

THE FIGHTING WORKER



WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S. (Marxist Internationalists)

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The Pekin General Strike

Special from Pekin, Illinois.
The three day general strike of the Pekin Trades Assembly, effecting 31 unions and about three thousand workers in a town of seventeen thousand, as a climax of a six month dispute between the workers and the American Distilling Company placed all business at a standstill. Civil officers stood powerless to cope with the situation. Workers not affiliated to the Trades Assembly also joined the general strike.

Troops were called out and in waiting to take over the city if necessary.

The general strike was called in sympathy of the Distilling Strike and formally demanded that the Mayor oust the Chief of Police for his brutal action against the strikers. Under the chief of police tear and stench bombs used against the union strikers while a bus load of scabs were escorted to the plant started the general walkout.

The press portrays the general strike as a wholesale defeat for the workers. In reality it was a partial victory for the workers even though they did not gain the demand for the removal of the Police Chief. Even though Green's representative played into the hands of the bosses.

The general strike was called off only after the bosses had agreed to keep the distillery plant closed, pending a settlement. The fact that the distillery strike was settled 24 hours after the general strike with practically all of the demands granted only points out the effectiveness of the action.

The settlement agreed upon is as follows:

- 1—Abolition of the Company Union.
- 2—All workers must belong to the Distillery Workers Union (A. F. of L.)
- 3—Establishment of Shop Committees.
- 4—Grievances to be taken up by the shop committee with the bosses.
- 5—In case of disagreement, John Cassidy, a Chicago lawyer, to be arbitrary mediator.
- (This is typical A. F. of L. class collaboration)
- 6—No wage increase. (This was not an issue)
- 7—Eight hour day, forty hour week.
- 8—Time and a half for overtime.
- 9—Reinstatement of all strikers.
- 10—Seniority right. (This was a big issue in the strike, although the strike started when the company attempted to institute the Company Union).

Once more the A. F. of L. leaders play their roll of leading the retreat after the workers have advanced. Instead of stimulating and consolidating the excellent start, the A. F. of L. leaders only function in the capacity of representatives of peace.

Unless the Pekin workers and its advance section follow up the termination of the strike with proper class tactics the bosses and their agents will follow up with smashing blows against the workers. A petition to oust the Chief of Police and the Stalinist campaign for a Farmer Labor Party, and other such class collaboration methods, is the best way to create illusions, dissipate the workers energies, and enable the

TROTSKY FOR LIQUIDATION OF WORKERS PARTY

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!
JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE!

A TURN OF 180 DEGREES

TROTSKY'S reply to a group of American Socialist Workers, NOVEMBER 9, 1932:

"The fact that you belong to the Socialist Party speaks against your agreement with left wing of International Communism. . . Could the role of the left socialists who remain in the same party with Norman Thomas be considered revolutionary? No, I regret I must categorically deny it."

TROTSKY'S cable to Muste and Cannon, JANUARY, 1936:

"Unanimous Prompt Entry Seems Desirable To Me."

The above cable arrived in the midst of a pre-convention discussion in the Workers Party of U. S., on the question of entry into the Socialist Party.

Amend U. S. Constitution or Overthrow Capitalism

Since a growing revolutionary mood of the American working class had been successfully dissipated through the various relief measures of Roosevelt's New Deal, at the cheap price of a few billion dollars, and since the profits of the big corporations are growing again by leaps and bounds, the big capitalists are recovering from their fright and begin to feel confident that they will be able to cope with the situation without any New Deal. President Roosevelt and Congress not being agreeable, Big Business took the matter into its own hands by utilizing its most reliable instrument, the Supreme Court is unmaking the New Deal laws, by declaring them unconstitutional, as fast as Congress is making them. The NRA and the AAA, these cornerstones in the structure of the New Deal, having been dropped into the Potomac and sunk without a trace, the whole structure of the New Deal is collapsing.

New Imperialist Group Demands Amendment

No wonder there is a growing demand in the camp of the New Dealers for a constitutional amendment depriving the Supreme Court of the right to nullify a law enacted by Congress. In the camp of the Old Dealers the hue and cry is raised about the sanctity of the Supreme Court and the Constitution. For Hearst, the Supreme Court is a depository of the accumulated wisdom of the ages; for Al Smith, the Constitution is the Civic Bible of the American people. Both contentions may be contested by the fact that here are a large number of dissenting opinions and the Constitution was amended about a score of times, but that is beside the point. What is of interest to us is this: could we, a class of wage slaves, exploited and oppressed, be helped through constitutional amendments? Could our living conditions be bettered, could we overthrow the profit system, could we emancipate ourselves by amending the Constitution of the United States? Let us look into this question.

Constitution as an Instrument for the Exploiters

The Constitution is the basic law of the State, and the capitalist state is an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class for the oppression of the toiling masses. In a class society the government is the executive committee for the ruling class. The exploiters are not a homogeneous class. The small capitalists,

the big industrialists, the financiers are motivated by conflicting interests, each stratum struggling for control of the Government to promote its own special interests. But they would stand united against a constitutional amendment that would deprive them of their capitalist "right" to exploit the workers. The capitalist rule over the workers can be overthrown only by a revolution of the workers. History knows of no fundamental social change achieved by any method except revolution. The Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, did not mean more than strengthening the economic position of industrial capitalists of the North at the expense of the agricultural capitalists of the South, but it took four years of a bloody civil war to enforce the amendment.

Ruling Class Cannot Be Legislated Out Of Power

Nothing is more dangerous for the workers than the illusion that they can legislate their oppressors out of power through the very instrument of oppression, the capitalist state. The German Socialist had that illusion. They got fascism. The Austrian Socialists had the same illusion. They now have fascism. The Italian workers thought that it was quite sufficient to occupy the factories; they ignored the capitalist state, but they were not ignored by it. They were crushed and now have fascism.

