The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" - KARL Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

(Continued from last week)

Divide and Rule

The reason for Jim Crow and Judge Lynch is to be found in the desire of the bosses to protect and increase their profits. They do this by paying their workers as little wages and making them work as long hours as possible. The workers form unions in an attempt to improve their conditions. The bosses spend a lot of time, energy and money trying to prevent formation of unions and to weaken and smash them where they exist.

The best way they know to accomplish this is by keeping the workers divided. Each worker alone is weak, and if he raises his voice, can be kicked out easily. United, all the workers are strong-much stronger than all the bosses put together. This explains the strategy of the bosses: keep the workers divided and fighting among themselves so that they will be unable to fight their real enemy, the bosses. And so the boss pits white worker against colored in the same way that he stirs up Christian against Jew, and "citizen" against "alien". He doesn't do this because he likes the white worker better, but because he dislikes both.

Unite and Fight

Many white workers don't recognize this because the bosses spread their Jim Crow propaganda skillfully. These backward workers accept these lies about their colored brothers and permit themselves to be used by the bosses in spreading discrimination and segregation. In this way they not only hurt the colored workers, but they also hurt themselves. As a result, colored workers not only have to fight the bosses, but they have to fight against the prejudices of many backward workers and to try to educate them.

Difficult as this job is, still it is what the colored workers have to do with the help of the advanced white workers who understand these things. There is no other way. They cannot turn their backs on the unions, because the only way they can end Jim Crow as well as the evils of capitalism is by fighting side by side with the white workers, their natural allies in the fight against the common enemy. Alone, they can never defeat the bosses.

If they turn away from this hard and often unpleasant task, they will only be helping the bosses keep the workers divided. Into the unions the Negroes must go, and they must be the best fighters against the bosses, so that the backward been misled and tricked.

Unite and fight! Unite with the white workers and fight against the bosses and Jim Crow!

Build a Labor Party

. The Democrats and Republicans defend and preserve the system of Jim Crow that is used to maintain capitalism. This explains why neither party has done anything in all the years they have been in office to abolish or even weaken Jim Crow. It would be foolish to expect anything different from them this year.

What the Negro workers must do now is turn their backs on both these parties, the same way that these parties have turned their backs on them when it came to the Anti-Lynch Bill and similar measures.

What they must do now, together with the white workers, is build a new party, a Labor Party, controlled and run by the workers in it, presenting an independent program defending the interests of all workers, and running labor candidates, Negro and white, against the candidates of big business.

The Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party calls on the Negro workers to join with it in the struggle against the bosses. It calls on them to support its candidates in the elections in those places where they are on the ballot. It calls on them to fight for its program on election day and every other day in the year:

Against Jim Crow! For full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people!

For the right of Negroes to sit in the movies and restaurants when they want to. For their right to vote, and to run for office. For their right to belong to trade unions and other organizations of their choice. For their equal right to jobs in industry, at equal pay. For an end to the "deportation to the South" laws which deny them relief. For the passage of the Anti-Lynch and Anti-Poll Tax Bills.

Against the war! Against the Jim Crow practices in the Army! For military training under control of the trade unions!

For the government to appropriate money for a system of military training under control of the trade union movement, to teach the workers the use of arms so that they will be able to protect themselves against their enemies at home and abroad. For the right to the soldier-workers to elect their own officers from out of their own ranks, colored and white. For an end to the discriminatory practices which give Negroes the flunkey jobs in the Army and deny them the right to advance themselves.

Against the profit system that breeds Jim Crow! For a workers' government that will forever end discrimination and segregation.

An AP dispatch from Chicago states that the world wheat supply is ample for the world's needs, but that due to the war the gulf between the wheat supply and the potential consumer demand has never been so wide. One veteran trader observed: "Mother Nature has seen to it that there should be plenty of bread for all, but man in the back while he was going vis for no reason so far as he necessary it will be carried to the The local's Executive Board, ably usher in a new era for all has forbidden their eating it."

