

Who Owns The Democratic Party?

By JAY LOVESTONE.

The Two Parties.

NO one will take the democratic progressive pretensions seriously. The record of the democratic party is as uniform as that of the republican party in services rendered to the employing class.

At this juncture, it must be said that there is no fundamental difference between the republican and democratic parties, yet there are differences in attitude towards sundry domestic and foreign problems.

Now that the petty bourgeois, small capitalist element is more sharply apart from the republican party than ever, the republican party represents solely the interests of big capital. In the councils of the party of Coolidge, in the state as well as in the national bodies, there is today no longer any tangible conflict between the spokesmen of the petty owners and the big owners. Big capital is not only supreme but rules without the feeblest challenge. The acute agricultural crisis prevailing for the last five years, coupled with the increasing centralization of state power, has driven whatever small owning class elements there were out of the ruling chambers of the republican party.

In the democratic party the situation is somewhat different. First of all, there are still certain small capitalist elements represented in its councils. As a matter of fact, despite the rapid industrial development of the South, cotton is still king in this tier of states. Then, there is some friction between the rising capitalist groups of the West and the ruling capitalist clique of the East. Besides, there are numerous, so-called politically unattached elements, principally from the professional and other middle class groups, that adhere with more or less regularity to the democratic party. Furthermore, until before the 1922 congressional elections the skilled layer of organized labor was almost solidly in the camp of the democratic voters.

Thus, today, there is yet some basis of conflict between big capital and the small owners in the democratic party. Of course, big capital rules the democratic party and the small owners take a back seat at moments of party decision on momentous questions. This conflict between the capitalist groups is reflected in the character of party deliberations, in the platform of the party and in its standard bearers.

Anyone who has carefully observed the democratic convention at New York could have clearly seen the imprint of a wavering economic group, the middle class, on the platform adopted. The very form in which the democratic attitude toward the League of Nations was expressed, the taxation policy, the railroad policy, and the Klan controversy, all reflected the influence and the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. At the same time, except for the tariff problem, and in a small measure perhaps, the Klan issue, the interests of the biggest capitalist groups were clearly dominant.

An examination of the roster of leading figures in the democratic party reveals the correctness of our characterization of the democratic party.

Big Business Rules.

When Pat Harrison, making his keynote speech at the last convention, proclaimed the democratic party a party of the downtrodden, and when William Jennings Bryan, firing his blast against John W. Davis, echoed such sentiments, they were engaging in the crudest form of political demagoguery and hypocrisy.

If the republicans have their entry to the House of Morgan thru Dwight W. Morrow, a close friend of President Coolidge, and a member of the

firm of J. P. Morgan and Company, then the democratic party enjoys the strictest confidence of the same royal house of finance thru Thomas W. Lamont, another member of the Morgan dynasty. Lamont is considered the second best brains, next to the master himself, in the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company. It will be recalled that Mr. Lamont was one of Wilson's closest advisers while the peace negotiations were going on in Europe.

In the powerful international banking corporation of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, two of the partners are republicans and two are democrats.

Thomas Fortune Ryan, who is perhaps the strongest figure in the whole tobacco industry, who is the power behind the throne of many banks, traction concerns and other corporations, is still high in the councils of the democratic party.

Charles H. Sabin, chairman of the Board of directors of the Guarantee Trust Company, which has total resources of nearly three quarters of a billion dollars, the largest organization of its kind in the United States, is a good democrat. Mr. Sabin is the president or director of at least thirty-eight banking, railway, oil, sugar, copper, telegraph, and steel corporations. Among the gigantic corporations, in which Mr. Sabin holds sway, are: The American Congo Company, The Asia Banking Corporation, The Cuba Cane Corporation, The Continental Rubber Company, The International Mercantile Marine Company, Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, Postal Telegraph Cable Company, and Remington Arms Company.

Barney Brooch, king of the Wall Street speculators, has the veto power, rubber, banking, realty, and foreign trading corporations, is a full fledged democrat.

At the head of the Texas Oil Company which has close to four hundred million dollars in assets, is Judge Amos L. Beaty. Judge Beaty is one of the most prominent democrats in the country.

The well-known shipping magnate, Mr. George Carden, who is also president of the New York Stock Exchange firm of Carden, Green and Company, is another influential democrat.

The railway and power magnate, Benjamin F. Yoakum, is one of the guiding hands of the democratic party.

Judge Robert S. Lovett, a director of the National City bank, dominated by the Rockefeller group; a director of the New York Central Railway Company, controlled by the Morgan interests; and the president or director of twenty-three other railway, banking, telegraph and trading corporations, is one of the kingpins in the democratic fold.

Among the other numerous millionaire democrats who occupy first row seats in the world of American finance and industry are: Samuel Untermyer, Henry Morgenthau, George Gordon Battle, W. M. Burrows, James W. Gerard, the sugar magnate Norman H. Davis, and D. F. Houston, president of the Bell Telephone Securities Company.

With such a galaxy of financial and industrial overlords in the governing circles of their party, the democrats need have no concern as to who's who in their ranks. Thus, it is easy to understand why one of the leading financial writers of the country in discussing the relations between the democratic convention and business, declared: "It is recognized in most trade quarters that no alarming proposals affecting business are likely to be found in whatever platform is drawn up. Nor are the available candidates regarded with any anxiety. More interest was manifested in the trade results to follow the present warm spell, than in political matters."