What if the Supreme Court, one branch of the capitalist government, is deprived of certain power and the same power is turned over to the legislative or executive branch of the same capitalist government? It may make a difference to the various groups of capitalists fighting for control of the government, but it leaves us, workers, an oppressed and exploited class.

The Road For The Working Class

Not a constitutional amendment, but the organized revolutionary force is the instrument for the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery and exploitation.

The proposals of the Stalinists and the Socialist "militants" for constitutional amendments is the worst form of Parliamentarism.

The abolition of the Constitution through the overthrow of American imperialism is the only road for the working class.

bosses to start an offensive

Several general strikes of national importance and a whole series of the kind of general strikes that took place in Pekin already dot the history of the American labor movement. These are valuable lessons in the class struggle and for the workers struggle for power. The might of the workers, even in a period of reaction, is clearly seen when UNITY of the working class of the community reigns. Everything is powerless before its onrush. The general strike is of great value for the class but unless the struggles of the workers and the general strike is under the leadership of the revo-

lutionary party, no solution can be obtained.

Above all the workers must remember that in non-revolutionary periods of capitalism such general strikes must be of limited duration for immediate objectives, otherwise they are sure to result in a disorderly retreat. Even under these conditions, without a leadership that understands the class struggle the general strike committee must as soon as the strike is extended, take over the reigns of social administration and government. Embryo Soviets, Workers Councils, must be established to cope with the new situation.

Most of these strikes are conducted by class collaboration A. F. of L. leaders, who are forced into this position of struggle against not only the bosses but also the STATE by the logical development of the class struggle itself.

Under these conditions the most important factors are missing, not only is there no revolutionary situation, but above all there is no PARTY, no revolutionary leadership to lead these struggles. These bubbles on the surface of the American class struggle reveal the fact that the boiling point of the American class struggle is not in the distant future.

John Fox and Phil Sold.

EXPULSED TROTSKYITES CALL FOR NEW PARTY IN FRANCE

The Trotskyites and their followers, after having been expelled from the Socialist Party of France (S. F. I. O.), call, together with the Youth section of the Seine district, for the organization of a new party.

Although on the surface this looks like a step forward and a correction of the previous false course of the "Bolshevik-Leninists" (Trotskyites), in reality it is only the latest phase of their degeneration which began a year and a half ago with their entry into the S. F. I. O.

The liquidation of their organization in France initiated the new orientation of Trotsky's International Communist League and the liquidation of sections of it throughout the world. In another part of this issue we present the facts about the liquidation of the Workers Party of the U. S. into the Socialist Party.

In the first issue of our International News we called upon the Trotskyites in France to break with the Second International and to join with the other existing forces in that country in the work of building a new party. We pointed out that a prerequisite for such a party is the repudiation of the false orientation of the International Communist League. Their present call for a new party in France does not repudiate this false orientation. Instead comrade Trotsky tries to cover up his false line, and in order to do so states things which are in direct contradiction to facts and to Marxian theory.

Falsifying History

The history of the movement for the Fourth International is presented as a straight road: Call for the new International issued in the spring of 1933; Declaration of Four, August 1933; Open Letter of Five, August 1935; for new party in France, January 1936. No word about the entry of section after section of the international "Bolshevik-Leninists" into the parties of the Second International! No word about the entry of the French section into the Socialist Party except in the following phrases: "The Bolshevik-Leninist Group and the Leninist Youth, who had entered the S. F. I. O., never had the slightest illusions as to the possibility of regenerating this party." What a miserable lie! Did comrade Trotsky not speak even of the possibility that the experience of Tours in 1921, where the majority of the Socialist Party had been won over to communism, might be repeated? "On the contrary", this attempt at covering up his tracks continues, "they had the opportunity of clarifying, through a common experience, the socialist militants, and of helping them to arrive at the same conclusions." If this were the case, can the fact, not disputed by the Trotskyites themselves be explained that the leader of the "Militants" in the S. F. I. O., Pivert, not so long ago Trotsky's great hope, is today not only more firmly and loyally attached to his social-patriotic party, but has even been able to strengthen his demagogic hold on the formerly leftward-moving workers in the S. F. I. O. and to arrest their further evolution to a revolution.

(Continued on Page 2)

NEW FRENCH PARTY WILL SACRIFICE PRO- GRAM TO NUMBERS

(Continued from Page 1)
tionary position and a break with their party?

Socialist Party Strengthened by Trotskyites

The Socialist Party of France today is far stronger than it was at the time of the entry of Trotsky's group. Their efforts to help it to "transform and prepare itself for the decisive struggle against fascism" (Trotsky in 1934) and their calling for the arming of the workers and seizure of power through, not against the Socialist Party, has bolstered it up tremendously. Today it can, together with its Stalinist accomplice, promise the bourgeoisie to disarm the workers, without encountering even so much as a stir in the broad masses of the workers, and the impotent indignation of those who first gave the Socialists the strength and prestige for such an open betrayal, the "Bolshevik-Leninists" under Trotsky's leadership, remains a pitiful gesture. They are discredited in the eyes of every French worker who begins to see through the Socialist-Stalinist betrayal to which he has fallen victim. These workers will never forgive those who helped, though unintentionally, to put it across.

Gained Members But Gave Up Their Program

Of their original Marxist core the Trotskyites have today lost most. What they have gained in new members are in the main the Socialist Youth of the Paris district who have solidarized themselves with the expelled and broken with the party. On what basis have they been won over? As their publication, the "Revolution" shows, not on that of a Bolshevik-Leninist line, abandoned by those who still carry that name, but on their activist slogans (arming of the workers, committees of action), which, where not part of a correct general line, centered on the building of an independent vanguard party, can lead only to adventurism.

