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UNITE!



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ARMED WORKING CLASS OF SPAIN MUST SEIZE STATE POWER NOW

Oil for Il Duce's Ships; Nothing for Spanish Workers

When Italy ravaged the Ethiopian people this year, the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union saw nothing wrong in shipping oil for the ships of Mussolini. Oppressed Ethiopia turned for assistance, not to the Soviet Union, but to the League of Nations Plunderbund.

Today the Spanish workers are shedding their blood in a struggle against reaction. The Soviet Union has declared that for diplomatic reasons it would remain aloof. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has done nothing to rouse the Russian working class to support their Spanish brothers. The Communist International is following suit all over the world.

The reason is obvious. The Stalinist bureaucrats are opposed to world revolution. The policy of trying to build a Communist society in Russia independently of the international proletariat and the progress of the world revolution, leads again and again to the betrayal of the workers.

No Aid in War for Soviet Spain Says Blum Govt

The Peoples' Front Government of France has voted down the proposal to assist the Popular Front Government of Spain. The national boundaries established by the bourgeoisie are more important for the Socialists and Stalinists who support the Blum government, than the life and death struggle of the Spanish workers.

On the other hand the Blum government has taken no steps to expel the Spanish generals in the south of France who are openly directing the revolt.

Blum is for law and order. He is against a revolution in France or anywhere else.

World imperialism can count on friend Blum to do everything against revolution in France and in Spain, too, the German Socialists did in 1918 and 1919 against the German revolution.

Down with the Peoples' Front!
Long live the world revolution!

Danger That Peoples Front Gov't Will Make Terms with Counter-Revolution Against Workers

The situation in Spain now is revolutionary. The capitalist regime exists only because the workers tolerate it. The working class is demonstrating by its heroic action that it is the real power. But it does not rule. The Peoples Front holds it back from seizing state power from the impotent capitalist class, rousing the workers of Europe and the oppressed of the world to come to their assistance against the monarchist-clerical-Fascist counter-revolution.

The need to take power is urgent and cannot be delayed without risking a smashing defeat. To fight the reaction the Azana government must depend entirely on the support of the workers, in order to work, to eat, to live, the workers are being driven step by step to make bolder and bolder demands, to seize factories and force the confiscation of bank accounts to pay wages. They threaten to overthrow capitalism.

Like Kerensky, the Azana government is forced by the workers to fight against an uprising from the extreme right. But the growing menace to capitalism will drive the Peoples Front Government into the camp of the monarchists and fascists. Already there are rumors that Azana has offered the military leadership of the uprising terms for a "peaceful" settlement. Such a settlement can mean only one thing: a conspiracy against the workers to drown them in blood. Kerensky entered into such a conspiracy with Kornilov.

In the struggle against Kornilov Lenin prepared the workers for the inevitable treachery of Kerensky.

The Spanish workers have not been prepared for the present situation. The Peoples Front has held them back from struggle. There is no revolutionary party.

The international working class is not in motion against capitalism. In Germany, Italy and Austria, Fascism holds the workers down. In the Soviet Union Stalinism holds them back. Peoples Fronts, Stalinists and Socialists block the road to revolutionary action everywhere. It is more difficult, therefore, to smash the Spanish Kornilovs.

The struggle against Kornilov was brief and decisive. Kornilov's forces went over to the revolution. Two months later the Bolsheviks seized power. The protracted character of the struggle in Spain and the growing danger of treachery by the Peoples Front Government make it imperative that the workers seize power NOW.

The Spanish workers have arms. They can take power. For that they need revolutionary organization and leadership. None exists. **Soviets must be created. A revolutionary party must be built.**

The workers can come to power without Soviets and a revolutionary party. But they cannot hold it. They can only go down to glorious defeat.

Through Soviets and a revolutionary party the Spanish workers can extend the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 to Spain. The working class which has wrought miracles of heroic sacrifice and courage among class which has wrought miracles which will lead it to victory even now. Let us hope so. For on that depends above all else the successful establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and the Fourth International.

