

# THE FIGHTING WORKER

WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!



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

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## MAY DAY MANIFESTO

of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U. S.

for the

## Communist 4th International

May Day is the contribution of the American workingclass to the arsenal of the world proletariat to sweep aside the artificial national boundaries set up by the world bourgeoisie, and to establish the international solidarity of labor.

In 1914 the World capitalists (the Astors and the Churchills, the Krupps and the Thyssens, the Rothschilds and the Rockefellers, the Mellons and the Morgans) split the solidarity of the world workingclass and deceived the toiling masses into slaughtering their class brothers in the opposite trenches.

The slogan of the Allied Imperialists to "Make the World Safe for Democracy" was a swindle; for the imperialists used this slogan to defend the domination of British and French Imperialism against German Imperialism.

Where in 1914 rising German Imperialism could grow chiefly at the expense of England; to-day Yankee Imperialism, which has displaced Germany as the leading rival of Great Britain, can only expand at the expense of the latter.

To-day the greatest threat for imperialist war, is the United States. For in order to expand its world domination Wall St. Imperialism must prepare for war against Great Britain. That is why the U.S. has the largest war budget ever appropriated in time of so called peace. In order to conceal the war preparations of Uncle Shylock, Roosevelt, like Wilson, tries to cover up the huge war budget and speaks of "peace," and "neutrality."

From the First World War, we must learn the lesson that the workingclass must not support one set of imperialist bandits against another, regardless of which poses as the "defenders" and which are the aggressors. Belgium, which was allied with British and French Imperialism, was just as aggressive as Germany, because both were, and remain imperialists.

The capitalists and their agents raise the same hypocritical slogans today in order to prepare the stampede of the workers into the trenches. In the last war Czarist Russia was allied with "Democratic" imperialists, so in the next bloodbath, "Democratic" nations will be allied with Fascist countries. Within France, if France is still a "Democracy," the Fascists, (Doriot, La Rocque & Co.) will unite with the Stalinists, Socialists, etc. to defend French Imperialism. The U.S. in preparing its struggle against Great Britain, is doing all in its power to obtain the support of German Imperialism.

The workingclass has nothing to gain by supporting their exploiters, whether they rule by "democratic" or fascist means. The Italian workers who helped win the war for "Democracy" were "rewarded" with Mussolini. When Italian and German capitalism was tottering, the "Democratic" Imperialists (U.S., England, and France), helped Mussolini and Hitler take power.

### SPAIN

Capitalist Democracy in Spain has been consumed in the flames of the Civil War. The economic base for bourgeois democracy in Spain no longer exists. The Spanish bourgeoisie can no longer give reforms to the workers and must resort to open violence against the workingclass.

The fight for the preservation of capitalist democracy is reactionary, for it is a new application of the "lesser" evil which led to defeat in Germany and Austria. The only solution for the Spanish proletariat lies in utilizing the struggle for themselves, and establish a workers government, a proletarian dictatorship.

In order to do this the Spanish workers must wage a struggle against the "Peoples" Front Government, as well as against the Fascists. Since the main

enemy at the front is Franco and his hordes, the workingclass must continue and extend its military offensive against Fascism. At the same time the workingclass cannot rely on the "Peoples" Front Government which handed over the leadership of the army in Morocco to Franco, from where the latter launched his attack upon Madrid. The workingclass can only rely upon themselves and therefore must organize its own Workers Militia.

Where the main danger at the front are the Fascists; the main danger in the "rear" is the "Peoples" Front. The Loyalists of capitalist democracy may win a military triumph against Franco, but they can never crush Fascism. For that can only be done by overthrowing capitalism, which breeds Fascism.

If either the Fascists or Loyalists of capitalist democracy are victorious, reaction will conquer in Spain. If the Fascists win they will rule by the bomb and the dagger. If the Loyalists win, they will be forced to establish a military, a Bonapartist rule, against the workingclass. In Germany the Socialists, Scheidemann and Noske murdered revolutionists (Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and others) and paved the way for Hitler. In Spain the "Peoples" Front government has launched a murderous attack against the centrist P.O.U.M. Tomorrow it will be the Anarchists, and the next day the Socialists and Stalinists will pay for their treachery as they did in Germany.

