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UNITE!

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

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Loyalists Plan Deal With Franco

Workers Must Break Class Peace

As the Negrin government smashes into the labor movement, suppresses papers and working class organizations, the imperialist powers are maneuvering for a compromise of their struggle. They hope that the workingclass has been sufficiently exhausted. This also must mean a compromise between the contending sections of the bourgeoisie in Spain as well. The Azanas and the Francos are the puppets of the Anglo-French and Italo-German imperialist blocs. Moreover, the two sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie cannot continue to struggle against each other indefinitely without completely destroying their economic base.

Clear indication of what is in the air was British Foreign Secretary Eden's proposal to grant belligerent rights to both sides in the civil war—a virtual recognition of the rebel Franco as a sovereign power.

The British imperialists are unquestionably menaced by the strengthening of the Franco forces over territory strategic to Gibraltar and the Mediterranean. Franco is under the influence of Germany and Italy, behind whom stands American imperialism. But the British bosses are not yet ready for a showdown fight. Moreover, they can always get together with their rivals when it means crushing the proletariat.

NON-INTERVENTION COMMITTEE

The machinery for achieving the compromise is the "Non-intervention" Committee. While the committee was able to prevent a good deal of material aid from reaching Madrid, the Burgos group was being supplied amply by the German and Italian imperialists.

The aim of the Anglo-French bloc is not to cause a decisive defeat of the Franco forces. This would be possible only by unleashing the full might of the proletariat, which would sweep on to engulf capitalism as a whole, with the inevitable repercussions throughout Europe and the world. All Britain and France can try to achieve is to apply pressure to the fascists in order to limit and minimize the successes of Germany and Italy. The "Non-Intervention" Committee was such pressure. Additional pressure was brought through permitting the Soviet Union to send munitions to the capitalist People's Front government.

To show their sincere interest in "non-intervention," the British and French fleets trained their guns on the workers districts in Barcelona during the May Days. A successful proletarian revolution would have exploded to smithereens the myth of "non-intervention."

LOYALISTS SEEK DEAL

As the Loyalist government weakens the proletariat, it pre-

United Front Defense for Spanish Workers' Rights Swings Into Action

Committees Set Up In Phila., N. Y. S. P. Rejects United Front

As the counter-revolutionary drive of the Negrin government takes on sharper intensity, sweeping arrests of Anarchist, POUM, and other left-wing workers are indicated in the latest reports from Spain. Seizure of leaders of workers organizations in opposition to the People's Front is being followed by a ruthless pogrom against the active and militant rank and filers of the banned organizations.

Wagner Act Shows Colors

New York Shipyard Strike

The strike of the ship-building workers of New York City has exposed two Magna Chartas of labor so graciously granted us by our boss politicians. The first is the New York State Anti-Injunction Act; the second is the great gift to labor by smiling Franklin D.

Judge Fawcett of the N.Y. State Court, solemnly performed his sworn duty of interpreting and protecting the law, by clamping down upon the workers on July 13 one of the worst injunctions in the history of the labor movement. It prohibited the union from picketing or congregating near the Wheeler ship-yard in Brooklyn, from "coercing or intimidating" the corporation or its employees and customers, and jewel of jewels, "from publishing any false and misleading statements concerning conditions of employment at the yard!"

BOSS CLASS LAWS

The boss government has ambitious plans of building a merchant marine, and a navy second to none. The ship-building industry has been heavily subsidized by the Roosevelt regime. The workers however, are not even permitted to give the cold steel facts about

prepares for a compromise with the Franco forces. The rebellion was directed in the first place against the workers. The two cliques are getting ready to compromise to put the finishing touches on the proletariat.

But the workers have not yet been decisively defeated. There will be struggles; the workers will resist. Mass movements, protests, from the US and internationally, will help to crystallize the sentiment of resistance and struggle within the Spanish working class. A new party, a Marxist party, can still be built. On this basis a resurgence is still possible.