The group of former leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group who have just been expelled from it (Molinier and others) for creating "Groups for Revolutionary Action" and editing a separate paper, are victims of this same activism to which the "Bolshevik-Leninists" have sunk since they abandoned the road along which Lenin built the Bolshevik Party.

Liquidation of their independent organization, first in France, then in other countries, was only the first step on the road of degeneration. We point out at the time that the liquidation of the independent organization upon the basis of the false theoretical line which motivated the new orientation of the ICL would result in the watering down and liquidation of the theoretical concepts of Marxism. We have already pointed out in the first ten issues of the International News how this organizational liquidation has penetrated the theoretical sphere and has laid the basis for revisionist positions on fundamental questions of today. The calling for the New Party in France shows that this theoretical revision has reached a new low point.

In liquidating their organization they were able to gain new recruits, but in order to retain these new followers they were forced to LIQUIDATE THE ROUNDED PROGRAM EMBODIED IN THE PROGRAM OF THE FORMER INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION. They have exchanged first their organizational independence, and now their Marxian program, for new recruits. This is the result of their opportunist road to the masses.

Programmatic Basis for New Party
The programmatic basis of the new party, as presented in the Open Letter published in La Verite of Jan. 26, 1936, is entirely inadequate. It leaves unanswered many of the most fundamental principles points of a Marxian program. The Open Letter states: "The recognition of the fol-

lowing paragraphs should, in our opinion, serve as the basis for the new party." The following points are listed: Seizure of power by armed insurrection, and establishment of proletarian dictatorship under the form of soviets; no coalition with the liberal bourgeoisie; against social patriotism and national defense, for revolutionary defeatism and consistent internationalism against the theory of Socialism in one country, for unconditional defense of the conquests of the October Revolution by world revolution; support of the colonial peoples and oppressed nationalities, for their right of self-determination; for united front with all proletarian organizations; participation in the economic struggles of the workers; for a revolutionary opposition within the trade unions; democratic centralism as the new party's structure. (The slogan of Committees of Action is also presented as part of the programmatic basis.)

The above points, correct in themselves, are accepted by many centrist parties and groups. In spite of their acceptance these parties and groups remain centrist, and therefore brakes on the revolutionary development of the proletariat. (1) because of vital errors of omission (e. g. on the role of the party and the road to power); (2) because of their failure to repudiate their previous false course; (3) because of their false concept of the road to the creation of the new Fourth International and its national sections; (4) because of a centrist policy in the carrying out of the program.

New Party will be Centrist

The new party in France, if created on the basis of the present appeal, will be such a centrist party, and therefore, like the S. A. P. of Germany and the Workers Party of the U. S., and many others, an obstacle on the road to the revolution. Even its very calling for "open and systematic work for the creation of the Fourth International", in a document which not once states that the new party's goal is communism, that it will be a communist party, and that the Fourth International will be a communist international, assumes a centrist character. What will differentiate such a party from the German S. A. P. and similar parties) will be only that the latter is affiliated to the centrist "London Bureau," while the former will affiliate to the centrist "Contact Committee" of the Trotskyites.

On the proposed programmatic basis the new party will have no position on the central question of the role of the vanguard party on the road to power, or, more likely, it will have a false one, that of the Trotskyites since their entry into the Socialist Party, evidenced by their advocacy of a Blum-Cachin government.

The new party will be based on an internationalist policy in full swing, with France once more in the position of an alleged exception, only with this difference that a year and a half ago the fusion of sections of the International Communist League with centrist organizations in the U. S. and Holland served as a smokescreen behind which to initiate the international liquidationist course, while today the adventurist "calling of a national conference of the New Revolutionary Party of the French proletariat" services as a smokescreen behind which the two last sections of the Trotskyites international tendency, which are of any consequence, those grown out of fusion in the U. S. and Holland a year ago, are to be dragged into the Second International. In view of the proposed entry into the Socialist Party in the U. S. (and tomorrow Holland) the statement for France, (for 1936, but not for 1934) that "revolutionary internationalism can be fought and developed in its entirety only outside of the ranks of the reformist and centrist parties, and that the

co-existence of social-patriots and consistent internationalists in the same party is impossible", is manifestly insincere. It has to be read side by side with Trotsky's almost simultaneous advice to the Workers Party of the U. S.: "Unanimous prompt entry (into the Socialist Party) seems desirable to me." No revolutionary movement can be built on such a policy of double book-keeping.

What is the real line of Trotsky? It is this: organize your independent revolutionary party if you are not taken into, or if you are kicked out of a party of social patriots. For him, an independent revolutionary organization is a last resort. For a consistent revolutionist it is the only way to the overthrow of capitalism. Trotsky's newest turn in France, put in its place in his international line, is not a proof that he changed his real line. It only proves that the line doesn't work.

Revolutionist Must Work For Marxist Party

Under the tutelage of the Trotskyites the new party in France (if it really comes into existence) will stand upon a foundation even weaker than that of the fusions a year ago in the U. S. and in Holland. Unless the small Marxist forces in France, who stand upon the Leninist road to the new party and the Fourth International, succeed in forcing the basis of the new party to the left, the workers of France, instead of being led to victory by a Marxist party, will be led to defeat by a centrist party.

Non Marxian Line of the Weis- bord Group

When the Revolutionary Workers League was formed the Communist League of Struggle approached it for negotiations with the object of fusing the two organizations.