It is the working class who pays a terrible price for such "leaderships."

The only way to prevent this is by carrying out the policy of Lenin: Creating the Workers Militia, independent of the capitalists, creating Soviets. Instead of supporting capitalism disguised as the "Peoples" Front, the workers and peasants must seize the factories and the land from the capitalists and the landlords in Spain and in the colonies.

### IMPERIALIST CONFLICT

The Stalinists and Socialists who refused to unite in behalf of the German workingclass against Hitler, have united with French and British Imperialism against Hitler, in order to defend the robber treaty of Versailles. Stalin who sold oil to Mussolini against Ethiopia, who is willing to support the Fascist program of 1919 in Italy, the program with which Mussolini smashed the Italian workingclass, has united with Hitler, Mussolini, Blum, and Chamberlain in a blockade against the heroic Spanish workingclass.

The Imperialist powers are utilizing the Spanish Civil War as a football for their own imperialist gains. England and France supports the "Peoples" Front in order to maintain their economic and political domination of Spain. Italy and Germany support Franco in order to obtain control of Spain and the Mediterranean Sea. The U.S. play the same role of fake neutrality as she did in 1914. By remaining "neutral" while the two forces are exhausting themselves. Uncle Shylock intervenes economically through the dollar, and tomorrow will resort to military means.

Regardless of whether "our" imperialists are fighting on the same side as the Loyalists of capitalist democracy, the Soviet Union, etc. or whether she is opposed to them, the war from our standpoint is an imperialist war.

Imperialist war cannot be fought by pacifism. It was not the pacifists who stopped the bloodbath of 1914-18. It was the Bolshevik revolution which crossed the Russian frontiers into Germany, Hungary, Saxony, Bavaria, etc. The only way to fight against imperialist war is by fighting for defeat of our main enemy, "our own" capitalists, by turning the imperialist war into a civil war and by a policy of revolutionary defeatism regardless of whether "our" capitalists are allied with the Soviet Union, or shout that they are defending "Democracy" in Spain, or any other place.

Continued on Page 2

For the Revolutionary overthrow of capitalism!  
For the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Spain!  
For a new Communist Party in the Soviet Union!  
For the organization of the unorganized!  
For the 6 hour day with 8 hours pay!

For a single Federation of Labor with industrial structure and class struggle policies!  
Supreme Court "reform" solves nothing for the working class!  
For a Revolutionary Party and a Communist 4th International.

## Auto Workers Push Forward Against CIO Leadership

With its sell-out of the General Motors strike in Oshawa, Canada, the treachery of the CIO leadership extended across the national boundary. Failing the first time in ramming an unsatisfactory agreement down the throats of the workers, the CIO leaders finally succeeded in killing the strike. Shortly before, the Chrysler workers, called out on the single issue, recognition of the union as sole bargaining agent where sent back to work without winning this demand. By these repeated sell-outs, Lewis & Co. have succeeded in causing an ebb in the strike wave.

This strike wave was strangled at every step by the CIO leadership. Despite the fact that a strike in Auto, the most highly concentrated section of American capitalism, demands the solidarity of all workers, the CIO leadership instead of extending the struggle did all in their power to check the militancy of the workers. They failed to support the auto workers out of the funds collected by the CIO which Lewis said was to extend industrial unionism.

### RESIST SELLOUTS

In the General Motors agreement put over on the workers, Lewis revealed that he had lost none of his old skill in selling out the workers. But in the Chrysler agreement Lewis, Martin and Co. had more difficulty in putting over their dirty work. Local 205, a militant union, did all in its power to prevent the sell-out. And in order to compel the Chrysler workers in the key plant, Dodge, to evacuate the plant the CIO leaders had to take 5 votes before they could shove this rotten deal down the throats of the workers who were ready and eager to fight.