ORGANIZE FORD: This Is Still The Biggest Job In Auto

great General Motors strike. As: never before, the workers were aroused out of their lethargy and imbued with new daring and confidence. In those days, anybody with a batch of application blanksin his coat pocket and a lead pencil could organize workers. They long pent up to destroy the tyranny of the open shop.

Defeat in "Little Steel"

Then came the disastrous strike in "Little Steel." No proper preparations were made nor systematic plans devised how to fight the determined masters of Little Steel. But the C.J.O. thought they did not need any plans or preparations. Roosevelt was their ace in the hole who would win the steel strike for them in a pinch. When Tom Girdler and his minions declared war on the union, the leadership became bewildered and helpless under the assault. The incompetent and pusillanimous leadership of Phil Murray left the steel workers defenseless before the cruel blows of the vigilante gangs and the National Guard. The unions

for the time being, wiped out. With its prestige heavily shattered by the ignominious defeat, the C.I.O. lost the momentum of its splendid offensive. The faith of the workers was shaken in the deadliest of all poisons with which the rulers keep their slaves numerical enlargement of the Ford workers are still unorganin subjection, again obsessed United Automobile Workers Un- ized. them. The C.I.O. began its slow

New Upswing; New Tasks The Committee for Industrial Organization was first established for the avowed purpose of organizing the workers of the hitherto unorganized mass production indus-

A joint statement by John L. Lewis and R. J. Thomas, President | ism, is in addition a major factor | fired Ford workers, inexperienced The star of the C.I.O. shone of the United Auto Workers Union, announced the opening of a new in the life of the city of Detroit, and new to unionism, is strugbrightest in the days following the drive to organize Ford. It is not the first time that such an an- But the Ford workers are held gling as valiantly as it can with nouncement has been made. The following article was published in down by long years of submission the Herculean task dumped into the SOCIALIST APPEAL of November 12, 1938 at the time of such to a ruthless despotic power. announcement. It is written by a prominent auto unionist. It is as pertinent as the day it was written, and we can find no better way to comment on the latest announcement than to reprint this excellent article.—EDITORS

offensive of the employers, America's unorganized workers. Motor Co.

Ford remains the only manuacturer of automobiles who has of the United Automobile Workin the plants of Little Steel were, utterances have attracted nationwide and world-wide attention. Almost -naturally, the organization of the Ford plants stands as the Richard Frankensteen, gram of action.

ion or of the C.I.O.' Just recall! for the labor movement; how that | ago? accomplished more in one day than all the speeches and routine activity of a whole army of orgamizers in the previous year.

The Great Job at Ford's

tries. The economic crisis, which a good union contract with the of espionage. On every side they put all of its unions on the defens- company! --- and the G.M. victory are surrounded by automobile ive, is beginning to lift and will will pale by comparison. The G.M. workers who work in union shops, is by the new armament program production industries were still contracts, who are represented by of the Roosevelt administration. largely unorganized and the mass union stewards and committees. The shops are beginning to call movement for labor political ac- The automobile workers union, back-their workers and the latter tion was almost non-existent. That young, vibrant and full of optim-

streamed into the unions by the are again regaining their old con-strike electrified the workers sufthousands, displaying a passion fidence and ability to resist the ficiently to call forth millions of them out of indifference and tim-All the recent events dictate to idity to economic and political

the C.I.O. the stern necessity of life. A successful Ford drive returning to its great unfinished would grip America's organized work-temporarily halted by the millions and hurl them in a new loss of the steel strike and the attack against the citadels of capdepression of the fall of 1937-of italism in a more profound manorganizing the remaining army of ner than ever before. The threat-Looming in greatest importance manufacturers would be abruptly. and significance is the organiza-stopped and the labor movement, tion of the 150,000 automobile more resolute and self-confident, workers employed at the Ford would launch an offensive all along the line.

