Imperialists Race Against Colonial Revolution

The British Empire is cracking with the furor of Mount Vesuvius. Natives in Burma are in seething revolt, chasing the British army out and killing hundreds. And Burma is in reality a part of India, separated from the mother country only recently. Natives in the Dutch East Indies, too, are certain to rise up in the next short period. In Singapore mutinous oppressed colonialists refused to man ships, unload or load boats, or help the British war effort in any way. A noted press correspondent now reports from Australia that the Malayan and Chinese crew of 40 on the ship he was on had to be ARRESTED AND BROUGHT BACK TO THE SHIP IN CHAINS before they would run the boat. And at that armed guards had to stand watch over them for the whole trip.

REFUSE TO ARM MASSES

One of the most glaring signposts of Allied "democracy" is the "heroic struggle" of the Dutch in Java and Sumatra. The Dutch, British and American Imperialists are so democratic that according to Associated Press only 50,000 allied troops are fighting in Java (against a force of 85,000 Japanese). What about the 40 million people living on the island of Java? Why is the army so small, so pathetically small? Why don't the people flock to the army? The reason is obvious. The Dutch East Indies hate imperialism as fervently as the Malays and Chinese of the rest of the South Pacific. The Dutch imperialists refuse to permit natives to visit battleships or to use machine guns if they are inducted into the army.

We suspect that — as usual — more Allied troops are being used to quell the hate and revolt of the natives of Java than they used in fighting the Japanese Imperialists. India thus becomes temporarily a pivot of world affairs.

Under the threat of a joint German and Japanese spring offensive to join hands in India, the allied imperialists are desperately trying to utilize the manpower and resources of this richly endowed country. 32.5 million people live in India. If only they believed in British or Allied "democracy"!

They could yield an army of at least 30 million — as much as all the armies of the rest of the world put together. But here precisely is the rub.

CHANG-KAI-SHEK'S ROLE

The people of India refuse to fight for Britain. The United States has been frantically trying to

DETOUR RIOT POINTS NEED FOR NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

The race riots in Detroit last week are a grim reminder of the race riots of the last World War. A group of white "citizens" have been picketing a federal housing project which is open only for Negroes. The whites attempted to stop the Negro families from moving in, and in the ensuing melee, over 100 people were hurt and 108 were arrested.

CRIPPS ON INDIA

The swift rise of Sir Stafford Cripps to an important post in the Churchill war cabinet has aroused some people's expectations as well as some people expectations as to the freedom of India. Actually it can only mean some new arrangement to tie the oppressed masses to the British imperialists and their war. An Associated Press report states:

"The Laborites argue, however (against the Conservative Party position), that only full dominion status offers any hope of full India cooperation.

(Continued on page 4)
SMASH THE STALINIST LYNCH CAMPAIGN!

As part of their support of the war, the Stalinists are carrying on a vicious campaign internationally, against all left groups who are in any way critical of the "democratic" imperialists. In England, they attack the various left-socialist elements (Independent Labor Party, Left-Labor Party members, Trotskyites) and the Marxists, as "fifth columnists to be treated like any Nazi agents." In the U.S., they call Norman Thomas (and his pacifist loyal-opposition, Clement, etc.) "Quislings" and the Trotsky-centrists and the Marxists "Nazi agents."

The campaign has already reached a most dangerous form, in Mexico, against European refugees. Unless the Stalinists are checked there, they will undoubtedly extend it elsewhere. The main figures under fire are: Marceau Pivert, one-time secretary of Leon Blum, and afterwards head of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France (PSOP); Julian Gorkin, a leader of the Spanish POUM; Victor Serge, one-time member of the Executive Committee of the 3rd International; Gustave Regler, a former leading Loyalist military commander; and Grandizo Munis, Spanish refugee.

The Mundo Obrero, Mexican CP organ has charged them with being "shock troops of the Nazi Fifth Column," etc., etc. Stalinists friends in the Chamber of Deputies have introduced a resolution to have the refugees thrown into concentration camps, or executed. How Hitler, Franco, Petain & Co. would receive these workers is obvious.

Temporarily, the campaign has been set back by a warning by U.S. New Deal forces, for the Stalinists to watch their step: the Trotsky fiasco must not be repeated. The warning took the form of a public petition to the Mexican President to investigate the situation. Initiated by George Counts, leading member of the Workers Defense League, and president of the American Federation of Teachers, a petition has been signed by some 200 well-known bourgeois liberals, socialists, and trade union bureaucrats, who have their own axe to grind against Stalinism.