Unless the workers succeed in organizing a counter-offensive the People's Front repressions will become greater and more vicious. Already there are threats against the Caballero "left" wing in the Socialist Party. The right Socialists and Stalinists will follow in their turn, as the Loyalist regime drives toward its goal, the outlawing and crushing of all workers organizations.

Hugo Oehler, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Workers League, has been held for over a month, together with Wolf Kupinsky of the Socialist Party and others, without formal charges,

Oehler Reported Freed

The mounting protest campaign in the United States and elsewhere has broken the strict isolation of comrade Oehler, held special incommunicado by the Loyalist government. The American consul is now in touch with him and reports successful steps to effect his release. Only a united mass movement fighting for democratic rights of workers in Spain, can free the class struggle prisoners from the clutches of the People's Front executioners.

The Socialist Party, U.S.A. which rejects the united front's joining forces with the Stalinist red-baiters who scream for the murder of revolutionaries.

their working conditions. No matter what laws are passed, as long as the judges are appointed from the top and cannot be removed by the masses, as long as capitalism exists, injunctions will be granted to the bosses in their assaults upon labor.

The Wagner Act also was exposed. This law—"The answer to labor's prayer (!)" supposed to cause the economic royalists to bend their knees and grant union recognition and better conditions—was used in the ship-building strike as a strike-breaking agency. The provision in the Act which provides for mediation as a means to avoiding industrial conflict, was used by the Labor Board in Philadelphia as a pretext for ordering striking workers back to their task. A vote had not yet been taken. The strike was illegal.

U. S. NEEDS SHIPS

The shipbuilding industry is indispensable to the war plans of the US exploiters. Navy construction is tied up with it. A strong union there could tie up Uncle Sam's military machine. The strike had to be broken at all costs. The liberal mask had to fall to the ground. The fangs of the exploiters were bared.

Attempts have been made to open many Brooklyn shipyards. The policy of the CIO in playing off the Wagner Boards is serving to demoralize the strike. Only a class struggle line coupled with a policy of spreading the union and the strike, especially to the navy yards, can bring victory to the workers.

framed-up as being Franco agents. The special incommunicado in which Oehler was held has been partially broken by the wave of protests launched in the U.S. and internationally against the arrests and frame-ups.

In the U.S. redoubled efforts to reach greater sections of the working class for the defense of democratic rights of workers in Loyalist Spain; extension of the united front defense of Oehler, Kupinsky, and the other arrested workers; and change in Socialist party policy from evasion to outright opposition, mark the past two weeks of the protest campaign.

PICKET WASHINGTON EMBASSY

On the first anniversary of the Spanish civil war on July 17, (Continued on page 2)

Gag-Rule in Socialist Party

Trotskyites Get Eviction Notice

The internal strife in the Socialist Party is again reaching an acute stage. Despite all the concessions and bellycrawling of the Trotskyites, the Altman group, refusing to tolerate any longer even so miserable a "left wing," is embarked upon an open expulsion drive.

Already the first expulsions have been accomplished in New York; and Burnham and Spector, leading Trotskyite lights, have been suspended for a year. The Trotskyites, their mirage of capturing or reforming the outfit fading into nothingness, are in desperation forced by the Altman offensive into putting up a "fight."

The S. P. National Committee has instituted a "gag rule"—no discussion of controversial issues for nine months, except where organized by the National Committee. (Socialist democracy?) Ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining "peace" in the party, this bureaucratic rule will strengthen the right.