At the Milwaukee convention

successfully obstructed the form-ers of America, held August, 1937, ation of a union among his work- the officers vied with each other ers, recognizes and deals with in eloquent speeches pointing to no committees and has signed no the necessity of organizing the agreement with the union. Ford Ford workers and every one of stands today as the symbol of re- the orators pledged his undying. action, industrial autocracy and support towards its accomplishthe open shop. His anti-union ment. A one dollar assessment was unanimously approved by the convention to finance the drive. Immediately after the convention, necessary next step in labor's pro- Vice-President, was appointed Director of the Ford Drive and a-Cracking the Ford fortress and midst much publicity the national organization they had believed in- bringing the overlord of River campaign was launched. Today, to the management. Everything vincible. Fear for their jobs, the Rouge to terms would have far a year later, the campaign has greater significance than the mere completely bogged down; the

What has been wrong with the retreat before the employers' of what the signing of a union agree- Ford Drive launched with so fensive and has been retreating ment with General Motors meant much noise and fanfare a year troit especially was literally

Workers Want' Union

The Ford workers know the necessity of being organized. They want a union in their plant. They want to abolish the pitiless black-Organize the Ford workers, sign list and the shame of the system

of Ford workers who have sum. ers employed in the plants of the What they needed to arouse them | ney for the job. out of their apathy was a demonstration of power from the a representative committee from outside; a demonstration that the the key unions to furnish moral

take on Henry Ford. obviously on the order of the day, workers, sweep them into the un. helplessness and scepticism which ion in spite of anything Ford has seized the Ford workers. could do. After some giant mass spirit and morale of the workers, the drive would be brought to a head by the election of commitof the men; a union contract would be written up embodying favored a bold plan of this kind. The U.A.W. was at the high water mark of its career. The auto workers union had not yet tasted defeat. The whole labor movement was on the move and De-

Why the Drive Failed .

bers and their activities.

swamped with the U.A.W. mem

Precisely this boldness, this conception of a swift dramatto attack that would sweep every thing before it, was lacking.

First, the organizing staff of the Ford drive was woefully incompedrive imposed. The union's ace organizers, men who were enthuspating in this great work should have been placed in the Ford organizing office; instead, the Ford drive was overloaded with incom petents, petty maneuverers and opportunists. The few sincere young men were lost completely in the noise, confusion and dis

Frankensteen, inexperienced for such a difficult task, but con-The most astonishing testimony, sumed with an undying ambition the Waller case which ended yes to Chatham, Sept. 26. Campion victim. The day after the shoot did not possess the imagination Odell Waller, Negro sharecrop- about four miles south of Chath- er in a Lynchburg hospital for alize the vast opportunities that

> Secondly, there never was a well-thought-out and well-defined Dr. Risher of a Lynchburg hos. plan as to how the Ford workers pital testified that Davis was op- would be organized. Everyone erated on at the hospital which went about his own way, doing stopped the bleeding but that he what he thought best. Added to lung could result from other fac. was anxious to prevent the oppos tors. Under cross examination ing faction from getting the cre

High Point Missed

such as it was, was reached when the U.A.W. representatives were mercilessly beaten by Ford service men at the gates of the River Rouge plant, in open sight of newspaper photographers and re- River Rouge plant, the heart of porters. That day thousands of the Ford empire. Detroit automobile workers were aroused to a white fury at this brutality; the Ford drive had become national news and the Ford workers, stirring uneasily, were watching with bated breath the next union move. If 25,000 work- for an organizational campaign, ers were mobilized the next day to march on Dearborn, it is an such a gigantic scale as the Ford almost foregone conclusion that a real dent would have been made among the Ford workers and the Ford drive would have been definitely on its way.

But the golden opportunity was missed. Nothing of any importtended that there should be a tion relative to other members of acres whereupon Waller around The psychological moment was change of venue because the ac- the jury who had land out on April 1st went to Maryland to allowed to pass by. At the end of this is not just another petty inwork. During his absence Davis the week, a demonstration was effectual stab but a bona fide finally organized, poorly prepared large scale campaign, behind When Waller returned he asked and poorly led. Then the Ford which all organized labor has the white farmer for his share of drive again reverted to the grind- pledged its unstinting support. If Campion, who lives in Rich. conducted according to law and the wheat crop and Davis told ing routine of collecting names, a drive of this character is mond, spent considerable time in not on any economic or social him he could get it later. On visiting individuals, a drive with launched, and properly carried Waller's insistence Davis is re- out prospect and without hope.