Garrett, League's Candidate Jailed

DETROIT, July 24. — Samuel Garrett, Workers Vote Presidential candidate was arrested at Livernois and Six Mile Road at noon Friday, July 24th while addressing WPA workers during their lunch period.



The WPA Workers' Union of which comrade Garrett is an active organizer is engaged in a very important campaign for a raise in pay for unskilled WPA workers: a \$72.00 per month "security" wage; 60c per hour; and no lay offs. Comrade Garrett has been very active in this campaign speaking as often as four times a day.

Now there are eight organizers going out to the workers on the projects to talk to them in the mornings, at noon, and in the evenings to make the union a force for the raise in pay. The workers are not in a mood to take "no" or an answer.

Spirit of 1776 or October 1917

Of the delegates to the constitutional convention of the United States forty were large owners of public securities; eleven, manufacturers and shippers; twenty four bankers (money-lenders at that time); and fourteen (among them Washington) speculators in western lands.

By one out of every 33 people in the "Democracy" of 1776 were allowed to vote. Property and religious qualifications were almost universal.

U.S. Ready to Act Against a Soviet Spain

According to the capitalist press the only interest Uncle Sam has in the civil war in Spain is in protecting the lives of his citizens. It's true enough that the State Department does what it can to protect the representatives of American imperialism in Spain and other countries. But something more is involved.

The United States' direct special interests in Spain are as not as great as its interests in Mexico, Cuba and other countries. But it has a vital stake in Spain. The U. S. is the greatest foe of the October Revolution. American imperialism will do everything it can to prevent the extension of the proletarian dictatorship to other countries. A Soviet Spain would be a powerful impulse to revolutionary action all over the world. If the Spanish struggle develops to a proletarian dictatorship the United States will not fail to act.

U. S. VERSUS ENGLAND
But England, United States' great rival is vitally concerned with what is going on in Spain. England has supported the Popular Front Government because it wants a friendly government north of Gibraltar and it does not want a Fascist dictatorship whose foreign policy would line it up with Italy and Germany. England wants a European bloc against the United States. Its policy swings around the possibility of holding Spain in line or losing it to its rivals.

The United States is in a position to jump either way to support the Government or the rebels according to the tide of battle and the general European situation. But whatever it does will be motivated by two considerations in the main: undying hostility to proletarian revolution and the necessity of preventing England from lining up Europe against the United States.

The Daughters of the American Revolution and its bastard grandsons, the Stalinists can have their spirit of 1776. We prefer the spirit of the October Revolution of 1917. Which established the first proletarian dictatorship.

What Is the Peoples Front ?

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels taught us over eighty years ago that the interests of the working class are irreconcilable with capitalist society which it must replace with a Communist society; that under all circumstances the working class must act independently in its own interests which coincide with the interests of the oppressed of the entire earth; that it needs its own party which can act in its interests.

Lenin showed us that independent action by the workers was the basic requirement for making a proletarian revolution. He also showed us that this was dependent on building an independent political party to lead the workers in such action.

Lenin fought to split the revolutionists from the reformist Second International in order to build the revolutionary Third International.

Now the Second and Third Internationals have rigged up the Peoples Front in France, Spain and other countries. The idea of a united nation negates the idea of independent action by the working class and the irreconcilability of its interests with capitalist society. The result, as we have seen in France and Spain, is to prevent and break strikes, shoot down peasants, support the oppression of millions of colonial peoples, bolster up capitalism and pave the way for Fascism. National unity, the Peoples Front is a treacherous trap for the working class.

DEFENDING DEMOCRACY

The Peoples Front supporters argue that they defend democracy against Fascism. Democracy in a class society can be only a class democracy. Under capitalism democracy can mean only democracy

for the capitalists against the workers. Democracy for the workers can be achieved only by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship over the capitalists.