MOVES TO RIGHT

The party is torn with internal conflict and factionalism. Corrupt deals, back door maneuvering, bureaucratic disregard of the membership poison the air. Since the convention last March the S.P. has moved steadily to the right. Its open support to the counter-revolutionary People's Front Government in Spain, its rejection of united action in defense of elementary workingclass rights, its support to the Farmer-Labor party in Minneapolis, its policy in the N. Y. Mayoralty campaign, the abject endorsement of the CIO sellouts in steel, its continued concessions to the right-wing of the Party—all indicate the steady drift to the right, despite all the self-blinding protestations of the Trotskyites. It is from this shift to the right, on the basis of the setbacks and defeats to the labor movement in Spain, in the US (steel), etc., (Continued on page 2)

Japan Bosses Seize More Of China

Internal Crisis Wracks Japan

Rise of Masses Will Fire Asia

Another "incident" occurred in North China this week. Once again the Japanese Imperialists demand that their "rights" in North China be observed to the bitter "T." These rights consist of gobbling up the Hopei-Chahar provinces to be added to Manchukuo and like the latter to become "autonomous" under the political and economic domination of Nippon finance-capital. The best possible outcome for the Japanese exploiters is to set Kang Te, emperor of Manchukuo, on the ancient throne of his ancestors at Peiping. This would bring Hopei and probably Chahar under direct Tokio rule.

"Liberal" premier Prince Kono, hope of many pacifists who thought he would curb the aggressions of the militarists, has merely crowned the fire of the militarist-extremists with sagacity. No matter what the government in Japan, "liberal" or reactionary, Japanese imperialism must find new markets, sources of raw materials, investment opportunities. Japan must expand or her capitalist economy with its feudal hangovers, will explode.

"A MORTAL INSULT"

In traditional imperialist fashion, the Japanese officials consider the early resistance of the Chinese troops under General Sung Cheh Yuan a mortal insult to Japan. Demands for apology and recognition of rights followed. In the meantime General Sung was considering the moot question as to which side his bread was buttered on. He negotiated with the Japanese military officials while waiting for word or action from his supervisors at Nanking. Without determined action from the Chiang Kai Shek clique at Nanking, Sung would be at the mercy of the Japanese. He prepared to become useful to them in return for a possible continuation of his political rule over Hopei-Chahar as a Japanese puppet.

The Nanking government acted with its usual cowardice. The Nanking bourgeoisie has been changing its policies toward the rebel peasant armies in preparation for defending the interests of Japan's imperialist rivals, John Bull and Uncle Sam, aided by the Germans and Italians who have been prominent in the military apparatus of the Chinese government. American newspapers have jingoistically played up the assault of Japanese soldiers upon two American women. But the U. S. exploiters do not yet seem ready to go the whole hog. The German and Italian bankers are occupied in a conflict with the British and French bosses over (Continued on page 2)

Cardenas Regime Wall St. Puppet

Need Workers Government

The latest "socialist" measure undertaken by the Cardenas regime in Mexico is the nationalization of the railroads. Actually, however, the Mexican government will be the owner in name only, while Wall Street, dominating the basic industries of Mexico, will exercise the real control.

Government ownership serves as a smoke screen to shield the Yankee imperialists from the hatred of the Mexican workers, and to rally the masses to the support of the Cardenas regime which utilizes the "nationalization" to pretend to combat imperialism.

The former strikes that disrupted the smooth profit-making of American capital will be eliminated by a Mexican law prohibiting strikes in government owned industries.

Recently the Mexican government expropriated two oil refineries belonging to the British Aguilera Company. The next step is to nationalize American oil com-

panies along with the British, and place them all under Wall Street through its puppet, Cardenas. Here, American interests use nationalization as a maneuver to drive out British competition. At the same time, nationalization will mean a legal prohibition of strikes and prevent such outbreaks as the recent petroleum strike.

The hatred of Mexican workers for foreign concessions is so great that were it to be correctly directed it could easily take the form of forceful seizure of these concessions by the workers themselves. Yankee capital therefore quietly takes a back seat, and puts forward Cardenas to "run" the industries.

The "workers" government of Cardenas can also be tested by its laws. To provide against surprise strikes, trade unions are required by law to give ten days notice before calling a strike. Government commissions declare a strike legal or illegal. To win the workers to abide by this legalism the government at first declared most of the strikes legal. This scheme has accomplished wonders for the bourgeoisie.