The factional fight which flared tified that he had heard a garage works for the Davis family and can't have it," and reached in his up again during the summer of owner of Gretna, named Franklin the only eye-witness to the shoot- right pocket where Waller said this year put the finishing touchsay "the damn nigger ought to be ing, testified that Waller and Da- he usually kept his gun. Waller es to what remained of the Ford of the last of America's open shop killed." On Sept. 25, he said he vis had always got along peace- then took out his gun and shot Drive. Several weeks ago, the fortresses, new vistas will open Ford men were chartered as a up for the C.I.O., as for the labor

composed for the most part of organized labor in America.

They know that for years Ford | The C.I.O. is scheduled to hold has successfully crushed all that its first convention on November would not bend to his will. They 15th. Of paramount importance know that practically all the of stands of course the question of ficials of the City of Dearborn are fusing with the A.F. of L. to form controlled body and soul by the one united labor movement in Ford Motor Co. They know of America. The U.A.W. delegation the deadly spy system in opera- should, however, insist that the tion at his plant and the hundreds organization of the 150,000 workmarily been fired out of their jobs. Ford Motor Co. be placed on the for union activity and they know agenda. The U.A.W, itself has not that all the hearings and tom. the financial resources at the foolery of the National Labor Re- present time, nor the experienced lations Board have not yet re. organizers, to properly launch a turned these men to work. The new major drive for the Ford Ford workers have submitted too workers. If Ford is to be organlong to spontaneously rise up and ized now, the other C.I.O. unions challenge the autocracy of Ford. Will have to put in some real mo-

Proposals are in order to elect U.A.W.A. was strong enough to and financial aid to the great drive. It is most important to im-In view of all this, what was press the Ford workers that a new gigantic effort is being made was a hurricane drive that would by the whole labor movement, in catch the imagination of the Ford order to overcome the feeling of

A Plan of Organization

Then it is up to the U.A.W. to get into action. Assigned to the drive should be a crack regiment of field workers, who are inspired with the determination to see the Ford plants organized. At the head of the drive should be placed a person with experience and authority, a person whose presence will constitute a partial guarantee that the Ford drive will this time proceed in an energetic and serious manner. The presidents of all local

should be constituted as a special action and advisory committee, who will make the Ford drive a special order of business in their local unions and will involve every active union member in the great union campaign.

unions in the Detroit area

Especially important is the setting up of a special Negro committee of prominent Negro educators and leaders, who will aid the union in winning the good will and faith of the Negro workers in the drive and its purposes. Once the colored workers are set in motion at the great River Rouge plant, they will constitute one of the steel girders of the Ford union as well as the battering ram towards organizing the rest of the Ford workers.

The whole drive must be given shape and continuity by the establishment and the regular issuance of a weekly Ford Drive Bulletin, REGULARLY recording the plans, the aims and the achievements of the campaign. The Bulletin can become the most effective organizer of Ford workers and the means of infusing the new membership with zeal and en-

As the drive begins to take form, giant mass meetings held in Detroit and Dearborn will enthuse and inspire the great masses of Ford workers and will begin a mass recruitment of members into the union. The campaign can be brought to a head by the election of rank and file committees to formulate the grievances of the men and demand a conference with Henry Ford to negotiate a union agreement.

