

THE FIGHTING WORKER

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MAY DAY MANIFESTO

AGAINST WALL STREET'S WAR DICTATORSHIP

FIGHT FASCISM BY FIGHTING CAPITALISM

FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION UNDER

A WORKERS' COUNCIL GOVERNMENT

May Day 1942, the third May Day of the War! Hundreds of millions of workers and oppressed stand shackled to the most shameful man-made massacre in all history. The granaries and warehouses of the imperialist powers are bursting with abundance; industrial production is at the highest level in all history. But more people are starving, more people are homeless than at any single period in all history. Tens of thousands of the finest youth of all countries die on the battlefields. This is the "freedom" of capitalist "civilization"! These are the fruits of capitalist "culture"!

May Day 1942 is the most depressing in all history. From one end of the globe to the other, the meanings and banners of May Day will be trampled underfoot by the apologists of capitalism, the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, and in the fascist countries by the fascists themselves. This day of struggle **against** capitalism will be converted by these lickspittles into a day of most shameful **capitulation** to the worst horrors of capitalism. Instead of "down tools" for a giant world demonstration, the epigones are shouting for more production, more tools, more guns, more tanks, more planes, redoubled efforts so that capitalism may continue this blood-bath, so that capitalism can "solve" its most shaking crisis and continue its oppression of the hundreds of millions of humanity's oppressed and exploited.

ONLY MASS ACTION CAN END THE WAR

Yet in 1918, Lenin and the Bolsheviks predicted that unless the working class seized power in every major country on earth, new and greater imperialist wars are inevitable. The present war is merely an interlude between revolutions, merely another desperate attempt by the capitalist powers to solve their contradictions. But the war will go on for many years, and new wars will follow with amazing rapidity unless, **UNLESS** the proletariat seizes the initiative against **ALL** imperialist powers, unless the working class answers the war of oppression and slavery with an immediate struggle for a Workers Council Government in every country on earth. On this third May Day of the War the International Contact Commission calls on workers and oppressed everywhere to continue such a struggle.

All the old lies are being repeated, all the old excuses are being trotted out so that the oppressed will remain captives of war and starvation. The Allies have whittled down Wilson's 14 Points to the 8 Points of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms of Mr. Roosevelt.

But under the Four Freedoms as under the 14 Points, American Negroes are being lynched in the great army of "democracy"; anti-semitism and Jim Crowism in America are growing to giant proportions, and the beginnings of capitalist-provoked race riots are heard in Detroit, Sikeston and elsewhere. Reaction against the Jewish people will increase to the degree that dictatorial measures will be used to "defend" bourgeois democracy(?) against Fascism. Only the class struggle against the exploiters can stem the tide of reaction against the Foreign Born, the Jews, the Negroes, the working class. All of Latin America falls under the oppressive thumb of the "good neighbor".

And in far away India, Malaya and elsewhere, the tyranny of the British Empire, its caste system, its unbelievable oppression of the 500 million colonials under its aegis, are another refutation of the lies of the Four Freedoms. In these countries, the struggle for the agrarian and national question merge with the problems of the working class as the first phase of the proletarian revolution.

"DEMOCRATIC" AND FASCIST IMPERIALISTS EQUALLY GUILTY

The same can be said with equal force to the lies and promises of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. The "New Order" is nothing but the old order in more brutal form. Millions shunted from their homes, starvation amidst plenty, thousands of war-time millionaires and millions of dead proletarians.

America is fighting to organize the world for the needs of the American Dollar. Britain fights to save its Empire, rapidly being undermined. The German and Japanese Imperialists fight to gain an empire for their vast overproduction. The "have" nations, because of their great reserves and their ability to wait longer for a "settlement" of the problem of

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Why Cripps Failed:

INDIAN UNREST UPSETS BRITISH APPLE CART

Now that the "left", Laborite flunkey of the City is returning to England, it is necessary to analyze who gained and who lost in the recent negotiations in India. Cripps' purpose, obvious to all, was to get an agreement with the Indian bourgeois and feudal leaders to throw full support to military defense of India in behalf of British imperialism. In return, Cripps had been authorized by Churchill & Co. to offer jobs in a British dominated political set-up, and vague promises of "independence" after the war.

Unfortunately for the British exploiters, the Indian "leaders" were under such terrific pressure of the seething masses down below, the workers and wide peasant masses who had no real representative to expose the whole farce, that the Nehrus, Ghandis, Saprus, were compelled to refuse anything short of immediate independence, to avoid losing control of the toilers.

The three weeks which Cripps spent in India were entirely consumed in jockeying for position with the various groups of native exploiters. The results, forecast in the columns of the FIGHTING WORKER and the INTERNATIONAL NEWS, were strikingly confirmed on April 12 in three statements issued on that day and the day before.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The first statement, issued by the All-India Congress Party, rejects Cripps' proposals, with the correct observation that their only purpose is to divide the Indian people, and are nothing but empty promises as far as self-government are concerned.

