

# THE FIGHTING WORKER



WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!

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

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## S. P. Militants Compromise With Old Guard

Those who looked to the Utica conference convened by the "Militant" Socialists and the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in Philadelphia for solution of the bitter struggle that has been surging in that party since its last convention in May, 1934, have been disappointed. The Philadelphia meeting produced another of those compromises in the interest of unity and peace. Thomas and four others proposed to condemn the Old Guard, remove it from leadership, and install the leadership elected at Utica. Three others were for an amendment to the Thomas-Allen resolution establishing a temporary State Executive Committee of fifteen right wingers, Militants, and those in between, and a supervisory Committee of three whose political line is closer to the Old Guard's than the "Militants". Allen boasts he has been fighting insurrection for twenty years. Oneal and Graham, of course, were equally opposed to the resolution and the amendment and stood firmly against the entire proceeding demanding capitulation to their reformist line and bureaucratic rule.

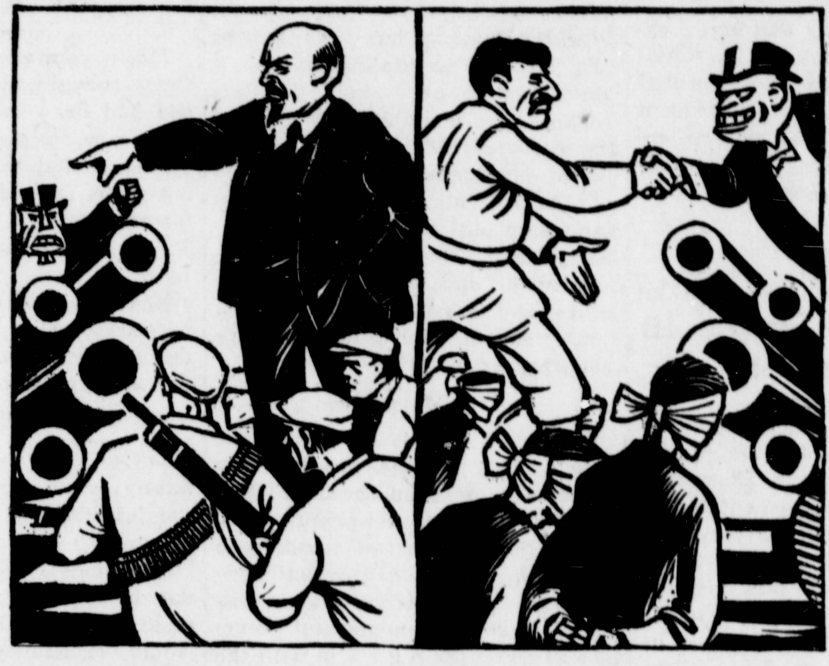
### Thomas Compromises

In the sight of all present, the peerless champion of "revolutionary Socialism", Norman Thomas, agreed to the incorporation of the amendment into the resolution and voted for the compromise as did his four friends. The Philadelphia compromise settles nothing. It will precipitate the fight now on a national scale against the wishes of the "Militants" who think that a good(!) Socialist Party needs a right wing. (Norman Thomas *Socialist Call*, January 11th). The Old Guard know the mettle of their opponents. Moreover they know that the weakness in Thomas' factional position is his ambition to be the Socialist Party's candidate for president and make a showing in the election this fall, which is extremely unlikely if there is a split. Having now confronted the maximum mobilization of the "Militants" and weathered the storm with some loss more nominal than real, the Old Guard will return to the attack and press it harder. The coming regional conference of the Eastern state organizations will launch the first assault.

### Capitulation Coming

The top "Militant" leadership is moving in the direction of capitulation. There will be more compromises under cover of which the Old Guard will recover ground lost under the attack of the "Militants". But in the rank and file of the "Militants" a differentiation must begin to manifest itself. For there are among them those who truly aspire to a revolutionary position. Revolted by the vacillations and treachery of their centrist and even reformist leadership they will seek a solution of their problem elsewhere. The first step on the road to a revolutionary solution is the elaboration of a Maxian program as the basis of the fight not only against the

Against  
the  
Class  
Enemy



With  
the  
Class  
Enemy

## AMERICAN IMPERIALISM HEADS FOR WAR

A fierce struggle is raging to day in the camp of American imperialism over what policy to pursue in its struggle against British imperialism. Those sections of the American bourgeoisie (including that led by Morgan which has definite economic ties with England) which want for the time being to use England to police the world against the danger of revolution, are rapidly losing ground under the attack of the so-called isolationists who want a straight-out anti-British policy under the cloak of "neutrality". This struggle has its roots in the contradictory position of American imperialism which arose out of the first world war.

The war resulted in the defeat of the German challenge to British world domination; but the real victor was American imperialism which replaced England as the dominating economic power. But its victory was not complete. British imperialism retained its political domination, based on its empire. Today British imperialism stands across the road of American imperialism's struggle for complete world domination.

### The American War Monger

This contradiction in the position of American imperialism and the necessity of solving it through a new world war makes it the greatest war monger in the world. Its "neutrality" and "disarmament" policies are cloaks behind which it perfects its plans and its war machine.

The end of the first world war also saw the creation of the Soviet Union, the enemy of all the imperialist powers. The necessity to overthrow this first fortress conquered by the working-class is the only thing that "unites" all the imperialist powers. The question of the methods to be used, and the share to be given to each of them, intensifies and deepens the antagonisms among them.

After the defeat of Germany's challenge British imperialism thus confronted two new enemies, both fighting, although for opposite ends, for world domination: American imperialism and the Soviet Union. It has ceaselessly worked for a bloc against both of them. In this it has met with determined and powerful opposition from both. Both have to prevent the realization of this bloc. This has been one of the most important axes of their foreign policies. To this extent the interests of these two deadly enemies, American imperialism and the Soviet Union, have run and continue to run parallel and create the basis for a future alliance.

The pivot in the policy of both from the close of the war to 1933 was Germany. The Soviet Union

endeavored to pit the defeated Central European powers against the Versailles bloc. American imperialism used economic "help" to save Germany from communism. This intervention, crowned by the Dawes and Young plans, made it the dominant influence in German economy and foreign policy.

