

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME V, NO. 21 [WHOLE NO. 117]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

## Congress Talks Unemployment Relief For the Workers - Only the Jingle of the Government Coin

Events are moving swifter than usual in the United States Congress. There hangs over it the threatening cloud of the huge unemployed army, growing more hungry, more sullen, and showing signs of restlessness, and for the relief of which the government has done absolutely nothing. The swifter moves are undoubtedly inspired by the fear that is foreshadowed in the dastardly police shootings in Dearborn and in Melrose Park. The agents of privilege in the Senate and in the House are as deliberately arrogant, as were the savage "upholders of the law" when they faced the starving workers in these two places. The latter instances indicate the more concrete side of how the capitalist government really intends to deal with the unemployment problem. This is where capitalism revealed itself in its true nature.

Yet this fear is the outstanding motive force behind the events in Congress. With that follows the scurrying for special consideration and for special gains for the various privileged interests from any measure contemplated to restore "prosperity". In addition, it is an election year, and the lawmakers have enough at stake to maneuver for the most favorable position.

There is a national treasury deficit now of over \$2,500,000,000 giving incontrovertible testimony to the crisis in capitalism. The Congress is still struggling with the balancing of its budget. Bipartisan alliances are made feverishly and broken up again. Clashes of special group interests bring forth epithets such as "dastardly lies" and "damnable lies". Senators and Representatives vociferously proclaim their "honesty" in the face of the heavy lobby bribes.

The insurgents—the so-called progressives, headed by La Guardia, La Follette, Costigan, etc.—sponsoring the interests of the embattled petty bourgeoisie, were the first to become vociferous. The proposed manufacturers' sales tax went down to defeat. It caused the majority leader in the House, Rainey, to declare gravely, with words to this effect: you gentlemen have gone further toward socialization of property than any nation outside of Soviet Russia. The administration omnibus bill was shaved down to leave almost nothing. And the deficit remains. Meanwhile the leaders of industry and finance, "suffering" under the crisis, and clamoring ever more loudly for their pound of flesh. So, now the heavy hitting artillery is moving forward in Congress. But mobilized are also the pitiable efforts of the reactionary trade union leaders.

Representatives of seven leading railroad unions have declared to the President that unless immediate steps are taken to increase employment and relieve distress, they "will be obliged to demand a dole". What a terrifying threat! And so, to apply immediately the necessary soothings, they come forward with the Smith Debt Plan. They propose the President to appoint a commission composed of five representatives, one for labor, one for the farmers, two outstanding business leaders and one financial expert. This commission is to restitute trade and export from the United States. Their plan at once won the approval of democratic politicians. And why not? It is as cast in their own mold. Now these trade union flunkies want to appear in the lion's role. When facing the wage cut demands of the railroad magnates they were, however, meek as rabbits. But they have now again only the idea in mind of greater collaboration with the outright capitalist representatives in making the counter-felt relief measures seem palatable to the workers and help pull the wool over their eyes. Never for once would they entertain the idea of even calling upon their union phalanx to exert the pressure of their numbers or to utilize their strategic position, of moving the wheels of transport, to resist their right to live, and to fight the onslaughts upon them.

The "relief" measures proposed in Congress are practically all of the same character. There is no real difference between the proposals of Senator Robinson and President Hoover. Both embody a \$2,500,000,000 plan for "relief". That is, only about \$300,000,000 of this is to go to the various states and municipalities to be doled out in miserable charity rations. The fat morsel, the \$2,000,000,000, is to become tax exempt bonds to be used for private profit-making enterprises. Politely, they are called self-liquidating enterprises.

Here we have the outrageous arrogance of a capitalist government. The existing unemployment situation has long ago called for unemployment insurance for the millions of jobless and penniless workers. A few miserable charity crumbs to them is all so far. And there is no indication that actual relief, that actual unemployment insurance will be granted until the workers sufficiently arouse their latent mass power to compel consideration over the opposition of the capitalist politicians.

On the other hand, the tax exempt bonds advocated in Hoover's proposal for investment for further exploitation, is to be handled through the Finance Reconstruction Corporation. What that will mean, is indicated in the very first "relief" loan granted by this institution to the Missouri Pacific railroad, half of which went to pay maturing loans to Wall Street bankers. It will mean investments to fatten dividends and strengthen the capitalists to administer further wage cuts.

Some of the more sceptical of Wall Street's uncrowned kings predict that this new bond flotation will cause inflation. Not that they are opposed to inflation. These real magnates support the Goldborough bill, which went over with a whoop in the House of Representatives and provides for authorization to the Federal Reserve to elevate the price level to the bourgeois prosperity period of 1921-29.