To defend democracy means, therefore, to defend capitalism. On this line the Spanish workers can never take power but must, in the end, be crushed like the German workers, by Fascism.

But the workers in Spain are howing far better than their misleaders that they understand the necessity of independent action. What they need is a revolutionary party to organize the seizure of power and the proletarian dictatorship. That party should it arise now would be the first and most powerful section of the Communist Fourth International.

Spanish Youth Groups Merge

The first concrete case of organic unity between the reformist forces of Stalinism and Social Democracy to occur in any country, was the recent fusion of the Spanish Socialist Youth and the Young Communist Federation. The fused organization adheres fraternally to the Young Communist International, although it still considers itself the Youth section of the Spanish Socialist Party. It is now engaged in an attempt to create a "united youth league" in which even the Catholic Youth are invited to participate.

After the fusion, a number of young Socialists were expelled. The expelled included Fourth Internationalist elements as well as supporters of the right wing of the Socialist Party.

Spanish Working Class Can Learn from Lenin's Tactics

Letter to Party Leaders Showed Road to Power

The following extracts from Lenin's letter contains references to "certain Bolsheviks" whom he does not name. Lenin was hitting Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev who were opposed to his proposal to seize power by armed insurrection. Lenin conducted a sharp struggle against them which he won.—Ed.

The Kornilov rising is . . . a formidable and, one might say, a really unbelievable dramatic stroke.

Like every sudden and complete change in the political outlook it demands a revision of our tactics. And, as in every revision, we must be more than careful, not to fail our principles.

To admit the point of view of those who advocate national defense or even (like certain Bolsheviks) would go to the extent of coalition with the Social-Revolutionaries, in support of the provisional Government, would be, I am deeply convinced, to fall into the grossest error and at the same time to prove an absolute lack of principle. We shall not become artisans of national defense until after the seizure of power by the proletariat . . . Until the moment of the seizure of power by the proletariat, we are for the proletarian revolution, we are against the "defensists".

Even now, we must not support the revolution of Kerensky. It would be a failure of principle. Now then, it will be said, must Kornilov not be fought? Certainly, yes. But between fighting Kornilov and supporting Kerensky here is a difference; there is a limit to all things, and that limit is passed by a few Bolsheviks when they fall for reconciliation, and let themselves be carried away by the torrents of events.

We wage and shall continue to

BULLETS OR BALLOTS What the Spanish Civil War Teaches About Capitalist Democracy

By LOUIS ROBERTS
Vice-Presidential Candidate
WORKERS VOTE

The capitalists all over the world never fail to talk about democracy and denounce the "reds" as bloody dictators who don't listen to the "voice of the people". Unfortunately most workers, especially in the United States, believe these lies.

The present civil war in Spain shows clearly enough how capitalists really listen to the "voice of the people" when their dearest interests are involved. The elections in the winter and spring showed a clear swing to the left and a majority for the Popular Front. The vote took place on the basis of the laws worked out by the capitalists themselves. Millions were disfranchised as in the United States and other capitalist countries. Moreover the entire election was conducted on a non-revolutionary basis. The Socialist and Stalinist parties combined to elect a "liberal" capitalist politician, Azana.

POPULAR FRONT BROKE STRIKES

The Popular Front Azana government broke strikes and shot down peasant who got tired of starving on the promises of capitalist reformers and Socialist and Stalinist social reformers. These latter parties did everything they could to hold workers back from struggle.

But the workers and peasants could not be held

back. The workers' demands grew, as they should, in boldness. They became more and more aggressive and came into greater and greater conflict with capitalist property relations and the state. The peasants also continued to fight for relief from the misery which they have endured for centuries. **Capitalism itself was threatened.**

The monarchists, the Fascists, the Catholic Church saw that the Azana government could not hold the workers down by democratic fol-de-rol. They saw that the best services of the Socialists and Stalinists were not sufficient. Here was a working class which would not take it lying down as the German workers did thanks to the German Socialists and Stalinists. The reactionaries decided to force the workers and peasants back into their yokes by force. They opened up the civil war.

