#### "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN-NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"-KARL MARX. NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON,

"Hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers face the danger of having to shed their blood for the greater glory, the greater profits, of the bloated money kings of London and Paris in this imperialist war, the purpose of which is to tighten the yoke of mittee, was chosen a delegate obvious that the Minneapolis oppression more closely around the necks of all toilers."

This is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Where does it come from? The readers of this column and of the Socialist Appeal might think it comes from our new pamphlet olis Central Labor Union. Murk through the frame—up to the "WHY NEGROES SHOULD OPPOSE THE WAR" (by J. R. Johnson, 32 pages, 5 cents). But that extract is not from our party literature at all. It comes from an interview given by executive council, and it is cer national issue in the American James Ford, the Stalinist Commissar of Harlem, to the Daily tain that the Minneapolis de-labor movement, the million-Worker, October 9, 1939. The same issue carries another inter- Tense case will come up on the headed protest of the workers view given by Dr. Max Yergan, executive secretary of the In- floor of the Cincinnati conven- may yet tear the hands of the ternational Committee on African Affairs. During the Spanish tion, It is understood the AFL War Deal from the throats of war this committee worked in close collaboration with the Stalinist organization, the League for Spanish Democracy. On behalf tion on the Minneapolis case to ment. of Harlem Negroes, the committee presented an ambulance to be presented to convention delthe Spanish people.

Dr. Yergan also says that the war in Europe is an imperialist war, Like James Ford, he regarded "the Soviet-German nonaggression pact and the subsequent action of the Soviet Union men and girls have volunteered as the one great contribution to world peace and democracy to to sell Labor Defense Tags in Africa, by his observation of the international situation and for the defense. The Tag Day is the grace of God, advocates a 100 per cent Stalinist position. The sponsored by the AFL defense war is an imperialist war; the Negroes will be sacrificed for committee, and hundreds of profits; Negroes, help keep America out of war.

### Sounds Good—But Is It?

It looks good, like the red of an apple rotten at the heart. It sounds good, like the words a prostitute whispers in the ear of a traveler, while robbers creep behind to stab him in the back.

For proof, let us take one great tragedy for Africans and the friends of Africa-the case of Spanish Morocco. The Moors are not Negroes, but they are an oppressed colonial people. If they had won their freedom, a mighty blow would have been struck at imperialism. The victory of the Moors could have acted as a clarion call to revolutionaries in Europe and to all oppressed and groaning Africa.

Now you gain your freedom when your enemy is weak and your enemy is weakest when he is fighting for his life. When the Spanish revolution broke out, it was the chance of the Moors. The correct policy for the Moors was to say to the Spanish workers and peasants: "You want to break the necks of the ruling class. We want our independence, but this we can get only by breaking the neck of the same ruling class. We support involving from two to ninety give active backing to the im- clares for a democratic war party. Vote as you strike. Vote you, you support us. You declare that you support the independence of Spanish Morocco. We shall fight against Franco

and be your loyal comrades and allies." That was the policy for the Moors. But it was still more the duty of all who were friends of African independence to proclaim that policy and agitate for it among the Spanish workers and peasants. "The independence of Spanish Morocco." "Moors, take up arms and fight for your own country." These are the slogans that should have been on the lips of every true revo- erican and Oriental Bureau, Internacionalista. . . Our Mexi- of the Stalinists from the ALP inating petitions for Shachtman lutionary, of every genuine fighter for African independence in sub-secretariat of the Fourth can comrades, being rid of the is bureaucratic from beginning and George Lyman Paine, the days when every class, every group in Spain, was fighting International, has recently sectarian group of C- and the to end." Shachtman charged, Councilmanic candidate for for its own interests, on one side or the other.