The recent petroleum strike, at first declared legal, was ended by a presidential statement when Cardenas saw it was getting out of hand. The workers accepted the Cardenas order to end the strike, believing it to be in their interests, since the government commissions had at first declared the strike legal and thereby won their confidence.

Cardenas is an agent of Yankee imperialism, using "left" phrases. Against the Cardenas nationalization serving American Imperialism the revolutionists must call for nationalization of industries and workers control of production under a workers government.

OEHLER-KUPINSKY DEFENSE FUND

Money is sorely needed to carry on the struggle for the democratic rights of the Spanish workers and for the release of those arrested by the capitalist People Front Government. We invite all workers and workers organizations to send funds immediately to the Oehler-Kupinsky Defense Fund 2159 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.

LIVE-WIRE DEFENSE GETS UNDER WAY

(Continued from page 1)

the Revolutionary Workers League organized a picket-line in front of the Spanish Embassy in Washington. Spanish consuls and prominent individuals from over the country had gathered in Washington for a special observance of this day; the picket-line, demanding freedom for Oehler, Kupinsky, Nin, Gorkin, Vitte, and other arrested working class opponents of the People's Front government, put a black pall over the festivities. Despite attempts of the police to drive the picketers off the "sovereign territory of the Spanish Republic," the demonstration was carried through effectively. Picketing of local consulates featured R.W.L. defense activity in Chicago and New York.

UNITED FRONT COMMITTEES
First meetings of united front committees have been held in New York and Philadelphia. A live-wire campaign will extend the movement to Detroit and on a national scale.

In Chicago, following a successful mass meeting with two hundred workers present, the local Socialist Party bowed to the pressure of its National Office and withdrew from the united front. Under pressure, and to save face before its membership, the Chicago S.P. has been forced to agree to continue with "joint action."

S.P. AGAINST UNITED FRONT

The Socialist Party nationally openly opposes the defense campaign. Norman Thomas, in reply to our letter published in the July 15 FIGHTING WORKER, states: "...I believe that the entire anti-fascist cause throughout the world requires the defeat of Franco. On that simple issue there cannot be three sides but two sides, and on that issue I have to side with the loyalist government which is fighting (!) Franco.... We believe in New York City that we can do a far more effective job as a socialist party than by any united front public action which includes groups which use tactics that

found expression in the leaflet which advertised Hugo Oehler's return...." (The leaflet referred to was issued by the R.W.L.—it calls for 'workers council's, workers militias, a Bolshevik Party, and a struggle for a Soviet Spain.—editor).

While Thomas sought to hedge his way out, the Workers Defense League, Socialist Party defense organization, acted more directly. On June 27, the Chicago branch of the Workers Defense League, accepting the request that they undertake Oehler's defense, cabled the Spanish Embassy and the Barcelona government. "The Workers Defense League is defending Hugo Oehler, C. Orr. Send all information to Francis Heissler." **APOLOGIZE TO BOURGEOISIE**

But on June 29, two days later, the Workers Defense League National Office in New York wired De Los Rios, Spanish Ambassador: "Please accept sincerest apologies for unauthorized telegram from our Chicago branch in case of Hugo Oehler. Be assured of our unstinting support and continued confidence in the glorious fight of Spanish workers against destructive forces of international fascism. Salud. Dave Clendenin."

In a letter the next day to the Chicago branch, Clendenin is even clearer. "You may imagine our stunned amazement at the action of the Chicago branch in sending cables indicating that the Workers Defense League is defending Hugo Oehler et al in Barcelona.... The National Committee... unanimously (5-0) against any defense in the name of the W.D.L. of Hugo Oehler.... We WILL not become involved in these intra-working class factional fights."