Introducing Mr. Davis.

John W. Davis needs no introduction to the workers and farmers. He needs even less introduction to the capitalists.

As a member of the law firm of Stetson, Jennings, and Russell, Mr. Davis has been serving as the personal counsel of J. P. Morgan and Company.

But when the democratic convention rejected Doheny oil in refusing to nominate McAdoo, it accepted Standard oil in choosing John W. Davis. When the noted expert on international diplomacy, John Basset Moore, resigned his post in the Standard Oil Company, in order to become a member of the Hague Court of International Justice, John W. Davis stepped into his place and has since functioned as the legal expert of the Standard Oil Company in all its international affairs.

In attempting to hide his corporations, Mr. Davis has laid particular stress on the fact that he was intim-

ately connected with the framing of the Clayton Act while he was Solicitor General. Without delving into historical why and wherefore and the real value of this law, to the workers, one can easily puncture this election gas balloon of Davis by citing merely one subsequent event. It was the Coronado decision with which Mr. Davis was even more intimately connected than with the Clayton Act that wiped out whatever possible benefits the workers might garner from the latter law. And, it was the same Mr. John W. Davis who was responsible for the Coronado decision.

It certainly was no accident that Mr. Davis was hired in the Coronado to undo what the Clayton Act might, at its best, mean to the workers. No doubt, it was Mr. Davis' acquaintance with and intimate knowledge of the Clayton law that caused his being hired by the Coronado Coal Company in its effort to wipe the law off the statute books.

(Continued tomorrow.)

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

The bear that followed Miss Nellie Neilson thru the Adirondack mountains for several miles turned out to be only a poor animal looking for a drink. Nellie was ambling along peacefully in a mountain climbing stunt when, on turning around, she saw a bear ten feet in the rear. Being a brave girl and having some experience withering mere man with a danger glance on the presumptuous creature's first sign of undue familiarity, Miss Neilson turned her optics on Bruin. The latter betrayed only slight amusement and licked his chops. Nellie thought his designs on her person would not be confined to a hug, for which the bear is deservedly notorious. So she decided that discretion was the better part of valor and turned on her heel. The bear evidently was going in the same direction. There was not a Boy Scout or a Minute Man of the Constitution in the vicinity, so Nellie's heart began to beat faster and the bear began to run faster. As she was losing hope, she reached a rivulet almost simultaneously with the bear. The latter stopped right there and slaked his thirst, after which, without even giving her a parting look he went his way. Miss Neilson was disappointed after a fashion. It was rather disconcerting to learn that the bear was not chasing her but just looking for a drink.

The Emir of Kurdistan is ordered deported. This is to be regretted. The DAILY WORKER took official cognizance of the Emir's arrival here and expressed the wish that he might live a happy and prosperous life, if he could only use his wits to good advantage as secretary of the treasury Fall did. The Emir had everything in his favor—almost. He had a lengthy title, left several wives in Europe and was prepared to take on as many more here, discreetly of course. He stayed at the swellest hotels in New York and swelled the deficit of some of them. He caused a flutter in the dove cots of society's debutantes. Another Count Malm Hoogvonstatten!

People who live in luxury without having to work are interesting. They are even mysterious. The Emir was one of them. He claimed descent from one of the oldest families in the world and none of his ancestors ever sullied the family escutcheon by working. The Emir announced that he had the friendliest intentions toward America and would accept hospitality provided it was of the right sort. But

might not consider the same kind of activity a violation of the moral code. Capitalist society is ripe for a de-bunking expert.

Gompers is more than unusually ill. This is indicated by the growing speculation regarding his successor. Among those mentioned for Gompers' sceptre are Matthew Woll, the Crown Prince, George L. Berry, the strike-breaker, John L. Lewis, ditto, and Mr. Hutchenson of the carpenters. Each one of these gentlemen would serve the capitalist class to the best of their abilities but none of them could fill the vacancy as well as the master. Gompers is worth his weight in gold to the capitalist class. In the event of John L. Lewis succeeding Sam, the other big international presidents would not be inclined to bury their jealousy of each other as they do now. Lewis would have the Federation "rope of sand" as Gompers called it, looking like a wisp of smoke inside of one year. It is not surprising that Calvin Coolidge as chief representative of the capitalist class of this country should express his master's regret over Sam's illness.

The socialist party merges itself in the LaFollette party. It is the old story of "The King is Dead. Long Live the King." All the socialist party undertakers are injecting liberal doses of embalming fluid into the corpse Debs, himself in a sanitarium, added his mite to the efforts of Hillquit and Berger to make it appear that the socialist party is not dead but dosing or dotting. Debs, in a letter to the faithful, waves the red flag furiously but wisely. On the whole he thinks the socialist party convention could have done nothing else but get behind LaFollette, yet he says: "I have to confess frankly that with certain features of the convention of the progressive elements and with certain actions in their proceedings, I could not possibly under ordinary circumstance find myself in agreement. To yield to the weakness and cowardice of expedience has always been repugnant to my nature, and especially since pledged my allegiance to the socialist movement." But Mr. Debs goes along nicely with Hillquit's ambition to be senator or perhaps attorney general in the LaFollette cabinet, while the socialist party goes to make up the LaFollette political omelet.

The Prince of Wales is on the water wagon. The young man did not faff off a horse for—a long time it seems.