Analysis of the programmatic position of the Communist League of Struggle shows that it has an anti-Marxist stand on a number of fundamental and extremely important questions (Soviet Union, Imperialist War, Negro Question, Role of the Party, and others). Negotiations for fusion with it is out of the question. On the contrary the Communist League of Struggle has to be fought as an enemy organization.

The Secretarian Position of the Weisbord Group

The fundamental errors in the programmatic position of the Communist League of Struggle revolve around (1) the relation of revolutionary strategy to the uneven development of capitalism in the imperialist epoch in connection with the transformation of revolutionary situations into successful revolutions; (2) The Leninist concept of the revolutionary party, its relation to the class and its role in the class struggle.

Creating Revolutionary Situations

In the position of the Communist League of Struggle the objective situation is permanently ripe for revolution and it is possible to create revolutionary situations. The

instrument by which this is done is a "revolutionary organization" which arrives at this end by electrifying the masses.

The slogans which the Communist League Struggle issues flow from these conceptions: "Lynch the Lynchers," "General Strike of Limited Duration for Unemployment Insurance." Of this character is the idea that "Internationally the chief campaigns of the Communists must be for the united front for insurrection against Fascism and imperialist war." This idea is also behind their advocacy of self determination for the negroes. "As for the Black Belt where the slogan of self-determination would be carried out, it would greatly sharpen the class struggle there and in such a manner as to weaken capitalism." It is this attempt to get levers to move the masses into revolutionary motion that makes so much of their position resemble the Third Period of Stalinism.

In buttressing their conception theoretically the Communist League of Struggle takes from various sources what is left and rejects right concepts. Thus it supports the theory of Permanent Revolution without understanding it and rejects the theory of Socialism in One Country and Trotsky's right course today.

Ultra-Left and Right Deviations

In seeking left levers to move the masses the Communist League of Struggle impresses into its service distinctly right positions: the Soviet Union is a workers state but the dictatorship of the proletariat has been destroyed; self determination for the negroes in the U. S.; support of position that an imperialist war fought on the side of the Soviet Union or the Chinese people is a progressive war; orientation on the syndicalist movement.

The Negation of the Party

The inevitable result of this is the negation of the concept of the party. Although the Communist League of Struggle declares for the Fourth International, in the theses under analysis there is not one word, literally not one word about the necessity of creating a Marxist vanguard party in the United States. The Communist, Socialist, and Workers Parties are attacked and denounced for various crimes high and low; other groups, too; but there is not a single word about the need for a new United States.

The truth of the matter is that the Communist League of Struggle conceives of itself as the vanguard whose growth is automatically assured because its platform is correct. Its failure to grow in a country (the U. S.) "precisely at the present time when the subjective factor is decisive" does not disturb its outlook. The egomania of its theoretical position coincides with the egomania of its leader because the former is only a rationalization of the latter.

The Communist League of Struggle is a hopeless sectarian group. Its position has elements of Communism, anarchism, syndicalism. But it contains a number of good revolutionary elements who must be won over to a correct position.

Our Position on the Centrist Lond- on Bureau (I.A.G.)

The question of the I. A. G. (also called the London Bureau) is at bottom the same question Lenin faced and solved when confronted by Zimmerwald: the attitude of the revolutionary Marxists toward centrism and its organizational expression. Lenin's solution flowed from his total line of building the new international which is our line today. Lenin's line for Zimmerwald revolved around the question of the relation of forces between the revolutionary Marxists and the centrists, the direction of motion of the centrists, and the perspective of class struggle.

These are our criteria in approaching the questions of the IAG, the larger question of such set-ups and the specific question of the IAG today.

Zimmerwald

Zimmerwald in 1915 and 1916 and affiliation to it did not contradict Lenin's line. Affiliation to the IAG would contradict our line for the building of the Fourth International. Zimmerwald took place during the war. Lenin had an organized force which was a factor of importance in the international movement. Zimmerwald was the result of a left movement in the Second International in relation to the betrayal of the social patriots. The centrists dominated it. The perspective then was one of revolutionary development, with corresponding left movements in the socialist parties. When Zimmerwald moved to the right in 1917 Lenin demanded that the Bolshevism break with it.

Today, legality can still be used. We are able to travel more freely over greater areas and are not in the position of having to make use of whatever means exist, including such set-ups as the IAG, to present our position to the world and have a place in which to function. Today the Marxist forces are very weak, isolated and even unknown. The IAG was the result of a left development in the Second International and of other forces in relation to the catastrophic defeat of the German workers and the betrayals of the Second and Third Internationals.

The IAG is moving to the right and is disintegrating. The tide of demoralization and disintegration is sweeping unchecked through the world labor movement.

I.A.G. Cannot be the Center for the Fourth International

The IAG cannot be reformed into the propaganda and organizational center for the Fourth International. It is an obstacle in its creation, and must be and can be blown up. For this purpose we must do fraction work with the revolutionary elements in the parties affiliated to it.

In view of these considerations the IAG does not offer the possibilities Zimmerwald offered Lenin, nor is there the necessity to work in it. To enter now, after breaking with the ICL on the grounds that it is a centrist organization moving

(Continued on Page Three)

Workers Party of Argentina Calls for New International

The Argentine section of the International Communist League has just issued a programmatic statement of its position regarding the latter's "new orientation". The liquidationist line of Comrade Trotsky and those who agree with him, is analyzed briefly, as well as its form of application in the various countries where its effects have been most directly felt.

Foremost in the minds of the Argentine comrades is the need of establishing an international co-ordinating center of the independent Fourth International groups on the basis of a rejection of the new orientation.

