

THE FIGHTING WORKER

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WHY NEGRO NATIONALISM

(Continued from last issue)

The Communist Party has played a very important role in the present revival of Negro nationalism. Their open and flagrant support of the imperialist war doesn't jibe with the American Negro. He understands all too well the lie of "democracy" and the "four freedoms". During the "third period" — 1929-34 — when Stalinism spouted forth about Revolution and militancy, and when it led many unemployed revolts, the Negro increasingly turned to the Communist Party, the CIO and other left-wing organizations. Today, however, with the complete capitulation of all the reformist forces to Social Patriotism, the Negro is again moving back into a cloistered shell of Nationalism.

Stalinism, from its outset has been nationalistic. The fundamental tenet of its program, the theory of "Socialism in one Country" is nationalistic. During the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 it developed the theory of a "bloc of four classes", of unity with Chiang-Kai-Shek. This theory was used at the opportune time by Chiang Kai Shek as a chopping bloc for the Chinese working class.

But after the defeat of the Chinese workers, Stalinism swung like a pendulum to the other extreme of militant disdain for the bourgeoisie, up to the point of refusing to work in reformist trade unions and the labelling of all non-Stalinists as "fascists". Under this new-found "revolutionaryism" hundreds of Negro workers in the early thirties flocked into the Communist Party.

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Stalin-Morgan Agree To Suppress Revolts

October 13, 1942—In the midst of the battle for Stalingrad, Joseph Stalin issued a statement to the Associated Press which electrified the bourgeois world.

The big silent man behind the Kremlin walls, after demanding again a Second Front, called upon the Allies to "fulfill their obligations fully and on time".

What is the background for Stalin's sharp censure of the United Nations?

The House of Morgan in America had just sent their darling, Wendell Willkie, on a world tour. The trip would have been taken on behalf of the Morgan empire, with or without Roosevelt's blessings, but in order to maintain the fiction of "national unity" Roose-

velt sanctioned the trip.

Willkie arrives in Moscow and issues a statement that he thinks a second front should be started at once. He prods the military leadership of the British imperialists, and indirectly sends a polite slap at Roosevelt. After the strongest section of American imperialism speaks out openly, then our friend Joseph also comes out for an immediate second front. And following Stalin the gates are opened for the Browders and other such stooges to criticize the lower ranks of the United Nations in order to prod the top leaders.

The Stalin "bombshell" thus comes not as an independent act but merely as an auxiliary tail to that of the great House of J. P. Morgan.

REVOLUTION JITTERS

While in China, Willkie sees to it that he puts a "period" to Stalin's statement by again coming out in solidarity with the position for an immediate second front. The House of Morgan sees the handwriting on the wall. They see the social revolution maturing, and are therefore forced to give lipservice to the Soviet Union, to China, to India and to the oppressed peoples of the earth.

Unlike Hoover, Willkie at least has an international perspective that fits the present historical setting. The House of Morgan wants something more than lend-lease debts out of the break-up of the British Empire. And to gain domination, the American imperialists must deal with the oppressed masses, who are seething with

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WAGE FREEZING --WAGE CUTS

Something new has entered the American scene — wage freezing. Supposedly this will put an end to the possibility of unchecked inflation.

But the results of freezing are already manifest. Under pressure from the large food packers Leon Henderson, Office of Price Administration head, has lifted the price ceiling on hundreds of items a few pennies apiece. The packers simply refused to put their commodities on the market until they got the raise. Coffee, beans and meat are still being kept from the market and there can be little doubt that sooner or later Mr. Henderson will give in.

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Chinese Nationalists Fight Peasant Revolts

With a heavy veil of censorship drawn before the "sensitive" eyes of the people very little factual information can be obtained by the person in the street. Unfortunately the "people" have not learned the art of reading between the lines. So the "people" have a difficult time understanding what is going on. But once in a while a sentence or two slips out and the people do understand, even if the Trotskyites don't — and the Stalinites let the cat out of the bag.

