

# THE NEGRO QUESTION

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

By J. R. JOHNSON

## The Negro and the War

We have now established that Negroes in America, particularly the great mass of the workers and farmers, have no reason whatever to support any sort of war for democracy. We have established also that in the great crisis through which humanity is now passing, in the great upheavals which will soon be taking place, the American Negroes have as their allies the millions of colonials in every country, those in Africa, in India, and all the other oppressed peoples who form the majority of men and women now living. And, most important, we have seen that many white workers in all parts of the world, although they do not suffer from the special discriminations imposed upon the Negro, yet see no reason why they must shed their blood for capitalism, whether it is democratic or fascist. These white workers believe that the working class and the farmers in every country have their chief enemy at home. They believe that the war the workers and farmers must fight is the war of all the oppressed against all the oppressors, the war to put an end to the capitalist system with its continual wars, its crises, and its fascist dictatorships.

The question now is how can the American Negroes best carry on the fight against being driven into the war. It is capitalism that drives us into war. So that the way to fight against war is to fight against capitalism. Who is it who will lead this country into war. None other than Franklin Roosevelt. True, he says that he will do his best to keep America out of war. But Woodrow Wilson was elected in 1916 on the slogan that he kept America out of war. And the next year he was leading America into war in the name of democracy. Roosevelt has made every preparation and is just waiting his chance to drag America in. How to stop him? There is only one way. By distrusting every word he says and opposing him in every move that he makes now.

### Roosevelt Cut Relief

When he and Congress cut down relief, it is no use listening to the Workers' Alliance when it says that Roosevelt has cut relief less than the reactionary Congress and therefore Roosevelt must be supported. Not at all. Fight against both. If you support Roosevelt you strengthen his hand for his war policy. Note that although Congress and Roosevelt will disagree about relief, they always agree about the amount that should be spent on armaments. On that, they have no disagreement. They may quarrel about when exactly America should go into the war. But as to the preparations for going in, on that they are both agreed.

Roosevelt proposes that you cannot strike against the government. Negroes who are working on government projects will strike for their rights and struggle against this fascist decision. The stronger the opposition of the workers on all fronts, the more the capitalists are impeded in their drive to war. Roosevelt proposes to lift the embargo. What he is doing is trying to link up America more closely with Britain and France. As far as we can, we oppose this move to bring us closer towards the war.

### Roosevelt Spends Billions for War

Roosevelt proposes so many billions for armaments. We protest against it. We want no billions or millions for armaments. Not one red cent. In return we demand that all war funds be given to the unemployed. The unemployed want money to live. They do not want to support Congress in voting money to kill people. We show our protest by meetings, demonstrations and joining with all those who carry on the same anti-war activities. That is the way to oppose Roosevelt's plan to drag America into war.

But the struggle can be carried on in a more immediate and regular manner. In the factory, in the mine, on the farms, wherever workers struggle for better wages and better conditions, when the danger of war approaches, that is the time to press for your demands with the greatest intensity. Taking them as a whole, all the capitalists will support one another in the war. It is they who stand to gain by it. So that all the workers, by pressing hard on them, and fighting against them by strikes, etc., can not only win privileges for themselves, but can so threaten the capitalists, that these, fighting their war against the workers at home, are so much the more prevented from fighting against the enemy abroad.

### Solidarity of White and Black

Negroes must organize for the abolition of Jim Crowism, must organize for their full political rights, for full social equality. It is by mobilizing for these things against the capitalist class that the Negroes can help in keeping Roosevelt and the capitalists so busy at home that they will not be able to drag the country into war.

But the workers themselves discriminate against their brother Negroes. Must the Negroes cease their struggles against discriminations in unions and other workers' organizations? Not at all. The Negroes and their friends among the white workers must point out to all that the Negroes must have their full rights as members of the working class and as citizens. The best way to mobilize all opposition against the war is to see that Negroes get the fullest opportunity to participate in every struggle against the capitalists. This can only be done by Negroes having full access to all unions. The Negroes will make no concessions here. In this gigantic task of the workers there must be full solidarity in the fight against war and this means a great struggle for equality among all members of the working class movement and all who are fighting against the capitalist war.

