

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

(Continued from last week)

Generous—When it Costs Nothing

Will a vote for Willkie and the Republicans be any better than a vote for Roosevelt and the Democrats? The facts say no.

The record of the Republicans on Negro legislation is every bit as bad as the Democrats'. From 1920 on the Republicans sat in power, in the White House and in most states. From them the Negroes got nothing. That was why no colored worker spent much time weeping in 1932 when they were swept out of office and became a minority in Congress.

Then overnight, they became "the Negro's friend and champion"! In a magical way Republicans appeared on the floors of Congress with Anti-Lynch Bills and Anti-Poll Tax Bills. "The Republican Party," they said, "has been the friend of the Negro people since the days of Abraham Lincoln, and still is. Don't you see what we're trying to do for you in Congress?"

What generous people! During the years when they had the power to pass such bills, they were nowhere to be found. The Anti-Lynch Bills which came up in Congress when they had a majority, were always shelved and forgotten by them in the same way the Democrats do it now. And now, when they are sure that the Democratic majority will defeat such legislation, they very boldly propose it!

There are two reasons for this hypocrisy. First, it is a cheap way to build themselves up as "friends of the Negro." Secondly, it embarrasses the Democrats who have to take the responsibility for laws that neither party really wants passed. Only simple people will fall for this kind of fraud.

Take Wendell Willkie, the utility boss who was picked by that small section of the race that alone is responsible for and benefits from Jim Crow, the bankers and big businessmen.

Because he is an "out" now, and wants to get "in," he chooses his words about the colored people very carefully. He remembers the eleven states where the colored vote will be decisive on November 5. But every once in a while he makes a slip, and gives the game away, showing that all his fine talk about "equal opportunity" is nothing more than the hot dog and glass of beer that ward-healers give away "free" before elections.

Willkie Likes a Jim Crow, Book

Recently the New Jersey Herald News, a Negro paper, addressed an open letter to him. In it they questioned his enthusiastic praise of the book, *Capitalism The Creator*, by Carl Snyder. The author of this contemptible book writes in defense of "the greatly misunderstood and abused millionaires." He vigorously defends the right of plutocrats to keep robbing and exploiting the great mass of the people. He asks that taxation of the wealthy be stopped. His reason? They deserve everything they have! He thinks it is terrible for the unions to try to get higher wages for the workers. That will "block the road to recovery," he says.

Naturally, such an enemy of the working class is an enemy of the most oppressed section of the working class, the Negro workers, and a friend of Jim Crow. "We must realize that certain races are naturally inferior," says this ardent champion of the rich. By this he means they shouldn't have equal opportunities and rights, they should be seen and not heard, they shouldn't have the same schooling they shouldn't be allowed to sit in the same theatres and restaurants, they should do the dirty work, cleaning the toilets, acting as janitors and washwomen, while their "superiors," the rich, do more important things such as going to the dog show.

Public endorsement of this book by Willkie means that if he is elected, he can be expected to carry out the ideas in it! And those colored workers who fell for Willkie's promises before elections will be given the privilege of shining his shoes as reward for their support.

Between the two boss parties the Negro has no choice. Neither will help him, each will betray him, both are his mortal enemies.

Trouble—And Double Trouble

The life we live in 1940 is a strange thing. The workers produce everything, and they live in misery. The bosses produce nothing, and they live in comfort and luxury. Because of the profit system, the bosses make the workers live in unhealthy tenements. Often they shut down the factories and throw the workers into the streets to starve or live on miserable relief allowances. When the workers dare to ask for a little more from life, the strength of the whole system is thrown against them: the laws, the police, the newspapers, the courts. When this decaying profit system faces a crisis, the bosses of the different countries put guns in the workers' hands and send them out to kill each other to decide which bosses shall get the gravy.

