

THE FIGHTING WORKER



**WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!**

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.

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A STRONG WAR GOVERNMENT VICTORIOUS IN ELECTIONS

Main Danger To Day Is Reformism

The landslide vote which carried the Roosevelt New Deal into another four years of power has resulted in a mad rush for the bandwagon by groups throughout the country who now realize what a powerful machine can be built on the billions for relief. Former Landon supporters are now making peace. Even Hearst bows to the victory of the New Deal. All imperialist nations praise the victory. From Hitler Germany to Stalin's Russia the press is pleased.

LEFT SENTIMENT CONTROLLED BY LIBERAL CAPITALISTS

The election results show that the tremendous wave of left sentiment of the masses, void of a revolutionary party, and under the influence of the Stalinists, Socialists and other reformists were cannalized by the liberal capitalists. The landslide for Roosevelt was not so much a landslide against Landon, as it was a landslide of the working class in subordination to one group of capitalists in its fight against another group of capitalists.

This complete subordination has its background. Long ago the so-called working class parties have effectively checked the organized working class pressure, even though it springs anew night and day. Therefore, it was an easy task to corral the left sentiment for one group of imperialists.

On the unemployed field the Stalinist, Socialist and Trotskyist block at the Washington Conference of the Workers Alliance of America definitely placed the unemployed upon a class collaboration program, in subordination to the New Deal forces. This checked the militant unemployed struggles after the Washington Conference.

On the trade union field the Stalinist, Socialist and Trotskyite support of the C.I.O. class collaboration Lewis machine again tied the workers to the liberal bourgeoisie under New Deal hegemony, thereby wiping out the militant struggles in Steel and other industries.

The right shift of the Socialists at the Cleveland Convention, the entry of the Trotskyites into the Socialist Party and their support of Thomas and the reformist election platform, and the Stalinist support of Roosevelt has enabled the Labor and Farmer-Labor Party forces to corral the left sentiment for the New Deal Imperialist Group.

These betrayals on the unemployed, trade union, and political field, proceed within the framework of world wide demoralization and disintegration in the labor movement following the series of revolutionary defeats. The tide could be turned, but for this we need a revolutionary Marxian party.

MAIN DANGER TODAY NOT FASCISM, BUT REFORMISM

The election results reveal as the Revolutionary Workers League has pointed out in its Labor Party Thesis that the main danger TODAY in the United States is not Fascism, but reformism.

The betrayals of the reformists and Trotsky centrists have weakened the working class, dissipated its energy, diverted it from its independent action, thereby paving the way for Fascism tomorrow when the economic conditions will intensify the class struggle. Unless a revolutionary party and powerful industrial unions with a class struggle policy are organ-

ized the workers will be no match against reaction tomorrow.

To continue the path of the reformists and centrists is to continue to undermine the only force capable of smashing Fascism and Capitalism.

RIGHT REFORMISTS WIN OVER LEFT REFORMISTS

The right shift and non-Marxian position of the Stalinists and Socialists and centrist Trotskyites have enabled the Roosevelt group, with the aid of their labor agents, to take the ground from under these left reformists.

The right wing reformists, Green, Lewis, Dubinsky, Hillman, Waldman & Co., have scored heavily over the left reformists. The heavy loss of votes of the left reformists, the Stalinists, Socialists by no means implies their finish. Their betrayals will now take on new forms. It is possible that their open support to the liberal bourgeoisie will take on forms of "opposition" which is the best way of concealing their support for capitalism.

Today the centrist Trotskyites canalize left forces for the Socialists and the Socialist and Stalinists canalize left forces for the Labor and Farmer-Labor Party, which in turn gathers the whole force for the imperialists with a liberal method of dealing with the classes.