What did James Ford and his Communist Party say in those to be published. No. 6 of the begun the publication of a fort- expulsion drive is borrowed the Board of Elections. More days? What did Max Yergan say? You will search columns of Roletin contains the Bureau's nightly paper, Lucha Obrera, in from the book of Stalinism it than 6,000 signatures of registhe Stalinist press and not find one clear call, "Moors, use Manifesto on the War and its addition to their excellent the self." your arms for your independence." They sent men to fight, Application to the Latin Am- cretical monthly, Clave. . . they sent ambulances. Yergan agitated for Spanish democracy. erican and colonial countries. But "the independence of Spanish Morocco"? Not a word. And No. 7 will contain articles on From Brazil comes news of way? Because they did not want to overthrow Spanish imper- recent developments, a state- the launching of the Partido So- the official ALP Councilmanic ialism; they wanted to maintain Spanish "democracy." With ment of resignation from the cialista Revolucionario, section candidate for the Bronx, Spanish Morocco as a colony of this "democracy" just as East Communist Party of Cuba by of the Fourth International. The Shachtman stated, "Previously, Africa is a colony of British "democracy" and the Belgian Con- one of its leading members, founding congress of the P.S.R. in exchange for the work done go is a colony of Belgian "democracy." Independence for comrade Jose A. Guerra, and was held this summer and by the Stalinists in building the Morocco? Under no circumstances, said Stalin: "I want an al- some documents from Brazil. brought together into one or- district clubs of the ALP, Rose liance with Britain and France against Germany. A socialist Anyone interested in Latin Am- ganization the "old Trotsky and Antonini gave the Stalinists ed the nominating petitions and possed mostly of Dubert Possed mostly Spain? An independent Morocco? If I or my Communist Party erican problems can get copies ists" of the Partido Operario a representative or two on its fought for such a policy, I would never get my alliance with of these bulletins or other lit- Leninista and a large group of Chamberlain and Daladier. They would say I was a Red."

The Trotskyists in Spain fought against Franco, but they in for them. . . . . urged that the only way to beat Franco was for the workers and peasants to struggle for socialism and for the Moors to fight for their independence, in other words capitalism had to be broken at home and abroad. For saying this they were called traitors by the Stalinists, persecuted and murdered as agents of Franco. The Moors, getting promises from Franco and not even a promise from the Spanish Loyalists, fought with Franco. At home and abroad the Spanish revolution was beaten.

### The Stalinist Line Changes

Britain and France. He is tied up with Hitler. Hitler has no lile, issued a pamphlet in Chile and scanonic betterment colonies. But Britain and France have. Stalin wants to embarrass the British and French governments in their conduct of candidate in the coming presithe war. He wants to prevent America from assisting Hitler's dential elections! Ravinez calls enemy, Britain. So Ford and Yergan, Browder and Patterson. take the field. The war is an imperialist war. Down with the democratic Benavidism"(!) war. These conscienceless scoundrels want to use the Negroes to help Hitler's peace: they shout for peace. But peace means the line so soon; the Stalinists Hitler's peace, with Stalin keeping his piece of Poland. That is why they say this is an imperialist war, which is true, and then add Russia did the right thing, which is false. The Fourth International denounces these servile corrupters fas tdeveloping into an inter-

of the Negro people. We do not support the capitalist war; we do not support the capitalist peace. We say: "Negroes, war or peace, fight against all the imperialists, today by a mass demonstration, tomorrow by strike, and when enough have rifles in his jails, who outlaws the fight with rifles too."

its leaders into exile, is re-But what does Yergan say today? In the interview in the warded with thei rloyal sup-Daily Worker he says that it is necessary for "the democratic labor forces of Europe and America to press for the reopening port! He joins the list with of the whole colonial question in the interest of a secure world tator Batista in Cuba, ex- (but peace." There you see the naked reaction of Yergan. What still aspiring)-Dictator Generdoes he mean by "reopening the whole colonial question." Who al Ibanez in Chile and now of closed it? Does he want a conference to talk over things? With course Hitler himself. . . The whom? With Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler, and Stalin? Is one good note in the story is this the peace that the Stalinists are shouting for? Will one the report in Vanguardia that single colonial be freed by this peace? Peace, by all means. We denounce their murderous war. But do the workers want Cham-Arequipa and Cuzco [cities of berlain and Daladier to "reopen" the colonial question? Perul have revolted against the

It is Hitler who wants to "reopen" it, in other words, bargain for Africa. For the revolutionary Negroes, that question is always open. No peace with imperialism, whether fascist or "democratic." Tomorrow, according to how Stalin moves, Ford and Yergan will shout again, "War for democracy." Traitors yesterday and traitors tomorrow, they are traitors today, however revolutionary they my sound. The Negroes must not be blinded by them, but should mercilessly expose this unscrupulous deception of an oppressed people.