The victory of German fascism ended this phase of post-war history. It meant the victory of the Nazi program of the annihilation of communism and of liberation from the "Young Plan slavery", and consequently a defeat for both the Soviet Union and American imperialism. German foreign policy under Hitler became anti-Soviet and pro-British. American political influence was destroyed, enabling Britain to advance her strategy of a European bloc.

The Soviet bureaucracy turned for support to the Versailles bloc, to France, the Little Entente, and England, and entered the League of Nations. At the same time it made efforts to get American support, and got a measure of it in exchange for playing America's game in the League of Nations,—the game of leading the opposition of the weaker nations against England and France.

### The Bloc Progresses

American imperialism could not cooperate more fully with the Soviet Union because of opposition in its own ranks. Its attempts to regain its lost position in Germany were unsuccessful, and it was forced to resort to a policy of throwing monkey wrenches into England's schemes, by blowing up the economic world conference of 1933, etc. Notwithstanding Britain made progress toward the consummation of her bloc, up to and right through the Ethiopian conflict. Her naval agreement with Germany has shown what important concessions she is willing to make to that country for the purpose. The decisive section of the French imperialists, full of fear of a separate English-German "understanding", seems to be ready now for cooperation with German imperialism. In France as well as in Czechoslovakia and England there has been a swing in a reactionary direction, for the discontinuation of "friendly" relations with the Soviet Union.

The Ethiopian conflict, on the other hand, has strengthened the position of American imperialism and given it opportunities to strike blows at its great rival. By refusing to range itself on the side of British imperialism and its League of Nations American imperialism prevents Britain from forcing Italy to stop the war and to play the role in the European bloc which England has assigned her.

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Old Guard but against Thomas Garfinkel, Altman, Baron, Delson and Co. as well.

But they will not work out that solution inside of the social democracy. Revolutionists cannot live under that roof. Twenty-two years

ago Lenin wrote: "In company with opportunists and social chauvinists it is impossible to pursue the true international policy of the proletariat." That is true today.

Workers in the Socialist Party who want to become revolutionists

must break from the Second International and join the movement for the Fourth International. In the United States the interests of the proletariat and the movement for its emancipation are represented by the Revolutionary Workers League.

## Capitalists Fight Over Farm Policy

The six to three decision of the Supreme Court on the AAA, is the fifth of six decisions on New Deal laws. Only the gold clause law of the New Deal which saved the banking system and gave the bankers a subsidy was declared constitutional. The majority decision declared the AAA unconstitutional on the grounds that "The act invades the reserved rights of the States. It is a statutory plan to regulate and control agricultural production, a matter beyond the powers delegated to the Federal Government." The Supreme Court warns that if this law stands the same laws can be applied to every industry in the United States and the government can curtail production, or place a tax on one section of industry for the benefit of other sections.

### The Minority Decision

The minority decision states that "If appropriation in aid of a program of curtailment of agricultural production is constitutional, and it is not denied that it is, payment to farmers on condition that they reduce their crop acreage is constitutional." The minority point out that, "the power to tax is a power to destroy". They further state that "Congress through the Interstate Commerce Commission has set aside interstate railroad rates. It has made and destroyed interstate industries by raising or lowering tariffs."

The above clearly reveal the contradictions in the decision of the Supreme Court and again reveal the fact that the laws of the land protect the interests of the ruling class against the interests of the other classes.

But the struggle between the Supreme Court and the New Deal has another meaning. It is the expression of a struggle in the camp of the American imperialists, between the Old Deal and New Deal imperialists. Each group endeavors to line up the other layers of the class, and the other classes as their allies in the struggle. The group that has the "pork barrel" and a little common sense can easily succeed in handing out a few crumbs to the lower ranks while they put across the steal for the group of big thieves they represent.

### The AAA

Concretely, the AAA was an attempt of the ruling clique to reorganize agriculture in relation to industry to meet the needs of American imperialism in the present stage of decay capitalism. One of the main tasks of the exploiters is to reduce the cost of production in order to compete successfully on the world market with Japan, Germany, England, etc., and at the same time enable these countries to export to this country raw materials and farm products in exchange for capital investments and finished commodities.

To accomplish this end the reorganization and curtailment of the production of certain raw materials and farm products must be carried through. At the same time this eases off the permanent agrarian crisis.

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# THE MOVEMENT FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## International Communist League Bankrupt

Since the victory of Fascism in Germany the revolutionary internationalists the world over have been struggling to lay the basis for a new Communist International—the Fourth International. This great work was begun upon the initiative of Trotsky and the International Communist League. From the very outset it confronted tremendous obstacles in the disintegration in the world working class movement. On the other hand the movement failed to realize the favorable opportunities arising out of the shift of certain sections of the workers in the Socialist parties to the left.

### Trotsky's Policy

The principal cause of this tragic setback is the policy which Trotsky and the International Communist League have pursued since the summer of 1934,—the policy of liquidating the organizations of the forces working for the Fourth International into the Second International on the entirely anti-Leninist theory that "the destiny of the proletariat in our epoch depends in a large measure... upon the resolute manner with which the social-democracy... transforms itself and prepares itself for the decisive struggle against fascism" (Trotsky).

The International Communist League has already liquidated its French, Belgian, Swiss, and Polish sections into the Second International. In addition because of this policy it has lost its Argentine and Spanish sections. Splits have taken place in practically all the remaining sections. The German section, which up to the split was one of the leading sections, has been reduced to a splinter. The section now in the French Socialist Party has recently split again.

The International Communist League has fallen victim to the general demoralization in the world labor movement. Today it is a bankrupt organization.

### New Forces

But new forces for the Fourth International are crystallizing. The Revolutionary Workers League is in systematic contact with an increasing number of organizations, groups, and individuals in other countries. With some of them we are in basic agreement on the vital question of the road to the Fourth International. With others we are carrying on a discussion in order to draw them closer to our position. Some of these forces are still inside the International Communist League. In our coming issues we will begin the publication of documentary material bearing on this question.