When the Lewis, Hillman, Waldman forces can no longer hold in check the masses the exploiters will call upon the left reformists of the Stalinist, Socialist, and Trotsky type. Toward this end they are doing excellent service today. Tomorrow their service for the bourgeoisie will be indispensable. First it was the Stalinists and Socialists who saved the Capitalist State in Madrid when the workers got out of control, and then it was the P.O.U.M., and the Syndicalists who saved the Capitalist State in Catalonia when the workers moved further to the left.

Let us prevent this in the United States.

LANDON BALLYHOO MAINLY PRESSURE ON ROOSEVELT

Much of the Landon support was in reality right pressure for concessions from Roosevelt. The vote and statements after the election clearly reveals this. Many

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Help the Spanish Revolutionists

The workers of the United States should collect money to help the revolutionists in Spain in their struggle against Fascism and Capitalism and for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Central Committee has a member in Barcelona. Send all funds to the National Office. All funds will be forwarded through our representative and used to aid the proletariat.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR REACHES NEW CRISIS

POUM-Syndicalists Betray Workers



The impending fall of Madrid and the flight of Azaña to Barcelona opens a new stage in the Spanish Civil war, a new stage in a series of betrayals of the Spanish masses by the "working class parties," by the Stalinists and Socialists.

Over and over the working class formed soviets here and there, many peasants have followed them. Soldiers soviets were formed. And even the "loyal" policemen had formed councils in order to wrest command out of the hands of their officers. The workers were armed. The workers occupied the factories, the

peasants began to take over the land.

The "liberal" bourgeoisie under Azaña and the Peoples Front began to fear the forces the revolution had unleashed, began to fear the mass struggle of the people against fascism more than they feared the fascists and reactionary forces.

In order to stem the rising tide of the social revolution, and through the able support of the Stalinists and the Socialists to lead the struggle into "democratic channels" the Peoples Front took on a "left" form. It legalized factory control the workers had established. It legalized the Anti-Fascist Committees, the Economic Councils which the revolutionary upsurge had drawn to the surface, thereby retaining control at the top while the fires burned at the bottom.

In spite of the misleaders, the working class again and again tried to cut loose and create its own organs of power. In many places dual power actually existed.

A Communist party could have given leadership to this movement, not only to strengthen the workers organs of power, maintain their independence, but above all used this power to SMASH what remained of the capitalist state. But the Socialists, Stalinists, Syndicalists and the POUM did the very opposite.

In different form, and in different ways, every workers committee that sprang up at the bottom they sold out at the top. They told the workers that the bourgeois state did not exist, when actually the bourgeois state machinery remained strong enough to censor the very issues of the newspapers which said the capitalist state was destroyed. The workers, "leaders" incorporated the organs of dual power into the capitalist state apparatus, thereby, "solving" the problem created by dual power in favor of the bourgeoisie.

REFORMISTS CHECK WORKERS

In Madrid the "working class" parties, such as the Stalinist and Socialist, were called into the government in order to hold the workers in check. In Catalonia where the upsurge of the masses was far to the left and the proletarian pressure greater this was not sufficient, so the Anarcho-Syndicalists and the P.O.U.M. were called into the government to hold the masses in check. The bourgeoisie in Catalonia called the new government, with Nin as a member, the "Sacred National Unity Government."

One of the first acts of the new coalition government in Catalonia was to dissolve the "Central Committee of the Anti Fascist Militias" and subordinate all military forces to the Ministry of Public Security. The first act of the new Anarchist Minister of Economy was to issue a decree establishing government control over workers' control of the factories (which remains workers control in name only).

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MARINE STRIKE FIRST BREACH IN CLASS PEACE

ISU OFFICIALS HIRE SCABS

The marine workers strike which broke out on the Pacific Coast October 29, has met with enthusiastic response from seamen and longshoremen in the Atlantic and Gulf ports. Thousands of seamen walked off ships and left them without a single man on board. Aided by the longshoremen who refused to load or unload striking vessels, the strike is tying up hundreds of ships in many ports. Mass picket lines are strung around the ports and scab centers. Police riot-squads concentrate around the docks and strike halls determined to help the owners smash the strike.