As workers, the Negroes suffer all this. But that isn't all. Because they are Negroes, they are treated even worse. The Republicans and the Democrats defend this way of life, but they won't do anything to let the colored workers have at least the same rotten conditions and opportunities that the white workers have. The colored workers are herded into the worst of the bad houses. They are given the dirtiest and worst-paying jobs. They are hired last and fired first. They aren't even permitted to join their bosses' Army. Many of them are terrorized and lynched when they try to vote like other workers, even for Republicans and Democrats. Insult is always added to the injuries they suffer under capitalism.

Why is this? Why must colored workers carry a double burden?

(Next week: What Causes Jim Crow?)

Mexico After the Elections -- By GRANDIZO MUNIS

Danger of Reactionary Coup Grows, Aided By Corrupt Stalinist-Toledano Methods

This time, much more than on any previous occasion, the Mexican presidential elections have been extremely important. Powerful interests are in play on both sides, having mobilized themselves for the struggle with an activity which has not been known for many years. The strictly national importance of the conflict is augmented by the existence of the European war.

It is necessary to give a short sketch of the conditions under which the country is now living and the interests opposing a revolt against the control exercised on all the presidents of the Republic by Plutarco Elias Calles, the real ruler. Cardenas himself was only raised to the presidency because he was thought to be a man who could be easily manipulated by Calles's order.

In rejecting Calles, Cardenas had to find some support in the poorest classes of the city and country. By defending the right to strike, which Calles desired to stamp out, he won the goodwill of the workers; by promising to divide up the large estates he won the goodwill of the peasants. By these two simple means he succeeded in carrying through the political move and changes which permitted him to defeat Calles.

The latter's principal support, the National Revolutionary Party was dissolved and the Party of the Mexican Revolution (Partido de la Revolucion Mexicana) was created in its place. In opposition to the trade-union movement of the Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation (CROM) completely controlled by Calles, Cardenas initiated the creation of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (GTM) and the National Peasants' Confederation (CNC). The establishment of the ejidos, by dividing up numerous large estates among the peasants, the establishment of a minimum wage of two pesos a day, and the expropriation of the national railways and of the oil companies, are the basic measures which gave Cardenas's government its early popularity and its democratic character.

THE LIMITS OF WHAT CARDENAS ACHIEVED
But however important these may appear, they have only served to confirm our estimate of the character of modern social movements in countries of colonial or semi-colonial economy. From the first day, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had been rejecting Cardenas's modest reforms. The reforms have irritated the bourgeoisie without having succeeded in satisfying the workers and peasants. The PRM, which consists of the top bureaucratic and military hierarchies, the CTM and the CNC, constitute fundamentally the same party that served as a base for Calles. Any right swing on the part of the victorious presidential candidate will find the same basis and adaptability in the PRM as did the left swing of Cardenas.

The CTM and the CNC, in the hands of an extraordinarily corrupt bureaucracy, play and traffic with the workers' interests in exactly the same way as a piece of goods is trafficked. The general line of the leaders is submission to the government, the line being accompanied with pure and simple selling out to the employers. In many unions the leaders of the CTM are in the pay of the bourgeoisie, from whom they receive a regular wage.

The situation of the small new proprietors in the countryside has not improved with the dividing up of the lands. If before they were exploited by the landholders they are now exploited by the bank which lends them money, by their leaders, and by the companies to which they find themselves compelled to sell their products at a low price.

The bankrupt situation of the railways and oil wells has recently been given public notice. This is due in part to the boycott and to the maneuvers of the American imperialists, but to a great extent the responsibility falls on the bureaucrats of the CTM. Being the real administrators of both undertakings they grant themselves extremely high salaries and bonuses, while the economic position of the workers has either not improved or has obviously deteriorated. The rise in prices, which has been going on for years now, aggravates the situation of all the poor classes.

Accordingly the hatred of the workers and peasants is concentrating itself against the bureaucrats of the CTM, of the CNC, and the government.

THE REACTIONARIES RALLY AROUND ALMAZAN

For its part the feeble Mexican bourgeoisie, always opposed to Cardenas's reforms, has exploited the situation in order to rise in a tumult of totalitarian fever. This is the origin of General Juan Andrew Almazan's candidacy, conceived in Monterrey, the most important grouping in the Mexican bourgeoisie. Upon arriving in Mexico City as candidate his first declaration was made in condemnation of the class struggle, pro-

claiming himself the candidate of "order" and of the "integrity of the family."