### LOCAL 205

Out of all the unions which have sprung up like mushrooms in Detroit, Local 205 stands out as a powerful beacon. Its action, in stopping production in two plants to come to the aid of their class brothers in the Yale-Towne Lock Co. whom the police were trying to evict, is a lesson in working-class solidarity that must be spread from coast to coast. The agreements obtained by Local 205 for its members compare favorably with the best agreements obtained in the Auto industry. Where the Lewises, Martins and Frankensteins try to stem the militancy of the workers, Local 205 guides it into the proper class struggle channels. Were most of the CIO officials attack the wave of spontaneous sit-downs, and are afraid of the initiative of the workers, Local 205 defends the right to strike and gives full initiative to the workers by basing the union on plant committees, the heart of militant unionism.

The workers have shown in action by having one sit down after another in G.M. since the agreement was signed that they are dissatisfied. In the Ontario strike Martin's agreement to surrender was rejected by the workers, showing better than anything else the discontent and resentment against Lewis, Martin, & Co.

In order to combat the militancy of the strikers the bosses and Lewis have begun a Red baiting campaign, the old trusty weapon of the bosses and their agents to attack all militants. And as a focal point Lewis is beginning a campaign against Local 205.

### R. W. L. ROLE

From the very beginning the only force which has opposed the

sell outs at G.M., Chrysler, etc. and which tried to spread the strike into a General Strike, has been the Revolutionary Workers League. For carrying on a bold policy in the interest of the workingclass, the R.W.L. has been viciously attacked by the capitalist press and their Stalinist lackeys.

The workers must not rely on the Lewises, and Martins, nor on the treacherous C.P. which supports Lewis and his sell outs. The workers must only rely on themselves. Despite the fact that at present there is an ebb in the

strike wave, this may be the lull before the next storm. The only solution for the workers is to increase the struggles, spread the strikes into Ford and work towards a General Strike in Auto. Now is the time to make demands, not when production is running low.

But the workers must go even further. Side by side with the organization of the workers into industrial unions on a class struggle basis must be the organization of the new revolutionary party and a new revolutionary international, the Communist 4th International.

## May Day Manifesto

(Continued from page 1)

The capitalists and their Socialist and Stalinist agents who support the capitalist exploiters who rule "democratically," are repeating the betrayal of 1914. These two bankrupt internationalists have gone over to the camp of the class enemy. A new international, with a new and a clean banner must be created: the Communist 4th International.

### On Capitalist Reforms

The organized workers are the backbone of the proletarian revolution. In order to split the ranks of the workingclass and divert it from its historic mission the capitalists send their lieutenants into the ranks of labor.

The struggle between Lewis and Green is at the same time a reflection of the struggle between the Rockefeller-Lehman-Roosevelt group of capitalists against the Morgan-Mellon-Dupont groups. Though Lewis and Green have split on how to corral the workers, both remain the agents of capitalism within the ranks of labor.

The workingclass cannot win the closed shop by supporting Green or by supporting the sellout agreements put over by Lewis in General Motors and Chrysler. The workingclass cannot win the 30 hour week by supporting Lewis' sell out to the coal barons. The 6 hour day 5 day week can only be won in the same militant manner that won the 8 hour day.

Instead of relying on the agents of capitalism, the workingclass must rely on its own strength and solidarity. Instead of being

split into two federations of labor, the workingclass must form a single federation of labor on an industrial basis with class struggle policies.

Side by side with union organization must go the organization of a new revolutionary party in the U.S. which will give leadership and guidance to the workingclass in its trade union struggles.

### Supreme Court

Capitalism cannot be reformed. "Curbing" or packing the Supreme Court with 9 or 15 capitalist henchmen will not aid the workingclass. Roosevelt's policies which are always direct against the interest of the workers are also the instrument of the Rockefeller section of the capitalist class against the Morgan section.

The power of capitalism does not rest alone in the Supreme Court. The power of the Supreme Court, Congress, etc. rests on the army, navy, and other armed forces of American Imperialism. Where in the U.S. capitalism rules "democratically," in Porto Rico, Cuba, Philippines Islands, Liberia, etc. Yankee imperialism rules by the most ruthless terror.

