

# THE FIGHTING WORKER



WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!

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

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## Lewis Committee Prepares Sell-Out of Steel Workers

THE situation in steel is getting hot. The workers are showing that they want to organize and fight. Stacked against them is the giant steel trust dominated by the "Emperor of the United States," J. P. Morgan. Morgan's steel companies are all set to fight it out with barbed wire fences, tear gas, machine guns, armed thugs and strike breakers. They're prepared for civil war. At the same time they're working up a huge propaganda for company unions and terrorizing workers into coming out against the steel drive.

The workers are looking forward to the steel drive of the Committee for Industrial Organization under the leadership of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and the Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers. The drive and its results will be very important for the whole future of the trade union movement of the United States and the working class. If the workers are able to build up a fighting union in the industrial heart of American capitalism it will be a big step forward for the whole class and will be an example which will inspire millions of workers to follow their example. If they have to go through a stiff fight, a little civil war, which seems to be on the order of the day, and win, the class consciousness of the American working class will be developed toward the point where the workers will head for the revolution to overthrow capitalism.

### LEADERS OPPOSED TO FIGHT AGAINST BOSSES

Now, that's just where the trouble lies. The top A. F. of L. leadership is against organizing the workers into industrial unions. And it's opposed to fighting against the bosses. The Green crowd want peace with the bosses and collaboration with them. This always works out against the interests of the workers. That's the way it was in the recent auto and rubber strikes.

Lewis is for the same policy. He uses a lot of words about fighting the steel bosses. But why should we believe Lewis? He has been the head of the United Mine Workers of America for years. His record is black with sell-outs of strikes, bureaucracy, gangsterism against progressives and revolutionists, stealing of elections which went against him, and about every crime that enemies of his stripe can commit against workers. And he hasn't reformed one bit. He's still an agent of the bosses in the ranks of labor.

He's posing as a progressive now. He's making a big show about organizing the steel workers. But is he going to fight the steel bosses? He is not. He has come out against strikes. His lieutenants have come out against strikes. Phillip Murray, vice-president of the United Mine Workers and an important figure in the steel drive made a public statement in the papers in which he said: "We don't want strikes." The labor-hating, strike-breaking, company agent mayor of McKeesport, Pa., said the same thing: "We don't want any strikes here."

### LEWIS' POLICY SAME AS GREEN'S AT BOTTOM

This means that the Lewis policy is the same as Green's when it comes to fighting the bosses. The difference between them is over how to corral the workers to prevent them from fighting against their enemies. There's another difference, too. Lewis has the backing of the Roosevelt administration. In the Roosevelt administration the Rockefeller group of bosses has the inside track against their rivals, the Morgan and Mellon groups. Support for Lewis by the Roosevelt administration means that Lewis is being used with his own consent—and for a reward which he will get in the future—by the Rockefeller group against the Morgan steel stronghold. In this game of capitalist rivalries the workers are being made the goat.

But the workers don't have to be the goat. On the contrary they can make use of the fight among the capitalists to advance their own interests. How? By making up their minds that they are going to organize and fight. That means class war policies as well as industrial union structures. That means strike. And that also means preparations to resist armed terror with armed defense. Only open or concealed enemies of the working class will oppose armed defense against armed attack. If the bosses can arm in defense of their interests, then the workers must arm in defense of theirs which are the direct opposite of the bosses' interests.

### LEWIS PREPARING SELL-OUT

When the pressure of the workers for a fight becomes too great for Lewis and his crew to resist they will go along with the strike part of the way, speaking for it in words but waiting for a chance to steer it off into a "settlement" which will be a sell-out. That's what the French Socialist leaders are doing. Against their will they were forced into a situation where they had to come out for the strikers and go along part of the way. Now they have their chance and are coming out against the strikes and threaten to use force against the workers. Lewis will do the same thing. Because like the French Socialist leaders and Green he's a servant of the boss class.

If the workers are going to win the coming battles there is only one way: no faith in Lewis; rank and file control of the industrial unions in the day-to-day business of the union and in strike struggles and settlements. The unions belong to the workers. They must fight to control them. That means: build left wings in the unions against the bureaucrats, false leaders and pie-card artists.

Above all, victory means a fight from first to last against the capitalists. No collaboration with them.

## OPEN WORKERS VOTE CAMPAIGN TO EXPOSE BOSS DEMOCRACY

THURSDAY, JULY 9, 1936 CHICAGO HERALD AND EXAMINER... A PAPER FOR PEACE

### Chicago's Hungry Parade



These are relief demonstrators before the City-County Building. The banner in front reads: "Unemployed of Cook County: Organize into Revolutionary Workers' Party to Overthrow the Capitalistic Hunger System. Join the Revolutionary Workers' League."