While the campaign must be national in scope, obviously all organizational work must be centered and concentrated on the

The Job Must Be Done

As everybody knows, the bestlaid plans are worthless unless properly executed. It is impossible on paper to lay out a blueprint especially one so difficult and on

What is important, however, beyond this or that detail, is to overcome the handicap of the unsuccessful first drive and the dis-

What is important is that the Ford workers be impressed that

through, it has every chance of

in Chatham say. "the nigger ought till will between them on the day to get the chair who shot Davis of the shooting. Waller shot Da- case will be appealed and that if U.A.W. ful Ford Drive will unquestion-

What Officer Rule Means In the Army

When Congress passed the Draft Law, I began to take a very personal interest in the army. It looked as though I'd be one of the sheep, so I wanted to get a preliminary idea of what army life would be like. Here is what I have found out

The daily newspapers discuss army life in one way. They describe the physical benefits of military training-guaranteed to build good, strong Americans. They always speak in generalities calculated to take the sting out of life.

Newspapers have to hold on to their readers and therefore give us such hypocritical sugar coating. Generals don't. General O'Ryan, writing on the same subject in Life many years before the present war crisis, said this among other

"We must get our men so that they are machines, and this can be done only as a process of training. We have to have our men trained so that the influence of fear is overpowered by the peril of an uncompromising military system, often backed up by a pistol in the hands of an officer ... The recruits have to put their heads into a military noose".

A private in the American Army hasn't the right of appeal. If his superiors make a decision, that's that. The private must address his officer in the third person. When an officer commands him to do something, he does not ask, "What do you want?" but "The officer commanded me to do this?" Even in these everyday forms, the private is made to feel the tremendous gap that exists between himself and his officers. The private may not sit down or relax in his officer's presencé unless he is permitted to.

A buck private has to carry out all orders without question no matter how degrading he may think they are. In peacetime, a private may be tried for insubordination before a military court-martial. One officer prefers the charges against him; another officer acts as "defense at-

The private may even be punished without cause. In peacetime or wartime, a soldier may be selected for punishment as an example to the rest. When the French troops were retreating in droves during the World War, a certain number in each division were executed in order to terrifythe remainder of the troops into submission. While such extreme measures have not, as yet, been resorted to in the American Army, the principle upon which they were based is present in the American Army.

The officer regulates the private's reading material and determines the way in which the private may use his leisure time. In France, at the very time that Lcon Blum was premier, the French soldiers were forbidden to read the paper published by Blum's party. The army officers, having seen the word "socialism" on its masthead, were probably taken in by appearances. They should have known better.

In wartime, a private may be transferred from one section to another, regardless of his wishes. It was a common practice during the World War to send radicals into dangerous sectors to isolate them from the other soldiers... permanently.

EXPLANATION FOR ARMY REGULATIONS

It seems to me that Army regulations can be explained in three ways. First, the nature of war itself demands a very high degree of discipline. It would be suicidal, for example, to have an army pause to discuss its strategy in the heat of battle. But not all the regulations are designed to promote military efficiency. Some are expressions of the vast social differences that separate the rank-and-file soldier from the officer caste. In Trotsky's Red Army, an officer was addressed as "Comrade Lieutenant," "Comrade Sergeant," etc.; that was because the officer was a comrade, a fellow worker who had risen from the ranks. In the American Army, however, it is the favored sons of West Point, the specially trained Plattsburg business men, who command. These have nothing in common with the buck private.

A third explanation for Army regulations is that the war which the American government is preparing will not represent the interests of the American people who will do the fighting and the dying. That is why the army forbids the soldiers to read those revolutionary and labor newspapers which expose Roosevelt's fraudulent "anti-fascist" pretenses.

The very nature of war, I have said, makes it necessary for armies to be keyed to a high pitch of discipline. There must be people who command and people who obey. But this is posing the question too abstractly. Who commands and who obeys? That is what we want to know, and that depends on what class is in control.

If the American workers want to fight a genuine war against fascism, then, of course, they must have arms and the ability to use them. Of course, they must have an army united by discipline. But this army will be an anti-fascist army only if it is an army controlled by the main enemy of the fascists, the workers themselves and not by the best friend of fascism, the reactionary militarists now in command. To prepare the way for the creation of such an army, the workers must demand that military training be placed under trade union control.

Fraternally. EUGENE VARLIN

An inventor in Santa Rosa, California has invented a mousetrap from which the bait can't be stolen. Probably built on the lines of the capital-

Negro Condemned to Death For Murdering His White Boss

An application for a writ of er- these persons personally. at the state penitentiary on Frithan two days.