Already the Argentine section,

having solid although not large groups in the principal cities of Argentina, has taken the bold step of declaring themselves a party under the name: Workers Party (Fourth International). Independent activity is being developed although this is still mainly in the propaganda stage.

The Argentine Workers Party has been unable to establish a firm printed newspaper of their own, although the points of view of the organization are constantly brought before the workers in the form of magazine articles by leading comrades and an occasional pamphlet. A recent pamphlet by Comrade Ontiveros is a distinct theoretical

contribution on the character and workings of the peoples front movement as applied to Argentina.

Numerous contacts have been established with the membership of the C. P. and the Socialist Left, and our comrades are generally respected for their views, throughout the advanced sections of the labor movement.

The Argentine Workers Party is in basic agreement on all of the questions which we have discussed with them. We feel certain that the Argentine group will be one of the cornerstones of the new international grouping of independent organizations working for the Fourth International.

Workers Party to Liquidate into the Socialist Party

The following motion of Cannon and Shachtman was carried at the Jan. 22 meeting of the Political Committee of the Workers Party: "In view of the new situation in the Socialist Party, which opens highly favorable possibilities for the rapid development of the revolutionary political movement in the U. S. it is correct and necessary for the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League to enter the Socialist Party and the YPSL

respectfully. The National Committee recommends to the forthcoming convention of the party that it decide in favor of this step on the condition that our comrades shall enjoy the same rights and assume the same obligations as all other members of the SP and the YPSL, that is, on our part the right to advocate and defend our point of view within the framework of party organization, democracy and discipline."

Position on I.A.G.

(Continued Page 2)

to the right and is disintegrating, would mean that we consider the IAG the center of revolutionary crystallization and would bolster it

Affiliation Would be Fatal

Moreover such a tactic would be fatal for our efforts to fly our own independent banner against reformism and centrism. Our weak forces make it incumbent on us now to avoid any danger of being engulfed, imprisoned or curtailed or our voice drowned by these right centrists.

Our affiliation to the IAG would be fatal for our efforts to consolidate and expand our organization in the United States as a world Marxist factor. The Marxists in the U. S. have the most favorable objective situation for this objective. Together with the groups which we have basic agreement we must establish our own international center.

We have the opportunity to consolidate our tendency as a world force and organize an international center of revolutionary Marxism propaganda and organizational center for the New Fourth Communist International.

Foot Note

A conference of those opposed to the social-patriotic position of the Second International was called in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in 1915, dominated by the centrists. Lenin and his followers attended and supported the Zimmerwald Association, with amendments, constituted themselves as the Left Zimmerwald group, and fought inside this centrist set-up until the third conference, when Lenin advocated a break with it because it was moving to the right and could no longer be used to the advantage of the Marxists.

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MARXISTS OF WORKERS PARTY JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

Five members of the Workers Party, comrades Horace and Mildred Shapiro, Bill Brody, Omar Goode and Hannah Pevow have resigned from the Workers Party and formed a unit of the Revolutionary Workers League. Delegates to the Chicago convention of the League have been elected.

These comrades have been carrying on a principle fight against the new orientation of the International Communist League and its line of liquidating the sections into the parties of the Second International. They oppose the revisionist position of the Workers Party on a number of fundamental questions and join hands with the members of the Revolutionary Workers League

to fly the banner of Marxism for a new party in the U. S. and for the Fourth International. The Columbus comrades call on the members of the Workers Party to break with centrism politically and organizationally and to send delegates to the Chicago convention of the League.

The action of the Columbus comrades, in line with the Davenport Branch and the Chicago Spartacus youth who have joined the League are the signs of the break up of the Workers Party. This is only the beginning. The Workers Party convention will witness the unity of the revolutionists in the Workers Party with the Revolutionary Workers League on a broader scale.

The Cannon, Shachtman group with the backing of the Trotsky cable are for immediate entry into the Socialist Party. Muste and Weber, who voted with Cannon at the October Plenum for the same international liquidationist line and who joined hands with him to expell the left wing principle opposition to the new orientation of the ICL and the liquidation of the Workers Party, thereby insuring its liquidation, are today TACTICALLY against entry into the SP.

From Goldman to Cannon, to Weber, to Muste, there is an unbroken chain. What unites them is their principle support of the new orientation. Muste stands exactly in the same relations to Cannon today as Cannon stood in relation to Goldman a year and a half ago. Cannon is catching up with the strikebreakers.

Break with the Centrist

The fight against the revision of Marxism and its disastrous consequences cannot be successful on the basis of the Muste-Weber line, which was Cannon's line against Goldman. The Muste-Weber position principally for and tactically against the new orientation plays into the hands of the liquidators, and lays the basis for them to follow Cannon as Cannon follows Goldman.

We call upon the delegates to the Workers Party convention to:

1. Condemn the new orientation of the ICL.
2. Reject the October Plenum decisions of the Cannon-Muste-Weber bloc which made the Workers Party a centrist organization and brought it to its present impasse.
3. Throw out the liquidators and their leading tactical opponents.
4. Join with Marxists to build the Fourth International and an independent Marxist Party in the United States.

For the Fourth International
Revolutionary Workers' League.