The only solution for the workingclass, at home and in the colonies, is to overthrow capitalism and smash its instruments of class oppression. To accomplish this task a new revolutionary party and a new Communist 4th International must be created. Join the Revolutionary Workers League and help build the American section of the Communist 4th International.

Central Committee.

## CIO-AF of L. Fight Penetrates Local Bodies; Workers Need One Federation

The action of the A.F. of L. in openly supporting the Auto barons in the General Motors Strike, and Green's demand for the expulsion, not merely suspension of C.I.O. unions from the A.F. of L., has extended the rift between Lewis and Green at the top into a division extending downward to the state and local bodies.

In the Pittsburgh area, the aluminum workers have signed up with the C.I.O. As a matter of fact the C.I.O. has agreed to issue 300 charters. Most of the groups given charters had been suspended or expelled from the A.F. of L. They include the American Radio Telegraphists Association, United Shoe Workers Union, and others.

It is evident that the C.I.O. is now going to organize rival local, state and national set ups to the A.F. of L. which will eventually result in a new federation of labor.

### Class Struggle Basis

The problem which now confronts the workingclass in the U.S., with two trade union centers is fundamentally the same as though there was only one center. A struggle must be waged for trade unionism with a class struggle policy. Concretely the workingclass must fight for unity in the ranks of labor on an industrial class struggle basis.

Already today, and more so tomorrow, the bosses will try to utilize the differentiation in order to discredit unionism as a whole. For example the Steel Magnates tried to use Green, Frey & Co. and other A.F. of L. officials against the organization of the workers into industrial unions. Only by raising the question of

unity on an industrial class struggle basis, for rank and file control of the union, for democracy within the unions, etc. can we utilize the struggle between the labor lieutenants of capitalism (Lewis as well as Green) to further the interests of the workingclass.

### Fight Lewis and Green

The time when Lewis has to pose as a progressive, by appealing to the membership against Green & Co. is the time when we can push our struggle the furthest, by not only opposing Green but by fighting against Lewis & Co. as well.

Instead of supporting the C.I.O. leadership against the A.F. of L. bureaucracy, we must carry on an independent workingclass line against both of these capitalist agents. We must carry on the same policy that is pursued in a strike where one is confronted with open strike breakers, as well as those who are at the head of the strike in order to behead it. It is just as much betrayal of the workingclass to support the open strike breakers as it is not to fight against the policies of the misleaders of Labor within our ranks.

### Build Progressive Group

Many progressive revolts inside of the A.F. of L. (against Lewis as well as Green) have come to naught because they did not form progressive class struggle groups. The Progressive Miners of America is an example where a revolt against Lewis took place inside of the U.M. of A. which resulted in another reactionary set up because no progressive group had been created to fight Keck & Co. The workers must learn from this lesson to build progressive

## Spanish Workers Prepare To Hold Gains; Crisis Deepens

### Letters from Com. Oehler

BARCELONA—March-April, 1937.

The revolutionary upsurge that defeated the quick action of the counter-revolution to take power, enabled the workers to take over land, factories, and buildings, and some essential functions of the daily social life of the people. Instead of co-ordinating this through workers councils, the individualistic and anarchist domination obtained "factory control," etc. and not workers control of production. In the larger industries this reached a higher stage.

Each organization confiscated the building and materials it needed. The unions took over the industries; the peasants the land. Where the UGT and the CNT had forces of equal strength and importance, they ran the factories jointly. Almost all of the industry is run on this cooperative basis...

The capital is being used up, and replacement is proceeding very slowly, in spite of the fact that given the conditions of a period of civil war the workers have done a good job in showing they can run the factories. What was done by the workers was excellent and reveals the power and energy potent in the class. What was done by the leaders—their policies, program, tactics — was criminal. What was not done was even worse...

### BOURGEOISIE IN CONTROL

At the present the workers at the bottom are enjoying the fruits of their first victories, but each day they are being encircled and their gains taken away.