The present walk out has been brewing for weeks on the Pacific Coast, but was continuously postponed due to negotiations carried on between the strikers, owners and Government representatives, Edward F. McGrady and the Chairman of the newly appointed Maritime Commission, Admiral Harry G. Hamlet. The demand of the owners to abolish the union controlled hiring halls was consistently rejected by the union leaders, under heavy pressure from their members. The marine workers were faced with a demand to give up the only concession won in the 1934 general strike.

**ROOSEVELT—LEWIS—ISU
AID OWNERS**

The Roosevelt Administration however was anxious to bottle up the strike sentiment on the eve of elections. John L. Lewis, following on the heels of his former colleague McGrady, made a cross-continental telephone call to Harry Bridges, leader of the Pacific Coast strike, asking him to make an "amicable" settlement. The marine workers voted with their feet and the strike could not be postponed another hour.

The response was particularly strong on the East Coast where the marine workers overrode orders from their ISU officials against participation. What started at first as a "sit down" sympathy strike is now developing into an open struggle to abrogate the sell out agreement of 1934

and put into life the demands of the January referendum.

Harry Bridges, leader of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, had intended to isolate the movement to the West Coast and bargain for a compromise settlement leaving intact the 1934 agreement. The workers in the Atlantic and Gulf have gone beyond that and are now demanding cash pay for overtime, the 8 hour day and a uniform scale of wages and conditions nationally.

The International Seamen Union and the International Longshoremen Association leaders have declared the strike "outlaw," and have mobilized all the strike breaking agencies to smash it. The union halls were turned into scab recruiting agencies. Instructions were sent to the police of the effected areas to deal ruthlessly with strikers. All the local Government agencies have been mustered to break the backbone of the strike movement. In Philadelphia, for example, Mayor Wilson inveigled 12,000 longshoremen to resume unloading of ships, and led them back to work through a picket line of striking seamen.

The CIO does not support the strike, but gives tacit support to the owners after its previous attempt to halt the strike failed. Here the role of the CIO once again shows it to be an agency for the interests of the exploiters. The difference between the scab herders in the ISU and the CIO is only in form and method.

Indications also point to a possible weakening of the West Coast strike due to the capitulation of the Maritime Federation leaders as regards the unloading of perishable goods and goods destined for Government warehouses. An order was also issued by them to bring home American owned vessels tied up in Foreign ports. Another danger is the probable decision to man the affected ships with skeleton crews.

**WORKERS BREAK CLASS
PEACE**

The most important feature of the present strike is the unlimited

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ROOSEVELT WAR GOVERNMENT

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of the exploiters used Landon as a means to wring concessions from Roosevelt.

The landslide for Roosevelt by no means implies that the Republican Party will fold up. The defeat is the basis for tightening up and eliminating dead wood. They will return in coming elections with a better fighting machine.

The Union party and its hodge-podge make up will disintegrate. Some will move to the right, and others will go to the Labor Party.

The Labor Party and Farmer-Labor Party will now be brought into greater service as the necessary reserve to hold in check the workers who are moving out of the two-party system. The workers are dumping the conservative and liberal methods of the exploiters, so the exploiters will give them the reformist method, administered by the agents of capitalism.

IMPERIALISTS WITH A LIBERAL POLICY WIN

The Reactionary Roosevelt imperialist group, as a government representing capitalism, which is a break upon further development of society, has successfully won the elections. This was carried through by the use of the liberal method of handling the classes. The only PROGRESSIVE force in present day society is the Proletariat.

The Roosevelt victory is no victory of the people over Wall Street. The greatest treachery to the working class is to explain the elections as a victory of the working class. The Roosevelt victory is a victory of one group of WALL STREET imperialists over the working class and the oppressed masses, and over another group of imperialists of Wall Street.