Truly the United States Congress is making headway toward its capitalist relief. Nothing could please this whole gentry more than to actually accomplish, by strengthened monopoly, a higher commodity price level. What with workers' wages already drastically reduced and the coupon clippers strengthened to administer more cuts, the higher price level should seem doubly enticing.

One of the tasks of the heavier artillery, now moving forward in Congress, is to harmonize the conflicting capitalist group interests. An illustration of one of such problems is afforded in the proposed billion dollar tax bill in the Senate. It contains tariff clauses which immediately became controversial. Representatives of one set of capitalists clamoring for duty on certain products for their investment protection while others, who have the opposite interests, are opposed. This is nothing new. It has just become more glaringly expressed in their present political dilemma.

Yet, through all the clashing conflicts reflected in these higher governmental brackets emerges one common and united aim; namely, to advance the counter-felt relief measures, shielding the real ones for the investors, to ward off the working class drift toward the Left. Unquestionably Congress has so far succeeded in attracting the favorable attention of the more credulous among the masses. Will the capitalist politicians attain their aim of changing the working class leftward trend so as to more easily defeat its demands and crush its growing aspirations? That is the important question.

Much valuable time has already been lost by the failure of the official Communist party leadership to take the elementary steps to build a serious movement which would begin to unite employed and unemployed workers. But there is yet a rich opportunity available. There is now a better opportunity for the workers to learn, by actual experience, what can be expected from the bourgeois parliamentary talking shop. They will learn more concretely that the United States Congress, the same as all other capitalist parliaments, are institutions for the protection of capitalist interests and for the keeping of the workers in subjection. —A. S.

## More About the Unity Negotiations

We have received the following letter from a Party member:

Dear Comrades:  
I didn't know you were going to print my first letter. Otherwise I would have left out that part about Gannes and the "Soviet-American Alliance", or asked you to delete it. This "clue" started a buzzing and a search for the "P" who gives out information about the "private affairs" of our leaders. However, there was no harm done.

The upper circles are buzzing with discussion of the unity proposition, and the negotiations with Lovestone are still going on sub rosa. The article of Gltiow in the *Workers' Age* is false in one respect at least, in so far as it gives the impression that negotiations have been suspended. On the contrary—this is absolutely straight from a member of the Polcom—the C. I. man personally held conferences with Lovestone since the publication of the last letter. A short while ago he left the country and Lovestone took him to the boat. My personal opinion remains as before—that an actual agreement is pending and will be concluded. I will go further and say that, in my opinion, the political side of the question is more or less settled and that the final agreement hinges now on forms and organizational position. I haven't enough facts to prove this, but there is enough to warrant the deduction.

For one thing, the tension over the question in the top circles and the extremely serious and concrete manner in

## Help Save Our Weekly Militant!

Save the Weekly MILITANT! Since last week's appeal our financial position has become worse. Bills continue to weigh on us with Alpine pressure. The situation is crippling all our efforts. We must have money. We must have it at once.

The problem of getting paper and ink for each week's appeal of the MILITANT is solved only by Herculean efforts. To make sure that each issue will appear regularly our comrades, readers and sympathizers should respond NOW with donations.

The struggle of the working class against the ravages of the crisis, the onslaughts of the bosses will go on. But will the voice of the Left Opposition continue to be heard regularly every week through its press? Will the Left Opposition be able to influence these struggles as effectively? That is the question that faces us.

Every comrade, every reader, every

sympathizer must realize the extreme urgency of the situation, the categorical nature of the issue which the situation presents. And he must realize, too, that only prompt assistance will pull us through.

In Cleveland last summer we saw unemployed workers pay their last nickels for copies of THE MILITANT. From everywhere we receive expressions of the esteem in which THE MILITANT is held, of its importance, of its necessity for workers. It is known and eagerly looked for from coast to coast.

Will THE MILITANT continue to speak our point of view to these workers regularly every week? Will our most powerful weapon in the struggle for the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism—will this clarion of the international proletarian revolution continue to appear weekly? THAT DEPENDS ON YOU.

## The Philadelphia Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

The I. L. G. W. U. Convention just concluded at Philadelphia marked, as it were, the official close of a period in the historic struggle between the Left wing and the Socialist-Forwards bureaucracy. It was a temporary triumph for the Schlessinger clique. The correlation of forces of the various factions and groups, as reflected at the convention, is indicative of the process of entrenchment of the Right wing after its erstwhile defeats in the protracted struggle with the Left wing, a process that has been going on in the face of objective conditions favorable for the Left wing, in the face of growing discontent on part of the membership and the recently developed opposition in the three largest locals in New York, led by the Anarchist-Lovestonite bloc.