The danger to the refugees, however, is by no means over. To rely on these liberals, etc., on the whims of New Deal political twists and turns, would be fatal. Stalinism will intensify its murderous campaign as its situation internationally becomes more tense, and as a more propitious time develops. A GPU agent, Otto Katz, known as "Andre Simone, well-known writer," is reported to be active on the scene organizing these activities under the guise of fighting "Nazi agents." The assassination of Leon Trotsky is a warning of what this farce really means.

The Revolutionary Workers League, although it has fundamental principle differences with these workers, defends their right of asylum and their democratic rights as members of the working class. While pointing out their sorry role as centrists who have helped disorient the European proletariat (the POUM especially), we reject decisively the contemptible Stalinist slander that these refugees are "Nazi agents," etc. While opposing every effort by bourgeois liberals, etc., to use this attempted Stalinist crime as a blow against the concept of proletarian dictatorship, we fight for a united front of workers organizations to defend the lives and liberties of these political refugees. To workers of all organizations, including honest workers in the CP ranks, we call: ON GUARD AGAINST A REPETITION OF THE MURDER OF TROTSKY! EXPOSE AND CONFIRM THE LIE CAMPAIGN! DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND RIGHT OF ASYLUM OF ALL WORKER REFUGEES! DEFEND WORKERS RIGHTS AGAINST BOURgeois REPRESSION EVERYWHERE!

Pamphlets Just Out:
Whose War .......................... 2c
From Revolution to Reaction,
a History of the 3rd International
10c.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE...
Report on the Waller Conference at Richmond
Marx-Paris Commune Commemoration
and other interesting articles.

Lenin Analyzes the Labor Party

"On all important questions... the opportunists confront the party with their ultimatum, the acceptance of which is secured through their numerous connections with the bourgeoisie, through their majorities on the executive committees of the labor unions, etc. To keep UNITED with opportunism at the present time means PRACTICALLY to subjugate the working class to "its" bourgeoisie, to make an alliance with it for the oppression of other nations and for the struggle for the privileges of a great nation; at the same time it means splitting the revolutionary proletariat of all countries."

Lenin called upon class conscious workers who found themselves in the political organizations controlled by the opportunists to split from the social-patriots. The Trotskyites take the opposite road: form a common political organization together with the opportunists, and put the traitors in control.

As the war pressure grows, the bourgeoisie will need a loyal opposition of the left, since the present trade union and reformist leaders who openly support capitalism and the war will begin to lose authority among the masses.

In England and Australia, where this stage is already being reached, this is actually taking place. The Australian Labor Party is in full leadership of the government — for the capitalists.

From International News, Jan. 1942
Detroit -- Alarm Signal:

For Negro-White Unity!

(Continued from page 1)

HARLEM RIOT

The "immediate cause" of a race riot, of course, is never the real cause. In 1936 a race riot broke out in Harlem, New York. A young Negro girl was accused of stealing a ten cent item in the dime store by a white floorman. Immediately the place was a shambles and mobs raided dozens of stores in the neighborhood.

But the real reasons for this racial bad feeling went much deeper. Negro workers in Harlem were in desperate straits. More than half of them were unemployed and the Harlem relief dole was far and away the lowest per capita in the city of New York. The rich merchants in the Negro area of Harlem, oblivious of all this, continued to refuse to hire Negro workers in their stores, continued the policy of Jim Crow. Under the circumstances, racial struggles — which in the last analysis are misdirected class struggles — were bound to develop.

DIVIDE AND RULE

During the first world war and afterwards there was a whole series of race riots: in Texas, Washington, Chicago and elsewhere. There were many deaths and much damage. The criminals who provoked these riots between white and black workers and oppressed are still at large; in fact they control the biggest banks and corporations in America. The basic reason for the riots were never made known to the American working class, for fear that unity of black and white would threaten the whole capitalist swindle.

But the facts are easy to find. During the war the Northern industrialists put millions of women to work at much lower wages than they paid to male labor FOR THE SAME WORK. Likewise hundreds of thousands of Negroes were actually imported from the Southern farms to Northern factories to act as strikebreakers and to work for much lower wages than the white workers. When the war ended and war orders were cut off discontent amongst the unemployed workers and underpaid workers reached high bounds. To allay this developing class explosion the CAPITALIST CLASS systematically and maliciously organized the race riots.

White workers were told that the "gol dern black men are taking your job from you." It isn't the capitalist system which throws you out of work, forces you into starvation! No, it's that poor black worker, who gets less than you, do, who is at the root of it!

HISTORY REPEATS

History is now repeating itself. The capitalist class will try to organize bigger and better race riots. The riot in Detroit is just a sample. The Negro nationalists, from Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington down to the present crop, have aided objectively in this racial feeling. Garvey and Washington openly preached an alliance of the Negro with the white capitalist, against the white worker. Garvey spoke "militantly" of working for less than the white worker, of isolating the Negroes from their white class brothers. This is right down J. P. Morgan's alley.