The Revolutionary Workers League has already taken the initiative in approaching those groups with which it has basic agreement with the aim of organizing an international conference, to consolidate them as a force for the Fourth International.

## Toward A New Revolutionary Center In the United States

The fusion of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party in December, 1934, was an encouragement to the Fourth Internationalists everywhere. But from the first months of its existence the leadership of the Workers Party began to shift to the right until this process reached its highest point at the October Plenum where the Cannon-Muste-Weber bloc adopted a revisionist position on the basic questions confronting the party and began the expulsion of the Marxist wing in preparation for the Convention, scheduled for December and postponed, now, twice.

From the March Plenum on, where the Cannon-Muste-Weber forces adopted a motion stating that the main danger in the party came from the left, from the Basky-Oehler-Stramm group, the party closed the door to the recruitment of left

workers. Six months later this unprincipled bloc expelled the Left, thereby cutting off one-third of the party.

### Evolution of the Marxist Cadre

If the Marxian wing had gained the dominating position in the Workers Party, the party could have become the revolutionary center for the American working class. Our expulsion demands that we begin again—not all over, because from the left wing of the Communist League, where we fought against the new orientation of the International Communist League, to the Left Wing of the Workers Party, to the establishment of the Revolutionary Workers League and the Young Workers League, has been a process of the crystallization of a Marxist cadre.

This cadre in its struggle against the revisionists of all shades has grown in numbers, has established a skeleton national structure, has hammered out a Marxian programmatic position on the important international and burning American issues, and has proved in action that it has the ability to take decisive steps at the proper time.

### The Main Line

Our main line is to obtain the basic cadres for the revolutionary Marxian party from the broad layers of the American working class. At this juncture, as an auxiliary to this main line, the Revolutionary Workers League is carrying on discussions on the fundamental points of a Marxian program with the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party and the Italian Left Fraction of Communism (Bordighists). At the same time we are endeavoring to obtain unification with other small groups located in other industrial centers, on the basis of a revolutionary Marxian program.

Fusion of these groups will not create a new party. But it will create a new revolutionary center of Marxian unification, and will be a big step toward the new party in the U. S. and the Fourth International.

In contrast to the bureaucratic

manner in which the Cannon and Muste leaderships conducted the negotiations for fusion between the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party, the Revolutionary Workers League proposes to involve the membership of the organizations concerned through discussion in joint membership meetings and, if agreement is reached, to test it by joint action. This will provide the basis for the final decision of our organization, which will be made by the coming convention.

## Ferment In the Workers Party

Many comrades in the Workers Party thought that after the Marxists had been expelled there would be peace. We, on the contrary, predicted that the process of disintegration would continue at a faster tempo.

That has actually been the case. Lack of space prevents us from giving the entire story. We limit ourselves to a few of the recent developments, some on the positive side, some on the negative.

### On The Negative Side

Let us take that first. The absolutely unprincipled character of the leadership is shown again by a document, "Draft Statement on Developments in Socialist Party", dated December, 1935. This document is signed by Muste, Weber, Gould, McKinney and A. Johnson. Lack of space makes it impossible to quote from the contradictions, errors and ambiguous statements in which it abounds. We quote only from a postscript which the authors—it seems, in order to expose themselves—added in distributing it to their caucus favorites.

"The enclosed is a statement on the Developments in the Socialist Party submitted by comrade Muste, Weber and others to the Political Committee... At this date we do not know the attitude of the Cannon-Shachtman faction thereto; it has first been submitted to them

and will then go before the political Committee for action... In October Cannon, Shachtman, Muste, Weber and Co. had agreements on all the political questions before the Plenum and threw us out. Yet they maintain factions. And they bargain behind the backs of their caucuses and their own Political Committee. Whew!

### The Positive Side

On the positive side there is the statement of five comrades of the Davenport, Iowa, branch, dated December 27, addressed to the Political Committee, in which they "protest and condemn your actions of expulsion of the Left Wing" and solidarize themselves with us. This statement is signed by Betty Rowland, Pat Murphy, Bob Gordon, William Ellis and J. R. Voss.

On the 20th of December the Columbus, Ohio, branch unanimously adopted a resolution which they sent out to all party branches. The resolution protests bitterly against the bureaucracy in the party and the disloyal course of Cannon and Shachtman. The political conclusion of the resolution is good: "We must act to remove this leadership which spends its time waiting for the most opportune moment to broach entry into the Socialist Party."

But it does not go far enough. It is aimed only at opportunists Cannon and Shachtman, whom it would replace with opportunists Muste, Weber, Spector, etc. These comrades still think the dying Workers Party can be made the center of revolutionary unity in the U. S.

We are confident that a little more experience will teach the members of the Workers Party who want to become revolutionists that their place is with us.

## THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Organ of programmatic and theoretical material of the Revolutionary Workers League  
\$1.00 a year 10 cents a copy

## American Imperialism Heads For War

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It is this situation which has presented that section of the American bourgeoisie which wants a straight-out anti-British policy, to score a significant victory over those who want to use Britain for their purposes before smashing her. That is the meaning of Roosevelt's speech to Congress, the neutrality bills, the studied failure to distinguish between "aggressor" and "attacked", and between League members and others, for which England had been pressing, and the policy of allowing normal shipments of war materials to belligerents to continue. Under a cover of strong words against "European dictatorships" American imperialism definitely turns a cold shoulder to England and objectively lends support to precisely these dictatorships, thereby laying a basis for renewal cooperation with German imperialism, which today can mean only support of the anti-Soviet policy of fascist Germany. The German press, while showing indignation over Roosevelt's "sermon", states with glee that the "neutrality" policy of American imperialism coincides with its own. The Italian press gives a sigh of relief that the United States will continue her normal exports to her.