Almost all if not all the petty bourgeoisie lined up behind Almazan immediately. Certain backward elements among the workers and peasants were also pushed towards him by the corruption of the trade-union leaders. In general three-quarters of the importance which the Almazanist movement has acquired is due to the repulsion inspired in the masses by the activities of the CTM bureaucracy, directly linked up with the Stalinist bureaucracy. As has been proven many times in Europe the reaction receives its chief strength from the reformist bureaucracy.

To the destruction of the working class represented by Almazan, the official party, P.R.M., opposed its own candidate, General Avila Camacho.

CAMACHO'S PROGRAM DOES NOT EXIST

Avila Camacho's program?—some impudent Trotskyite will ask. It doesn't exist. In order to calm the most conscious workers Lombardo Toledano's bureaucrats take pleasure in repeating that Avila Camacho is going to continue Cardenas's work.

"But, regardless of what Lombardo Toledano's camarilla says, the attitude Avila Camacho will take towards the working-class gains is more than suspect. In a speech made at Puebla he finally said that it was necessary to "direct politics into Christian paths." In other perforations he allowed it to be seen that his policies would be directed against the proletariat and the peasants. After proclaiming his victory in the Chamber of Deputies the press that once sympathized with Almazan is now submitting itself to Camacho, inducing him to start a radical change of men and methods. In this way the Stalinists and Lombardists, by removing from the electoral campaign the demands of the poor classes, have made possible with Avila Camacho's victory the annihilation of those gains already made.

ALMAZAN DANGER STILL IMMINENT

But the danger which the trade-union bureaucrats and the lack-

eyes of Moscow have brought close to us is much greater. The menace of Almazan has not subsided with the proclamation of Camacho's victory. The candidate of "order" and the "family" has made an appeal for a reactionary insurrection. Immediately afterwards Calles made an appearance in Texas at a secret conference with his Almazanist cronies. The selection of Texas is not accidental; it has all the conditions of favorable surroundings and financial support which the reaction needs in order to execute its plans.

Almazan has persistently sought the support of Yankee imperialism. The latter, which does not feel itself threatened in the slightest by Avila Camacho cannot be inclined to provoke a civil war in Mexico, particularly now, when the Monroe Doctrine has just as much value as the American navy, according to old Theodore Roosevelt's expression. But the Texas politicians have a different point of view and seem disposed to support Almazan to the finish. He will receive money and war material from Texas. In case an Almazanist uprising breaks out. The workers' organizations of this state should begin to act against Almazan and the American politicians aiding him.

We need scarcely say what the victory of an Almazanist insurrection would mean for the working class and the peasants. There would be a return of the epoch of mass deportations to the Maria Islands and of unpunished shootings; all democratic liberties would be suppressed, the land would be torn away from the peasants and wages would fall even below what they are already. Against this threat the living conditions now enjoyed by workers and peasants are not, however, sufficiently attractive to throw them with enthusiasm into the struggle against Almazan. The latter is hoping that the impoverished masses, deceived and betrayed by the Lombardist bureaucracy, will view any reactionary uprising with passivity.

CORRUPT BUREAUCRATS HELP ALMAZAN

The reaction always counts for its victory upon the dissatisfaction provoked by reformist policy,

There is only one way to stop any reactionary success, whether it comes about from a seizure of the state by Almazan or a cold and gradual swing on the part of Avila Camacho: a program of workers' and peasants' demands capable of interesting the masses and mobilizing them against the reaction.