The best example of this war censorship concerns the military situation in China. When the Stalinites had the Hitler-Stalin pact they treacherously kept silent about the crimes of Fascism and exposed the crimes and stupidities of bourgeois democracy. But now as stooges of the United Nations they not only give information about Fascists, but when they want more material aid and can use of the House of Morgan against other groups, they even let out state secrets.

One of the most important state secrets they let out of the bag concerns the situation in China, a situation which has been kept quiet by all who know about it. The use the Stalinites make of this information amounts to just so much cheap "blackmail". But the information has far greater value.

IMPERIALISTS FEAR MASSES

We are informed by Earl Browder in an article in the "Daily Worker", that General Hu Chung-Hen with an army of over 400,000 troops of the Chinese Nationalist Army is being used to keep in check the Eighth Route Army in the North and Northwest China. And that another force of over 500,000 troops fighting in the central and eastern China are devoting their energies against the new Fourth Army. Both the Eighth and Fourth Armies are PART of the Chinese RED ARMY, that is, the

peasant masses in revolt against the Kai-Shek Nationalist Government, agent of imperialism. When one speaks of a Red Army in China, and the Red Army in the Soviet Union, there is a different content; but from the class point of view one supports both Red Armies against the Imperialists and their agents.

What must be made clear is the fact that Chang-Kai-Chek has over a million troops against the Red Armies. If these forces were released against the Japanese Imperialist, the latter could be driven out of China. But the Nationalist Government, like all exploiters' governments and exploiters' agents, fears the workers and peasant masses a thousand times more than it fears the Japanese or other Imperialists.

The Stalinites do not raise this from the standpoint of **independent** action against ALL Imperialists and their agents. They only raise the issue as office boys who want more concessions for the good job of holding in check the masses.

TROTSKYITES SUPPORT IMPERIALISM

But what about the Cannon-Trotskyites. They try to tell us, through such "theoreticians" as Wright and others, that China under the Nationalist Government is fighting an **INDEPENDENT** war against Japanese Imperialism and should be supported. Facts prove that the Nationalist Government is an agent of Wall St. and London Imperialism and can not play an independent role. The fact that millions of troops are used against the Red Armies in China is another revealing fact, along with our facts and arguments to support the position of the **INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION**. This position contends that now we are in the imperialist

Wage Freezing

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So long as the right of the capitalists to profits is recognized, the cycle of a rising cost of living can not be checked. It may take on very circumspect forms, but it will not be checked. One of these forms is the withholding of goods from the market (bankrupting of commodities instead of the bankrupting of gold). It will take on the form of higher taxes to pay for the vast overhead of capitalism in this period. It will take on the form of vastly increased credit. Popular figures indicate that the amount of money in circulation is now double what it used to be. Government loans from banks will probably be close to 35 Billion dollars next year. No matter how much control of prices, wages and salaries the government may indulge in, **THIS IS** inflation.

ONLY A POSTPONEMENT

Government freezing of wages must lead to the next step, freezing of jobs. Without that workers would try to get the best jobs available and the lower paid jobs would be undermanned. Capitalism can not permit that. After the freezing of jobs there will necessarily develop the drafting of labor at low wages, **FORCED LABOR**.

The control of the flow of commodities (priorities) and the con-

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war, and that this war involves China and Asia as well as Europe; that we carry out the policy of defeatism in China against the Nationalist Government as we do against any imperialist power. Let the Trotskyites try to tell the millions under the leadership of the Chinese Red Armies—or the millions not even under this leadership but who are fighting for freedom from imperialist domination—let them tell these peoples that they should **SUPPORT** the Nationalist Agents of Imperialism in China. It would be the same as supporting the Generality in Barcelona in the May uprising.

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THE "SECRET" OF STALINGRAD

The battle for Stalingrad is one of the important events of this war. It revealed, to the surprise of most military experts on all sides, that military might has a dynamic relationship to the economic system underlying it.