Concretely, the plan proposed that more than 25% of the delegates of the constituent assembly, the constitution-making body, are to be **appointed** by the feudal princes. (This point was branded

by the statement as a method of "completely ignoring... the 90 million people in the Indian states and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers.")

The rest of the delegates are to be chosen by the provincial legislatures, in the election of which 75% of the population are disfranchised (by the 1935 Government of India Act); the method of this disfranchisement being property and educational qualifications. These provincial legislatures, incidentally, have the additional "democratic" feature that an arbitrary number of seats are set aside for the "religious communities," whose representatives — such as the Moslem League stooges of Great Britain — are far out of proportion to the real relative size of the groups they purport to "represent."

Further the Cripps plan stated that native states or provinces not satisfied with this set-up, could withdraw and establish their own government. This "proposal now made on the part of the British War Cabinet," said the Congress statement, "encourages and will lead to attempts at separation at the very inception of union, and thus create friction."

To top it all, the constitution-making body would have to pledge in advance to sign a treaty with the British government, in which would appear such "little" things as guarantees

for the City's investments, and continued economic control, and... leave defense in the hands of the British.

Thus the Congress Party regarded the Cripps' proposal as a farce, making it clear that India is to be granted freedom **in words**, but not **in reality**.

NATIVE EXPLOITERS CAPITULATE

However, correct though the criticism by the Congress' statement are, more significant is what they left unsaid: what is **their** alternative **action**? Nehru answered this question in a personal statement the next day, favoring cooperation with the British imperialists in armed action against the Japanese imperialists. Thus the colonial bourgeoisie exposed their real character: fighters for freedom and independence in words, servants of the imperialists in action. Taken together, the statements of the Congress Party and of Nehru, represent in reality a capitulation to the British, and even more to the American imperialists (whose representative was regarded suspiciously by the British).

On the same day the Moslem League replied to Cripps. This League is composed of the most reactionary members of the Moslem communities, mostly feudal in nature. Even in the upper circles of the Moslem communities they are in a minority as compared to the supporters of the Congress. Of course, in both instances the vast toiling masses of Indian workers and peasants are disregarded. These Moslem stooges praise the British attempts at separation as expressed by Cripps, but do not think he went far enough. Particularly do they object to the fact that there is no guarantee of governmental jobs for their group, which is the main

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INTERNATIONAL
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SOCIAL FORCES IN THE
INDIAN REVOLUTION
TROTSKYISM, LEFT FLANK
OF THE REFORMISTS
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The Fighting Worker

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India

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reason for the formation of the Moslem League, as well as the Hindu Mahasabha. Both organizations attempt to inflame old traditional animosities in order to cement British rule and have a bargaining point for jobs for their own members.

FREEDOM — AND AMRITSAR

Sir Stafford Cripps replied to the above declarations by a public broadcast. This contemptible lack of British imperialism starts out by weeping crocodile tears, saying that he is "sad that this great opportunity of rallying India for her defense and her freedom has been missed." Coming from a representative of the government responsible for the massacre of twelve hundred innocent men, women and children at Amritsar, a government which has held thousands of Indians for years in prison without even preferring charges against them, this would be laughable if it were not so grossly insulting.

As predicted in the article, "Social Forces in the Indian Revolution" (May issue, International News, written before Cripps arrived in India), this creature has now the brazen gall to throw the blame on the Indian people, saying they could not agree among themselves. (In similar fashion, they have fomented Arabian-Jewish riots in Palestine, etc.)

NOTICE

Readers should note that the Demos Press has no connection whatsoever with the Social Science Institute, located at the same address.

CALL FOR A NEW LABOR DEFENSE ORGANIZATION

Ed. Note: The Committee for a Labor Defense Congress, established at the "Save Odell Waller Conference" held in Richmond recently, has asked us to reprint in our columns the Statement of Pol-

icy which they have issued. Despite our severe space limitations, we are glad to comply, believing as we do that their work is worthy of the full support of our readers.

STATEMENT OF POLICY

In this war, as in the last, labor and minority groups are constantly threatened with the curtailment of their rights, both by New Dealers and traditional reactionaries, under the pretext that it is necessary to win the war. Proposed pieces of legislation now before Congress and the various state legislatures would, if passed, reduce the status of the American worker several degrees closer to that of the goose-stepping Labor Fronts of Europe. In addition to legislation, there is an ever-increasing use of extra-legal measures to curtail labor strikes, especially the limited rights of the Negro workers. Furthermore, it is now quite obvious to all that the already-existing labor defense organizations are inadequate as defense forces, both in and outside of the court rooms, and a militant national labor defense organization is an acute need.

The "Save Odell Waller Conference," held in Richmond, Virginia, on March 1, 1942, being aware of the above facts took the initial step to organize a new labor defense organization. The conference called upon unions, working class political groups, and sympathetic individuals to support the organization of a labor defense organization with the following basic principles:

1. That in addition to available legal methods, laws and constitutional guarantees, mass meetings, demonstrations such as picketing and other forms of mass pressure are essential means for combating attacks against labor's rights.
2. That the new labor defense organization will defend, or join in defense, of any working class organization or individual who is being denied his rights, regardless of their affiliations or political and economic beliefs.
3. The defense organization will defend unequivocally labor's right to strike, as a prime necessity to avoid the reducing of the working-class to an outright slave status.
4. The defense organization will defend unequivocally the right to fight for the full economic, political and social rights of the Negro people and the foreign born.