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# National Labor Defense for WPA Strikers Planned as Government Holds Men on Conspiracy Charge

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ments are Walter Frank, head of the Lathers Union and a leader in the WPA Joint Action Committee which directed the Minneapolis strike, and Myrtle Harris, an official of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and a member of the city Library Board. It is further rumored that an indictment has been issued against Peter Murck, head of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council.

Among the unemployed leaders named in the recent flood of indictments are Roy Orgon and Louis White of the Federal Workers Section of Local 544, and Rosenthal, head of the St. Paul Workers Benefit Association. Goldman and Palmquist of the FWS were among those indicted in the first batch.

Of the sixty indicted two days ago, twenty-five are to be released on RPR (Released on Personal Recognizance); for ten, the bail is fixed at \$3,000 each; for twelve, \$2,000 each; and for thirteen, \$1,000 each. The total bail asked for this group amounts to \$67,000.

The AFL's WPA Defense Committee is redoubling its efforts to secure contributions to purchase bail bonds for the new prisoners. The Committee has issued a call for women and girl volunteers to participate in the city-wide tag day to be held by the Committee on Saturday, October 7.

### No End in Sight

Of the sixty just indicted, only twenty-five have been arrested to date, and the identity of the remainder is still a secret. Labor anticipates that more union leaders have been indicted and will be arrested within the next few days. All those arrested have been bailed out by the Defense Committee.

It is almost impossible to follow the logic of the federal grand jury, which lurches along from one monstrosity to another. It is fairly certain that U.S. Attorney Victor Anderson, the young prosecuting attorney, originally undertook the case with the view of making a name for himself as a "law and order" man a la Calvin Coolidge. But it is doubtful if even Anderson meant to go as far as the jury has gone. Under pressure from the FBI, employers in the state, and the national administration, the federal grand jury has certainly gotten out of Anderson's hands and is running hog-wild. The end is by no means in sight. Anderson has announced the jury will reconvene October 23 and continue its investigation. FBI agents are now said to be working on the St. Paul angle of the strike.

### AFL to Consider Strike Defense

The Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee has gotten in touch with leaders of state federations in the East, including New York and New Jersey, and it is certain that the Minneapolis situation will be brought upon the floor of the AFL convention in Cincinnati. The International Lathers Union which just met in convention passed several resolutions in defense of the Minneapolis strikers. William Green has already publicly protested against what he correctly termed the persecution of the Minneapolis WPA workers by the government and it is more than likely that the American Federation of Labor nationally will get behind the Minneapolis defense.

The defense has been strengthened recently by drawing the

St. Paul labor movement into the fight against the frame-ups. On Thursday a committee representing the St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly met with the Minneapolis WPA Defense Committee. And on Friday at the regular Assembly meeting, a resolution carried to set up a permanent defense committee organized on the same lines as the Minneapolis WPA Defense Committee—two each from the Building Trades Council, the Teamsters Joint Council, the Allied Printing Trades Council and the miscellaneous trades—and to launch a campaign for contributions from the various St. Paul local unions.

"New Deal or New Slavery?" Indicative of the bitter resentment against the Roosevelt administration because of its outrageous treatment of the Minneapolis unemployed is the leading editorial in the September 22 issue of the Minneapolis Labor Review. Like most union papers in the country, the Labor Review has hitherto been more than friendly to the New Deal.

Entitled "New Deal or New Slavery?" the Labor Review editorial states: "When a law was passed to turn this nation into a Nazi concentration camp WPA workers who were real Americans protested against this devilish outrage and they were supported in their protest by organized labor and every citizen who is opposed to slow death by starvation."

"Continuing to spit out injunctions is not frightening or overawing anybody. It is just simply proving that there does not seem to be any end to how outrageous and unjust the WPA administration can be in the persecution of innocent workers."