League's Fourth Tour by Stamm

The Fourth tour of the League will start February 14th, with comrade Tom Stamm of the Political Committee as the speaker. The subject will be:

- Rochester Feb. 14
- Buffalo-Toronto Feb. 15, 16, 17
- Cleveland Feb. 18
- Detroit-Toledo Feb. 19, 20
- Ft. Wayne Feb. 21, 22
- Chicago Feb. 23

AGENDA FOR OUR FIRST CONVENTION

The first convention of the Revolutionary Workers League will convene in Chicago, Saturday, Feb. 29. The final arrangements of the political agenda is as follows:

- 1—World situation and American Imperialism
 - a. World Situation and War — Eiffel
 - b. American Imperialism — Oehler
 - c. Latin American Question — Blackwell
 - d. Negro Question — Watson and Saul
 - e. Agrarian Question — Fox
- 2—International Questions
 - a. The Road to the Fourth International — Stamm
 - b. Soviet Union and Stalinism — Giganti
- 3—The Road to the New Party in United States
 - a. Perspective and our Next Step — Oehler
 - b. Negotiations with Communist Left and the League for Revolutionary Workers Party, and other groups. — Stamm
- 4—Party Strategy and Tactics
 - a. Trade Union Thesis—Oehler
 - b. Unemployment Thesis—Angelo
 - c. Youth Question — Streeter
- 5—Organization questions and election of NC.
- 6—Session of National Committee.

Maritime Federation Leads the Way

On January 27, 1936 the convention of the International Seamen's Union affiliated to the A. F. of L. by a vote of 292 to 186, expelled the Sailors Union of the Pacific. What are some of the facts behind the expulsion?

The 1934 San Francisco general strike was conclusive proof of the inability of craft unions to cope with the growing struggle of the working class. Practically every major strike in the marine industry up to that period was lost due to the division amongst the workers and the class collaboration policies of the leaders. This applied both to the International Seamen's Union and the International Longshoremen's Association.

A Class Struggle Policy

It became clear to the workers that only by uniting into one class struggle organization could they fight off the attacks of the shipowners.

Thus in the fall of 1934 the progressive workers on the Pacific coast called their first conference for a Maritime Federation. This call found wide response among the west coast marine workers. It soon became evident that the Maritime Federation was with us to stay and that within it we have the foundation for a new labor federation based on class struggle industrial unionism.

The Maritime Federation at once adopted the policy of open door to every organization connected with the marine transport and allied industries. The leadership elected at the Federation convention became responsible to its membership and not to their respective Internationals.

As was to be expected, the existence of this organization led to a fight between the A. F. of L. unions which belonged to the Maritime Federation and the reactionary leaderships of the International Seamen's Union and Longshoremen's Association. This fight led to the expulsion of Paul Scharrenberg for sabotaging the entrance of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific into the Maritime Federation (and his sabotage of the tankers' strike of last spring.)

In the fall of 1935 the Maritime Federation issued a statement to the effect that it would extend the organization to the Gulf. This move has as yet not been taken due to the fight which ended in the recent expulsion. To fight these agents of the shipowners successfully the Marine workers should not waste time and energy in a capitulatory fight for reinstatement into the A. F. of L. They should immediately take their case to the rank-and-file of the Gulf and Atlantic Coast and ask them to join the Maritime Federation.

But how come that John L. Lewis, the champion of industrial unionism, never mentions the Maritime Federation as a potential factor in the building of the industrial union movement? Because Lewis fears industrial unions with a class struggle policy. Because he is of the same ilk as Furuseth, Ryan, Scharren-

berg and other agents of capitalism.

Not one hair's-breadth of confidence in the labor betrayer, Lewis! No tolerance for Stalinists and other reformists, who preach unity with Lewis!

For A New Labor Federation

To wage a continued successful struggle against the shipowners and the capitalists of all industries the fight of the Maritime Federation should be extended into every industry, with the ultimate objective of building a new Labor Federation with a class struggle industrial policy and democratic workers' control of the organization.

K. Koster

Editor's note: This article is for discussion. The Revolutionary Workers League is not in favor of calling for a new federation of labor. The revolutionists must work in reactionary unions as well as in other unions. At this stage we call for the organization of the trade unionists inside and outside of the A. F. of L., who will fight for a class struggle policy,—into a trade union educational league.

Our aim is to organize the unorganized into industrial unions with a class struggle policy. The revolving point is not the question of "inside or outside of the A. F. of L." but the organization of industrial unions with a CLASS STRUGGLE POLICY vs. a class collaboration policy.

Our trade union thesis is presented in International News No. 10.

First Coast to Coast Tour a Success

Comrade Bill Streeter, National Secretary of the Young Workers League, and member of the Political Committee of the RWL, has started the second lap of his tour from Chicago to the west coast. He will do organization work in the cities on the way west and speak at a series of mass meetings on the way east to the convention. Mass meeting will be held in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Tucson, Kansas City, St. Louis and the Illinois Coal Fields. Readers of the Fighting Worker in these cities should get in touch with local comrades.

Fox Tours Coal Fields

Comrade Joe Fox, who has just completed a successful tour through the main industrial centre from New York to Chicago, is now working in the Illinois Coal fields. The Chicago comrades led the way in the drive to take steps toward transforming our propaganda group into an organization with mass influence by sending comrade Fox to Pekin, Illinois as soon as the general strike broke out.

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EDITORIALS

Spanish Peoples' Front Serves Left Bourgeoisie

Not Against Reaction, but Against the Proletariat

The election returns in Spain shows that the Peoples Front, i.e., the liberal bourgeoisie, supported by the Stalinists, the Socialists, and the "Marxian Party of Unification" won an election victory, thereby placing this section of the capitalist one step closer to power.

The capitalist papers speak of the "Reds in Power", and the Stalinists and Socialists hail this as a sweeping victory. The elections clearly reveal the powerful pent up energies of the working class and peasants and their will to struggle against reaction and Fascism. But the class is leaderless.

Peoples Front Serves the Left Bourgeoisie

Instead of directing the class energies against capitalism the Stalinist, Socialist, and "Marxian Party of Unification, through their election bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie, support the latter, and are NOT using the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The Peoples Front, (and the Farmer-Labor Parties) are the instruments by which the Stalinists and Socialists turn the proletariat over to the bourgeoisie.