The whole character of the convention was reminiscent of traditional I. L. G. W. U. Conventions prior to the historic encounter between the Right and the Left. The Schlessinger clique ruled the convention, while behind the scenes, deals for offices and other spoils were being concluded under the close supervision of Abe Caban and Morris Hilkuit.

Schlessinger's opening speech at the convention was remarkable for its lack of content and for its demagoguery. The vital problems concerning the membership of the union and the satisfaction of their pressing needs were not at all touched upon in his speech, except for the financial difficulties caused by the decrease in the amount of dues to the organization and the debts incurred during the fight with the Left wing. He spoke of the economic crisis and the cures for it, repeating the banalities and the reformist twaddle of solving the crisis by high wages and full employment. He indulged in talk about "unity" and "harmony", the "solidification of the ranks" and the "common cause." As to policies and tasks for real struggle to resist the growing attacks of the bosses on the conditions of the workers in the industry, as to how to satisfy the need of the

workers in the industry for real unity—Schlessinger did not deem it important to raise these issues. He felt perfectly safe in the surrounding atmosphere of a convention packed with his own henchmen, in which the rank and file of the membership and the genuine Left wing were feebly represented.

A great deal of time and attention was, however, given by the convention to listening to demagogic speeches of "labor leaders" and bourgeois politicians who felt perfectly at home there, having come at the invitation of the Schlessinger clique for the obvious purpose of preying upon the time and energy of the delegates and preventing the discussion of important problems.

Among the celebrities who addressed the convention was the mayor of Philadelphia, Moore, whose bloody suppression of the May Day demonstration only a short time before the convention did not stand in the way of his invitation as a "friend of labor". He was even heartily applauded after his vituperative speech about Communists and all other sorts of radicals. The only rebuke came from the president of the Philadelphia Central Labor Trades, Adolph Hirschberg. It was one discordant note in a generally harmonious performance. This seemingly insignificant episode can serve as the best illustration of the reactionary character and composition of the gathering.

The accomplishments of the convention can be summarized in the following acts against the interests of the membership of the union:

The convention defeated, with its packed majority, all the progressive resolutions purporting to curtail the power

## Beet Workers Go on Strike in Colorado

Ten thousand workers, mostly Mexicans, are out on strike in the northern part of Colorado. The strike breaks simultaneously with the opening of the picking season which runs a short course. This imposes on the strikers the necessity of quick and effective spreading of the strike and the determined use of means to prevent scabbing. On the other hand it means that the growers will in all probability move with speed to break the strike. The history of strike struggles in this area seem to indicate that the strike will assume a violent form. The Daily Worker reports that the sheriff of Weld County is proceeding to swear in a number of deputy sheriffs. The state militia has been ordered to stand by.

A U. P. dispatch to the Rocky Mountain News, published in Denver, says that the growers offered the workers one fifth of the gross crop at the end of the season. The workers answered with a demand of a minimum of \$23 an acre and a cash advance to carry them over. A United Front Committee is leading the strike. It is known that the T. U. U. L. organized and is actually leading the strike. This is as it should be. On the other hand there is no reason why the T. U. U. L. should not appear before the whole working class as the leader of the strike.

At the time of going to press details of the strike situation are very meager. But even at with this paucity of information and at this distance one fact stands out: ten thousand workers under Communist leadership have thrown down the gauntlet of battle to their masters and said that they will fight for the right to live.

GREET MORGENSTERN AND GOODMAN at the New York Branch Plenk, Sunday, May 29, Tippetts Brook Park.

## The Political Crisis of Japanese Imperialism

During the past few weeks the lull in the Far Eastern developments has once more been broken. The Manchurian adventure and its effects are making themselves felt with particular intensity. For months, the Japanese invasion of China and the occupation of Manchuria have been characterized by a rather slow evolution. The contradictions in the interests of the various imperialist powers have to a large extent held back the Tokyo brigands from going the full length of their intentions. It was for this reason that they were forced to conclude the "truce" of Shanghai.