# California Masses Show Opposition to War Entry

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 20.—At the very moment when President Roosevelt was greasing the machinery for repeal of the neutrality legislation so as to help ease the United States into the European war, two significant sections of California citizens expressed their grim abhorrence of sending American youth to die on foreign battlefields.

Mothers, whose sons will do the fighting, and male university students, who will be the first to be asked to lay down their lives, both signified clearly their hatred of this country's involvement in the useless overseas slaughter.

### Mothers Meet

A group called the American Mothers met in Los Angeles on September 19 and laid plans to obtain 20,000,000 signatures on petitions to the president urging that, whatever the cost, this country be kept out of the European holocaust.

At Berkeley, in the north, a poll among 2500 University of California male students shows that the students do not want this country to supply arms and munitions to the warring powers, do not want repeal of the neutrality legislation, and emphatically do not want to die for the greater glory of America's sixty families. Only 90 votes out of 2500 (3 1/2 per cent)

"Please tell us, somebody, why it is wrong for business men to furnish three times as much material and machinery to the WPA for less money than they formerly received for one-third as much material and machinery, and it is right for workers to be compelled to do three times as much work on WPA for less pay than they formerly got for one-third as much work?"

"WHAT IS THIS THAT IS HAPPENING ON WPA? IS IT THE NEW DEAL OR THE NEW SLAVERY? YOU CAN ANSWER FOR YOURSELF."

Considerable interest has been aroused by a news item in this morning's paper that Mayor Leach of Minneapolis has just conferred with President Roosevelt on, among other things, "WPA in Minneapolis." No doubt the White House asked how its campaign of repression against the Minneapolis labor movement was "going over" and if Leach thought they could get away with it.

If Leach told Roosevelt the truth, he would have to relate that the persecution of the Minneapolis labor movement unemployed was a flop, that it has only caused organized labor to close its ranks in a solid front against Mr. Hypocrites, that the Minnesota Federation of Labor is backing the Minneapolis defense, and that if Mr. Hypocrite really intends to go through with his frame-up he will find himself confronting an aroused labor movement on a national scale.

The trial of the 163 so far indicated will begin October 2 in federal court. Just let Mr. Hypocrite try to imprison these workers!

avored granting immediate military aid to Britain and France. Fourteen hundred (56 per cent) opposed revision of the neutrality law, and declared that even if the Allied cause appeared to be losing they would still oppose sending the Allies arms and munitions.

Still more significant were the answers to the question "What would you do if the United States is drawn into the war?" Eight hundred young men declared categorically that should such an eventuality arise they would flatly refuse to serve the government's war machine. They stated they would choose prison in preference to being drafted into the army. This number represents nearly a third (32 per cent) of the entire group polled. Twenty per cent (500) would volunteer if this country were involved in war; the remainder (1100) would wait until drafted.

These two expressions of opinion illustrate again what has been shown in every recent poll—that Americans do not want to fight on either side in the imperialist butchery now sweeping Europe.

### People Suffer

Despite this fact, President Roosevelt and his congress are going ahead at double quick time to see to it that the United States is dragged into the war in the shortest possible time. The special session of congress was called for this express purpose. And this is supposed to be a "true democracy."

Those who will do the suffering and the fighting and the dying have at least the elementary democratic right to decide by vote the vital issue of war or peace. The Socialist Workers Party reiterates its demand that the people of this country be given the right to vote on war.

# Negro Department Affair Will Feature Voodoo Dances

Meet old friends, make new ones at "A Night in Harlem." Dancing, entertainment, fun. A good time is assured all at the Mimo Club on Saturday, October 7. A feature of the varied program of entertainment planned is a West Indian dancer. She will dance the Voodoo Dances of Haiti, dances from Martinique, and the Shango from Trinidad where this dance has been preserved from generation to generation. She has not only lived for many years in

# The New Turn in Policy of American Stalinism

By JAMES P. CANNON

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Polish Ukraine and White Russia and now of large sections of Poland proper which Hitler's army had conquered. The partition of Poland has been carried out before our eyes by the amicable collaboration of Hitler and Stalin. What else is needed to confirm the opinion that the pact of Stalin and Hitler is in fact a military alliance, that Stalin has linked his fate in the world war now unfolding with that of Hitler?