In the first four years of the New Deal the Rockefeller group of imperialists had the inside

track against the Morgan-Dupont, Mellon group of imperialists. But in the present period the Morgan pressure has obtained big concessions for them. The next four years will see more.

The might of the Roosevelt Government will enable the administration to eliminate to a greater extent the group friction and conflicts in the United States, to bring this united energy against the other imperialists on a world scale, mainly England. A more unified national and international exploiters policy will be the result.

The Pan-American conference coming on the heels of the election victory will be used, not only to consolidate still further American rule in Latin America, but above all to use this new might in both Americas to strike out internationally.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND THE ELECTIONS

The billions of subsidies for the exploiters and for war preparations, together with the reorganization of the productive forces at the expense of the workers and lower divisions of the capitalists, and the economic pressure of American imperialism on a world scale has brought about a revival of profits. Prosperity for the exploiters and greater misery and unemployment for the workers and oppressed masses.

A STRONG WAR GOVERNMENT

The election victory above all means that the United States has the strongest war government in the world. Ambassador Cudahy, in speaking for Roosevelt's reelection, said that war was inevitable in Europe, that a tried and tested man like Roosevelt should be reelected in these trying times. American imperialism has placed into office the strongest government ever confronting a world rotten ripe for the extension of the October revolution, a world on the brink of a new imperialist war.

Spanish Civil War

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P.O.U.M. BETRAYS WORKERS

The first act of the P.O.U.M. Minister Nin, was to accompany President Companys on a trip to Lerida where certain "differences" with the Catalonia government had to be settled. The workers of Lerida had excluded Company's party from participation in their city government, which was composed of anarchists, socialists and P.O.U.M. only. As a result of Nin's trip the workers yielded to Mr. Companys.

Instead of a class war, the betrayal of the "working class parties," has enabled the exploiters to canalize the workers into cannon fodder for their imperialist rivalry. Azaña can retreat to Catalonia and continue his betrayals. Azaña wants peace with Franco.

Diverted from their own struggle for power the workers of Catalonia will become the cannon fodder for a war of "independence." A Catalonian bourgeois state with proletarian trimmings for "national defense" will serve the interests of French Imperialism. France would like to obtain an "independent" Catalonia against the plans of Germany and Italy.

Now the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia, believing that the real danger of class war in Spain is over, may very well give actual aid to Azaña in Barcelona. This would enable the Stalinists to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the workers of the world (although it will actually be directed against the workers of Catalonia and the world) and will also give them a club over French imperialism. Russia knows that French imperialism is wavering under German and other imperialist pressure. Russia is endeavoring to save the Franco-Soviet Pact out of the ruins of the Spanish Revolution.

Reaction under Franco, and the workers fighting for freedom under the "working class parties," who have tied them to one group of capitalists, who in turn are agents of one group of imperialists, together are succeeding in killing the flower of the Spanish proletariat on the battle fields. They will make terms with each other at the expense of the proletariat. Be it a reunited bourgeois Spain or in the form of two separate states, two groups of imperialists will gain at the workers expense.

The task before the revolution, during the revolution and above all today remains; the task of forging a communist party of the Spanish proletariat. Our organization is trying to help by presenting a Marxian road to power, by sending a member of our Central Committee to Spain, by giving what material aid we can. The armed workers and their Soviets with the guidance of a Revolutionary Marxist Party could have taken power.

Chicago Meetings and Affairs

The Chicago Unit is organizing an affair for Saturday night, November 28, to celebrate the second Plenum. Plenty to eat and a good time awaits all.

On Oct., 13th, a meeting on Developments in the U.S.R.R., was held with Oehler as speaker and comrade H. Mashow in charge. An interesting discussion followed. \$10.50 was collected.

A meeting on Spain was held on Oct. 25 with Oehler as speaker and comrade Weiss in charge. \$10.50 was collected for the Spanish Revolutionists.

The Chicago Unit is arranging an affair to welcome the Fighting Workers to Chicago on Saturday, Nov. 21, at its Headquarters.