116 Nev	university York Cit I would li Socialist	y Place ty. ke to ge	t better Please	acqui	ainted with ;	your paper,
	next few	weeks.	6			1
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	Address	.::		,		
	City	.,				

# WPA Prisoners' Morale Splendidas Minneapolis Frame-Up Trial Opens

(Continued from Page 1) the AFL's WPA Defense Com- indictments in the wind, it is to the convention of the Amer- WPA defense case will drag out ican Federation of Labor by the for many months-if Murphy recent meeting of the Minneap- and Roosevelt dare to carry is now in Cincinnati. He has al- bitter end. And with the Minready met with Green and the neapolis frame-up becoming a council is preparing a resolu- the militant local union move-

Tag Day Plans Fixed Over four hundred union wodollars are expected to be raised by this means.

dence to present to the federal viet foreign office." Defense Committee set up by wake of Soviet diplomacy. the Trades & Labor Assembly is already raising property and funds to be used as bail.

Trials May Last Months

PERU

the August 15 issue of the Bu-

enos Aires daily, Vanguardia,

sident Benavides to live in ex-

giving support to Benavides'

It's too bad Stalin is changing

groveling at the feet of the

various dictatorial agents of

ogists. Benavides, who keeps

over 5,000 political prisoners

Communist party and forces

"the [C.P.] organizations in

line of collaboration with tyran-

ny put forward by Senor Rav-

Argentina

pamphlet, "La Revolucion

Mundial y la Traicion Stalin-

ista", and the news that that

"great American democracy"

has just issued an order bar-

ring from the mails a pamphlet

published previously, "Por el

Socialismo Revolucionario y

por la 4d Internacional". We

have also received a printed

manifesto distributed by the

Grupo Obrero Revolucionario,

4th Internationalist, dealing

with the war and the Stalin-

Uruguay

Similar leaflets have arrived

from the Bolshevik-Leninists of

Hitler pact. . .

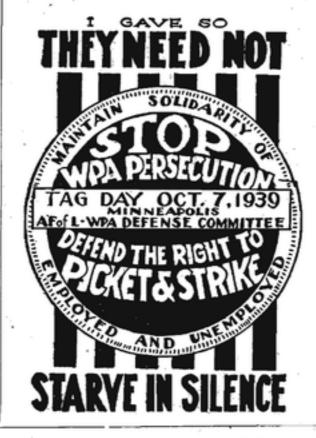
From Argentina comes a new

inez in his recent pamphlet". .

'democratic' imperialism was

|defendants (the "conspiracy"

cians Union, able chairman of case de luxe). With yet more



THE MINNEAPOLIS WAY

Hundreds of union-women and girls wore this tag on Saturday, October 7, when they went out collecting funds for the defense of the Minneapolis W .-P. A. prisoners, those now on trial, and those yet to be tried, for their activities in the W.P.-A. strike. We haven't yet received a report on how much was collected, but we hope the fund was big enough to enable the Defense smashthe Roose-Minneapolis.

## Committee to veltstrike-breaking machine in

## Shachtman and Paine Charge Boss as the one great contribution to world peace and democracy to sell Labor Defense Tags to sell Labor Defense Tags to sell Labor Defense Tags the come out of the conflict thus far." Thus Dr. Yergan, a mission-throughout Minnepolis tonight ary, a YMCA official, widely known in America, in Europe, and tomorrow, to raise funds and tomorrow, to raise funds tomorrow, to raise funds to the DuPonts are outstanding. This explains why such

when it was founded twenty one except Stalin."