In Manchuria, the constitution of the new Manchu-Kuo state and the efforts of the Nipponese to solidify it as a base of operations have been marked with persistent guerrilla warfare throughout the country, scattered groups putting up a stubborn resistance against the invad-

ers. The colonizing and stabilizing enterprises of the Japanese master class have consumed tremendous sums, the yield for which, they know, at best lies in the very distant future. The expenses for their adventure abroad have not as yet been met and are continuing to accrue in ever greater volume. Capital relations with foreign finance capital have not been lubricated by these conditions either.

### Effects of the Crisis

As a consequence, the economic crisis, which began as part of the general crisis of capitalism after the Wall Street crash of October 1929, has been considerably aggravated. The economic distress of the masses is greater than ever. Industry is at a standstill more than ever before.

That discontent and unrest should develop on a large scale, with this situation for a background, is only to be expected. It is still too hard to gauge the extent and to recognize the direction which this discontent and unrest is taking. But it is certain that the present political super-structure of the Mikado's empire is extremely shaky. Political and social convulsions of a high order are forthcoming, the first signs of which are beginning to come into view.

### The Assassination of the Premier

For some time now, reports have been flowing in from Tokio of a growing Fascist movement. It is supposed to base itself upon a split-off from the reformist party, the Japanese section of the Second International, and upon a section of the military. What the precise strength and composition of this party is, is not discernible from the reports. But the rise of such a party is in itself significant in so far as it depicts a new trend in the political life of the country.

A great deal of talk about a Fascist coup d'Etat has been heard of late. The recent assassination of Ki Inukai, the Prime Minister of Japan, has been attributed to Fascist henchmen. Whether this is true or not, it seems quite certain that this act of terror was inspired by the growing despair on part of a large section of the intermediate classes with the involved and complicated and rather helpless position to which the country has been brought by the exploits of the government.

### What Is Behind the Terror

This wide spread sentiment of despair and distress, coupled with the enormous conquering appetite of the military cliques appears to be pushing the ruling classes to a precipice. Aims of a forcible issue from the situation, war aims, are no doubt behind the terror that has taken the toll of the foremost statesman of imperialist Japan.

To realize how tense these feelings are, and how intent the aims that accompany them, it must be observed that Inukai was among the most conservative of the die-hards in the empire. He belonged to the acknowledged war party, the Seiyukai. Even he appeared too pacific to the truculent young militarists of the (Continued from page 3)

## Morgenstern and Goodman Released

On May 17, two class war prisoners of the Left Opposition, comrades Bernard Morgenstern and Leon Goodman were released from the capitalist jail in Pennsylvania. The two staunch Communist fighters have just finished serving a sentence of ninety days for distributing leaflets issued by the Communist League of America (Opposition), calling for participation of all workers in the party's unemployed demonstration.

Morgenstern and Goodman were arrested in Philadelphia in February of last year and convicted on the charge of sedition. The charge was based on the fact that the leaflet they were distributing pointed out that the only conclusive way of solving the unemployment crisis is by an international proletarian revolution. Morgenstern and Goodman were therefore arrested for being proletarian internationalists and as such served their term in the bosses' prison, as representatives of the international working class.

The courageous example of Morgenstern and Goodman, both young Communists, will serve as an example and as an inspiration to the whole Communist youth and particularly to the youth of the Left Opposition. The young Communists who come to the Left Opposition will learn by the example of these two valiant fighters not only to uphold and to propagate the Leninist ideas of the Opposition, but also to struggle in the very front ranks of the class battles of the proletariat. The exemplary conduct of Morgenstern and Goodman will serve as an instigation to the Oppositionists ev-

erywhere to give the lead to the Communist militants on all fronts.

The two class war fighters are reentering the ranks of the Left Opposition with undiminished enthusiasm, ready to continue their work in the same ardent spirit as before. The Left Opposition welcomes its two forefront fighters back. It rejoices to have them return, to lend their tested strength once more to its activities. The return of comrades Morgenstern and Goodman will mean an impetus to increased efforts in the fight

## Opposition Youth Debats Anarchist Group

The second debate scheduled by the Spartacus Youth Club of New York will be held on Sunday, May 22nd at 8:00 P. M. The first debate with the Young Peoples Socialist League proved successful, over three hundred turning out to fill the large hall in the Labor Temple.

The subject of the coming debate: "Is a Proletarian Dictatorship Necessary" is an extremely important one, particularly in view of the fact that the negative position will be upheld by the anarchists represented by their youth section, the Vanguard Group. The affirmative point of view will be defended by our comrades, Herbert Capells and Albert Gltzer.

The debate will be held at the Free Workers Center, 219 Second Avenue. Admission is 15 cents. Don't forget the date and place.