Workers Forums

CHICAGO
EVERY FRIDAY at 8 P. M.
Nov. 13—Pound Dollar Struggle—
—Hugo Oehler
Nov. 20—Developments in France
—Bill Streeter
Nov. 27—Imperialist War
—Tom Stamm

NEW YORK
MEETS FRIDAY NIGHT

Socialist-Stalinist Youth Unite

LINE UP YOUTH FOR WAR

Following in the steps of the Socialist and Stalinist youth of Spain, the Young Socialist Guards and the Young Communist League of Brussels, Belgium have merged into a single organization, and a national unity conference will be held Christmas. Discussions looking toward the unity of the Socialist and Stalinist Student Internationals are taking place. In the United States the Young Peoples Socialist League and Young "Communist" League are maneuvering for organizational position, on the basis of a basically similar political program. In Switzerland, France, Czechoslovakia, etc. the Stalinist youth are driving for organic unity with the Socialist youth.

UNITY AT ALL COSTS

Just as with the working class as a whole, so also with the youth, the defeats of the proletariat have brought deepening demoralization and despair in their wake. As a result of these defeats, the concept of "unity at all costs" has been taking hold of the working class movement. The bloody victory of reaction in Spain can only intensify this downward development. Everywhere, under the threat of fascism, the working class is torn from its moorings. The so-called working class parties shift far to the right, and throw program and principles overboard. They sacrifice openly the historical interests of the proletariat, by entering into "Peoples Fronts" with the petty-bourgeoisie and liberal bourgeoisie, and subordinating the working class to their interests. The Stalinists have proclaimed the necessity for organic unity with the

Socialists. They are extending this policy into their youth organizations and proposing it concretely as the first step to unity between the parties.

The United Youth Leagues are the People's Front-Farmer-Labor line for the youth. Where the Socialist and Stalinist youth have organizationally merged, they have drawn into the united organization the petty-bourgeois, pacifist, and "non-fascist" youth of all kinds.

In order to hold these elements they must modify even their reformist program, and water it down still further. Ideologically, the hegemony of the United Youth Leagues must shift from the Stalinist and Socialist youth to the petty-bourgeois and outright chauvinist youth. The United Youth Leagues are an instrument through which the youth are lined up behind the bourgeoisie, for a "united nation," in preparation for their participation on the sides of their respective bourgeois government in the second World War.

The United Youth League in the United States may be formed through the American Youth Congress, through organic unity between the YCL and YPSL, or through some Farmer-Labor Party Youth Section, etc. It can easily become a stumbling block in the path of leftward moving youth. The Young Workers League as the only revolutionary youth organization today must be strengthened and built up to counter-act its poisonous influence. We counterpose to the concept of unity at all costs, unity on a revolutionary Marxist basis, the only real unity for the working class.

LEWIS AND GREEN DICKER OVER PEACE FORMULA

The battle between Lewis and Green is continuing. Apparently they have not found the desired formula for an agreement through which both can claim victory. They are fighting for position at the forthcoming AF of L Convention.

The role of the CIO today, just like the role of the AF of L in the past, is dictated by the needs and interests of the boss class. American capitalism needs an extension of class collaboration policies to wider layers of the working class. The AF of L as it is constituted today has too narrow a base. The Green crowd is too clumsy and slow to appreciate the needs of the boss class. Lewis on the other hand is generally more suited to carry out the new line for the bosses.

The negotiations which have begun recently between these agents of the capitalists, reveal the most complete victory of the Roosevelt-Capitalist War Government against the working class. When the capitalists were threatened by an overwhelming spirit of militancy and strong desire for organization by the millions of unorganized workers in the mass production industries, they immediately rigged out their agent Lewis with the aid of their "progressive" representative Roosevelt, to stem the tide by getting at the head of the movement and leading it, with the aid of the traitor reformists, into supporting capitalism.