### Oppression, Not Liberation

Is this a turn to the "Left," as the Stalinist press, with monstrous cynicism, tries to represent it? Is Stalin, with the cooperation of Hitler, carrying "liberation" to oppressed peoples in other countries? What fantastic perversion of reality! The innumerable inhabitants in the concentration camps of Hitler and Stalin could tell a tale about this liberation if only their voices could be heard! A new and terrible oppression awaits the conquered people on both sides of the dividing line drawn by the swords of Hitler and Stalin, an oppression from which they will be finally liberated only when the new conquerors are overthrown by the workers' revolution.

Stalin's invasion of Poland, in agreement with Hitler, simply means that the Soviet Union has been drawn into the imperialistic adventures of Hitler and made responsible for them. The journalists of the Daily Worker are carried along in the military train to sanctify the "liberation" with "Marxist" formulas as conquerors of backward nations once carried priests to sprinkle holy water over the bloody conquests.

### Changing the Line

The task of the American Stalinists, as agents of the Soviet foreign office, is to switch around from pro-ally to pro-axis agitation. The whole apparatus has adjusted itself automatically to the new assignment. The "peace lovers" of yesterday—those who favored a war on the side of England—are now designated as war-mongers. The Stalinists now clamor for a new "peace front" of all those who, for one consideration of bourgeois interest or another, want to give no aid to the Allies, including the "isolationists" who until yesterday were described as "fascist agents."

Roosevelt, who was lauded to the skies and supported uncritically in everything, as long as an alliance of the Soviet Union and the imperialist democracies appeared in prospect, is now looked upon with a jaundiced eye. Tomorrow, it is safe to predict, the Daily Worker will begin to criticize and oppose him, for Roosevelt has a firm allegiance to the democratic imperialist camp. He wants a war against Germany and there is no chance to change his policy by new explanations of the nature of the conflict. The Stalinists, who were the most vociferous advocates of a third term for Roosevelt, dropped the slogan like a hot potato on the day the Red Army marched to meet Hitler's forces at the new line of partition in Poland.

The new line has already been transmitted to the C.P. fractions in the trade unions. The Transport Workers Union, the first organization under Stalinist control to hold a convention since the Stalin-Hitler pact, passed a resolution in favor of "New Deal" candidates in 1940, but forgot to mention the chief "New Dealer" himself. An oversight? Not on your life. Mike Quill, the Stalinist boss of the union, is a boy who catches on quickly. For him Roosevelt went out as soon as Hitler came in. This single incident throws a searchlight on the new course of Stalinist policy in the unions.

### A Pseudo-Radical Twist

What about the radical trimming of the new Stalinist policy?

# HISTORY OF SOCIALIST YOUTH TO APPEAR IN YPSL PAPER

The Challenge of Youth begins publication with this issue of extracts from Willi Munzenberg's autobiographical and historical account of the Socialist youth movement from its foundation in the early 1900's to the post-war period. The book was published in Germany in 1929 under the title of "Die Dritte Front" ("The Third Front"). This very important historical account of the Socialist Youth movement, has, unfortunately, never been available in English.

The extracts which we will present deal with the Socialist Youth movement during the World War. We are sure that militant anti-war fighters everywhere will find it of value in bolstering their determina-

tion to oppose war and learning lessons on the practical aspects of organizing anti-war resistance.

Munzenberg was actively connected with the youth movement in Germany and Switzerland. The outbreak of the war found him serving as the National Secretary of the Swiss Socialist Youth. He used the neutrality of Switzerland and its geographical location in the heart of Europe, to good advantage by making the Swiss movement the organizing center from which to reconstruct the Youth International. Munzenberg, later on, as a leader of the German Communist Party, degenerated into a typical Stalinist bureaucrat. He has recently broken with Stalinism to follow the path of so many other disillusioned Stalinists who lump Stalinism and Bolshevism together, and seek some new righteous ethical code for the conduct of revolutionists, which is not based upon a materialist understanding, but upon some abstract, ethereal concepts.