Stalinists and Lombardists have abandoned any demand of this type. They are avilacamachists because they hope to continue the enjoyment of all their privileges under Camacho. They are not interested in the slightest by any advance of the workers' gains. In this way avilacamachism has provided a weighty contribution to the progress of almazanist. Only the weak Mexican section of the IV International proposes a program of demands based on the improvement of the living conditions of the working class and peasants. But the Mexican section of the Fourth International is today too feeble for its voice to have as yet any important repercussions in the social struggle. The determining element in these hours is the policy of the CTM bureaucracy, aided by the Stalinists. This policy seems to have been specially thought up to aid the reaction. As to whether the progress of the latter will be prevented in us in the form of an Almazanist insurrection or a rightist swing on the part of Avila Camacho is something that cannot be predicted. In any case, the Stalinists and Lombardists have given almazanist encouragement and disarmed the working class by means of avilacamachism. They will be the ones responsible for the victory of the reaction, wherever it may come from. Mexico D. F. September 13, 1940

Negro Sharecropper Facing Trial For Murder of Boss

CHATHAM, Va., Sept. 26, 1940

Protest telegrams pouring in to the court put a halt today to the attempt to railroad Odell Waller, young Negro sharecropper, to the electric chair by rushing his trial only three days after he was indicted.

Judge Clement of the Circuit Court of Pysytlvania County, Virginia, backed by Commonwealth attorney Whitehead, had refused to continue the case or give the defense time to summon

important witnesses. The protest telegrams brought a sudden change and the judge granted a continuance until September 26.

Waller, 23-year-old Negro sharecropper, is charged with shooting to death his white landlord in a dispute over the division of the crops. Waller is married, has no children but supports a widowed mother. He has had three years of high school education.

On January 2, 1939, Waller moved into the land of Oskar Davis, near Gretna, Va. The land was set out in tobacco, corn and wheat. Davis agreed to furnish supplies and tools, while Waller was to furnish the labor and receive one-fourth of the product. After Waller had worked on the tobacco crop, Davis decided to take advantage of the Federal Government subsidy and plow under the crop, informing Waller he would not be paid for his labor. Davis also owed Waller's mother for four weeks midwifery and nursing at \$7.50 per week, having paid her only \$2.50 per week. After some dispute, Waller finally abandoned any immediate claim to money due him on the tobacco and fertilizer, and went to Maryland to work. In his absence, his wife and mother, both of whom had worked on the aforementioned property, were evicted by Davis.

When Waller returned from Maryland, he went to get the wheat which had been worked on by his wife, mother and himself.

Self-Defense Involved
He went armed, having been threatened by Davis and knowing his temperament. Davis refused to allow him anything at all, and reached for the pocket in which he usually kept his pistol. In fear of his life, Waller shot and killed Davis, and fled, fearing mob violence. He was captured a few days later in Columbus, Ohio, whence he was extradited on August 6th to Chatham, Virginia.

Lawyers Thomas H. Stone and J. Byron Hopkins, both from Richmond, Virginia, are co-operating in the defense.

The defense attorneys are fighting to get a change of venue. Judge Clement showed his bias by his insulting remarks to defense counsel Hopkins, a Negro. The local businessmen of Gretna and Chatham are united in crying "that damn nigger ought to be killed." Waller committed the "unpardonable sin"—resisting a white boss. They want to burn him to maintain the vicious "cropper system."

The first skirmish has been won, but victory will demand a long hard fight. The Waller Defense Committee in Richmond, Virginia, calls on workers and friends to organize local Waller Defense Committees, uniting Negro and white in a common national struggle on this case. Labor and Negro organizations are urged to cooperate by holding protest meetings and hebing to raise the necessary funds to fight the case through to a victory. Send mail to E. Campion, Waller Defense Committee, c/o T. H. Stone, 1519 E. Main St., Richmond, Virginia.

Has Mike Gold Made His Last Blunder?

Since Mike Gold lives in the United States and, to give the devil his due, isn't fool enough to accept one of those cordial invitations from the Kremlin to please come over and participate in the November 7 celebrations, the GPU cannot arrange to have him liquidated in the usual official manner.

Nevertheless the GPU must put an end to Mike Gold's official status as columnist of the *Daily Worker*. Many a time in the past Gold has blurted out things which no discreet GPU agent or Stalinist functionary should have whispered, let alone put into cold print. The other times Mike ate lots of crow and was permitted to go on. But not this time.