For such an outfit a class conscious worker can have only the deepest contempt. It apologizes to the bourgeoisie because a branch protests the arrest of workers! The labor defense (!) arm of the Socialist Party stands ready to throw not only comrade Oehler, but even its own member, Wolf Kupinsky, to the capitalist class

Bosses Fatten On Hunger System Jobless and Employed Must Unite

Class Struggle Policies

July opened with the Senate passage of Roosevelt's Relief Bill, giving the country's "ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed" millions out of work, \$1,500,000 (that is \$998,500,000 less than the Government set aside for Wall Street's next war)... Senator Lodge's amendment to use 20 million for a national census of unemployed was rejected. Roosevelt & Co. are scared of testing their bunk about America's emergence from the misery of 1929-1936.—Over 70,000 folks wander homeless after last summer's drought ruined their Midwest farms.—According to a Workers Alliance survey, Chicago relief rolls hold 85,000 families, with average dole of \$31.06 a month.—"15,000 WPA workers were scheduled to be laid off by July 15," stated Lewis Harper of Technical Research Employees Union, Chicago... WPA project cuts in New York were revoked after cripples involved struck, were beaten by guards not yet tried for crime.

Over 80,000 families are on Philadelphia dole rolls.—Hundreds of Negro women protested in silent demonstration WPA layoffs before Phila. City Hall. One of their placards ran: God will Provide; they no longer rely on Roosevelt. When they get no relief

from Heaven they will help themselves by mass action against the capitalist starvation system.—

American Federation of Labor report for April shows about 9,000,000 elders workless; some 5,000,000 youth, out of school too, are counted by Federal education office.—"Unemployment is especially tragic to young people, who see no hope, no prospect of jobs, of normal life, of careers and marriage in the future," declares teachers group in National Education Association paper.—"Idleness is a crime," says Georgia judge.

HUNGER SYSTEM

The starvation system fattens on unemployment. The boss class needs millions workless, crowding the labor market, competing, cutting throats to get jobs. Cheap labor in plenty means lower wage costs for the exploiters. Farmers are driven off land, middle class folks from shops, stores, by big business. The bankers create more idle hands for manufacturers. The master class must have soldiers, sailors, marines for Wall Street's wars; and scabs, gangsters, vermin to do its dirty work. The starvation system fattens on the jobless.

The Workers Alliance claims to defend the interests of the unemployed. Its activity is confined to quiet assemblies, servile strikes, prayers, petitions, backstairs politics. Its leaders are violently against mass action, militant

struggle together with organized labor against the common class enemy.

What America's jobless need is a national union of unemployed, with a program of class struggle, demanding billions of relief taken from war funds; public works, civil projects at bonafide union wage rates under workers supervision; for nationalization of industry under our class control; fighting by means of demonstrations, hunger marches, strikes, invasions of government offices and legislature till demands are met;—finally, struggling against the capitalist system, its parasite ruling class, till both are overthrown and the rule of labor established instead.

Socialist Party

(Continued from page 1)

that Altman derives his strength. The Altman group, working with the Wisconsin (Hoan) municipal socialists, is definitely oriented toward Stalinism and toward liquidation into the Labor Party. Altman may yet force the party to support La Guardia in the New York elections.

The Zam-Tyler "Clarity" group, holding the balance of power and controlling the National Executive Committee, has its roots in the Altman group. An element within it is shifting over toward the Lovestone camp.

Among the Trotskyites there is truly a pitiable confusion. The fruits of the past opportunist course are being realized in the formation of groups in NY (Glee, Grote) and in Chicago (Heissler, Most) calling for a continuation of the policy of "peace," "unity," "reforming the party." The official Trotskyist "leadership," forced to a split line in action by the Altman assault, denies this perspective even to its own membership, leaving the door open for new capitulations. Pressure of the membership has forced it to call a special meeting in NY to decide (?) on perspective.

Rumors flow fast and free. It is said that Trotsky is for a split perspective; that Goldman is already touting the name "International Socialist (!) Party" for the future Trotskyist adventure; and that Weisbord (!) is flirting for a post on the new National Committee.

