclusive than the actual middle class. Ιt includes office workers, technicians, teachers and other types of salaried workers, as well as the middle class proper. This is psychologically sound, since historically these sections of the erroneously called middle class have emerged from that class, and psychologically, have tried to regard themselves as part of it rather than of the proletariat. It is the growing consciousness of this section that it is really proletarian, which is the profoundest sign that the traditional "middle class" is in crisis.

Middle Class In

Internal Crisis

Corey shows that the present crisis, coming as it does on the background of the general crisis of capitalism, has not merely temporarily inconvenienced or hurt the "middle class" but has actual-

ly plunged it into an internal crisis from which there is no longer any capitalist recovery.

The author analyzes the contradictory tendencies inherent in its intermediate position which forced it, while defendng small property, to defend property in general and pave the way for monopoly which in turn expropriates it and renders it that contradiction in terms, a "propertiless middle class." Corey's is no abstract and absolute middle class, but a changing and contradictory conglomerate, held together not by true common interest, but by historical ties, traditions no longer in accord with the facts, illusions, "cultural lag", former origin rather than present position and needs. Theoretically and statistically the work traces the doom of the independent enterprises, the growing prole-tarianization of professional men, office workers and farmers, while the upper, managerial sections of the "new middle class" identify themselves more and more with the interests of monopoly capitalism which they serve and the exploitation of the office workers and lower paid technicians who are supposedly their brethren. "The upper and lower layers of salaried employees have nothing in common," he writes, "except the term salaried." An attempt to bind these antagonistic elements together in an illusory unity under the leadership of agents of monopoly capital, is an essential strategical objective of fascism. And Corey's work has as a central purpose the contrary objective, the clarification of the antagonisms, the promotion of differentiation inside the so-called middle class, and aid to the great proletarianized and semi-proletarianized majority of the former middle class to find their way into the ranks of the revolutionary army led by the proletariat, where, by position and interests, they rightfully belong. In effect, the present work is a documented analytical manifesto to the great, declassed majority of the American middle class, arousing it pamphlet or two for more general cir-to self-knowledge and calling it to bat-culation. That it can be done is proved the for its own true interests in close alon the pages of his book.

Culation. That it can be done is proved the for its own true interests in close also by Corey's skillful condensation of the liance with the proletariat. It contains the property of the property main outlines of his major work, "The passages of true eloquence and lumin-Decline of American Gapitalism" into ous clarity, and at least one middle-class critic whose review was published in TIME was profoundly moved and shaken out of his normal complacency by the experience of reading it. now is to get the self-tyled "middle class", professionals, teachers, technicians, office workers, mortgage-and-tenant farmers, to read it, as well as the proletarians interested in absorbing its implications for the strategical problems involved in winning their support. It is the most important, the only important work on the significant subject it treats.

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LOSING THEIR CHAINS

(Continued from Page 3)

the greatest swindle ever imposed upon our people is our present national banking system. . . . Another gentleman says we have got too much money. I have not go too much. Has any gentleman on the floor? We have not got nearly enough money, and what little we have is gobbled up by a few rich men in New York and elsewhere." He also proposed that the convention pass a resolution demanding the creation of a Department of Labor and Census Statistics, "said department to have charge, under the laws of Congress, of the distribution of the public domain the registration and regulation, under a general system, of trade unions, cooperative associations, and all other organizations of workingmen and women aving for their object the protection of productive industry, and the elevation of those who toil." It was not until 1913 that a separate Department of Labor was instituted in the president's Cabinet, and it is surely not the kind that Sylvis

At this convention Sylvis was elected president of the National Labor Union. He died before his year of office was up, but not before he had put himself on record in favor of a labor party. In his first years as president of the Molders' Union he had been active in the Philadelphia Trades' Assembly. At this time he was opposed to independent political action by labor. He propounded the doctrine of rewarding friends and punishing enemies which Gompers later took over as the foundation of the A. F. of L.'s political position. But after his election as president of the National Labor Union he came out for the formation of a labor party in a circular issued to the trade unions. He said:

"The organization of a new party-a working man's party-for the purpose of getting control of Congress and the several State Legislatures, is a huge work; but it can and must be done. We have been the tools of professional politicians of all parties long enough; let us now cut loose from all party ties, and organize a working-man's party, founded upon honesty, economy and equal rights and equal privileges to all men. Money has ruled us long enough; let us see if we cannot rule money for a time."

In a second circular he evinces a grasp of the significance of the Civil War for the working class which ranks with the incisive understanding of Marx and Engels at this time. He said:

"The working people of our nation, white and black, male and female, are sinking to a condition of serfdom. Even now a slavery exists in our land worse than ever existed under the old slave system. The center of the slave power no longer exists south of Mason and Dixon's line. It has been transferred to Wall Street; its vitality is to be found in our huge national bank swindle, and a false monetary system. (This last is a manifestation of Sylvis' Greenback' tendencies.) The war abolished the right of property in man, but it did not abolish slavery. This movement we are now engaged in is the great anti-slavery movement, and we must push on the work of emancipation until slavery is abolished in every corner of our country."

In the spring of 1869 Sylvis died, and the incomplete president's address he prepared was read at the national convention. It showed that he had opened extensive correspondence, distributed circulars, and appointed a committee of five to

reside in Washington during the session of Congress. This last is the first labor lobby inaugurated in America.

RELATIONS WITH FIRST INTERNATIONAL

It remains to speak of Sylvis' relations with the First International which had been founded in London in 1864, had soon come under the broadening influence of Marx. Sylvis wanted not only a delegate of the National Labor Union at the annual sessions of the International, but also an agent to be sent to Europe to investigate labor conditions there and inform the European workers of conditions in America. In 1868 the National Labor Union was unable to accept the International's invitation to send a delegate because no money was available for his expenses. The first American delegate was sent in 1869 after Sylvis' death, but he had already been in correspondence with the General Council of the International that spring. He had answered the Council's request to lead American labor's fight against a war between England and the United States which appeared imminent May 1869 with the following letter:

"I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow-workingmen across the water; our cause is a common one. It is a war between poverty and wealth; labour occupies the same low condition, and capital is the same tyrant in all parts of the world. Therefore I say our cause is a common one. I, in behalf of the working people of the United States, extend to you, and thru you those you represent, and to all the down-trodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toil in Europe, the right hand of fellowship. Go ahead in the good work you have undertaken, until the most glorious success crowns your efforts. That is our determination. Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous monied aristocracy on the face of the earth. This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win thru the ballot-box: if not, then we will resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."

Whether the American workers would have been saved the disruptive experience of the Knights of Labor if Sylvis had lived no one can say. But it is undoubted that he would have imbued at least some great part of the growing American proletariat with a class viewpoint, the need for independent political action, the solidarity of Negro and white workers, the need for militant trade unionism and the effective use of the striking power. That the development of American capitalism, the bourgeoisification of the American worker, the "land-of-opportunity" psychology of the large army of immigrants, the undeveloped class-consciousness of the working masses, would have stopped him at many turns we cannot doubt. But that labor would have been advanced decades by his activity Marx himself recognized thru the General Council of the First International which recorded its condolences on Sylvis' death with the following communication:

"That the American labor movement does not depend on the life of a single individual is certain, but not less certain is the fact that the loss sustained by the present labor convention cannot be compensated. The eyes of all were turned on Sylvis, who, as a general of the proletarian army, had an experience of ten years outside of his great abilities—and Sylvis is dead."

NEXT WEEK

Two Knights Without A Single Cause-Uriah S. Stephens and Terence Vincent Powderly.