To concretize and elaborate on the above principles, the Committee for a Labor Defense Congress will call in the future a national convention of unions, working class political organizations and other interested parties.

SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE

But infamy and insolence reach their highest point in Cripps' declaration that the British Government would take over the army, the navy and air forces in any set-up, and leave the rest of "defense" to the Indians. The noble left wing apostle of imperialist "democracy" forgot to state just what other instruments of war there are than the army, the navy and the air forces. Sir Cripps then

left with an expression of hope that the Indian people would help save the British Empire anyway, a hope which the obsequious Nehru echoed on the following day.

The farcical negotiations between the "Socialist" messenger boy of the British bankers, and the "nationalist" (and "Socialist" à la Nehru) representatives of the various Indian exploiters provide excellent lessons in class politics.

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May Day Manifesto

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markets, have made it appear that the "have-not" nations are the aggressors. Old, old lies, old, old hypocrisies! **All** the imperialists are guilty; all the imperialists are fighting for but two things: markets for surplus capital and surplus commodities, and to hold in check the working class.

The imperialists are fighting on two fronts,—to settle their own contradictions, and to smash the workers' revolution. The Soviet Union is a major bulwark that must be smashed if the proletariat is again to be defeated in the new wave of revolution. Both the Axis, by frontal attack, and the Allies, by their undermining tactics from within (with the aid of Stalinism) are trying to finish the counter-revolution of 1918-1921.

IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARES WORKERS REVOLUTION

In this welter of treachery, May Day 1942 is a dark day. But out of this darkness will come the light of a rekindled awakening of the masses of humanity. Just as certain as there is a war today, so certain is it that revolution will follow tomorrow. The war and the revolution are counterposed. It is impossible to support both. Either one or the other. The struggle against war begins with the struggle FOR proletarian revolution, in the major countries as well as the colonies. The Main Enemy is at Home. Defeat of our own imperialist is a thousand

times to be preferred to the defeat of the revolution. The proletariat cannot serve two masters at the same time, the capitalists in the war and themselves. And **ONLY** the revolution can stop the war.

On this May Day 1942, the International Contact Commission, small in numbers, but with organizations and comrades in Australia, Germany, Central Europe, France, Britain, the United States, and Latin America call for a struggle of class against class, not nation against nation! We extend a fraternal hand to the workers in all trenches, in all battle-fronts. Unite against the common foe, world imperialism. Unite for the real war at home, against the main enemy, our "own" capitalists. Unite for a struggle against starvation and war, for the victory of Socialism and a Workers Council Republic.

Long Live the Proletarian Revolution!

Defend the Soviet Union, despite and against Stalinism and its Imperialist "allies" and foes!

For the Unconditional Freedom of all colonial peoples!

For the New, Communist (4th) International!

Long Live the International Contact Commission!

Revolutionary Workers League, U. S.

Red Front of Greater Germany

Revolutionary Communists of Germany.

Leninist League, Scotland

Militant Workers League of Australia

Why Cripps Failed...

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They expose the so-called war for the freedom of nations, as a war for the plunder of weak and colonial nations by the powerful imperialist powers. They show up the lie that the masses of the earth have no other choice but support of the Axis or the "democracies": if the overwhelming masses of India do not support Bose, the Congress leader who has become an agent of the Axis, neither do they give uncritical support to the firm of Nehru-Ghandi-Sapru & Co., agents of the Anglo-American bloc. Undoubtedly, only the tremendous pressure of the masses made these people so bold as to turn down Cripps' "magnanimous" proposals.

THE WAY OUT

The masses wish to follow a road independent of all oppres-

sors. For the toilers of India, this means no support to the feudal princes and cowardly native bourgeoisie. In the revolutionary situation maturing in India, the problems of national independence, of the agrarian revolution, demands a firm bold leadership. Only the working-class, small though it is in proportion to the vast peasant masses of India, can give leadership. Instead of the slogan of Constituent Assembly which is a practical slogan for Nehru and American imperialism, there is needed workers' and peasants' councils, the seizure of the land of all exploiters native and foreign, workers control of production, a Red Army against imperialists and native exploiters. And above all, to give proletarian leadership against inevitable vacillations of the petty-bourgeois

masses, there is needed a Marxist Party, which recognizes that the national and agrarian problems are but the first phases of the proletarian revolution, which alone can tear India out of the grip of international finance capital.

In this situation, it is the task of the British and American workers (and the Soviet workers also) to prevent the crushing of their class brothers in India, and to give support only to their independent class action directed against all imperialists and the native agents. Class conscious workers everywhere, must aid the Indian proletariat to create their own class, revolutionary Marxian Party, as a step in the fight against world imperialism and its war front, and for the opening up of the front of the international workers revolution.