## Chicago Unemployed Fight Stoppage of all Relief

### Revolutionary Workers League Leads Fight

By Joseph Fox and Sid Okun  
Chicago, Ill. July 9.

Confronted with the stoppage of cash relief to 83,000 families in Chicago, thousands of unemployed joined in a picket line and two demonstrations in front of the Chicago City Hall, July 8th, which was organized and led by the Revolutionary Workers League of the United States.

As a result the City Council immediately passed a relief bill which raises enough money to send out food boxes to the unemployed which are six days overdue.

The demonstrations and picket line came as a complete surprise to the leaders of the Illinois Workers Alliance who had called on the unemployed to sit peacefully in the galleries during the City Council meeting and to try to get a speaker to bargain with the Council. Faced with this piece of out-and-out reformism the Revolutionary Workers League fraction in the Alliance decided to organize a picket line.

### PICKET LINE GROWS

The Plenum of the Young Workers League, scheduled for July 8th, was postponed for a day while many of the youth leaders went down to the City Hall to demonstrate. A picket line of 13 members of the Revolutionary Workers League and Young Workers League, grew in an hour and a half to several hundred, half of whom were Negroes, led by a militant negro unemployed leader, Hilton Augustine.

At eleven o'clock the Revolutionary Workers League steering committee, comrades Fox, Okun, Streeter, and Bertman, led the picket line into the City Hall, where the police refused them entry into the gallery.

Many militants of the picket line and six League comrades addressed the crowd from the steps leading into the gallery. A furious crowd forced the door and entered the gallery. A tremendous ovation greeted the demonstrators. When the cheering and slogan shouting died down, comrade Fox introduced comrade Okun, who

addressed the City Council and demanded the immediate payment of cash relief.

### POLICE ATTACK

At this point a host of police and plain clothes men cleared the gallery, beating up a few people. Our comrades led the retreat back to the streets in an organized manner. A demonstration of 2,000 immediately organized by the Steering Committee of the League and addressed by many rank and filers from the picket line, including three or four Negroes, and comrades Bertman, Fleming, Fox, and Streeter, who put forth the slogan of Nationalization of Industry under Workers Control of Production. Each mention of this slogan brought a tremendous ovation.

During the whole course of events the Workers Alliance Committee was nowhere to be found. At no time did it officially offer to participate in the demonstration. When the demonstrators broke into the Council gallery two Stalinist leaders of the Alliance tried in vain to stop the crowd from demonstrating and the League speakers from addressing the council. Members of the District Bureau of the Communist Party watched the demonstrations as disinterested observers, at no time volunteering help or attempting to join.

The Hearst Press viciously attacked the demonstration and the Revolutionary Workers League.

The unemployed of Chicago must not rest content with the meager victory won by the demonstrations. The fight for cash relief and for jobs at trade union wages to be paid by the bosses and their federal government must be intensified. But the fight must not be conducted by petitions and lobbying, but by militant struggles in the streets, on the picket line.

Only in this way can the unemployed prepare for the day when they will nationalize industry under workers control, overthrow the capitalist starvation and unemployment system and introduce a workers government.

## Voting Lists Open Until Election Day

As the Landon and Roosevelt vote-catching machines are making final preparations to get under way in the 1936 mud slinging contest, and the Socialist and Stalinists are starting out to prove how harmless they are to the bosses, the Revolutionary Workers League launched the Workers Vote Election Campaign for a Workers Government in the United States to expose the fake democracy of capitalism, at Chicago on July 4.

The program of the Workers Vote Campaign calls for immediate demands such as the six-hour day and five day week, unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses, as preparation for larger struggles to come for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers government in the United States. The full text of the program was published in the July 1st issue of the FIGHTING WORKER and will be sent free to anyone on request.

### ONLY REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

The Program is different from all the other election programs put forward in the campaign because it advances a revolutionary position against capitalism, while the other programs are either frankly capitalist or aim to reform capitalism. This goes for the program of the Socialist and Communist parties, too.

But the Workers Vote Campaign is different in another important sense, too. It is conducted on entirely different lines from the regular boss-controlled election campaigns. The Workers Vote Campaign is conducted according to working class rules. Whereas the boss class says that only certain workers who comply with their thousands of regulations can vote the Workers Vote Campaign makes eligible every worker, poor farmer, every toiler over seventeen regardless of where he lives or lived, whether he is a citizen of this country or any other, whether he is white or black, whether he has property or not and so on.