Election Bloc Works Against Proletariat

The election victory of the Spanish Peoples Front is Not a smashing victory to world Fascism as Stalinism claims. Nor is it a blow to reaction in Spain. The three working class parties in Spain attempt to defend the democratic rights and the Republic against reaction through an election bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie, thereby dissipating the revolutionary energy of the class. One year ago the Spanish Workers were fighting on the barricades but today the Stalinist, Socialist, and "Marxian" Party of Unification leaders attempt to defeat reaction at the polls, in order at some later date (?) to fight for the proletarian revolution.

Peoples Front for "Common Interests" of People

The leaders of the liberal bourgeoisie welcome instead of fear the support of the working class parties which postpones the fight for their class interests for the defense of alleged common interests. Such a bloc with the proletariat in tow of the left bourgeoisie is no danger to reaction. Reaction will defend its interests with armed might and will rely upon the ballot box when the question of power is the question of the day.

The election bloc instead of preparing the class to meet the armed reaction in combat, disarms and weakens the class to meet the armed and weakens the class in advance.

For Independent Party and Class Action

Only the INDEPENDENT action of the proletariat under the leadership of the independent Marxian Party, against the Peoples Front; through united front action, through its development to Soviet can the workers defend their interests and lead the peasantry and other layers of the middle class to victory. The unfulfilled bourgeois-democratic demands can only be carried through as the first phase of the proletarian revolution, through the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

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28 E. 14th Street, N. Y. C.

Our Next Step

The Political Committee of the League is presenting to the membership for action at the convention a resolution dealing with the question of the League's next step in the process of transforming our propaganda group with a mass line into an organization with mass influence. This resolution is based upon the premise of our work for the building of a revolutionary Marxian Party, and the adoption of a rounded Marxian program at the convention.

The organizational conclusions dealing with the question of the next step considers that the main concentration point of the League's forces must be in the middle west, (the Great Lakes-Missouri-Ohio River region) with the New York area as our second point of concentration. This carries with it the moving of the national office from New York to Chicago.

A. F. L. Fight Reflects Mass Pressure and Bosses' Conflict

Sam Gompers' secret of the long tenure of his office as President of the A. F. of L. was his policy of non-interference with the affairs of the oligarchs ruling over the several Internationals, except giving them support against revolts from below—the only kind of interference welcome to them. There can be little doubt that William Green would be willing to follow the policy of his shrewd predecessor, but, alas, no such course is left open for him by our turbulent times. He cannot hold himself aloof from, nor can he play the role of conciliator in the bitter struggle between the craft and the industrial unionists in the A. F. of L. Besides being himself an inveterate craft unionist, he is vigorously pressed by the craft unionist majority of the A. F. of L. leadership for a fight to a finish against the Committee on Industrial Organization. Hence, his recent ultimatum to Lewis and other members of the Committee to disband—or else. The question of "vertical" vs. "horizontal" union became a split issue.

The Miners Convention

The answer to the ultimatum was more emphatic and categorical than the ultimatum itself. The miners' convention went on record for an energetic continuation of the fight. "We won't split and we won't stop" said Dubinsky, Zaritsky, Hillman and other leaders of powerful unions pledged to the industrial form of organization in the mass production industries. And it was made clear by Lewis why they will not split. "At the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. we were in the minority, but a minority of 40 per cent can become the majority in the near future." Of course it can become it, provided it is not expelled in the still nearer future.

Class Collaboration

Both groups of these labor leaders are committed to class collaboration. Both are in favor of profits for the capitalists and wage slavery for the workers. The question who should have control over the comparatively small number of skilled workers in a mass production industry, the industrial union, is a jurisdictional dispute, but not a split issue. What is, then, the real issue involved in this bitter struggle? It was clearly revealed at the miners' convention when McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, called upon the convention to pledge its support for President Roosevelt and his New Deal policies. The pledge was given.

Regroupment in Capitalist Class

A regrouping is going on in the camp of the capitalist class. Old party ties are breaking up, a new align-

ment is taking place. The deep-going rift, an extremely bitter struggle between the Old Deal and the New Deal capitalist groups are bound to find their reflections in the camp of the labor lieutenants of the capitalists. Lewis & Co. are definitely in the camp of the New Deal capitalists. To put over the New Deal, class collaboration unions in the mass production industries, industrial in structure, are a necessity.

In this struggle which is a reflection of the struggle within the capitalist class, the workers are nothing but pawns, and will remain pawns until they shake off their backs all the labor lieutenants of the capitalists and turn their unions into class struggle unions.

Brooklyn Mellon Plant On Strike

Two hundred and twelve militant strikers of the Brooklyn Union Gas-Koppers Coke plant, a Mellon outfit, who have been striking since February 3rd for the reinstatement of Pat Statile, fired for union activity, for the restoration of a 25 per cent pay cut and union recognition, have been learning at first hand of the tie-up between the state and capital, between the police and plant officials.

Police Protection

The police have been watching over the scabs—who number only 50 or 60—as if they were new-born babes. The few that have been allowed to go home—most of them being locked-in in a small unsanitary building on the grounds—have been taken back and forth under police protection.

Attempts to break mass picket lines and to curtail picketing are, of course, made daily. Six or seven arrests have been made,—one of a striker picketing the home of a scab.

The plant is miserably undermanned. Many scabs have been carried out in ambulances, either totally exhausted or the victims of accidents.