### Soviet Diplomacy

Soviet diplomacy, realizing that England is endeavoring to wind up its League of Nations and replace it with a straight anti-Soviet bloc, tries by all means to push British imperialism further on the road of sanctions against Italy, in order thereby to keep the League of Nations together a little longer and prevent England from turning to Germany as her main ally. To achieve this end the Stalinist parties and auxiliary organizations the

world over now have the central task of agitating for the application of sanctions. The American Stalinists do their part by demanding America's participation in sanctions.

For the sake of gaining or retaining the fickle "support" of the British, French and Czech (and tomorrow the American) bourgeoisies, the Stalinists promise to defend these "democratic" countries against fascist aggressors, in return for an alliance with the Soviet Union.

The prospect is that the more the Stalinists sacrifice and capitulate in order to prevent the united front of the European imperialists, the more rapidly it will come about. Only proletarian strength, only independent class action can prevent its completion. The Stalinists follow a policy of class collaboration and weaken by their treachery the only force which can prevent the formation of the anti-Soviet bloc.

### U. S. and U. S. S. R.

If and when the English-German bloc of European powers will be consummated, the Soviet bureaucracy will in all probability have no other choice left to it than to throw itself into the arms of the mightiest and most ruthless of all the imperialist powers, the United States. If it comes to that, the Soviet Union, instead of dealing with a pack of disunited thieves as now, who are fighting for the booty before they have it, and who can be played one against another, will confront a robber of immense strength. Compared with the conditions it will put, the terms of the Franco-Russian agreement and the price paid for American recognition, which once shocked the proletarian and colonial world, will dwindle into insignificance.

The policy of the "Communist" party of U. S. A. is already shaped by the perspective of this alliance. It is scrapping every vestige of

communism, except the name, in order to cooperate with "democratic" America against the European and Japanese imperialists. The Farmer-Labor Party, as a "broad coalition party" without class basis (not even a two-class basis) is the medium by which the Stalinists hope to play this role.

A gigantic treachery is being systematically prepared by the Stalinists. The revolutionists of the entire world must devote themselves to the merciless exposure of Stalinism and a tireless propaganda for revolutionary action by the proletariat to overthrow imperialism in "peace" or war, as the only real defense of the Soviet Union. In this work we will lay solid foundations for the Fourth International.

## Farm Policy

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The capitalists can buy raw materials and farm products in colonial countries and sell them to your corner store cheaper than they can be produced at home. This enables them to do two things at once: reduce the standard of living and thereby the cost of production; and second, obtain better trade relations with these backward countries, thereby pulling them into the orbit of American imperialism.

The New Deal as a whole is such a plan. The AAA was the agricultural counterpart to the NRA. The die hard financial capitalists allow subsidies for themselves but object to crumbs for the other classes.

The defeats of the New Deal at the hands of the Supreme Court by no means settle this fight. Rather what we are witnessing is the first series of skirmishes which marks the intensification of the contradiction in the world capitalist system, which is sharpening the struggle in the camp of the exploiters and between the classes in the country.

## Arab-Jewish Question

The struggle of the Arabian peoples for liberation from British imperialism has been complicated by the problem arising from the artificial creation of the state of Palestine and the conflict between Arabs and Jews purposefully fostered by British imperialism in pursuit of its classic policy of divide and rule. The Jewish and Arab nationalist movements, by setting Arab and Jew against each other, prevent the Jewish and Arabian toiling masses from uniting to struggle against the yoke of British and French imperialism, their common enemy, thus playing into its hands.

The "Communist" International also plays into the hands of British imperialism by supporting unreservedly the nationalist Arab movement. In Palestine this policy is expressed in actual incitement to pogroms against the Jews. A proclamation recently issued by it contained the following slogans: "Disarm the Jews and arm the Arabs, put a stop to all immigration, establish commissions to guard the borders."

### Proletariat Must Lead

The solution for both the Jewish and Arabian toiling masses lies in a united struggle against imperialism and the Arabian land owners and Jewish capitalists. This does not exclude a temporary alliance of the toiling masses with these classes against imperialism. But to be successful this struggle must be led by the proletariat and establish its dictatorship. At all times the proletariat must maintain its independence of action and organization. The first essential condition for unity between proletariat and peasantry is unity of the Jewish and Arabian workers. Because of its greater degree of class con-

sciousness and the traditions which it brought with it into Palestine the Jewish proletariat will in all probability play a leading role in the struggle. But the proletariat as a whole in the Near East is a weak force and will require the active assistance of the proletariat in the imperialist countries.

The revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat has the duty of assisting the revolutionists in the Near East to create a revolutionary Marxist party to free the Arabian and Jewish workers from the poison of nationalism. That is a task of the Fourth Internationalists.

### Union of Soviet Republic

The struggle of the exploited masses of the Near East against imperialism and its agents must be unified. This area—Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and the states of the Arab peninsula, oppressed in the past by Turkey, today by England and France, constitute an economic, social and cultural unit. The reactionary positions of the Arab nationalists and their Stalinist supporters (A Federation of Arabian Peoples), and the Zionists (A National Jewish Homeland in Palestine) can succeed only in fastening the yoke of imperialism more securely on the necks of the people of the Near East. The Arabs and the Jewish and other minorities can solve their problems only on the basis of the Union of Soviet Republics of the Near East.

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## Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg

Seventeen years ago two of the most beloved leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were murdered by German White Guards. The hatred of the bourgeoisie for these two fighters knew no bounds. They had been the leaders of the revolutionary wing in the German social democracy before the war. After its capitulation to the bourgeoisie in 1914 they gathered in the Spartacus League those who remained faithful to the revolutionary struggle. In 1918, when the social democratic leaders struggled the German revolution, these two were in the forefront of the struggle against the traitors, endeavoring to widen and deepen the revolution and to lead it to victory and the establishment of the dictatorship of the German proletariat. In 1918 they took a leading part in the creation of the Communist Party of Germany.

Karl Liebknecht's intransigent fight against militarism in all its forms made him a central figure in the struggle of the young workers. His work for the organization of the working class youth on a class struggle basis and his audacity and intransigence in the struggle for the defeat of the army of the German bourgeoisie and for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, under the slogan "The main enemy is in our own country" are two of his greatest contributions to the struggle of the workers of the world, young and old.

### LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBOURG MEMORIAL MEETING

January 26 8:30 P. M.  
Revolutionary Workers Center  
28 E. 14th Street, N. Y. C.  
Admission 15 cents

## Brooklyn Department Store Workers Strike

The labor movement of New York City is watching the May's Dept. Store strike closely. A victory for the strikers will be a great impetus to the unionization of department store workers in the Metropolitan area. After eleven weeks of militant struggle, for union recognition, union wages, and other demands; during which time raw and timid workers have been transformed into magnificent fighters, Weinstein, boss of the May's Store in Brooklyn, has finally consented to negotiate. The picket line that has marched before his store week in and week out, and which his stooges and lackeys could not break, even though the police and the courts gave them every aid, finally had an effect on the pocket-book of this hard-fisted capitalist. He hopes now that trickery and intrigue will accomplish what other methods have failed to do.

### Boss Generosity

A committee of strikers met with Weinstein and his attorney, Friday January 3rd. He trotted out the usual phrases of fakers and demagogues: pull down the picket line; call off the strike; when business picks up in March, he will take some of the girls back; he can't take anyone back NOW; business is slow you see. He offered to post \$500.00 to take care of the

# YOUTH NEWS

Published by the Young Workers League

## The American Student Union

The American Student Union convention held recently at Columbus, Ohio, evaded controversial political problems and compromised on most important questions.

Failing to state definitely that in the struggle between capital and labor, the Student Union is on the side of the latter, the convention succeeded in getting out of this dilemma by reiterating in all resolutions such phrases as "encroachment of financial pressure" and "the students, like our forefathers, are devoted to freedom and equality."

### The War Question

The connection between the struggle against war and the fight for the overthrow of capitalism was left out completely in the so-called "revolutionary" position on war, which is hailed by the Young Peoples Socialist League as a great document. On the question of a war in which American imperialism might be allied with the Soviet Union, the proposed resolution read "Not to support a war of American imperialism in alliance with a progressive or non-imperialist power." This was attacked by the Stalinists as anti-Soviet slander!! And a substitute resolution introduced by the Stalinist controlled National Student League which evades the whole question was passed!! In the discussion, Monroe Sweetland, said that the National Student League will accept any program, but their real program will lead them to support a "defensive war" of U. S. imperialism and "democratic wars against Fascist nations."

A few words about the Spartacus Youth League and its role at the convention. Burying its old position: "To fusion of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy we counterpose the need for students joining a revolutionary organization" it agitated for student unity on a "revolutionary basis".

The Young Workers League is opposed to this fusion because it is opposed to any permanent student organization. Working class students should be organized in a political organization. A permanent national student organization which adopts programmatic positions on war and other fundamental questions becomes a substitute for the political organization. To fight for lower fees in school, hot lunches etc., to discuss this or that issue social problems clubs in the school are sufficient. They should be used as bridges to the political organization.

## Jan. Call to Action

The January issue of the CALL TO ACTION, organ of the Young Workers League, is out. Get your copy! There are articles on the American Student Union, the National Youth Administration, Fred Zeller and the Fourth International, the Mutinies in the Italian Army.

In two weeks the draft thesis for our first national convention will be published in the form of A Supplement to the Call to Action. Every young worker and student should make it his business to get a copy. 5 cents each. Order from Call To Action, 28 East 14th Street, New York City.

## National Notes

### National Tour

Comrade Streeter has completed the first half of his national tour. He covered Philadelphia, Allentown, Scranton, Buffalo, Rochester, Detroit, Toledo, Fort Wayne, and finished up in Chicago. He reports splendid opportunities for the Young Workers League, the possibility of building new branches and the certain establishment of one in the near future.

### New York:

The New York organization has been active in every field. Two classes have been kept going. A well attended city meeting was held dealing with the right turn of the Young Communist International. Young Workers League members participated militantly in the May's Department Store strike. Young Communist League and Young Peoples Socialist League meetings have been covered with leaflets and literature. One member of the Young Peoples Socialist League resigned to join the Young Workers League. In the student field, our comrades have carried on a systematic fight against pacifist Peace Mobilizations and against the organs unity of the National Student League and Student League for Industrial Democracy.

### Philadelphia

Philadelphia is up to its neck in work. Comrades are active in Temple University where they put across our point of view during the Armistic Day celebration. Comrades are also active in the high schools. The position of the Young Workers

## Agenda of National Youth Convention

The First National Convention of the Young Workers League will open March 5 in Chicago, immediately following the convention of the Revolutionary Workers League.

### The Agenda

1. Election of Chairman; 2. Presiding Committee; 3. Credentials Committee; 4. Resolutions Committee; 5. International Question; 6. Problem of Building a New Revolutionary Youth League in the U. S.; 7. General Character of the Young Workers League; 8. Existing Opponent Youth Organizations; 9. Relation of the Young Workers League to the Revolutionary Workers League; 10. Militarism and War; 11. Fascism; 12. The Student Question; 13. Status of Organization and Prospects; 14. Constitution; 15. Election of National Committee.

League was presented in a symposium there. Regular settlement house work is being done. Comrades attend meetings regularly, take the floor and present our point of view.

### Chicago

The Chicago branch of the YWL is on its toes. So much so that comrade Streeter reports the Spartacus Youth League "...is reduced to three branches from the six it had. . . . It is unable to conduct activity of its own."

### Fort Wayne

Comrade Conners reports that he is active in Indiana territory laying the base for the extension of the Young Workers League into that area. His work in the WPA strike is a promise of success in this field too.

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girls until he is able to take SOME of them back. No, he will not recognize the union, but he will grant certain demands, such as rest rooms, vacations, chairs for the girls; but, of course, these matters should be taken up in March, when some of the girls will be taken back to work. He made it very clear that he would not take back all the girls who are on strike, only SOME of them.

The Stalinists who led the strike against the Klein store, early in 1935, said that the settlement in that strike was a partial victory. Klein posted a \$500.00 bond as a pledge that he would hire no one but the strikers. The bond expired December 31, 1935. Klein added no new people to his sales staff, neither strikers nor anyone else. The bond was returned to Mr. Klein and that was the end of the strike.