CIVIL WAR SETTLES CLASS CONFLICTS

This is not a new development in the history of society. Every ruling class rules by force and resists by force every attempt to overthrow it whether the oppressed class proceeds by "democratic" means or by force. Every class struggle leads eventually to armed struggle.

The great lesson which the workers must learn is that class conflicts are settled by civil war. They always have been and they always will be—until classes are eliminated in a world Communist society. It will be that way in the United States. The workers must prepare for that situation.

wage war on Kornilov, but we do not support Kerensky; we unveil his feebleness . . .

In what, then, does our change of tactics . . . consist?

In this: that we modify the form of our struggle against Kerensky. Without diminishing in the least bit in the world our hostility . . . without renouncing our intention to beat him, we declare that consideration must be given to the circumstances of the moment, that we shall not concern ourselves at the present with overthrowing Kerensky, that we shall now conduct the struggle against him in another

way by emphasizing to the people (and it is the people who are engaged in fighting Kornilov) the weakness and vacillations of Kerensky. That we were already doing previously. But now it is this which comes to the forefront of our plan of campaign, and therein lies the change.

Another change: at this moment we place equally in the forefront . . . the reinforcing of our agitation for what might be called "partial" demands: . . . we say to Kerensky: . . . legalize the handing over of the big estates to the peasants; establish working class

control of cereals and manufactured products, etc. And it is not only to Kerensky that we should put these claims; it is not so much to Kerensky as to the workers, soldiers and peasants . . .

It would be erroneous to believe that we are turning away from our principal objective: the conquest of power by the proletariat. We have, on the contrary, got considerably nearer to it, but indirectly, by a flanking movement . . . Only the active development of that war (against Kornilov—Ed.) can lead us to power . . . End of August, 1917 (Our emphasis).

Defeat Counter-Revolution! Set Up Soviet Govt!

The present uprising of the Spanish Kornilovs was made possible by the temporizing policies of the Azana Peoples Front regime. Azana adopted a still more spineless attitude toward the forces of the counter-revolution than did Kerensky in the corresponding period of the Russian revolution.

Since the liberal bourgeoisie represented by Azana, Carares-Quiroga, Companys, Giral and company, has been in power, the reactionaries have been able, almost unmolested, to prepare the counter-revolution against the proletariat.

MENSHEVIK POLICY

Instead of demanding action against the reactionaries, instead of preparing the workers, instead of exposing the cardboard Kerensky, Azana, before the masses the Socialist and Stalinist parties in Spain followed the same policy as did the Mensheviks in Russia. They supported the liberal bourgeoisie and tie the hands of the working class in the interest of the class enemy. While the masses were engaged in a tremendous strike movement, from February to July, the whole line of the Socialist and Communist parties was: "give the republic a chance to solve its problems". They claimed that to press the government with revolutionary demands was to play the game of reaction.

A positive revolutionary situation exists in Spain today. The bourgeois order cannot maintain itself and its state apparatus is only able to survive to the extent that the workers tolerate it.

No support to the Peoples Front government!

Defeat the counter revolution!
Build soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers!

Land to the peasants!
Workers control of production!
Extend Lenin's October to Spain.

Warning to the Communist Party Against Gangsterism

To the Central Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A.

In the last few months members of your party have broken up open air meetings organized by us to present the views of revolutionary Marxism to the working class on the issues of the day. This practice has not been confined to New York but is general.

On Friday, July 25, people who proclaimed themselves members of the Communist Party from their platform made a concerted attempt to disrupt our open air meeting at the corner of 14th St. and University Place in Manhattan.

When there was no longer any point in continuing, we concluded our meeting and began to return to our headquarters. We were followed by members of your party and hundreds of workers. On the way we were attacked and fought

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POLICE RAID US

After we were back in our headquarters a squad of flatfeet and a dick barged in together with a fellow in civilian clothes who was told to pick out the one who had "slugged" him. He said he couldn't and an attempted frame up was narrowly averted.