FOR CLASS UNITY

Only the labor movement can stop the riots that are coming. The militants in the trade unions and the revolutionists must insist on equal pay for equal work, an end to discrimination, on forcing the capitalist to disband the Negro ghettos in Detroit, Chicago, etc.

The Negro working class and the Negro 'croppers will solve their problems only through unity with the white proletariat. Forewarned is forearmed! Liberation of the working class in the coming period is impossible without black and white unity in the factories, shops and homes against the impending race riots of the capitalist masters!
What Road for the Indian Masses?

(Continued from page 1) change this state of affairs. Chiang Kai Shek, Chinese dictator, was recently sent by the Allies to India to intervene with Nehru and Ghandi, leaders of the native Congress Party, to try to induce them to turn about to full support of the war. But both these gentlemen are still very cautious; they are fearful of the masses they claim to represent.

As we go to press Sumner Welles, U. S. Undersecretary of State, has promised an "important announcement" on India within the next 48 hours. There are hints that Britain will offer India "Dominion Status" after the war. Undoubtedly many Indian leaders will grab at this "generous" gift of the imperialists to fool and mislead the Indian masses.

How many dozens of times it has been shown in the last 2 decades that there can be no colorful independence so long as there is capitalism! The Zionist farce in Palestine is one example. The Chiang Kai Shek puppetship to Wall Street and the Wang Chin Wei puppetship to Japan (both were the outstanding leaders of the "left" nationalist movement during the 1923-27 revolution in China) — this is another example.

The position of Turkey is still another example, Ethiopia, Mexico, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Persia, and all the others — are examples without end. The puppets of these colonies must accept either the dictates of one imperialist power or another; sometimes of a combination of imperialist powers.

NEHRU AND BOSE — IMPERIALIST AGENTS

India is now moving along the road of China in the past. Bose, a "left" winger of the Congress Party is reported to have sold out to the Axis. He is reported to be in Berlin. Nehru, on the other hand, is rapidly solidarizing himself with American Imperialism. The major section of the Congress Party is on the verge of a big sell-out to Wall Street. Britain's crisis is America's gain. Using it as a club over the Empire she thereby wheedles her way into a decisive position in Indian affairs; she becomes for the Indian petty-bourgeois element a "liberator".

For the masses, however, America's more subtle domination or Japanese open domination will mean little difference from the low wages, caste system, and oppressive living conditions of British rule. Little will change but the name of the oppressors.

WORKERS MUST WIN HEGEMONY

The solution for India is neither "Dominion" status or the "independence" of "Asia for the Asians". With the aid of the workers in the United States, Britain and Japan the Indian proletariat with the masses of oppressed can liberate itself only through a social revolution, a proletariat revolution. Whole epochs in history are about to be telescoped in India into a few short months. But there can be no "gradual" transition first to capitalist national independence and THEN to Socialism. To achieve even a semblance of real democracy the masses of India will have to drive directly over from the nationalist phase of the impending revolution into the proletarian phase.

But for this task the Congress Party is not only not suited but is actually a direct obstacle. Its leadership and program as the organization of the native exploiters is suited only for subordination to one imperialist group or another. A MARXIAN Party, a Communist Party (not Stalinist) is needed in India today to turn the tide, to give leadership to the seething undercurrent of revolt.

The race for India is therefore two-sided:

The outcome will be either an Axis or a Wall Street dominated India; in that case the social revolution which will come spontaneously (whether there is a Party or not) will have to be retarded or stifled.

Or, under the guidance of a Marxian Party, the proletariat will lead the oppressed masses to the successful establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government.

Cripps Program...

(Continued from page 1) "The weekly Tribune, which reflects the views of Sir Stafford Cripps, lord privy seal, who favors immediate action toward Indian independence, said today:

"As we write we are told that the cabinet has failed to arrive at the agreed solution. The cabinet need not worry. The matter is out of their hands.

"No half measures have any value now. The Indian revolution is on. There is only one possible chance to make up a little of the lost time and still to spike the guns of the Bose opposition.

"Nehru must be asked to become prime minister and minister of defense with full powers and with a provisional all-Indian legislative assembly to act as the representative organ of the state... Make no mistake. This is not opportunity knocking at our door — it is history battering it down."

Yes, the "revolution is on." But it will not follow the road of these hickspottles of "democratic" imperialism or the Axis plunderers — but the road of mass action, for land to the peasants, for workers control of production, for workers and peasants councils, the road of the permanent revolution to a Workers and Peasants Government.

The objective conditions are at hand. All that is needed is independent proletarian action, politically and organizationally independent of the Congress Party and other native exploiters' groups: for a new Marxian Party, Indian section of a New Communist (4th) International.