Those who could not understand the military might of the French Army under Napoleon did not understand the difference between rising capitalist economy and the decaying structure of Feudalism. And those who cannot understand the power of the Red Army, in spite of the incompetent Stalinist bureaucrats, do not understand the difference between a weak transition economy as compared to decadent capitalist economy, even under a most efficient but ruthless dictatorship of Fascism.

DEFEAT FOR HITLER

The military value of Stalingrad as such is not important any longer. If Stalingrad is taken by the Germans or remains in the hands of the Red Army as a broken shell of its former self, the decisive factor still remains: that the Red Army continues to function; that Hitler has not defeated and broken the back of the Red Army. And now winter comes, Russian winters, intense cold that even the whole supplies of Europe will be unable to cope with.

Hitler's speeches reveal the dynamics of the battle of the Soviets. Some months ago, on the eve of the late Spring campaign against the Red Army Hitler promised that before summer was over the Red Army would be crushed. That was his real objective. But last week

WHY NEGRO NATIONALISM

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"BLACK REPUBLIC"

The Black Belt throughout the nation was being squeezed in a vise of capitalist crisis, aggravated by growing tides of discrimination. The militancy of the Stalinists in opposing this discrimination, in its fight for the Scottsboro boys, its unemployed demonstrations, its bitter criticism of the capitalism of Hoover and in the early days, of Roosevelt, appealed to Negro workers as the only solution for their problems.

But despite this surface "leftness" Stalinist Nationalism remained even in this period. The central slogan for the Negroes, put forth by the CP, was the building of a Black Republic in the South. This is nothing more than a variation of the 49th State idea of previous Negro Nationalists. To "prove" that the Negro wanted a separate state the Stalinists wrote long theoretical articles on the national peculiarity of the Negro.

SOCIAL PATRIOTISM

Following this "third period", however, there ensued a "fourth" and "fifth" period, during which they again swung to highly opportunist actions—collaboration with Blum, with Roosevelt, with Chiang-Kai-Shek again; with the Spanish "democrats", and other enemies of the working class. The new program for the Negro called for the legislative enforcement of the "13th, 14th and 15th Amendments

when all thought Stalingrad could not hold out even another 24 hours Hitler only promised to take Stalingrad and rout the Red Army. A week later number two Nazi, Goering, only promised to establish the winter line of defense in that section. This is the song of defeat, for the Fascist ambitions. It is not enough in itself however to spell victory for the Red Army and the world working class. For that social (i.e. revolutionary) victories are also necessary.

to the U. S. Constitution", and opposed any further militant action, or exposure of the New Deal.

This zig-zag policy soon thinned the ranks of the Stalinists of its Negro workers, who correctly understood that they were betrayed.

Following the betrayal of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Stalinism made another slight shift to the left (in words), and again Negroes began to think of the Communist Party as a leader of their liberation. But the "new turn" to alliance with bourgeois democracy blew this whole development into a cocked hat.

Today Negro nationalism, as after the last war, is on the increase. It varies from the Negro Zionist type of nationalism, as practiced by A. Phillip Randolph, to the vicious Black Ku Klux Klan types of such people as Charles Newby (a former Stalinist, by the way).

BLACK AND WHITE UNITY

In all this the Stalinists are bitterly discredited amongst America's black population. The 13 million American Negroes are seething with opposition to the powers that be. Without a Marxian leadership large enough to unite the Negroes, the Nationalistic movement is making rapid progress.

Negroes, however, do not want isolation or pure Negro movements. They want merely to solve their economic problems. Isolation, Zionism of the black variety, or hostile chauvinism, can not solve or even ameliorate the problem of the most oppressed section of the American population. Only BLACK AND WHITE UNITY on a militant class struggle program, and a perspective of the overthrow of capitalism, can achieve this result.

Have You Read?

JOHN DEWEY

A Marxian Critique

By Sid Okun

10 Cents

Only Soviet Society Can End Wars

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discontent. It is no accident that the House of Morgan knows how to do business, when necessary, with the "radical" CIO leaders (e.g. the Steel negotiations), and when necessary, with Stalin too.

