

# WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

**T**HE 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 reeks 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, and does.

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 strike 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 governor 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 bourgeois press has a certain method which has everywhere proved effective beyond all others, quite 'infallible' in fact: lie, scream, shout, pile on more lies—something will stick! . . . 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 thoroughly vile, as the journalistic frame-up recently perpetrated by the Trotskyite 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 others (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 skulduggery. In this field, at least, they need fear no rival.

The New Militant speaks of "information from a reliable source that Love-

stone and Brandler have just negotiated with Comintern representatives an agreement to act as Stalinist agents. . . . THAT IS A LIE, GENTLEMEN OF THE NEW MILITANT, AND YOU KNOW IT. WE HEREBY CHALLENGE YOU TO BRING FORTH YOUR "RELIABLE INFORMATION"! Put up or shut up! Produce your "reliable information" or stand condemned as political fakery!

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 is a lie, gentlemen of the New Militant, and you know it. AGAIN WE CHALLENGE 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 reproduces 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 1) treats the matter in the true Hearst-Harry Lang manner. Under a four-column head, the same paragraphs are republished and fittingly supplemented with some of the Forward's own peculiar variety of filth. First, a touching testimonial to the political reliability of the Trotskyites; "Whenever some expose about the Communist Party appeared in the Trotskyite paper, it was always confirmed a few weeks later by official facts." Then, some virtuous indignation about the "atmosphere" that the Communists have brought into the labor movement—and this coming from the Forward, remember! Finally, a slick scheme to avoid responsibility for its

reckless lying: "It is to be expected that the Communists or the Lovestoneites will deny the accusations of the Trotskyite 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 EVIDENCE—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 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 frame-ups can change anything. We of the Communist Opposition are proud of our record of unremitting and effective struggle for unity, of our constructive role as a unifying force in the labor movement. All of the filth of which the New Militant-Forward-New Leader combination is capable—and that is plenty!—will not move us because we are convinced that our course is in harmony with the deepest interests of the working class, because we are convinced that every thoughtful, honest worker will spurn with contempt the vile slanders

## 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 one-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!

The people who have need of resorting to such methods are thru—condemned to the refuse heap of politics!

## REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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

### CHINA CHOOSES JAPAN AS LESSER EVIL

**C**OMMON 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 query 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.

In the meantime the Central government in China has once again bent the 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 reality 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"

In reality nothing has been changed fundamentally, except that Laval emerges 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 Fascist armed organization. It should be recalled that in Germany the Bruening regime succeeded in dissolving the Nazi organization. Needless to say it did not lead to the defeat of fascism. The same may very well occur also in France.

What is lacking is a militant program of proletarian struggle against fascism, especially outside of parliament. It is this disarmament of the proletarian forces which bodes ill for the future of the French working class.

### PEACE TALK CONTINUES IN ETHIOPIAN WAR

**T**ALK of the application of oil sanctions 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 war 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 Mussolini rejected. The plan called for the retention 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 Somaliland including a seaport town. This proposal was rejected by Italy so that there was no opportunity of hearing Ethiopia's answer to this Anglo-British peace plan.

As if to emphasize that Italian forces are still on the job two air raids were

### 1,500 N. Y. Socialists 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 raised to carry on the necessary organizational work. Norman Thomas addressed the meeting by letter from Detroit, stating the Militants were, by this act, saving the Socialist Party against the splitting tactics of the Old Guard. At the latter's meeting, the split was greeted as "good-riddance."

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 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 Party. Altho the Old Guard, thru the person of Charles Solomon announced that "there is no split in the Socialist 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 wounded.

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

**F**OR the past two years industry has been driven into the cyclone cellar and the normal problems of depression

have been magnified many times by the deliberate and well-timed rapid fire and devastating attack by economic crackpots, 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 sentiment 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:

1. Return to the gold standard for currency.
2. Limitation of government power over business.
3. The divorce of politics from bank or credit regulation.
4. Curtailment of expenditures to the proper and necessary functions of government.
5. Prevention of destructive taxation.
6. Maintenance of constitutional guarantees.
7. 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 workers (of these about 6,000 employ up to 100 workers each) showed that 80% had answered "NO" to the question "Do you favor legislation continuing in any form the principles and policies of the NIRA."

### GEORGIA HIGH COURT UPSETS SEDITION LAW

**A**NGELO HERNDON, recently returned 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 unconstitutional.

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 Defense.

• 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 Vice-presidents 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.

• UNITED MINE WORKERS, in Tri-District Convention in Washington, D. C. went on record for equalization of working time at all collieries, for an increase in pay averaging about 15% and for a shorter working day. There was also

(Continued on Page 2)



## 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 together 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 the wool over the eyes of the progressive workers who bitterly resent this despicable 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 Weinstein 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 Weinstein 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 referendum 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 tabulated the vote as follows:

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

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 Council. 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 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 reserves, by throwing the bulk of its forces into support of one or the other of the two major classes that are contending 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 social progress. If the proletariat succeeds in winning the support of the middle class, it will within a relatively short 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 the decay of 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

business agents if they supported his proposals. 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 maneuver. 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 strategical importance of a sound analysis of the middle class.

The present work is such an analysis and hence a work of the greatest importance to the middle class in giving it self-knowledge and to the proletariat in aiding it to understand the true position and outlook of its potential allies and unused reserves. It is not limited, as its title might imply, to the present plight of the class it treats, but is a many-sided study of that class' history, heterogeneous 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. Bingham'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 bigger and more and more socially significant and the only true bearer of the struggle for socialism and a classless 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 on the contrary covers an historical sweep from the birth of the middle class thru its changing role to the present. Its forecasts, because they are based upon a study of actual developmental trends, enable him to predict with reasonable certainty the paths that the middle 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 several different angles, occasionally with

\* Published by Covici-Friede. 379 pp., \$2.50.

statistical proof of what has already been proved conclusively without the aid of statistics. This may encourage the inexperienced reader to think that the book is running out of ideas, when the very next page will offer the most fruitful conception yet advanced. (2) A certain lack of concrete application and neglect to use specific errors of other writers as a foil to clarify and point Corey's correct views. Thus he has a far more correct estimate of fascism than Strachey or Dutt, but the reader is 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 book between "hard covers" destined for the general book trade, inevitably must avoid much of the polemic of day-to-day controversy. What the author should do now is boil the essence of the present-day part of the work down into a pamphlet or two for more general circulation. That it can be done is proved by Corey's skillful condensation of the main outlines of his major work, "The Decline of American Capitalism" into 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. It 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 defending 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 "propertyless 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 proletarianization 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 to self-knowledge and calling it to battle for its own true interests in close alliance with the proletariat. It contains passages of true eloquence and luminous 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. The problem 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.

### JOIN!

Communist Party U. S. A.  
(Opposition)

For information on the activity and policies of the Communist Opposition write to

COMMUNIST PARTY  
(OPPOSITION)  
Box 68 Station "O"  
New York City

## 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 got 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, co-operative associations, and all other organizations of workmen and women having 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 wanted.

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 in May 1869 with the following letter:

"I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow-working-men 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.