Socialist and Stalinist Policies

Organization of the strike has suffered from poor preparation, some of which is being remedied from day to day. The bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. Teamsters Union have failed to help utility workers, who are organized in an independent union, even though the teamsters themselves have shown great sympathy for the strike. Coke made by scab labor is still being delivered, not only in the Brooklyn plant but in some of the company's yards in the rest of the city, to which orders are evidently being switched.

The Socialist Party, although it has men in the leadership of the Brotherhood has gained no foothold in the strike because of the lack of any fraction work or any clear trade-union policy.

The Stalinists, who have been more active, are putting their "people's approach" to work. From their class collaborationist concepts of a Farmer-Labor Party, People's Fronts, etc., has flowed their scheme of concentrating more on the consuming public than on the production end and of winning the strike by gaining the support of the consumers against the Brooklyn Union Gas Company.

The strikers must concentrate at the plant to stop production, bring pressure to call out the Teamsters, keep up the mass picket line and obtain the support of the labor movement in order to defeat the Mellon interests.

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS

No. Ten
Contents

THE TRADE UNION THESIS
THE UNEMPLOYED THESIS
THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

Organ of programmatic and theoretical material of the Revolutionary Workers League

Capitalism Is A Brake Upon the Further Development of Society

Capitalism in the United States and on a world scale, has reached the stage of decay where it is a brake upon further development of production and social progress for mankind as a whole. The decay and breakdown of the capitalist mode of production, and the fact that it fetters the productive forces is evident to all thinking people. Both those who stand for and those who stand against the capitalist system realize this, and on this premise they are working for their own class ends. The exploiters are endeavoring to maintain their rule as long as possible. To this end they reduce and restrict production, and beat into submission the exploited masses who reject and fight against this profit monger blood-sucking monster of capitalism that has fastened itself upon society and stands in the way of its further progress.

The "wise men" of each nation have no solution for the impasse capitalism has arrived at. They are planning ways and means of restricting production, of gaining markets that are already redivided among the imperialists nations to save their tottering structure the capitalist and the wise men hold in check the proletariat which is the only class capable of leading the oppressed masses of humanity to a new social order based on Socialism and production for use and not for profit.

Idle Factories and Idle Men

The productive forces of the United States; its industrial and agricultural capacity is sufficient to feed, clothe and shelter, and enable all to live in abundance by working, under an organized society not more than four hours a day. In addition to taking care of the population of the nation a large surplus could be accumulated for the other starving millions and for the future. This is possible on the present basis of production in the United States.

Two things stand out clearly in counterdistinction to this. The capitalist and the government of the United States dare not run the factories one hundred percent capacity, dare not plant the useable acreage to the full capacity. Rather they are doing everything possible to restrict. This is because they produce for profit and not for use. This is because the productive forces have outstripped the market and can only be corrected by overthrowing the capitalist mode of production and establishing the socialist mode of production under a Workers Government.

On the other hand, if present day capitalism would not only release production to its full capacity but also bring forth the new inventions and methods of production we could produce a far greater quantity of necessities than we produce today. So long as capitalism exists such a proposition is a dream. In the present decay stage they are forced to restrict production on a wide scale, they are forced to slow down and suppress these scientific inventions because the overproduction accumulated on this basis would tear the system to pieces.

Capitalism a Break Upon Future Developments

When capitalism was young and the industrial revolution was taking place and was rapidly replacing the handicraft system we had a movement known as the machine buster movement. These people wanted to destroy the machines because it took their job away. Instead of fighting for the CONTROL of the Machine they wanted to DESTROY the machine. Today, when capitalism is in its decay stage the CAPITALIST CLASS and their state takes the place of the machine buster of the past. They place restrictions

on the productive forces and suppress inventions and processes that would enable us to produce far greater quantities than we do today.

Amidst plenty the workers and exploited masses of the United States are hungry and starving. This will increase until the Workers take power into their own hands and socialize production. On this basis, and only on this basis, is there a way out of the present impasse the capitalist system has driven society into.

Capitalism is not only guilty of exploiting the workers and other sections of downtrodden population. Capitalism is not only a productive system that breeds within itself crisis, unemployment, misery, starvation and wars. It is also the MAIN brake upon further human progress. And must be swept aside if we are not to be driven back to barbarism. Hitler and his hordes are leading the way to barbarism.

Everything that capitalism touches becomes a fettered, disease ridden factor. Science which was released in the birth stage of capitalism to help bring mankind to his present stage of industrial development, in the decay stage of capitalism is stifled and prevented from full thought and activity because their discoveries and inventions run counter the interests of Capitalism. Capitalism allows science and other forces to bring forth those factors that enable them directly or indirectly to increase their PROFITS. So long as the capitalist could expand in different parts of the world, so long as they did not have to restrict their productive forces, science could be allowed some latitude of freedom and on that basis society as a whole obtained some progress. But at present the decay stage and restriction carries with it the restriction and suppression of science.

Capitalism Shackles Science

The American Association for the Advancement of Science, and all such bodies in other countries, in the main, are nothing more than instruments in the hands of the capitalists to use to increase their profits, and to pour out a reactionary ideology to enable the exploiters to hold their tottering system.

The divisions of science that touch the question of economics and social development are today as scientific as witchcraft is. Even in those fields of science that deal with processes and material very few of the new developments see the light of day. Only those inventions and processes that are used directly or indirectly in war industries find expression and development. The development of the use of light and more durable metals in place of the heavy metals is a product of war and capitalist destruction. As an auxiliary to this they obtain commercial uses.

Capitalism cannot use the new processes and materials that science has already given us, not to speak of what is on the way. Such revolutionary changes in processes and material would throw in the scrap heap most of the constant capital today, which even at this stage of modern industry is antiquated.

Next article—Science a prisoner of Capitalism.

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