The most important thing to take into consideration in Stalin's position is to understand that to call for an imperialist army second front against Germany in Europe is NOT an independent working class position. The time table of the United Nations second front in Europe is primarily based upon the speed and tempo of the maturing social revolutions in Europe. Their main objective is to have on hand a mass army to police Europe against the working class and the Red Army, when the Axis police force is crushed into the earth by revolts. The military consideration of the defeat of the Axis by the United Nations, although very important, is subordinated to this main line of march of the Roosevelt-Churchill second front. To not understand this is to be ignorant of the real reasons for "delays".

REAL SECOND FRONT

The only real second front that Stalin could call for if he were carrying out the line of the bolsheviks, the line of Lenin, the line of Marxism, would be to call for the second front of the SOCIAL REVOLUTION. This INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION would put an end to the Axis powers, would stifle the United Nations imperialists and bring the only kind of peace worth-while, a socialist peace.

But Stalin does not call for independence for India, or for aid to the Chinese masses against Chiang Kai Shek. He leaves this for Willkie, the sly representative of the leading group of American imperialists. And Stalin merely echoes part of Willkie's thoughts.

But while Willkie and Stalin talk, and Roosevelt juggles back and forth to keep his political

fences up, and while Churchill grits his teeth in anger against the "dumb" Americans who speak out of turn, the war moves on its own dynamics. Germany wants to hold her east wall against the Red Army, to release forces for her southern campaign in Russia, in the Near East, and above all in North Africa for the winter campaign.

SECOND FRONT IN AFRICA

Military experts will have to agree that for the most important battle front in the Occidental area for the coming months, the struggle in the Near East and North Africa holds the greatest possibilities. If the United Nations would launch its "second front" in Africa now it has the greatest possibilities, (providing the workers of Europe do not upset the apple-cart.)

In North Africa they can gain the greatest ends with the least amount of men and material and use it as a stepping stone against Italy and Southern Europe. Before Hitler can regain his breath from the campaign of Stalingrad a capable leadership could easily muster a superior land, sea and air force to drive the Axis clean out of North Africa. But the United Nations based on a declining capitalism, as well as the Axis, lack the coordination necessary.

Leave this war to the military experts of the Axis and the United Nations—or the Stalinists and the Chinese leadership—and you will have a war of exhaustion, a war of exhaustion that flows out of the disintegration of capitalist economy within Fascist as well as bourgeois-democratic states. On this basis the Devil himself could ask for nothing better.

It must be stated over and over again: THAT A PEACE WITHOUT SOCIALISM CAN ONLY LEAD TO A THIRD AND MORE DEVASTATING WORLD WAR. Peace can be assured only on the basis of the elimination of the exploita-

Wage Freezing

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tion of prices must lead sooner or later to the complete control of trade itself.

The capitalist machine is like a pair of water wings punched full of holes. Every attempt to patch one hole only creates a new gash in some other spot, that needs immediate patching.

NEW REPRESSIONS

Above all the capitalists must take POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTION AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS. Freezing of wages means a WAGE CUT. Addition of higher taxes means an additional wage cut. The burden on the working class is doubly great, because the new taxes about to be passed are so favorable to the capitalists that even Phil Murray must speak out against them. Nothing remains but to clamp harsh restrictions on the proletariat.

The newspapers report that the Attorney General has threatened to place 150 AFL strikers on a national blacklist if they didn't immediately return to work. General Hershey of the Selective Service threatens to cancel all draft deferment amongst these strikers if they don't go back immediately. But this is only a foretaste. With all of labor's misleaders on the social patriotic bandwagon, the government has a free hand in its repressive measures.

The regimentation of the first wars exceedingly mild compared to what we are running into today. But the greater the regimentation the more apparent is the basic decay of the system itself; and the more contradictions that spout forth in the capitalist machinery, the greater will be the workers' explosion that follows.

tion of man by man. To support capitalism and to call for peace without victory, without domination, for no more wars, is the height of stupidity or fakery. One cannot fight imperialist war without first fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.