For this time Mike Gold has talked out of turn about the one crime which, above all, the GPU is desperately determined to cover up its connection with—the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

A few facts are first necessary in order to understand the enormity of Mike Gold's blunder.

Bosom Friend of Mike Gold

David Alfaro Siqueiros made a get-away just as he was about to be arrested by the Mexican police for having led the May 24 machine-gun assault on Trotsky's house. About a dozen of his accomplices, however, were caught and arrested. Most of them realized the jig was up and signed depositions confessing their participation in the assault.

From these depositions and other evidence gathered by the police it was established conclusively that Siqueiros, dressed in the uniform of a high official of the police, had led the machine-gun band, similarly disguised in police uniforms. Luis Mateos Martinez, a Communist Party member, one of those arrested, confessed that he had been commissioned to buy those uniforms by David Serrano, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Serrano's former wife, Julia, confessed that she and another woman had been commissioned by Siqueiros to occupy a house near Trotsky's, to seduce the small police guard stationed outside the Trotsky house. She had reported the results of her spying on the Trotsky household over a period of months to Siqueiros.

Siqueiros' flight from the police was itself a confession of guilt. In addition, however, when those arrested gave the show away, the GPU decided it was unwise to attempt to maintain that Siqueiros was innocent. Instead it was decided to develop the line that Siqueiros was indeed guilty, but that he was in no way connected with the Communist Party. In accordance with this line Siqueiros (or the GPU in his name) sent four letters to the police and the press, admitting his guilt and defending his crime as a "political act"; while the Communist Party of Mexico denounced Siqueiros as an "irresponsible" who had been expelled from the Communist Party for some time. The next step was to label Siqueiros as a reactionary and a Trotskyist! To this end, David Serrano blandly declared before the investigating judge that Trotsky and Diego Rivera had given Siqueiros funds for a publication.

This story was fantastic enough, as every intelligent person in Mexico knew. For there had never been a word of criticism of Siqueiros in the Stalinist press; on the contrary one could cite numerous times when he was praised in the friendliest terms. Siqueiros, moreover, had served as a "colonel" in a Stalinist-controlled regiment in Loyalist Spain and was, at the time he fled, President of the Association of Ex-Combatants in Spain, the Mexican equivalent of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade here. However, the Stalinists attempted to brazen it out, sticking to their story that Siqueiros was not a Stalinist but an agent of dark and sinister forces—until Mike Gold spilled the beans.

Couldn't Have Read Report

Apparently Mike had been in rustic retreat and hadn't seen the GPU bulletins. At any rate we rubbed our eyes when we saw his column in the August 31 *Daily Worker*. We quote some of it:

"It is as preposterous to believe that Siqueiros would become the leader of an assassination plot as to believe it of Gary Cooper. And why? Because the face, the hair, the manner of speech, the whole personality of Siqueiros is almost as well known in Mexico as the personality of Gary Cooper in this country.

"Communists do not believe in assassination, because with Disraeli they believe that no assassination ever changed the history of a country..."

"Siqueiros, I understand, was not a member of the Communist Party of Mexico. BUT HE ACCEPTED ITS LEADERSHIP; the outstanding Mexican intellectual who did so, and for this renegades like Rivera have hated him with a peculiar venom. Now Rivera and the fascist-Almazan gang to whom he now gives his adherence, are using their chance to destroy Siqueiros. They would try to weave the same plot around a Gary Cooper or a Charlie Chaplin in America, if they could, and it would be as murderously grotesque as a Hitler invention.

Gold is, of course, ready to write that what was "murderously grotesque" yesterday was in reality a fact, and that Siqueiros was never within twelve thousand miles of the Communist Party. But the damage is done. No recantation by Gold can undo it. Gold must therefore be liquidated. The GPU is now deciding just what is to be done with him.

...
A Columbus, Ohio, woman is shot through her hands while they were elevated in prayer. It's an odd kind of God that can't protect his people even when they're in his presence.