### VOTING BEGINS NOW

The Workers Vote begins now and continues right through to the boss election day. On that day those who have voted on the Workers Vote lists and who are allowed to vote in the boss elections will be asked to write in on the boss ballots the names of the candidates of the Workers Vote Campaign: Samuel Garrett for President; and Louis Roberts for Vice-President. The Revolutionary Workers League will provide stickers to paste on the ballots. Later on when we get stronger we'll run regular Workers Vote tickets in the boss elections, too.

### SIMPLE THING TO GET VOTES

To get votes in the Workers Vote is the simplest thing in the world. All a worker has to do is take a Workers Vote list and a few pieces of literature and go from door to door, leaving the literature, talking about the conditions of the workers and farmers, the issues in the campaign and ask those workers who agree with the Workers Vote Election Program to sign the Workers vote list. That's all there is to it.

## Stalin's Constitution Step Toward Capitalism

Stalin has rigged up a new constitution for Russia. What it amounts to is the elimination of the political forms of the proletarian dictatorship. The old constitution worked out by Lenin called for soviets elected on the basis of industrial plants and working class organizations. Stalin's constitution does away with this working class structure and goes back to the principle worked out by the capitalists, which makes the basis of elections the place where people live.

In other important respects, too, the new constitution, Stalin's constitution, is a big step backward toward capitalism. In Lenin's constitution elections were indirect. A worker got elected to a local soviet and from that to a higher body. This was the system all the way up the line to the All Russian Congress. This gave the workers immediate control at every stage, over their representatives. Stalin has wiped this out and put in the capitalist principle of direct elections. Combined with the territorial basis of elections this makes recall of a representative very difficult.

### NEW CONSTITUTION FAVORS PEASANTS OVER WORKERS

In Lenin's constitution a representative was elected for every twenty five thousand workers and one for every hundred and twenty five thousand peasants. This was done deliberately to give the workers a heavier representation as a concrete manifestation of the fact that the Soviet Union was a proletarian dictatorship and to protect it. Stalin has changed the ratio. Formally he has made representation equal. That is another way of handing over the majority in any serious election to the peasant class.

The old constitution had one supreme body. That was good enough to fight the civil war of 1919-21 and start the reconstruction of the country. But now Stalin has put in a new set-up. His constitution calls for two upper houses, something like the set-up in the United States. This set-up is going to make it harder for the workers to express their will. That's the purpose of two houses in the capitalist countries.

### CONSTITUTION LEGALIZES CAPITALIST PROPERTY RELATIONS

The new constitution, which is the fundamental law of the land, gives property rights forever to the collectives. That means that the fundamental law now establishes capitalist property rights in land and is a serious blow at the nationalization of the land for which, among other things, the revolution was made back in 1917. Other clauses in the constitution provide for the extension of capitalist property relations to industry.

While the constitution does these things it does not definitely discard the property relations set up by the October revolution. To change property relations force is necessary. In 1917 the property relations were changed from capitalist to a form between capitalist and socialist, by the violence of a proletarian revolution, and was defended by force in the civil war which was, on the part of the counter-revolutionists, an attempt to change the property relations back again by force. An attempt to change them now to capitalist property relations can proceed only so far by legal means. The complete change can be made only by force.

### THE FIGHTING WORKER

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will mean civil war, because the workers will defend what remains of the October revolution and the workers state.

The constitution is the political result of the deep going tendency in Russia back to capitalism and a preparation for further changes in the same direction. The Stalinists cover this up by saying they have established Socialism. But there is no Socialism in Russia. There is now a mortally endangered proletarian dictatorship.

The way out for the Russian workers is to put the Stalinists out of the seat of power and restore the old constitution and the revolutionary policies of Lenin. For that they need a new Communist party as part of a new revolutionary international—the Fourth International.

## Hold Patriotic Youth Congress

Greeting the Third American Youth Congress which met in Cleveland on July 4-5 as being "in keeping with the traditions of our country" and as a "real evidence of the vitality of our democracy", President Roosevelt set the tone for the entire convocation. Continuing to characterize the congress as "evidence of the fact that you have come together to consider your mutual problems and those of the country as a whole, to accept your responsibilities as citizens . . .", he went ahead to sum up the purpose of the congress.

The composition of this congress determined that its deliberations and outcome would be in line with Roosevelt's keynote. Student, religious, and peace groups met together with delegates from the Farmer-Labor Juniors of Minnesota, the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota, the Commonwealth Federation of Washington, and the Progressive Democrats of Texas.

### STALINISTS DOMINATE

The entire affair was dominated by the Stalinists and their stooge organizations. Naturally, the middle class and capitalist tripe of the type mentioned, and many others, were the guests of honor.