The political power rests entirely in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Stalinists, Socialists and Syndicalists are their faithful servants; the Syndicalists to the left of the two former. The Stalinists and Socialists are one. In turn, the policy of the Stalinists and Socialists cannot be distinguished from that of the "liberal" bourgeoisie. They fight however, over spoils and over Russian domination.

The political power of the exploiters include political control over the "workers control over the factories," as well as complete control over the political aspects, the state. The exploiters government has control over the armed forces in the decisive sections, and is increasing its hold hourly.

In reality, the Generality is protecting the property for the exploiters as a whole. The basic property laws have not been touched. Any day when they feel strong enough all the "collectivization measures," according to their own laws can be declared illegal.

This contradiction between the economic and political control is not yet dual power, but is potent with elements of dual power, and the situation is heading rapidly toward a crisis and an armed clash. Skirmishes, some secret

groups, not only in the A.F. of L. but in the C.I.O. as well. The objection raised that Lewis will oppose such groups are not valid. For if Lewis is (as the Stalinists, Socialists, Trotskyists, Lovestoneites, proclaim) a "real progressive," he will not oppose such groups but will support them. But if Lewis is not a progressive (as he is not) then these groups are a weapon against Lewis as well as against Green.

Now is the time, tomorrow may be too late. Build progressive groups inside the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. These progressive groups inside of both centers must be unified into a national progressive center.

The workers must be rallied for democracy in the unions, for rank and file control, against all gangsters (Lewis as well as Green's thugs), and above all for a class struggle trade union policy which will unite the workers in a single federation of labor.

and some open, take place daily, not only through the legal organs of the government, but in the streets with guns.

The "waiting" policy of the Generality, accompanied by daily acts against the workers, is an attempt to wear them down, so that when the battle does come the exploiters will have the upper hand.....

### SOVIETS

There are no workers councils existing now so far as we can discover. Factory and Peasant and Army Committees of 5 to 15 exist. If properly coordinated through factory, land and army councils, with elected bodies organized into a central Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Council, these committees can be used as the embryos for Soviets. In many places the Anarchists and the POUM dominate these committees; in other place the centrist POUM has sole control. But they have not developed these beyond the plane of elected committees. At the same time they go through the ritual of giving representation to the CNT and UGT, according to their strength, thus washing out the essence of the movement towards Soviets. In form it looks like the representation obtained by the parties in the Russian Soviets, but in reality it is but a caricature of them.

Not only is the Generality gaining control of the armed forces behind the front, through the reorganization giving the police and civil guard domination, and eliminating the workers control; but the agitation is growing daily for one army, the Popular Army, and for one command. For example, at the Aragon front there are one POUM, one Stalinist, and three Anarchist Battalions. They are all under the command of the Generality General Staff. An anarchist is "war minister," so they think they are running things.....

The International Column is under the complete control of the Stalinists. The Trotskyists in the United States in recruiting for the Debs Column are recruiting for the Stalinists.

### ANGLO-FRENCH BLOC

Everyone seems to understand that Hitler and Mussolini are helping and dominating the Franco forces, but no one seems to understand that the Anglo-French Imperialists dominate the Valencia and Barcelona governments, using the Soviet Union for their office boy. All indications, and especially the latest phase of the "non-intervention," are that the Anglo-French imperialist bloc has its general strategy against the contending class forces in Spain the aim of wearing them down, and exhausting the forces....

This policy is exhausting the proletarian forces on the one hand, and costing Germany and Italy tremendous sums in finances and materials and so forth, on the Anglo-French side the Stalinists in the Soviet Union are taking the brunt of the "democratic" bourgeois defense against the proletarian and against the "fascist" forces.

Although the United States is playing a lone hand, she knows what is going on, and will be on hand at the peace conference, openly or secretly, to "help settle" the struggle.

Only the slim chance that is left open for a proletarian victory can exclude these developments. The shift is still to the right, but with it an ideological change in coming over the masses: layers already realize that if they don't fight back soon their victory of the first days will be wiped out....

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**Mass Meeting**  
**"LESSONS OF MAY DAY"**  
Hear  
**TOM STAMM**  
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