The revolting climax to Munzenberg's career as a Marxist does not, however, detract from the great value of his work during the war and his historical writings on the subject.

Especially the anti-war work. Tickets are fifty cents and reservations must be made in advance. Tickets can be secured at 116 University Place.

A revolutionary policy in the struggle against war, as on every other question, proceeds from the class independence of the proletariat and its irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist exploiters of all camps and all countries, in the first place against the capitalist exploiters at home. It is against imperialist war because it is against capitalism. It conducts this struggle independently of the transitory opposition of certain sections of the capitalist class to entry into a given war at a given moment. The latest pseudo-radical anti-war policy of the American Stalinists has nothing in common with this fundamental class position.

The revolutionary phrase-mongering of the Stalinist bureaucrats is only a new deception, a transitional mechanism designed to bridge the abrupt change from a pro-democratic to a pro-axis policy and carry the workers along. A revolutionary anti-war policy cannot be turned on and off like a faucet. It can be the expression only of a consistent, principled class-struggle activity carried on systematically under all conditions. It must be animated by a clear and comprehensive revolutionary theory; its execution requires moral qualities of disinterestedness, courage and devotion to the cause of the proletariat. On all these grounds the unprincipled hirelings of the Stalinist apparatus are disqualified. In order to go forward to a revolutionary fight against war the militant workers must sweep this human rubbish from their path.

### Charlatans Add to Confusion

Stalin's invasion of Poland in union with Hitler has not only caused consternation and demoralization in wide circles, it has also created a certain demand for simple and ready answers to each and every new turn of events. Charlatans ready to supply these simplified explanations are not lacking. But the situation is one of unprecedented complexity. Light can be thrown on new incidents as they occur only if one keeps certain fundamental considerations in mind and thinks every thought through to the end—that is, to its political consequences. Superficial and simplified explanations only add to the general confusion and serve reactionary ends. Usually they are so designed.

Such a malicious simplification is that which arbitrarily classifies the Soviet Union as a fascist state and explains the Stalin-Hitler pact as a natural union of "brown bolshevism" and "red fascism." That formula leads to the conclusion that there is nothing left of the Soviet revolution worth defending, and then—as a rule—to a recruiting speech for the war of democracy (imperialist) against fascism. Revolutionary workers cannot accept this apparently simple formula which leads to such reactionary conclusions.

We do not identify the Stalinist bureaucracy with the Soviet Union any more than we identify a labor union with a gang of corrupt officials who have usurped leadership in it and betray its interests. We are for the Russian revolution and the economic system created by it. And precisely because of that the revolutionary workers, who are the only genuine and loyal defenders of the Soviet Union, conduct an irreconcilable struggle against the bureaucracy which, by its criminal policy, undermines the Soviet Union and leads it toward complete destruction.

Contemptible are those fakers who say that Stalin has established "socialism" in the Soviet Union and is now "liberating" the Poles and Ukrainians. But no less contemptible are the literary hirelings of the democratic imperialists who want to liberate the Russian workers from the Stalinist yoke at the point of British and French bayonets, as the Indian and Moroccan masses, for example, have been "liberated."

# WAR DEAL RUNS INTO SNAG OF MASS RESISTANCE

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It would, however, be a great illusion to imagine that Roosevelt's temporary difficulties represent any serious check to the march of the United States toward the war. The isolationist group is proving fully the justice of Roosevelt's refusal to grant them the title of "peace bloc." Though their opposition to the lifting of the embargo corresponds to a mass resistance to what is undoubtedly a definite step toward entry into the war, nevertheless, the isolationists, far from using this as a means of developing and extending a broad and general fight against the war and the war-mongers, and manipulating it as a cover for their own 100% allegiance to U.S. imperialism.

By concentrating all eyes on the embargo fight, they are joining hands with Roosevelt in trying to make the people forget about the super-armor program—whose only purpose can be war in the near future—which they both support to make them forget also the demand for a people's referendum on war, and the plight of the unemployed who are being so coldly sacrificed to the building of the war machine.

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