At the same time, left groups among the Trotskyites and within the party as a whole, are beginning to re-evaluate the entire question of the entry into this stagnant swamp.

BUILD LEFT WING

The perspective for the party is one of hopeless degeneration and disintegration. The Socialist Party cannot be reformed. It is a boss agency in the labor movement. Militant workers in it who want to fight capitalism for a workers society must organize themselves, build a left wing group on the basis of a revolutionary Marxist policy, with a line of break from the opportunist currents of reformism and centrism, including Trotskyism, for the establishment of the Fourth Communist International as the world party of labor.

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NEED UNITY SINO-JAPAN WORKERS

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Spain. The situation is full of dynamite. At any minute the plans may change.

The Nanking clique ordered the Chinese troops to cease firing and is beginning to capitulate to the Japanese imperialists. This, however, was reckoning without the rebellious masses. The Chinese soldiers indicated in no uncertain terms that they meant to resist the invaders. Concerted and independent action of the workers and peasants of China alone can upset the plans of the imperialists. Only the victorious proletarian revolution can free China from the yoke of imperialism: Japanese, British, American.

STALINISTS FOR NANKING

But just at this time, when Chinese troops are kicking over the traces of the Nanking government in their desire to fight the imperialists, Stalinism seeks again to place the workers and peasants under the domination of the butcher Chiang Kai Shek.

executioners, rather than break its support to the capitalist People's Front Government.

The Trotskyites in the Socialist Party continue their miserable role. While "as individuals" they will admit that they dislike seeing their own comrade, Kupinsky, murdered, these opportunists unhesitatingly sacrifice workers lives rather than break the discipline of a party which supports the government committing these murders.

Just as the Trotskyites capitulate to the Socialist leadership, so the Socialist Party capitulates to the counter-revolutionary People's Front government and its Stalinist agents.

STALINISTS DEMAND BLOOD

The stoolpigeon Daily Worker, unsatisfied by Thomas' shameful capitulation, devotes columns almost daily to demanding that he come down all the way into the slime of their assertions that "Oehler is a Fascist agent," and like them scream openly for the execution of militant workers in Spain.

Militant workers in the Communist (Stalinist) party must break from this organization of bourgeois reformism and counter-revolution.

In 1926 this led to the slaughter of millions of Chinese poor. In 1937 the tying of the Chinese oppressed to the Nanking chariot must lead to further massacres and defeat of the social revolution.

A real communist party could use this struggle in North China to put the Chinese masses into revolutionary action. But no communist, no Marxist party exists in China. There, as elsewhere, the proletariat must forge its indispensable weapon, its class vanguard.

CLASS SOLIDARITY

In Japan also, the intolerable burden upon the toiling masses and the lack of a revolutionary party has led the common people to headless action. A party of the 4th (Communist) International must be built in Japan and in China. Proletarian solidarity, the only guarantee for victory against imperialism, can be established only by the movement of the communist internationalists.

Class conscious workers in the Socialist Party, left elements among the Trotskyites, must fight with all their might to drive the S.P. into the united front; they must draw the lessons from these criminal policies of their leaderships; organize a left wing and adopt a perspective of break from this organization of betrayal and support to the class enemy, break from the Trotskyites, on a line of revolutionary Marxism and class solidarity.

The campaign for the united front must go on. The united front established in Chicago must be continued, if possible with the Socialists, if they refuse, without them. The united fronts in New York and Philadelphia must be broadened out, extended, coordinated with the work in Detroit, in Chicago, throughout the country. The workers of the U.S. must be rallied to the defense of the Spanish working class. A powerful mass movement in the U.S. will spread to other countries. It will give new strength to the masses in Spain now fighting with their backs to the wall. A resurgence of the revolutionary movement in Spain will open up glorious possibilities to the workers of the world.