The 'St. Paul union movement amplified by Shachtman when ernment, not to mention its pri- imperialist war-makers will ticipated attack, and the WPA nist Party follows closely in the ocratic and Republican parties, their rotten schemes for annihi-

The ALP and War Discussing the close collabo- world. ration of Stalin with Hitler. will be at least nine more trials, by Hitler that No one would a resolution which brazenly de- than a 1000 votes for any other

Brazil

leadership of the Sao Paulo Re-

Latin American Notes

Shachtman stated, "It is inter- remarkable suddeness and Workers Party as a demonstra-The present trial is expected esting to note in connection without recourse to ordinary tion against American particito last for several weeks. There with the peace terms submitted democratic procedure, adopted pation in the war is worth more

> against Germany." went on, "with a remarkable Workers Party," Shachtman suddeness. Rose, Antonini and concluded. Company discovered, after all these years, that the ranks of

Commenting on the threaten-

ed rejection of Michael Quill as election slate. That is how Communist Party under the elected to the City Council. The present differences between From Peru comes an inter- gional Committee of the C.P. Rose and Antonini on the one esting story about the Stalinist The congress consolidated the hand and Quill on the other "communists". According to organization and adopted a reshand." Shachtman explained, olution of greetings to comrade "is that the former support the Trotsky, as well as several res- war aims of Wall Street while the leader of the Communist olutions on the international Quill supports Stalin's joint Party of Peru, Eudocio Raviclared.

Counting Fists

portunity to vote for a revolu- the Coughlinites.

candidates. "Voting for the canthe American Labor Party sud- lating the working class in andenly discovered the rest of the other world slaughter for superprofits. A hundred votes for the as you fight. Vote for the anti-"Similarly," the speaker war candidates of the Socialist

Petitions Filed

Edward Frank, organizer of No. 6 of Boletin de Informa- Uruguay and from our Mexican the ALP contained Communist Local New York of the SWP, cion, bulletin of the Pan-Am- comrades of the Partido Obrero Party members. The expulsion announced today that the nombeen issued and No. 7 is about tempestuous Rivera, have also "because the manner of that Manhattan, had been filed with tered Bronx voters have been secured for the nomination of Shachtman on the Councilmanic ballot, Frank announced, while over 3,000 signatures were secured for the nomina- Casting out the Devil tion of Paine.

Both candidates today exnominating drive over the top. Register Now

war candidates of the Socialist, in the War Department. Workers Party on November 5.

Shachtman will speak Wed-Bronx the workers have the op- many clashes in the past with time."

# WAR DEAL

By DWIGHT MACDONALD -

"There is something phoney about this war," remarked Senator Borah the other day. He was referring to the fact that France and England declared war six weeks ago and have not yet begun to fight. But he might also have noted something phoney about the war issue as it has been presented in Congress recently. The much-advertised and long-awaited debate on neutrality legislation, in which Borah himself is a leading participant, has turned out to be pretty much of a flop. Here, too, the battle has not yet been seriously joined. The Administration forces have said nothing of their real aims and interests, which center about bringing as much help as possible to the Allies. And their "opponents," the isolationists, have strangely acquiesced in this conspiracy of silence. It is clear that neither side has much stomach for a real fight.

#### Friendly Enemies

The truth seems to be that there is still a certain amount of division among the big bourgeoisie as to just how much of a "forward policy" in respect to the war is right now advisable. The great bulk of Wall Street opinion is without much question already behind the President's policy-although with the caution and reservations one might expect considering the big property interests at stake. But there still remain certain powerful sections of big business inclining more, for the present, to an isola-Republican stalwarts as Senator Vandenberg of Michigan are leading the fight against raising the arms embargo. In Vandenberg's own state, for instance, the split is clearly defined, with (Continued from Page 1) | perialist peace of Hitler - no tionary anti-war party and its General Motors for raising the embargo and Ford against it.

The politeness and gentility with which the neutrality fight FBI agents are now continu- years ago. Once a working Referring to the resolution didates of the Socialist Work- has been conducted is explained by the fact that the politicians ing their stool pigeonry, this class revolutionary party, it is adopted by the American Labor ers Party is not a matter of in Washington understand well enough that this difference of time in St. Paul, gathering evi- today an appendage of the So- Party on the war and on the counting noses but of counting opinion is by no means indicative of any disagreement as to the Stalin-Hitler pact, Shachtman fists; of counting the fists of necessity of America's final entry into the war, but is merely a grand jury when it reconvenes That the Communist Party is declared, "After a few years of workers whose antagonism to friendly disagreement as to ways and means and, above all, October 23 to continue its in nothing more than a propagan public pleading for nothing the war is so great, so provestigation into the WPA strike. da agency for the Kremlin was more than good municipal gov- found, so revolutionary that the nation into the war. There are certain accusations, after all, that is bracing its feet for the an- he illustrated how the Commu- vate horse trades with the Dem- stop a moment and ponder on come too close to home to be bandied about in public.