### Maintain The Picket Line

This is a lesson that the May's strikers must learn. No bonds, no pledges, no promises of jobs in the future, can win jobs back TODAY. No trust in the Stalinists who are playing a prominent role in the leadership of the strike; no "partial victories". And no trust in the reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucrats, Goodman and Aarons, who have refused to take the strikers into the union and disperse a mass picket line.

Only the will and power of the strikers expressed on the picket line, can win jobs and recognition of the union.

## Use Club Plan To Build Weekly

One of the most important tasks for a revolutionary organization is the regular publication of a paper. The first problem is the launching of the paper. The Revolutionary Workers League succeeded in this first step with the publication of the introductory number of the FIGHTING WORKER in December. We were then confronted with the second step publication of the first regular issue. In this, too, we have succeeded. And now—most difficult of all—we must assure the regular WEEKLY appearance of the paper.

But to give the paper a firm, sturdy foundation, to assure its weekly appearance in the next period, we need the aid and support of all our comrades and sympathizers. We have estimated that \$500 is needed to start the weekly. This sum appears large to you. But this is the bare minimum. And, with your help, we can raise it.

### \$175 To Date

We had intended to begin the publication of a weekly with this issue. We planned a one month campaign to raise the needed \$500 to end on January 1st, the date set for the first issue of the weekly. Due to the fact that units outside of New York began the campaign some time after the New York organization we find it necessary to extend the campaign one month to fulfill the quota of \$500. To date \$175 has been collected, most of it from New York City and Philadelphia, through donations, pledges, subscriptions, social activities, and a successful theater party.

Our campaign is off to a good start—but if we really mean to establish a weekly we must have every ounce of support of our comrades in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Washington, San Francisco, St. Louis, Kansas City, etc.

The following are means for raising the quota:

1. Donations from comrades, sym-

pathizers and contacts.

2. Weekly or monthly pledges to establish a sustaining fund.

3. Subscriptions. Every comrade and sympathizer should be a subscriber.

4. Organize a house party or other social affair.

### The Club Plan

The regular subscription rate is \$1.50 a year; 85 cents for six months. In order to get a flying start we are making a reduction in the cost of a six months subscription to 50 cents. The FIGHTING WORKER will sell six months subs for 50 cents to any one who buys them in blocs of four or more and pays for them in advance. This is called the Club Plan.

If you buy four of these 50 cent subs you can dispose of them as you see fit. You can sell them one at a time or make a present to a fellow worker. If you sell them all you get your money back. Then you can buy four more and repeat the process. Your two dollars becomes a revolving fund which helps to promote the circulation of the paper.

### Convenient Sub Cards

The sub cards are very convenient; they are self-addressed, stamped postcards. All you have to do when you sell a six months sub is fill out the subscriber's name, address and city and drop the card in the nearest letterbox. That is all. We do the rest.

All our comrades and friends are enthusiastic at the prospect of putting out a weekly paper, a revolutionary Marxian voice. Now this enthusiasm must be put to work.

Subscribe to the FIGHTING WORKER!

Get subscriptions! Use the Club Plan!

Order a bloc of four six months 50 cents subs!

Order a bundle. Become a FIGHTING WORKER agent.

Subscribe to the Fighting Worker

## Fox To Tour Industrial Area

Following the successful tour of comrade Streeter for the Young Workers League, comrade Fox of the Provisional National Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League will make a national tour covering important industrial centers between New York and Chicago. He will speak on the following subjects: Toward a New Revolutionary Party—The Program of the Revolutionary Workers League; Can the Peoples Front Stop Fascism and War?

### Pennsylvania:

Allentown, Jan. 20; State College Jan. 21; Pittsburgh, Jan. 22, 23; Newcastle, Jan. 24.

### Ohio:

Akron, Jan. 25; Toledo, Jan. 26, 27.

### Michigan:

Detroit, Jan. 28, 29, 30.

### Indiana:

Ft. Wayne, Jan. 31, Feb. 1.  
Chicago, Feb. 2.

## Two Leninist Training Courses

BEGINNING JANUARY 20, 1936

at

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS CENTER

28 East 14th Street, New York City

PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM

Instructor: Carl Cowl

Monday evening at 7:45 P. M.

PROGRAM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

Instructor: T. Stamm

Monday evening at 9:15 P. M.

EACH COURSE—10 SESSIONS

\$2.00 per course

REGISTER NOW

### THE FIGHTING WORKER

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Special six month subscription rate of 50 cents each in blocs of four or more.

(Labor Donated)

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### CORRECTION

In listing the agenda for our National Convention which will be held in Chicago and will open on February 29, the question of the Soviet Union was omitted by an oversight.

CURRENT EVENTS FORUM  
Every Friday evening, 8:30 P. M.  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS CENTER

28 East 14th Street, New York City  
Admission 15 Cents

## EDITORIALS

### The Lewis-Green Fight

The Lewis-Green battle in the A. F. of L. promises to become an important focal point in the struggle between the reformists and the revolutionists. The Lewis Committee, with a backbone of powerful international unions, is going to put on a campaign of organization among the basic mass production industries, thereby hoping to get a majority in the next A. F. of L. convention.

The driving force and underlying cause of this battle is the pressure of the working-class which is groping its way to a higher level of struggle as the result of the prolonged crisis, the important economic changes and new stage of class relations brought about by the New Deal program.

#### The "Progressive" Capitalist Labor Lieutenant

The other side of the problem, and an important contributing factor which explains the warped form of the struggle (the union-buster, capitalist agent Lewis as "progressive") is the capitalists' reaction to working class pressure. Green represents the conservative Old Deal group of the capitalist class; Lewis the "progressive" New Deal group. The New Deal group realize that the basis of CLASS COLLABORATION must be broadened if the working class is to be controlled in the coming period. The NRA, the Coal Bill, the Wagner Bill, etc., and the Lewis industrial union CLASS COLLABORATION plan—all are parts of this new structure.