Now that the working class is passive the immediate need for the CIO as an independent organization has passed. The bourgeoisie can afford to wait a little longer before starting another such move, the danger of which is always the possibility that some radical group might get the hegemony over the workers in

the struggle, and lead it towards class struggle against capitalism.

The question here is not CIO against AF of L. Both are class collaboration agents of the boss class. Whether or not Lewis goes into the AF of L, the CIO will remain as an organized agent of the bourgeoisie. The Revolutionary Workers League stands for industrial union structure, but counterposes the need for class struggle policies in both organizations against the class collaboration policies of both.

The forthcoming AF of L Convention will have absolutely nothing new on this score. No matter who wins there, Lewis or Green, the bosses will win out against the workers. The treachery of the steel "drive" is conclusive proof that the workers cannot win industrial unions with class struggle policies while they allow the agents of the boss class to dominate their organizations. The workers must begin the job of organizing under their own trusted leaders, chosen by themselves who work for their interests and not for the capitalists'.

OEHLER DENIED BROADCAST

A radio address by Comrade Oehler scheduled for Sunday Nov. 1, in Davenport, Iowa was rejected by the station the last minute.

After all arrangements have been made and the fee paid in advance, the Company notified the local Comrade that the speech was "too red." The Company mentioned a speech made by a Stalinist the previous week as something that would be acceptable to them.

The speech by the Stalinist was in line with the policies of the conservative Radio Board.

Second Plenum of the Central Committee

The Second Plenum of the Central Committee will be held in Chicago, November 28th and 29th. In addition to Central Committee members and alternates, active members of the units are invited to attend the sessions with voice.

The agenda will include such questions as: Developments in Spain and France and the War Danger; Economic and Political Trends in the United States and the Election Results; The Unemployed and Trade Union developments.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
1607 11th AVE. N. W.
EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT
Nov. 15—Imperialist War —L. Roberts
Nov. 22—C.I.O. and Steel Drive —Hollod
Nov. 29—Civil War in Spain —Reid and Hollod

DETROIT
SUNDAY AFTERNOON
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE HALL

Marxian Study Classes

CHICAGO
1—Marx Volume One—
Hugo Oehler, Instructor
2—State and Revolution—
Fleming, Instructor
Every Monday Night

NEW YORK
1—Applied Marxism—
L. Basky, Instructor
2—Principles of Marxism—
C. Cowl, Instructor
Meets every Wednesday Night

PHILADELPHIA
1—Imperialism—
L. Roberts, Instructor
2—Elements of Communism—
Wagner-Camps, Instructors
Meets Every Friday
2915 W. Lehigh Ave.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
1—Elements of Marxism
Hollod, Instructor
Meets Sunday afternoon
1607 11 Ave. N. W.

MARINE STRIKE

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courage and resourcefulness of the workers. It is highly encouraging to witness the first rupture of major proportions in the peaceful collaboration between the workers and exploiters since Roosevelt, with the aid of the reformists and labor skates, corralled the whole class for the support of capitalism.

Undoubtedly the marine workers were caught in the tide of pro-capitalist sentiment. But their present struggle reveals the contradiction between their political support for the capitalist agents and their militant economic fight against capitalism itself. The fact that the seamen strengthened their organization, in spite of their officials, and built up militant fighting groups right after the last sell out, makes it much easier for them to be the first ones to break the ties which bind them to their exploiters.

THE TASK OF THE MARINE WORKERS IN THIS STRIKE IS TO STAND PAT ON ALL DEMANDS ON A NATIONAL SCALE. NO INDIVIDUAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND THE OWNERS. ONE SIMULTANEOUS AGREEMENT FOR ALL WORKERS IN ALL PORTS OR ONE NATIONAL STRIKE.

It would be naive to think that the marine workers can win their strike without smashing the rule of the strike breaker officials in the ISU and ILA. The seamen can be assured of victory only when they have successfully combined the fight against the owners with an uncompromising struggle against the agents of the owners in the unions.

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