The outstanding accomplishment of the congress, outside of providing a platform for all the capitalist quack politicians, was its endorsement of the reformist Declaration of Rights of American Youth, passed by the last congress.

### YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE BALKS

Unlike the last congress, where the Young Peoples Socialist League fully endorsed this Declaration, this congress witnessed an attempt on the part of the Young Socialists to transform the American Youth Congress into a united front for the passage of the American Youth Act by the U. S. Congress. The proposal was defeated.

The major crime of the American Youth Congress is its reformist program. The only way to solve the problem it presents is its abolition and the construction of a revolutionary political party and youth organization. The proposal of the Young Peoples Socialist League was merely an attempt to convert the Congress from one kind of reformist outfit into another.

There was one force at the congress which presented a Marxist position on the problems facing the youth, the Young Workers League. In the literature it distributed and in all its other activity there it presented the following program for the youth: Instead of the American Youth Act, a struggle for better conditions for the youth through mass pressure, demonstrations, etc. Instead of the so-called "struggle" against "war and fascism", a fight against imperialist war and the system which breeds war—capitalism, a fight against all the supporters of capitalism, pacifist or otherwise; instead of the American Youth Congress, a united front of all working class youth organizations to mobilize all the youth in struggle around a specific issue like relief.

## Roosevelt for United A. F. of L.

As we go to press the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. is in session and tied up in a knot over what to do about the Committee for Industrial Organization. We're not on the inside so we don't know exactly what they're going to do or say. But we don't have to be on the inside to figure out the main lines.

The whole fight is an open and shut proposition. Lewis and his supporters have corralled about a third of the membership of the Federation and made a reputation for themselves as liberals. The way Lewis is moving ahead he is threatening to displace Green as head of the Federation and get in line for some important post with the Federal Government in the next administration. Green is fighting back.

### ROOSEVELT FOR UNITY

The situation has developed to the point, just the same, where a split is possible. The Roosevelt administration is working hard to keep the Federation intact. There's a very good reason why it wants one Federation instead of two. If there are two it will have to deal with two sets of rival leaders which will be a delicate and difficult job. But there is another reason which is even more important. If there are two Federations it will be harder for Roosevelt to prevent the workers from pushing the "liberal" Lewis set-up into serious action against the bosses all along the line. But if there is only one Federation it will be a lot easier for Roosevelt to head off this possibility.

Green is on the spot. According to his past course he has got to make an attempt to beat down the Lewis forces. But the Lewis forces with a third of the membership behind them and the blessing of the Roosevelt administration are not going to be bluffed by Green's paper threats.

### STAGE-PLAY

The chances are that nothing decisive will come out of the session of the Executive Council. What is taking place here is stage play and preparations to control the coming national convention of the Federation in the fall. That's where the decision will be made. Or it may be made before the convention if it becomes clear as we get closer to the convention that the convention is stacked against one side or the other.

Great pressure is being put on the fight to compromise it. Since Lewis and Green are not fighting for revolutionary principles there is plenty of room for compromise.

One thing is sure; as the fight is going, now, no matter whether there is a compromise or not the workers will get it in the neck, that is, unless they organize their own force in both the Lewis and Green unions, against both leaderships for class struggle policies and industrial union structures.

## Free Ferrero - Sallitto!

Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto were arrested by the U.S. Immigration authorities in Oakland, California, on the night of April 11, 1934. To this day they have not been charged with any crime! They are "guilty" of renting office space to publish an anarchist paper "Man." After a series of star chamber hearings they were ordered deported to Fascist Italy. The inspector in charge of the Oakland Immigration Service, E. E. Benson, acted as arresting officer and prosecution witness.

This case is part of the drive against foreign-born workers by the agents of American capitalism which never ceases. The U. S. capitalists used to boast that this country was a refuge for political exiles; now they deport workers. If you want to join the fight to save Ferrero and Sallitto send your name, address and a donation to the Ferrero-Sallitto defense Conference, Box 181, Station D, New York City, or Esther Kamornick, Sect'y. Treas., Chicago Committee 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

## French Socialist Gov't Paves Way for Fascism

The situation in France today is similar to the situation in Germany from 1930 to 1932. The country is in the grip of a severe economic and growing social crisis. The capitalists are being pushed harder and harder by the entire situation and are being threatened by an increasingly aggressive working class. The government is in the hands of the Socialists whose recognized job it is to save capitalism from being overthrown by the workers. Even the Socialists themselves, that is the leaders, recognize what their job is and say it openly. Salengro, the Socialist Minister of the Interior was quoted in the N. Y. Times of July 8 as saying: "The government intends to put an end to disturbances, from whichever side they come. It is resolved to have respect for order. If tomorrow further farms and factories are occupied, the government will put an end to such action by all the means at its disposal." These words speak for themselves. They place the Socialist government and the Socialist Party squarely on the side of the capitalists against the workers.