Stone, white, and J. Bryon Hop- case one way or another. kins Jr., Negro, both of Richmond.

Judge Prejudiced

way the defense made a motion for a change of venue. that Judge Turner Clement of the Pittsylvania County Circuit Court disqualify himself and have Gov-

cused could not get a fair trial shares. in the county. To prove their

the county to determine the sen- theory. timent on the case. Campion tesheard three men in a restaurant fully and there seemed to be no the farmer.

RICHMOND, Va., Sept. 28- explained that he didn't know

former employer, Oscar Davis manager say "Waller has a 'nigwhite farmer of Pittsylvania ger' lawyer from Richmond and shot me without any cause." County last July 15, was sen- a Community Lawyer from Chitenced to die in the electric chair cago-they ought to be lynched."

During the hearings Commonday, Dec. 27. Waller was con- wealth Att'y Whitehead put five victed after a trial lasting less state witnesses on the stand, four died from a collapsed left lung, the disorganization and confusion Odell Waller, who is about their opinion Waller could get a whether death was due to the beginning to eat away at the viwenty-three years old, was de fair and impartial trial and that shooting since the collapse of the tals of union activity. Everyone fended by Attorneys Thomas H. they had heard no one discuss the

handled by Commonwealth Attor- ted that after he had brought tim's left lung. ney Joseph Whitehead, who asked | Wailer back from Ohio where be for a death verdict in his final fled after the shooting, he was argument if the jury felt that informed by telephone that a Waller shot the white farmer del- lynch mob was being formed, but iberately or without justification. he said he had taken the necessary precaution to prevent a lynching. On this testimony the judge Davis. Soon after the trial got under denied the motion of the defense

Bosses on Jury

Lawyer Stone asked the first ernor James H. Price appoint an | member of the jury panel when against the victim, and other deother judge on the ground that the | called, if he had any land out on | fense witnesses made similar tesjudge had made prejudicial and shares and found that he did. He timony. legal inflammatory remarks in challenged the method of selectthe presence of the jury panel at | ing members of the jury on the | the Sept. 19 hearing. The motion ground that such men would na- story of his association with Mr. turally have economic and social Davis. He said he began working The defense then asked the dis- interests opposed to those of the for Davis in January, 1939 and missal of all members of the jury accused and similar to those of got along until the government panel who had attended the hear- the white employer-farmer and reduction crop program set in and ing on Sept. 19, but this motion that as such Waller could not get cut his acreage. He then told Datoo, was turned down by the a fair trial and would not constilities he couldn't get along on one tutionally be tried by his peers, acre and asked for two. Davis The defense had previously con- The defense made the same object said he couldn't give him two

Judge Clement denied the mopoint they had Edmund Campion tion for a change of jury with make an investigation of the case. the remark that the hearing was

to eat his breakfast." Campion could see, Henry said.

according to defense lawyer Stone, to carve out a career for himself ror will be made by attorneys in While returning from Danville was given by the two sons of the Even as a careerist, however, he terday at Chatham, Va., when said he stopped at a gas station ing they said they saw their fath- and the sweep of thought to re per, accused of the murder of his am and overheard the station about an hour and that all he said the Ford drive offered. was "I am going to die. Odell

of whom were police, who said in He said he couldn't say positively was the factional strife that was Sheriff Archer Overby, however, the physician testified that none dit for a successful drive and get The case for the prosecution was one of the state witnesses, admit- of the bullets had touched the vic. ting control over the Ford work

The Real Story

Waller's mother, in her testi-

The accused man, in simple and earnest words, told the court the

Henry Davis, a young boy, who ported to have said "Hell no, you

evicted his wife and mother.

U. S. Supreme Court.

The high point of the drive,

mony before the court, spoke of bad economic treatment of herself and Waller at the hands of Archie Waller, the accused

man's uncle, told the court that he had gone to the Davis farm with his nephew and had never heard any threats by Waller