The fight for a class struggle policy must be conducted against both Green and Lewis. But the revolutionary defeats and the disintegration in the world labor movement that followed has taken its toll in the American movement and left the workers without a revolutionary party which can organize and lead this fight. The disgraceful attitude of the Stalinists and the "left" Socialists, in supporting Lewis enables him to put over his plans with less friction using these forces as his left cover. The Workers Party press trails along behind the Socialists and Stalinists.

#### For a Class Struggle Policy

The Revolutionary Workers League calls upon the progressives to organize their independent opposition movement inside and outside of the A. F. of L., against Lewis and Green for the ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS WITH A CLASS STRUGGLE POLICY. Lewis' policy must be defeated. Otherwise the Lewis structure, either inside or outside of the A. F. of L., will serve the capitalists in the present decay stage of capitalism in the same way that the Gompers policy served the capitalists in the period of the bloom of American imperialism.

### The Townsend Plan

The Townsend Old Age Plan is gaining recruits in every part of the country, creating a stir in the two old parties, becoming an election issue, and is now endorsed by the Stalinist "Communist" Party with amendments. Democrats, Republicans and Stalinists will demand that the two-hundred-dollar-a-month bill be made law. The Stalinists are endeavoring to use the Townsend movement as a spring board for the establishment of their Farmer-Labor Coalition Party.

Can class conscious and revolutionary workers support the Townsend Plan and thereby gain for the workers cause? No. The best way to help the reformists consolidate their hold upon the workers in the present period of decay capitalism is to follow in the footsteps of the Stalinists and their Seventh World Congress decisions and support

such plans as the Townsend Old Age Bill.

**Townsend Reformist Rainbow**  
The Townsend Old Age Plan is a reformist, utopian scheme. Within the framework of capitalism the Plan attempts to correct the evils of the present system. Through this simple formula the Plan promises as much as any plan so far offered to "organize capitalism." Technocracy and the Townsend Plan are only two of the many plans concocted by bourgeois and petty bourgeois reformers of capitalism, all over the world to "solve" the contradictions of capitalism made more acute by the crisis. Many more will follow. These schemes have their counterpart in the more comprehensive Plans of the European socialist parties of reforming capitalism.

All these reformist plans including the Townsend Plan, make a criticism of capitalism which contains elements of truth. Otherwise they could not rally large layers of the masses. But the fact that the Townsend Plan points out that we are living in a land of plenty and that something must be done about it is no reason to support such a measure.

#### Reformism Cannot Be Amended

The Revolutionary Workers League is opposed to the support of the Townsend Old Age Plan, as it is opposed to support of all such reformist movements. We do not propose to amend reformist plans as the Stalinists do. **REFORMISM CANNOT BE AMENDED. REFORMISM MUST BE FOUGHT BY A POLICY OF CLASS STRUGGLE LEADING TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTION.**

To get relief from the crisis we counterpose to the Townsend Plan the mass action of the workers for immediate demands such as the six hour day, five day week; social insurance, etc., clearly pointing out that the solution Townsend claims his Old Age Plan will bring can be achieved only through the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers government. The struggle of the revolutionists for immediate demands and the support of reformist measures with amendments are two entirely different things. The first is the line of revolutionary action; the second is the road to class collaboration.

### Seamen's Union Plan To Expell Left Wing

The right wing, reactionary officials of the International Seamen's Union which convenes January thirteenth in New York City, intends to expell the left wing locals on the Pacific coast which have organized the water front, raised wages, and obtained better conditions than the workers have on either the Gulf or the Eastern coasts. The International Seamen's Union reactionary officials are also opposed to the unions under the leadership of Harry Bridges which have refused to discriminate against workers because of their political opinions, and embrace Stalinists, socialists, communists and syndicalists.

The excellent fight and conditions won by the Pacific Maritime Unions can be saved only by the extension of these class struggle policies to the Gulf and the east coast. The fight against the steamship companies can be carried on only if at the same time the left wing forces fight the reactionary policies of the leaders of the International Seamen's Union. All effort must be made to prevent the expulsion of these locals but not on the basis of one inch of compromise on class struggle policy or of giving up left wing control. If charters are revoked by the officials the unions should make their MAIN line of strategy the fight to maintain their independent existence and the conditions they won. As an AUXILIARY line they should fight for readmission

into the International to rally support in the other locals in the International and the labor movement in general and to stimulate the fight in the A. F. of L. for class struggle policies.

### Amalgamation Aids Auto Workers Fight

The first steps have been taken toward the amalgamation of the Mechanics' Educational Society of America, the Associated Automobile Workers of America and two locals of the Automobile Industrial Workers Association into the Automobile and Metal Workers Industrial Union of America. According to the plans of the organizations these steps are to culminate in a new organization at a meeting on February first where final action will be taken. The new organization is industrial in structure and will have low dues—one dollar a month and fifty cents a month for women and apprentices. The initiation fee will be one dollar. But in aiming to include not only the metal workers in the automobile industry but those in other industries as well it is aiming at a false structure which will bring it into needless conflict with other unions.

The Executive Committee of the Automobile Industrial Workers Association expelled the Motor Products Corp. local in Detroit (one of four unions on strike) and members of the Press Steel Division of the Dodge Bros. Corp. Local for joining the amalgamation. The sabotage of Frankenstein and Fields of the Automobile Industrial Workers Association lends direct support to the A. F. of L. leaders in Detroit who did their best to sabotage the strike and the amalgamation. Frankenstein is the president of an organization with 25 locals claiming over 20,000 members. This organization recently issued a new booklet containing its constitution. The booklet is dedicated to Father Coughlin, "our advisor and supporter".

#### Lewis No Help

The Lewis Committee For Industrial Organization has Adolph Germer in Detroit to check up on the auto situation and the new union. It has a foothold in the A. F. of L. auto locals but has done nothing to have them take part in the amalgamation. It fears that the new union may fight on a class struggle basis and jeopardize its plans to organize the workers into a broad union with a class collaboration policy. As a step in the direction of overcoming the division in the ranks of the auto workers the new union instructed its temporary officers to act as "a fraternal contact committee with the United Auto Workers of the A. F. of L."