#### 1917 and 1939

As I pointed out last week, the relationship between the government and big business has become much more intimate in "The ALP leadership, with a candidates of the Socialist the two decades of development that American monopoly capitalism has gone through since the last war. This makes it easier in one way and harder in another to expose to the masses the imperialist nature of the War Deal.

It is easier to expose the Roosevelt Administration's war drive than it was to expose that of the Wilson Administration because this time big business has channelled its war aims through the governmental apparatus, so that the War Deal acts in a much more aggressive and whole-heartedly belligerent way than did the Wilson regime. Thus the War Deal is forced to go ahead in a more determined way, and is also forced to take on more of a Wall Street coloration than was necessary for Wilson in the years preceding our entry into the last war. (Roosevelt set up his War Resources Board headed by Stettinius of U.S. Steel before our entry, while Wilson called on Baruch to set up the War Industries Board only after the declaration of war in 1917.)

By the same token, however, the task of exposure is harder ecause this time Wall Street is not making the mistake of coming out in the open and acting as the business agents and ardent propagandists of the Allied powers. The pro-war propaganda of the Roosevelt Administration seems to be quite detached from any financial interests, to be the free-will act of an independent government body-while in the last war such propaganda was crudely and openly conducted by finance capital itself.

The complexity of relations between big business and govpressed their gratitude to the ernment in this war crisis is demonstrated by the recent liquidathousands of workers who sign- tion of the War Resources Board. When the WRB was set up last erature in Spanish by writing dissident old militants from the Michael Quill happened to get of the Party for putting the As the debate on neutrality opened in Congress, the WRB threatened to become a really serious talking point for the isolationists. Therefore, the day before Congress met, Roosevelt sudden-Voters are urged to register ly announced that the WRB would meet once more, draw up a this week, October 9 to 14, with report, and then commit hari-kari. He also went out of his way the Board of Elections in order to publicly humiliate and repudiate Assistant Secretary of War to be able to vote for the anti- Johnson, author of the WRB plan and the "man" of big business

Loud were the outcries of victory among the liberals and the left isolationists. Actually, no more had happened than that the tasks of the P.S.R. in the strug- ences are the differences of nesday night, October 11, at El- President, for sound reasons of immediate political strategy, had actionary dictatorship of Pre- gle against the Vargas dictator- two sets of agents in the servship and its Yankee imperialist two sets of agents in the service Morris Avenue. Maxwell T. maturely. He therefore quietly withdrew from this too advanced Burt, Organizer of the Bronx position, incidentally stealing a good deal of the thunder his iso-Branch, announced a mass lationist opponents were preparing for him in Congress. As Time campaign rally this Saturday (Oct. 9) put it: "About all they had left to hit him with then was night at Fordham Road and the reasonable supposition that Big Steel's Stettinius will be Manhattan and the Valentine Avenue, scene of back on the pre-war scene in Washington at some more politic

"Reasonable" is a classic understatement,

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

; D.M.

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and the Character of the U.S.S.R.

Among the questions discuss-

"THE U.S.S.R. IN WAR," by ed by Trotsky in this brilliant Leon Trotsky, will be featured analysis are the following: 1. The German-Soviet Pact

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cerous Growth or a New Organ? 4. The Early Degeneration

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reaucratic Collectivism." 9. Totalitarian Dictatorship Regime.

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The above outline of the contents of Leon Trotsky's pene-2. The Nature of the Soviet trating article indicates the depth and scope of Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet Union, the war, the future of the labor movement and the international socialist revolution.

Negro Articles Because of the timeliness and

5. The Conditions for the great significance of Trotsky's Omnipotence and Fall of article, a change is being made, in part, in the contents of the 6. What if the Socialist Rev- November issue, which was orolution is Not Accomplish- iginally slated to be largely a Negro number. Important ar-7. The Present War and the ticles on the Negro question Future of Modern Society. Will appear in the November 8. New Conceptions of the issue ,but also in subsequent numbers of the magazine.

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