### FASCISTS GETTING BOLDER

Just as in Germany the Fascists are increasing in aggressiveness. Although the government has officially outlawed the fascist organizations, they are still marching through the streets. The press reports daily, numerous clashes between the "outlawed" fascists and the workers. The fascist organizations have now become a legal party. But what is of utmost importance is that they have retained their arms and their fighting apparatus intact. The workers must learn again from this experience that you can't fight fascism with ballots or decrees. There is only one way: an armed insurrection to overthrow capitalism and smash Fascism—the proletarian revolution.

But the workers remain disarmed. As in Germany the Socialist and Stalinist parties have consistently refused to arm the

workers. They are holding the workers back, giving the Fascists an opportunity to strengthen and entrench themselves, increasing their boldness and self-confidence.

### SOCIALISTS AND STALINISTS PAVING THE WAY FOR FASCISM

In this respect the Socialist and Stalinist parties are playing exactly the same role they played in Germany. There they were divided, each party following a treacherous course of not fighting against Fascism in the only way possible, with arms and the revolution. Today in France they are united on a program of not fighting Fascism in the only way possible. The form of their treachery has changed. But the essence remains the same. In Germany they paved the way for Fascism; in France they are paving the way for Fascism.

In Germany the workers showed they wanted to fight and were not afraid to fight. In France the workers are showing the same thing. But far more than in Germany they are showing that they want to fight against capitalism. That is the great significance of the sit-down strikes. These were struggles, not only for better conditions and more pay. Underneath they were a struggle against capitalist property relations.

Revolutionary leadership could have led this struggle into revolutionary channels, for the overthrow of capitalist property relations, for the overthrow of the government and the capitalist state, for the establishment of Soviets and a workers government.

That's what's missing in France today just as it was missing in Germany. And until that leadership is built in the form of a revolutionary party in the shape of a Communist Fourth International there can be no successful revolution. All workers who want to overthrow capitalism in France, the United States, all over the world, must devote all their time and energy to the creation of the Fourth International.

## First Plenum of Central Committee

The first Plenum of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League was held in Chicago on July 4 and 5th.

In addition to the members of the Central Committee there were present a number of active field workers.

The two-day session discussed the important questions facing the League and adopted a number of decisions designed to push the League into the economic and political struggle of the workers around the issues of the day.

### THE FIGHTING WORKER

Most important were the decisions on the Workers Vote Election Campaign which was enthusiastically endorsed, and the Fighting Worker. In this latter connection the shortcomings of the paper were frankly recognized and plans worked out to overcome them. Some progress was noted toward a simply written, popular, anti-capitalist paper. But irregularity of appearance and lack of money made it impossible to build the paper and write it properly, or cover enough questions. On the other hand the retreat to a one sheet, two-page paper selling at one cent was not without its positive side. We found from experience that it is extremely easy to sell the paper at street corner meetings and on the streets.

### MOVING TO CHICAGO

Important steps were taken to speed up the removal of the national headquarters to Chicago in line with the policy of concentrating our work in the Great Lakes area. A headquarters has been opened in Chicago; equipment is being put in; additional comrades have been assigned to remove to Chicago from New York, Columbus and other cities; additional tours in the field have been arranged.

The report on the status of the organization showed additional

## RIED and LUBIN JOIN LEAGUE

Two active trade unionists who were members of the Communist Party, have joined the Revolutionary Workers League in New York. A number of other workers have joined in New York and other cities.

Comrades Ried and Lubin have issued a statement explaining why they broke with Stalinism and joined the League. Their statement attacks the Communist International for its reactionary policies of supporting capitalist governments and policies and holding the workers back from struggle against the capitalists.

Their conclusion is that the Communist International is "an defence and extension of the October Revolution".

About the Communist Party of the United States they say, after reviewing its recent record: "its record stamps it as a non-revolutionary party serving the interests of the bosses."

Their statement concludes with a call for all workers to follow their example: "Steadfast in our struggle for Communism, we call upon all workers to join us in adhering to the Revolutionary Workers League of the United States, which alone seeks to build a new Communist Party and a Fourth Communist International."

recruits, some losses, but a net gain indicating a slow growth; further consolidation of the leadership and the organization; a beginning of serious routine work, and penetration of existing working class movements and organizations. The end of the next period should see the League well advanced on its way to becoming a force in the labor movement and the life of the working class.

Read the Fourth International.  
Read the Fighting Worker.