On the evening of July 28th members of the Communist Party beat up comrades Mienov and Shack who were selling the anti-war issue of the Fighting Worker at a meeting called to protest the terror in Nazi Germany.

TWO WORKERS KILLED

You will recall that this practice led, in the summer of 1932 to very serious results. Two workers were killed in Manhattan on the corner of Seventh Street and Avenue A. A meeting of the Communist League of America was broken up by your members and followers. A serious fight broke out. Thousands of workers gathered and blocked the street. After the League members left the Communist Party unit in that area opened up a meeting. Bricks were thrown from a roof and two workers were killed.

You promptly charged the League with murder. You were immediately challenged to produce your evidence before a working class jury. Caught like any brass check artist or Hearst slanderer you ignored the challenge. On the basis of your foul statements comrades Oehler and Stamm were summoned to the District Attorney's office for ques-

Drive Picks Up Speed

LAST ISSUE

Regular paid bundle orders... 1475
Extra paid bundle orders... 3000
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THIS ISSUE

Regular paid bundle orders... 1670
Extra paid bundle orders... 1110
Paid subs. 81

By November 1st

Regular paid bundle orders... 3000
Paid subs. 500
Send \$1.00 for 4 prepaid subs; each good for a 3 months' subscription. Sell them to friends and fellow-workers and get your money back.

tioning. The stage was all set for a murder frame-up. Fortunately nothing came of it. Later it was revealed that the bricks had been thrown by a disgruntled ex-member of the Unemployed Councils who is now in jail for that act. You earned the universal contempt and condemnation of the labor movement.

You cannot stop our meetings. You cannot silence the voice of Marxism. You have tried it before and failed. We will defend our meetings and comrades against all attacks. If you do not stop your members from attacking our meetings the responsibility for whatever occurs, and no one can foresee what will occur from such practices, will rest squarely on you.

Central Committee,
Revolutionary Workers League,
Hugo Oehler, National Secretary
Read the Fourth International.

Millions Kept from Voting by Boss Election Laws

Landon, Roosevelt, Lemke, Prouder and Thomas are busy appealing for votes.

There are eighty one million people in the United States over seventeen, according to the 1930 census. Forty eight million are listed as workers. How many of them are permitted to vote?

Five million foreign born workers, exploited to the point of starvation, are not permitted to vote.

Two million "floaters" (a very conservative estimate), forced to travel from state to state and city to city to look for work, can not vote.

Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and other States, don't permit paupers to vote.

Ten states disfranchise poor workers and farmers who cannot pay the poll tax.

Eight million youth between 17 and 21, old enough to be exploited in factories and shops can not vote.

Oregon allows only those who own property to vote. Pennsylvania and South Carolina allow only those who pay taxes to vote.

Georgia, Mississippi, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania do not permit those who are late in paying taxes to vote.

Poor people can't vote.

Four million Negroes in the South are deprived of their vote by "law" and terror. Negro workers in the North are intimidated and threatened to stop them from voting—or, at least, to make them "vote right".

This is the democracy we have in the United States, a democracy of, by, and for the bosses, against the working class.

To expose this sham the Revolutionary Workers League is conducting the Workers Vote campaign. All those over seventeen are eligible to vote on the Workers Vote lists. A vote on these lists is a vote for a workers government in the United States, for the overthrow of capitalism. These lists are being circulated now. They are open to those whom the capitalists allow to vote in the regular elections and those who are disfranchised. Those who can vote in the November elections can register their sentiments for revolution by writing in the names of the Revolutionary Workers League candidates, Garrett and Roberts, at that time.

Off the Press!

Boss Elections
or
The Workers Vote
2 cents a copy

The Black Legion
Union Busters
by
George Saul
2 cents a copy

Order from
28 East 14th Street, N.Y.C.
or 2159 W. Division, Chicago

No Support to Azana! Create Soviets! Take Power!