Communist League of China Honors Memory of Trotsky

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist League of China issued the following statement on the death of Leon Trotsky:

"The Communist League of China, section of the Fourth International, deeply mourns the passing of Leon Trotsky, who met his death at the hands of a brutal assassin employed by Stalin's international Mafia. To Natalia, his devoted wife and comrade, we send all our sympathy in this irreparable loss which we so sadly share.

"After several unsuccessful attempts, the Borziga of the Kremlin has finally succeeded in stilling the voice of the greatest leader of the revolutionary socialist movement. Trotsky was murdered because, as the legitimate bearer of the traditions of the October Revolution in Russia and the pre-eminent leader of the world-wide movement of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed masses, he represented the greatest menace to the totalitarian bureaucracy which, with Stalin at its head, dominates the Soviet Union and crushes the masses under the weight of its lucrative privileges and the violent rule by which it maintains them.

"The murder of Trotsky was also an act of personal vengeance by Stalin, the foul crowning deed in a series of murders which has claimed the lives of Trotsky's two sons and two daughters and thousands of his devoted followers in Russia.

"By the death of Leon Trotsky, the workers and oppressed peoples of all the world, including China, have lost their most gifted and ardent champion. Tirelessly and selflessly and without thought for his personal welfare or safety, he battled for more than forty years in the cause of the downtrodden and oppressed. To this great liberating struggle he brought a diversity of talents rarely given to a single man. Together with Lenin he led the Russian Revolution to victory and created the Red Army which fought off its enemies. Despite the later degeneration of the Soviet state, he continued its most able revolutionary defender and labored indefatigably for its revival by promoting the cause of the international socialist revolution. He kept undeviatingly to this course in the face of streams of slander, monstrous frame-ups and continual threats against his life by the Kremlin clique and their hired agents.

"The hand of Stalin, guiding the hand of the assassin who encompassed his death, has brought the career of the great revolutionist to a premature end. In his writings and labors, as well as by his exemplary life as a man and a revolutionist, Leon Trotsky has bequeathed a rich heritage to the international proletariat and all the oppressed. Under the banner which he un-

furled and so bravely upheld until his last breath—the banner of the Fourth International—his great work will reach fruition. This will be an imperishable monument to Leon Trotsky, who lived and died for the emancipation of mankind."

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF CHINA

Shanghai, August 23, 1940

The following letter was sent to Comrade Natalia Trotsky by the Executive Committee of the Communist League of China on Aug. 23:

The Chinese comrades send you these few words in the hope of comforting you in the dark days of sorrow which you are now passing through because of the loss of our beloved Comrade Trotsky. We wanted to send you a cable or radiogram, but circumstances here are such that we must write instead.

We had always hoped that you and we would be spared the grief which has now fallen upon us, but it was not to be. Despite all the precautions which were taken, an assassin employed by Stalin succeeded in carrying out his vile task.

We had hoped that Comrade Trotsky would live many more years to continue his great work in the cause of the socialist revolution. Now we can only take comfort—and we ask you to take comfort—in the thought that before he died Comrade Trotsky had already performed enormous labor for our cause. This work must now be carried to completion by others, less fitted for the task, but inspired by his selfless and gifted devotion to the cause of the downtrodden and the oppressed.

We recall with especial gratitude the great contributions which Comrade Trotsky has made to the revolutionary movement in China. His labors have armed us with a program which in the end will triumph. When the masses of China, marching under the banner of the Fourth International, throw off the chains of imperialism and step forward on the road to socialism, they will learn of the great part that Comrade Trotsky played in assuring their triumph, and they will appropriately honor his memory.

Dear Comrade Natalia: we grieve with you in this terrible bereavement and we honor you as the beloved wife and comrade of our departed leader. Please accept our fraternal love and sympathy. We shall continue to uphold the banner of international socialism, the banner of the Fourth International under which Comrade Trotsky lived and died.

Executive Committee, Communist League of China (Section of the IV International)
LI FU-JEN