The struggle for one industrial union in the auto industry with a class struggle policy against the class collaboration policy of both Green and Lewis is the burning issue of the day. The merged union must make this issue its own and extend its base if it is to survive and serve the interest of the auto workers.

### N. Y. Activity Increases

Activities in New York continue in high gear despite the serious attention which is being given to the pre-convention discussion. At the May's Strike in Brooklyn, three mobilizations; five comrades arrested for picketing; a special leaflet exposing the Stalinists and the leadership of the union; valuable contacts made. Beginning January 20, two classes will be held every Monday evening. Beginning January 10th, and every Friday evening thereafter, there will be a forum at our headquarters, 28 East 14th Street, on Current Events. This forum will present a Marxist analysis of the latest political and social events, by members of the National Committee. A successful social was held on Christmas Eve another on New Years Eve, and a third is scheduled for January 18.

## Liebowitz, Stalinist, Socialist Defence Policy Endangers Scottsboro Boys

The five-year old Scottsboro case is once more in the public eye as the State of Alabama prepares to bring to trial, for the third time, the nine Negro boys framed up on a charge of raping two white girls.

The New Deal politicians in the South are making open offers in the capitalist press to "do something" for the boys if Liebowitz, the boys' lawyer, and the defense movement will get out of the case. Liebowitz a notorious mouthpiece for gangsters and murderers, was brought into the case by the International Labor Defense. In the second trial he made reactionary anti-negro speeches in the courtroom. After the trial he duped the boys, took control of the case away from the International Labor Defense and together with a bunch of reactionary parsons organized the American Scottsboro Committee, in opposition to the International Labor Defense. Notwithstanding this record, Liebowitz is hated in the Bourbon South because he is a Jew and a Yankee!

Will Liebowitz make the deal? What is there to stop him? The recent press release of the American Scottsboro Committee announced its dissolution and stated that the newly formed Scottsboro Defense Committee which it commended, would raise funds for Liebowitz.

#### The United Front

Let us take a look at this committee. It passes itself off in the stalinist and socialist press as a united front. It is composed of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a middle class negro organization; the American Civil Liberties Union a liberal organization which fights alike for fascists and anti-fascists, strikers and strike-breakers; the socialist controlled League for Industrial Democracy; the stalinist controlled International Labor Defense, and the Methodist Social Service Organizations. Its officers, headed by the Reverend Allan Knight Chamner, bear the title of

Reverend, Bishop or Colonel. No radicals or even trade unionists, appear anywhere in the leadership of the Committee.

This Committee has an agreement with Liebowitz to support his policy. And the articles of agreement of the united front contain a gag clause forbidding the organizations in the united front to criticise one another.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense is not included in the United front because it refused to accept the gag clause and the Liebowitz-Roger Baldwin-Norman Thomas—"Fighting Bob Minor" policy.

#### Stage Set

Thus the stage is set for a scandalous deal in which the boys will be the goat. These things have happened before. We have not forgotten the McNamara deal. The organizations in the united front will share with Liebowitz the responsibility for what happens to the boys.

Meanwhile the stalinist-socialist controlled Scottsboro Defense Committee, out of courtesy to the reactionary desires of Liebowitz, and under his thumb, avoids the building of a fighting mass movement for Scottsboro. Instead, it meekly and obediently collects \$15,000 from workers for Liebowitz.

There is one force which can put an end to the entire shameful business and free the boys. That is a powerful mass movement of workers, both negro and white, and their liberal and middle class supporters. But for that the workers need fighting policies and organizations. They cannot find them in the present united front. We are glad to note that the Non-Partisan Labor Defense at its last meeting in New York, January 8, voted to organize a mass movement on militant lines to FIGHT for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys. In this movement the Revolutionary Workers League will do its duty.

### Indiana WPA Workers Win Strike

In Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, North Carolina, New York and other states workers on the WPA projects have protested and struck in recent weeks against intolerable conditions. We give below the story of one of these struggles which ended in victory and in which comrades of the Revolutionary Workers League played a leading role as reported by comrade Connors.

#### From Connors' Report

"... we have organized 2500 workers in Allen County and have got 100% gains on eight demands. We were informed on November 6th that our hours had been changed to stagger these hours to keep the workers from having any time to get extra work but mainly to keep us too busy to organize. We worked all night, got out leaflets and distributed them next morning. Six projects out of 12 elected committees and we had a meeting, elected a committee and spokesman... The District Manager, Owens, promised us he would furnish free transportation (to the projects) and would give us his answer to our demands for the hours remaining the same by the following Tuesday. In the meantime the 600 workers at the courthouse waiting for the Committee to report back had swelled to over a thousand. When the Committee got back we issued a call to all workers to report at the county barns at 7 a. m. Tuesday morning and we would refuse to work till transportation and hours were given us as demanded. We adjourned. We immediately got out another leaflet calling on all WPA

workers to attend a mass meeting on November 13.

#### The Workers Win

"On Tuesday morning the workers mobilized 100% at the barns and Owens conceded our demands for free transportation and our hours to remain the same. This time he did not have to consult anyone but the workers.

"On Wednesday night over 1600 workers jammed the courthouse. By this time every project in the county had committees elected and were in a fighting mood... and put up a long list of demands, ... also that if these demands were not met on Monday, November 18 we would carry out a county-wide walkout.

#### The Demands

"The demands were covered transportation to and from jobs; fires on the job; hot coffee and soup on the job; the right of collective bargaining—that our committee be allowed to set with the bosses each week to settle grievances; pay, rain or snow, also pay for days when it was 10 above or below wether we work or not; no worker to be persecuted for his political beliefs; we would not tolerate no slave-driving, Simon Legree foreman. Every one of our demands were met the next day by the officials. It was a victory for correct Marxian tactics.

"We intend to... organize Vigo Marian Anderson and Muncie counties to win the demands that we won here."

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